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## Addressing Land (In)Justice Through Data Collection In Partnership with Land in Common

Audrey Aberg  
*Bates College*

Alex Culver-Witt  
*Bates College*

Jonathan Walker  
*Bates College*

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Addressing Land (In)Justice Through Data Collection

In Partnership with Land in Common

Audrey Aberg, Alex Culver-Witt, and Jonathan Walker

April 22, 2022

## Executive Summary

In this report we aim to explore and visualize the types of land injustices in the state of Maine in partnership with Land in Common. For centuries, Maine has undergone various forms of inequity regarding minority groups and their land.

Land in Common is a community land whose mission seeks “to develop a durable, state-wide, democratically run cooperative structure for the ownership, care, and equitable distribution of land in Maine.” Under this umbrella, Land in Common creates affordable housing by separating land from development and bringing it under common ownership. Another important piece of Land in Common’s mission is to return the land we now call Maine back to its original owners, the Wabanaki people.

As stated, Land injustice varies tremendously across the state of Maine as you will see in our many figures below. We have scoured the internet, deriving information from ArcGIS, the Agriculture census, and files directly from Land in Common in order to break down who owns land in Maine. The most notable injustice is that there are 7 groups (families and corporations) that own 25% of all land in Maine. This impressive statistic constitutes the efforts of Land in Common. The other 75% of land is privately owned typically by white families, leaving people of color and indigenous groups with a miniscule amount. People of color and indigenous groups have been oppressed across the entire nation for centuries. Although there is ample evidence that constitutes change everywhere, it is apparent that these changes are not easily sprouted. However, this is the essence of this project and Land in Common. Change is the ultimate goal and with our findings we intend to help Land in Common achieve their goals.

Through our extensive research on how land is broken down by multiple variations across Maine, we aim to display our data in a coherent way for Land in Common to use. Our data is designed for the people of Land in Common to better comprehend the best locations for Land distribution given what and who surrounds certain areas. We also intend to identify different ways to raise awareness of Land in Common in order to receive more donations for their selfless cause. Finally, how could we set up a volunteer program at Bates College that serves as proposal work for students.

## Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>1.1 Land Injustice for Indigenous Peoples</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>1.2 Land Injustice for Black Americans</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1.3 Consequences of Land (in)Justice</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1.4 Research Aim and Objectives</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>2. Methodological Approach.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>2.2 Research and Literature Review</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>2.3 Data Selection</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>2.4 Data Collection</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>2.2 Displaying Our Data</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>3. Results and Discussion.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>3.1 Setting the Stage</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>3.2 State Power</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>3.3 Private Power</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>3.4 Private Power</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>3.5 Discussion</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>4. Recommendations.....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>26</b>

# 1. Introduction

Land means different things to different people. People's relationship to land is highly complicated, and is shaped by history, identity, and personal experience. For members of the Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) community, this relationship is fraught with a history of exploitation and exclusion.

## 1.1 Land Injustice for Indigenous Peoples

Land injustice in America is nothing new. America was founded on institutions of colonization and slavery.

Intentions to colonize and remove indigenous people from their land predate colonial settlement. In 1455, Pope Nicholas V issued "Romanus Pontifex," a document that authorized the Portuguese to conquer sub-Saharan Africa and enslave local people. Forty years later, Pope Alexander VI issued the "Inter Caetera," a decree that portrayed the Americas as open grounds for conquest. The decree established the rights of European monarchies to occupy, conquer, convert, and enslave individuals living in Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Americas. While the popes' true intentions have been contested, Spain and Portugal took this as a blank check to invade, conquer, and kill ninety percent of the indigenous native population (Penniman and Washington 2018). The right to dehumanize native peoples and dispossess them of their land was done under justifications of divine right and cultural superiority.

In 1803, Napoleon Bonaparte sold the region west of the Mississippi River to the United States in a land deal known as the Louisiana Purchase (History.com 2009). Made nearly 200 years ago, the Louisiana Purchase still represents one of the largest land deals in history, and nearly doubled the size of the United States. The United States purchased the land included in the Louisiana Purchase for \$15 million dollars, which is equivalent to about \$342 million dollars today. The purchase gave the United States the "exclusive authority" to take the land away from its indigenous inhabitants, be it through treaties or violence.

While the Louisiana Purchase is regarded as one of the greatest land deals in history, the price of westward expansion was really paid for by Native Americans. The Louisiana purchase paved the way for the Trail of Tears, the forced removal of over a hundred thousand Native Americans in the mid and south western parts of the United States. The Trail of Tears is a term that refers to the blood, sweat, and tears shed by Native Americans during their forced removal and migration westward. Elizabeth Watts, a Charokee woman whose mother was born along the Trail of Tears, describes her journey: "[t]he soldiers gathered them all up, and put them in camps. They hunted them and ran them down until they got all of them. Even before they were loaded in wagons, many of them got sick and died. They were all grief stricken; they lost all on earth they had. White men even robbed their dead graves to get their jewelry and other little trinkets." Some were captured and taken away on wagons, while others made the 1200-mile trek on foot. They were held--often in chains--and faced hunger, disease and exhaustion along the way.

The Homestead Act of 1862 encouraged Western settlement by granting free Western land to settlers who agreed to live and work on the land for five years (Baker 2022). The price of western expansion was paid for by Native Americans. Following the Homesteading Acts, many native tribes were driven from their homelands. Many native tribes were semi-nomadic, or believed in communal forms of land ownership that did not fall under the U.S. government's

vision of carving up the country into square acre plots of land. In 1887, Congress passed the Dawes Act in an attempt to assimilate Native Americans to westernized conceptions of farming. Only Native Americans who accepted the division of tribal lands into plots were allowed U.S. citizenship.

Before colonial settlement, the Wabanaki “People of the Dawnland” had lived on the land that is now called Maine for 11,000 years. European colonists did not arrive until 1607, when James I granted a charter to establish the colony of Popham (named after its chief financier) where the Kennebec River met the Atlantic Ocean. European settlers did not fare well in Maine’s cold climate, forcing them to return to England the following year. That did not deter future colonists, however, as several European settlements had sprung up in Maine by the mid-1620s. By the late seventeenth century, Maine had become a battleground for colonial conquest by the English and the French. Maine stood between English-controlled Massachusetts and a French-controlled Canada. The new European powers vied for control of the region while simultaneously removing the lands’ original inhabitants. The Norridgewock Massacre of 1724 was a surprise-raid the Wabanaki village of Norridgewock by a group of soldiers from the New England colonies. The massacre was undertaken to limit Wabanaki presence in the region as well as perceived French influence. The raid raised Norridgewick to the ground and killed eighty Wabanaki, many of whom were women and children. After the massacre, many Wabanaki moved northward to Canada.

## **1.2 Land Injustice for Black Americans**

While histories of land injustice for Indigenous Peoples are characterized by forcible removal, for black Americans, land injustice is a consequence of forced labor. From the late sixteenth to mid eighteenth centuries, millions of people were taken from their homelands and brought to America to work as slaves for for cotton and tobacco production (Penniman and Washington).

In 1830, President Andrew Jackson pushed Congress to pass the Indian Removal Act, which allowed white settlers to take large swaths of land in the Southwest for much smaller plots of land west of the Mississippi. The Indian Removal Act was all part of Jackson’s plan to make way for “the Cotton Kingdom,” a nickname for the cotton-producing region of the southern United States during the cotton boom of the 1830s to the 1860s. The the transatlantic slave trade was abolished in 1808, but slavery continued to proliferated domestically. Indian removal opened up new land in the Deep South--which combined with the cotton gin, a device that made it easier to remove seeds from cotton fiber-- created a strong demand for slaves. During this period, the slave population in the south grew from about 700,000 to over three million, as lower cotton production costs increased demand for cotten by textile mills in the North, further increasing demand for slaves to work on increasingly expansive plantations (Baker 2022).

By the late 1840’s, the U.S. was increasingly torn between its economic benefits and its moral and constitutional concerns. Southern proponents--the immediate beneficiaries of the institution--became increasingly defensive of slavery, and ideologies of paternalism and scientific racism emerged. Proponents argued that slaveowners acted as a father like figure to slaves, who were incapable of caring for themselves. A landmark case, the Supreme Court ruled that anyone of African descent, whether enslaved, or free, was not a United States citizen and had no standing to sue in a federal court. Writing for the majority, Justice Roger Taney used flagrantly racist language, saying: “[African Americans] had for more than a century before been

regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit.” In the Dred Scott case, a biological justification for slavery was upheld by the court.

While slavery was officially abolished in 1865, segregationist policies such as the Black Codes and Jim Crow Laws took its place (Penniman and Washington). When those were abolished, mass-incarceration emerged.

Michelle Alexander argues that the War on Drugs to incarcerate black men at disproportionately high levels and justify their second-class citizen status as felons. Prison labor has become a salient parallel of modern day slavery. Prisoners--a large percentage of whom are black and located in the southern U.S.--work for decades for merely cents an hour (Selby 2021). Even after prisoners are released, the prison system acts like a cruel hand. Felons are banned from jobs, housing welfare, and voting. While not overtly racist, going to prison allows the law to discriminate against black Americans based on “status” rather than race.

Today, Maine is the whitest state in the country, with 94.4 percent of its population identifying as white. Maine is far away from the deep south, and while there were instances of slavery in Maine it was never a slave state as its economy was not dependent on plantation farming. Its dominant industries were forestry, shipbuilding, and textiles, which were produced by water-powered mills (Arnold 2020). After the Civil War, many black people migrated north, but they moved to larger urban centers such as New York and Chicago. That being said, Maine’s population during the 19th century was significantly more diverse than it is today. When steel replaced wood in ship-making and industry transitioned from manual labor to factory-work, African Americans found themselves unable to find jobs. Mill operators gave preference to white immigrants over black people.

In addition to creating economic barriers, Maine also implemented educational and political ones. In the 1820s, Maine introduced two major voting reforms that restrict people’s access to the ballot. Maine introduced literacy tests that required voters to be able to read the Constitution in English (Myall 2020). In 1895 the time rates of illiteracy were 25 percent for immigrants and 38 percent for people of color. For decades, these reforms targeted immigrants and African Americans by restricting their access to the ballot.

The most concerted effort to remove African Americans from Maine occurred in the early 1910s. In 1821, Maine introduced anti-miscegenation laws that banned interracial marriage, which were sustained until 1883. During this period, an interracial fishing community developed along Maine’s Coast on the Island of Malaga. When Malaga was discovered in 1912, the island’s residents were evicted and their homes were raised to the ground. Speaking of the situation, then Governor Frederick Plaisted said: “The best plan would be to burn down the shacks with all of their filth”(Nelson 2022).

### **1.3 Consequences of Land Injustice**

Land ownership is one of the most powerful drivers for gaining intergenerational wealth. Real estate investment acts as “a wealth-generating machine” to which African Americans, through redlining and other discriminatory practices, were systematically excluded from taking part in (Franke 2021). Take a few steps back on the timeline to when slavery was abolished in 1865. Freed slaves were promised land as reparation for enslavement, something they were never fully granted, but in return received a century of underinvestment and blatant discrimination

from the government. On the other hand, white families were provided improved infrastructure on top of centuries of intergenerational wealth transfer derived directly from land-ownership to build on top of. Even white slave-owners, whose lands were seized following the Civil War, were provided a settlement by the government, amounting to a total of more than 5.5 million dollars when accounting for inflation. Simultaneously, formerly enslaved people were provided approximately nothing. “It’s time we acknowledge that being emancipated without any resources with which to make that freedom meaningful is like telling the person stranded on a deserted island without a boat that they are free to leave” (Franke 2021). Land ownership, therefore, functioned and continues to function as a tool of hierarchy enforcement on the basis of race.

Addressing land inequality requires more than just redistribution, it necessitates dismantling anthropogenic conceptions of land as ownable and prolonged systems of trauma and oppression (Penniman and Washington). While it is a little hard to imagine now--being able to “own” land is a western idea that emerged out of the medieval feudal system. The rural commons were privatized to build stronger nation states and expand trade opportunities, laying the building blocks for capitalist systems of land ownership and agriculture (Holt-Giménez 2017). Traditional capitalist theories maintain that the economy collapses without continuous growth, but growth is limited by natural resource availability. When a natural resource becomes depleted, people look elsewhere to obtain more natural resources, and when natural resource consumption exceeds the capacity of a resource to replenish itself, resource availability diminishes (Lovins and Hawken 2021). Green capitalism and other economic theories have emerged as potential solutions for maintaining this balance by using market-based instruments to assign ecological value to natural resources, but these approaches can only go so far.

A potential solution to addressing land inequality and environmental management is returning it back to its original owners. The #LandBack movement is a movement that seeks to return indigenous lands back to indigenous people and give Indigenous Peoples decision-making power over how their land is used (NDN Collective 2020). While dominant culture has supported the commodification of land, for indigenous communities, the health of land and water is central to their culture. Land stewardship emphasizes the responsibility to care for land describing “feel[ing] the pain of the shapes of life in the country as pain to the self” (Robbin et. al 2021).

#### **1.4 Research Aim and Objectives**

**Aim:** This study aims to provide Land in Common with accurate information on the breakdown of Maine’s land ownership and access by collecting and analyzing social, demographic, land owner and land cover data.

**Objective 1:** Collect different types of land ownership data across different entities (i.e. Indigenous Peoples, government, corporations, and families), different categories of ownership (i.e. renting and owning), and across traditionally excluded demographics (i.e. members of the BIPOC community).

**Objective 2:** Generate maps and graphs that highlight important findings from our data collection.

**Objective 3:** Identify target areas where inequality is greatest across land and agriculture. This research can be used to inform future grant proposals and advocacy work.



## 2. Methodological Approach

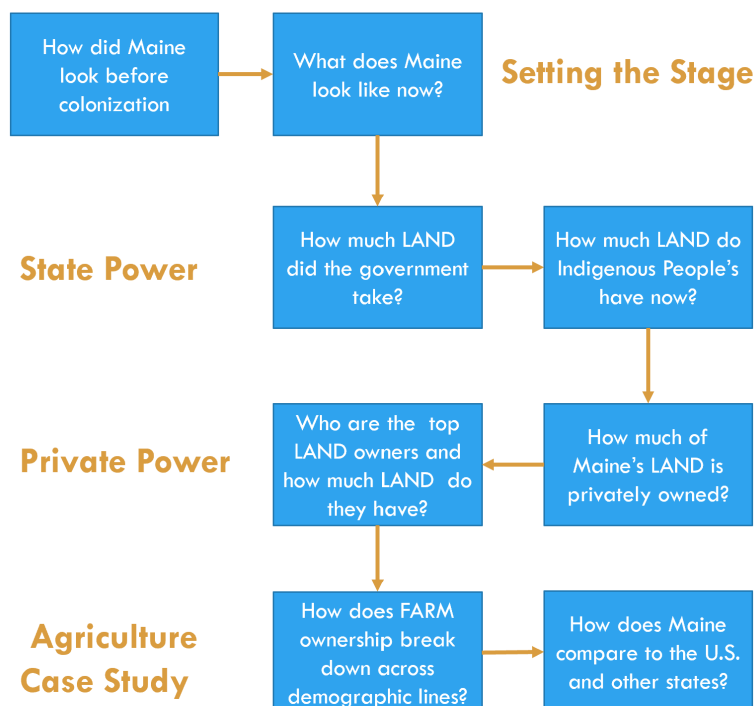
### 2.1 Research and Literature Review

Before we began collecting data, we reviewed journal articles, news articles, and videos to educate ourselves on the topic of land justice. This provided us with a clearer picture of how institutions of colonization and slavery were transformed into less overtly racist institutions that have and continue to perpetuate white supremacy. In addition to reviewing national-level literature, we reviewed literature specific to Maine to understand how Maine's unique history might be similar to or different from the United States as a whole. Finally, as we read various sources on land ownership, we paid close attention to the data sources these authors used in their research. We compiled a list of these sources to refer back to for our own data collection. This deliverable serves to contextualize our data and demonstrate the impetus for this project.

### 2.2 Data Selection

There is a multitude of different kinds of land data. We soon realized that these different kinds of data were often not mutually exclusive from one another. For instance, a white producer on the Agriculture Census might be located on private land or on Indigenous land. Furthermore, this land might not be fully-owned, it might be partially-owned or rented. Deciding what kinds of data we wanted to collect and how we wanted to frame our data collection was an extremely important decision for our project. We attempted to narrow our data collection to criteria that we deemed most relevant to the perpetuation of land injustice.

Fig 1. Paradigm for collecting and analyzing land data.



## **2.3 Data Collection**

Numeric data was collected and analyzed in Excel and ArcGIS from various data sources. In addition to collecting the data in our datasets, it was essential to make sure that we were making note of the source for each type of data, as well as how it was collected. While our overarching goal was to provide Land in Common with land ownership data, an inherent secondary goal was making sure that Land in Common or anyone using our dataset can understand what kind of data they were looking at and update/manipulate it for future projects. Part of the purpose of this report is to create a roadmap for using this data.

## **2.4 Display our Data**

After collecting what we deemed to be enough accurate data, we will use our Excel spreadsheet and ArcGIS to generate maps and charts to share some of the important and interesting findings from our data collection. These graphics can be used by Land in Common in grant proposals, requests for donations, presentations, and educational pamphlets. In addition to data that particularly pertains to land ownership in Maine, these graphics also provide “points of comparison” to see how Maine land ownership compares to Maine’s demographics, as well as how it compares to the U.S. and other states. These graphs can also be used by anyone interested in learning more about land justice, land ownership, the demographics of agriculture, environmental racism and more.

## **3. Results and Discussion**

About the data used in this report:

Data on private land owners was collected by J.W. Sewall using some combination of satellite, geospatial, and survey data. One of the things that we were not able to do is get more information on how this data was collected, which would have given us a better understanding of what this data means.

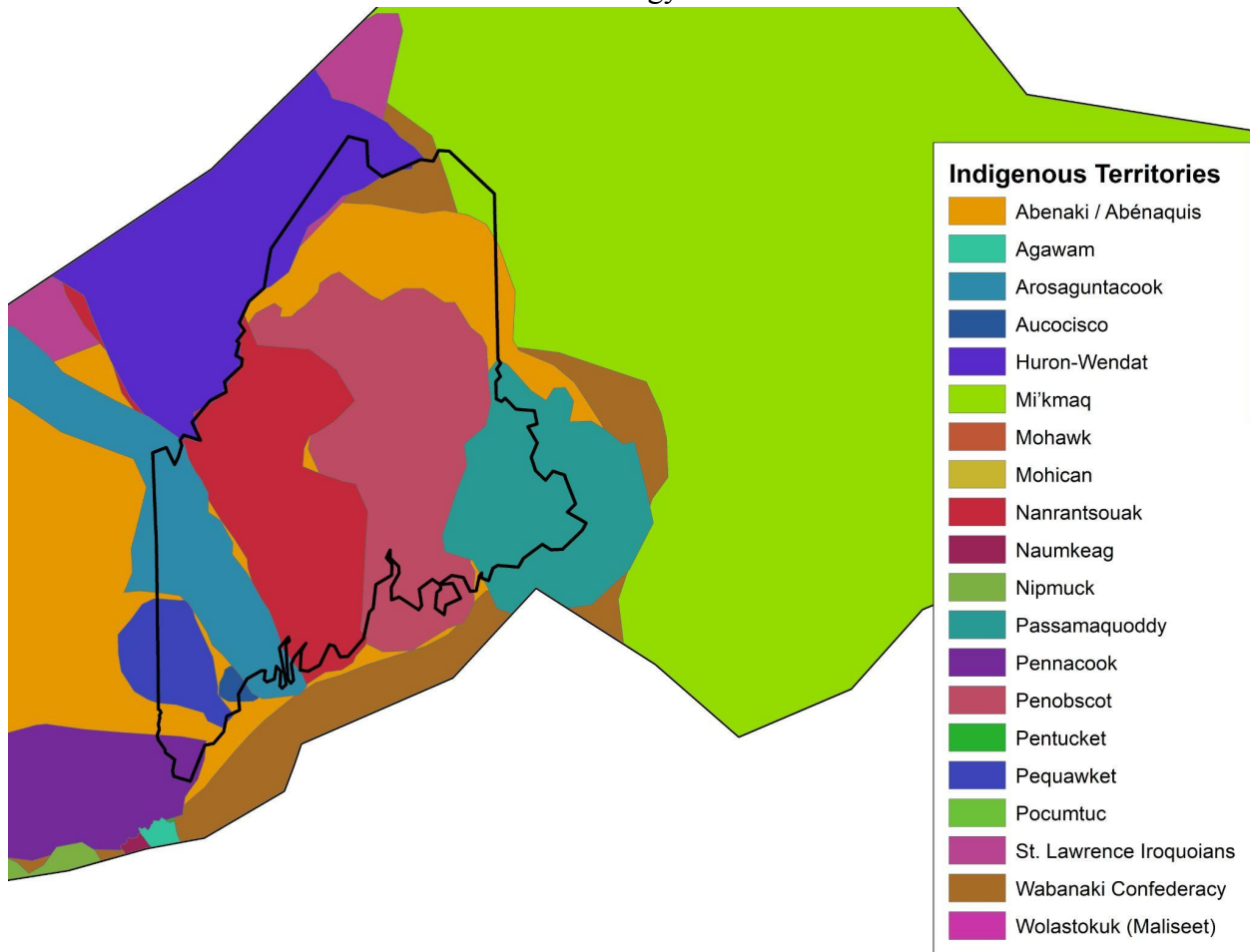
General land cover data was collected from the U.S. Geological Survey. Indigenous land data was collected from Native Land Digital and the CA Governor's Office of Emergency Services. Conserved land data came from the Maine Geological Survey.

Agricultural data was collected using the 2017 Agricultural Census, a Census conducted every 5 years by the United States Department of Agriculture.

### 3.1 Setting the Stage

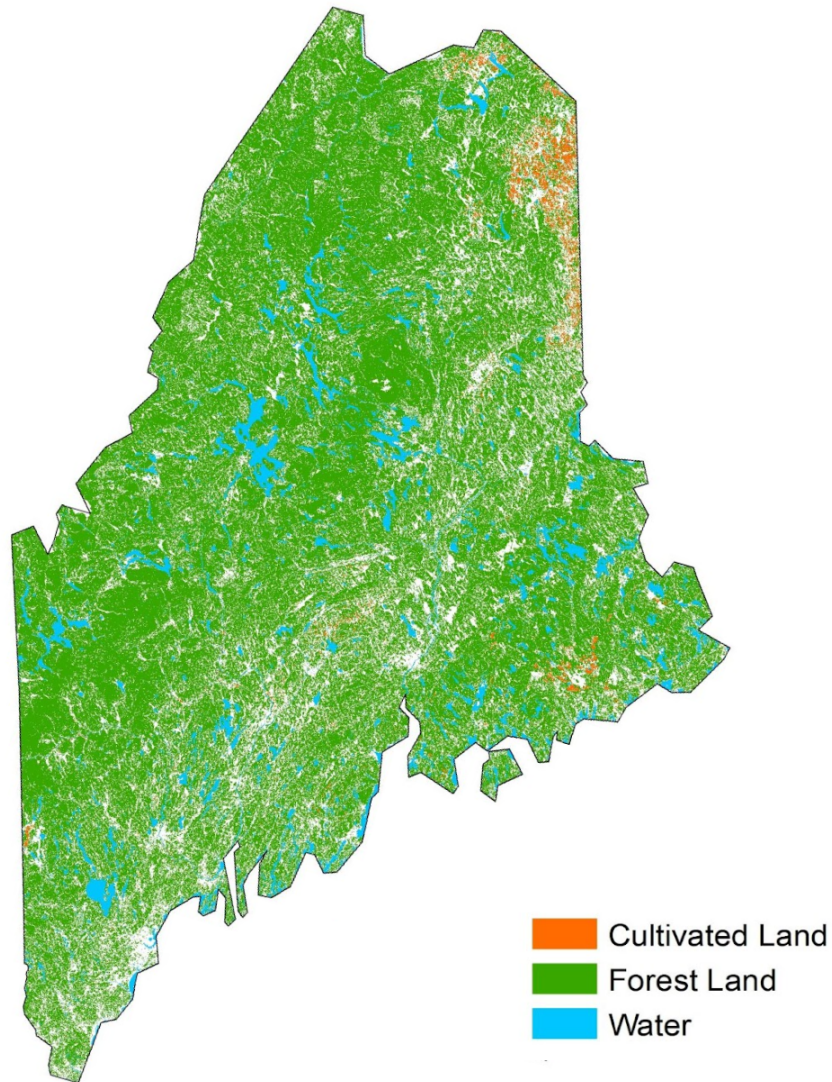
For indigenous groups, land boundaries are left undefined in incredibly significant ways. Unlike Western ideas of property, indigenous groups did not have conceptualizations of delineated land ownership within their cultural epistemology. Property ownership is a characteristically Western concept founded on a settler colonial belief system.

Fig 2. The nature of indigenous land conceptualization prior to the influx of contemporary Western ideology.



What is now governed by exclusive ownership was a place once characterized by an undelineated, reciprocal, and shared relationship with the land.

Fig 3. Land Cover in Maine



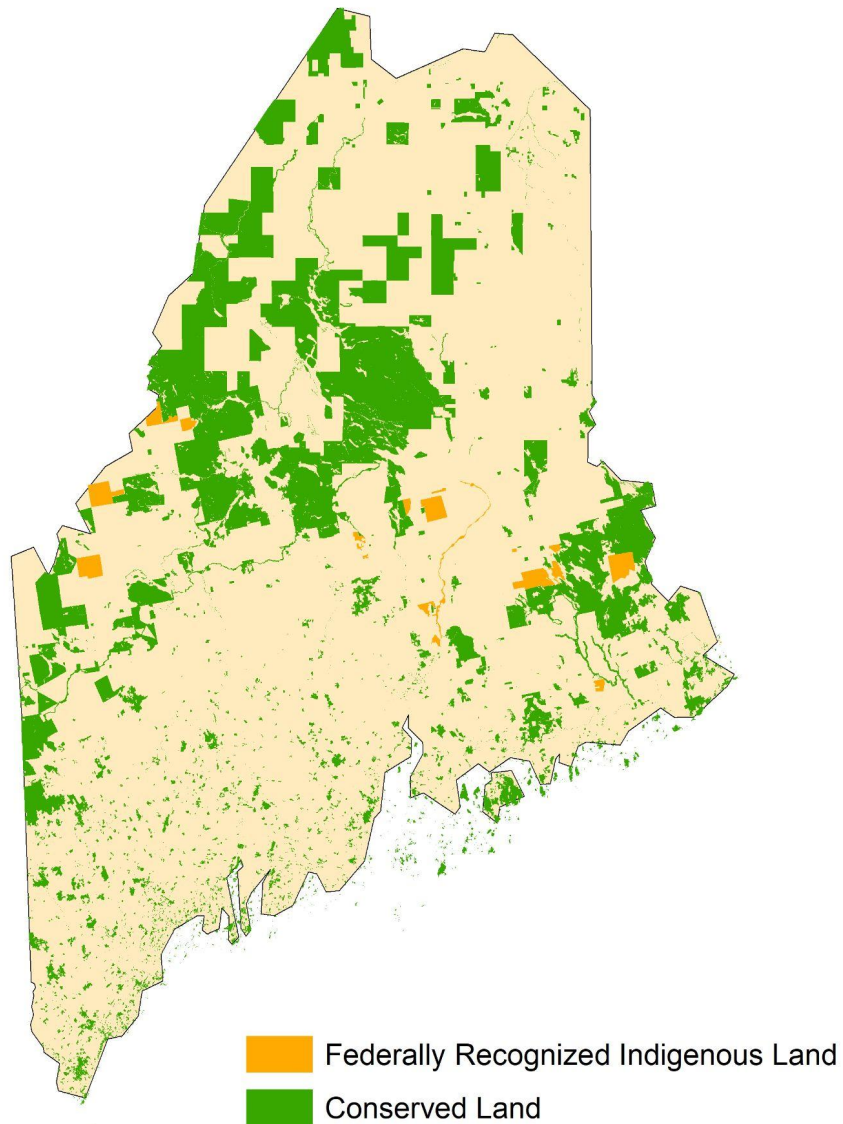
This map is intended to show the breakdown of forest land to cultivated land in order to give viewers a better idea of the general topography of Maine within the context of this project.

### 3.2 State Power

Over the course of Maine's history, government entities have worked on a state, county, and local level towards Native American Removal. This was seen nationally in the case of the Indian Removal Act, as well as locally through treaties and village attacks.

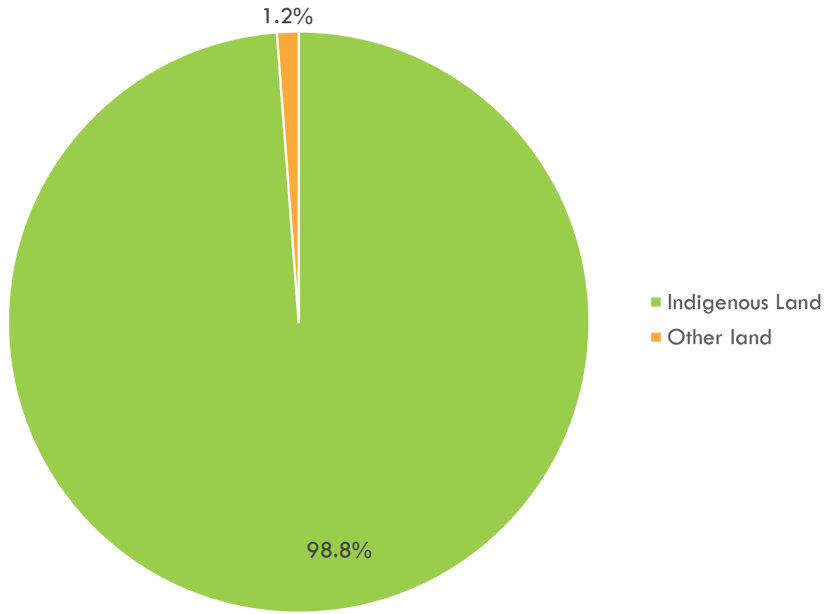
Fig 4. Indigenous Versus Conserved Land in Maine

Indigenous Versus Conserved Land in Maine



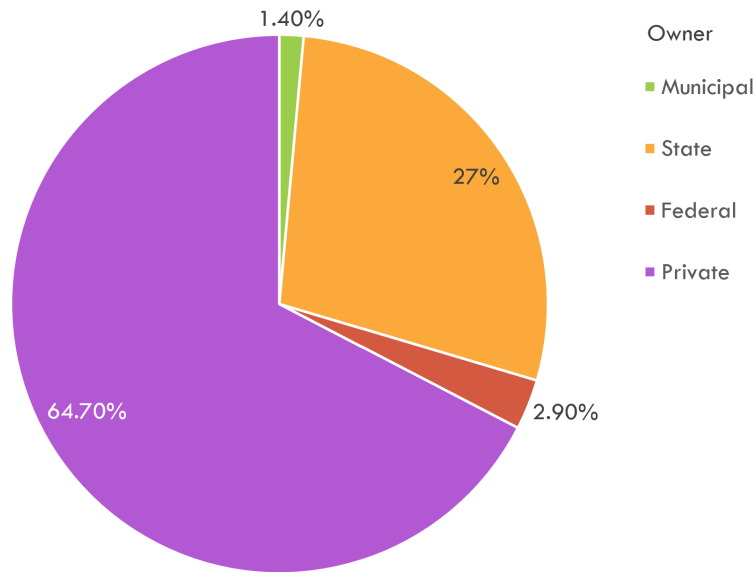
The pieces of land that indigenous groups do retain are quite small in area and distinctly separated from one another. In contrast, conserved land makes up 20% of Maine's land.

Fig 5. Indigenous Land Ownership in Maine.  
Indigenous Land Ownership



Indigenous groups in Maine retain a total of 242,277 acres, which sums to 1.2% of the entire state's land.

Fig 6. Breakdown of Conserved Land in Maine.  
Conserved Land by Owner

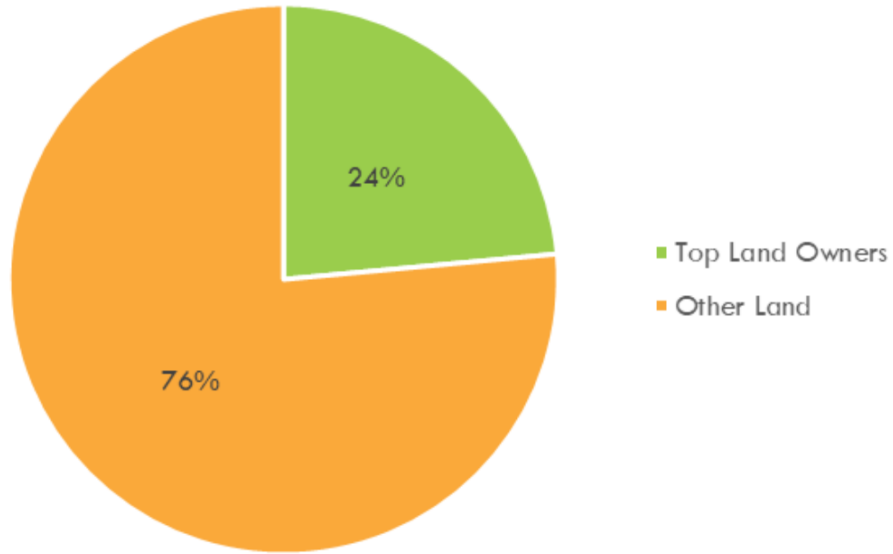


A quarter of Maine is government-owned, and more than half is considered private. Much of this conserved land is connected to easements, which often reduce public accessibility to these lands.

### 3.3 Private Power

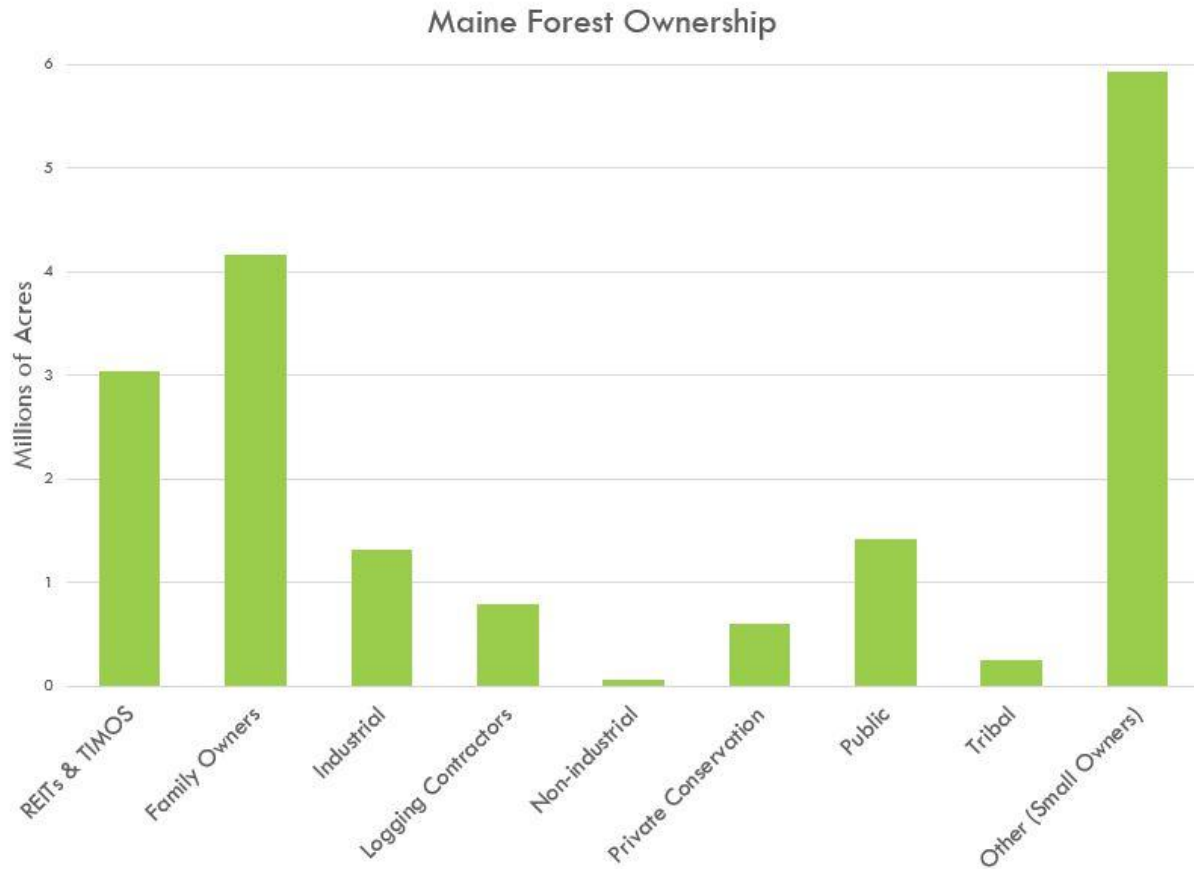
Fig 7. Caption. Land Ownership Among Maine's largest landowners.

#### Maine's 7 largest Land Owners



There are 7 families/corporations that own approximately 25% of all land in Maine. The most notable would be JD Irving, a Canadian logging company, owning 1.25 million acres of land. The smallest of the 7 would be the Roger Miliken family owning 120,000 acres of land. Out of these seven groups, 5 are upper class white families. Most of which do not even live in Maine, but still have hold onto these private ownerships.

Fig 8. Maine forest ownership across various land-owning entities.



Caption/Analysis of findings

This bar graph further breaks down the demographics of land ownership in Maine. Subtracting areas covered by water such as rivers and lakes, Maine has approximately 19,500,000 acres of total land. There are various types of ownership, most of which being larger scale corporations owned by upper class white people. REITs & TIMOS, families, and other landowners own vast sectors of land in Maine and this is what Land in Justice aims to correct. The public and tribal sectors remain miniscule in the breakdown, given they represent the BIPOC community.



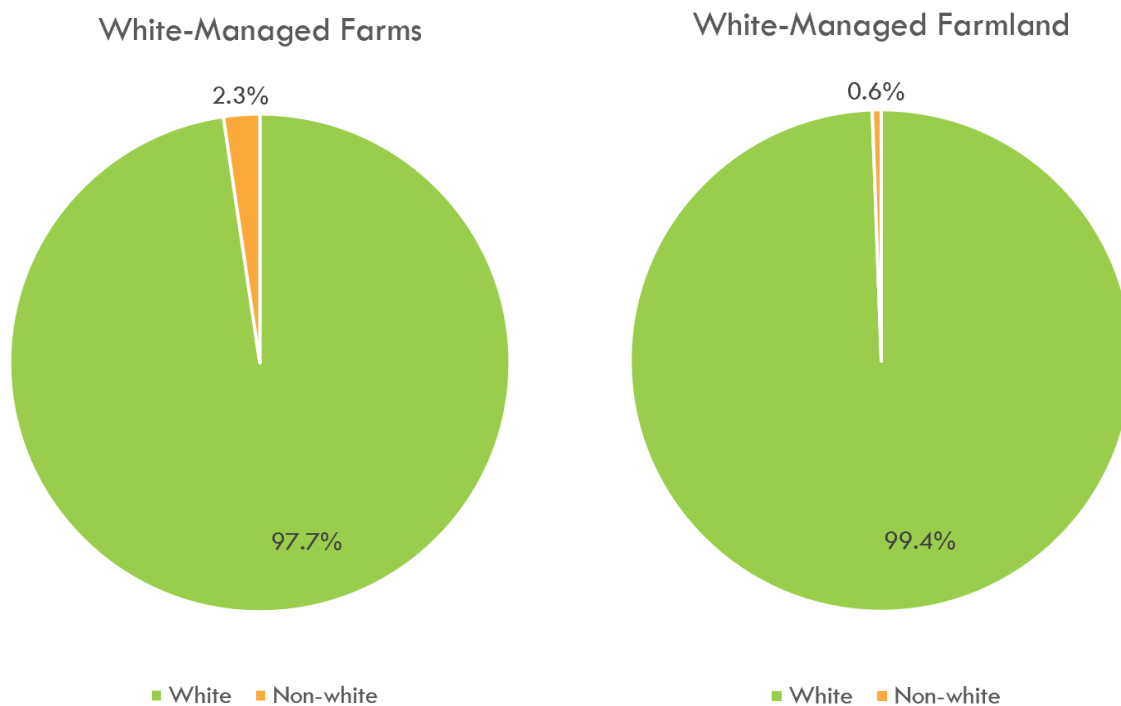
### 3.4 Agriculture Case Study

While demographic data was collected for all racial groups, our graphs specifically focus contrasts between American and Indian and Alaskan Native and Black demographic groups to white demographic groups. This decision was made because these demographics have historically experienced the highest levels of land injustice.

Graphical representations of Agriculture data describe principal producers rather than all producers. The agricultural census defines principal producers as people who manage the operations and functions of a farm (see appendices for full definition).

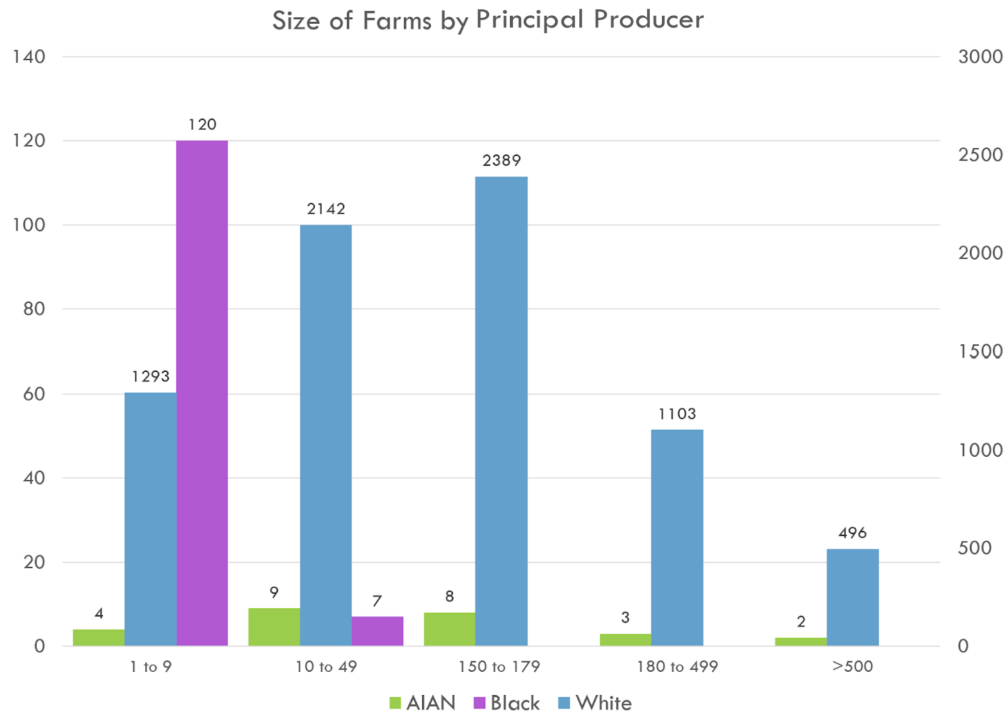
This decision was made to highlight racial discrepancies in people who are involved in farm operations and decision making processes. For instance, a black producer might be one of two black producers on a farm with a hundred producers. The farm might be 500 acres, but that does not indicate that these two producers have any ownership of this land or say in the farm's decision making processes. A farm might have more than one principal producer, but principal producers, as opposed to all producers, have a significant say in all farm operations.

Fig 9. White and non-white principal producers in Maine.

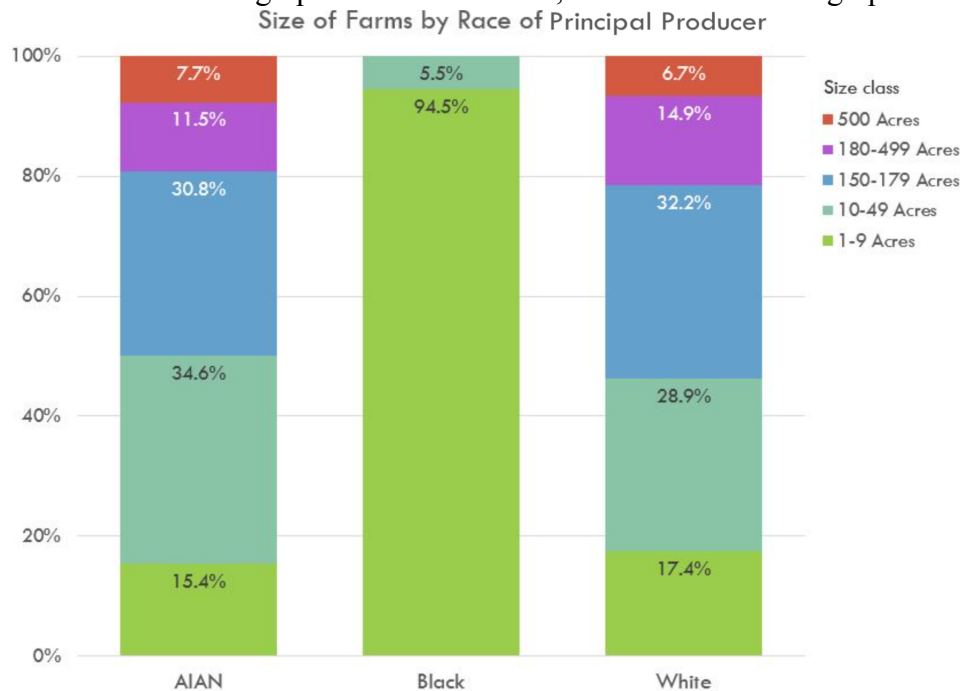


About 98% of Maine's farms have a white farm manager, and just 0.6% of farm-land is not under white management.

Fig 10 and 11. Size of Maine’s farms by race of principal producer.

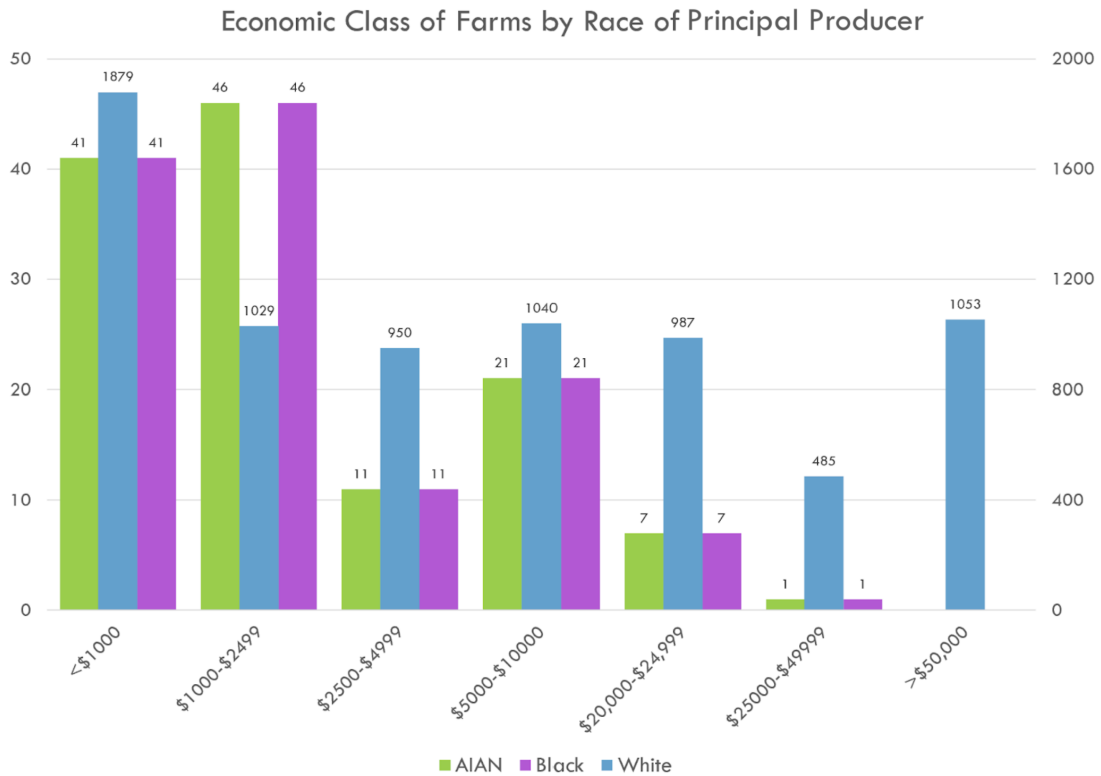


Note: AIAN and Black data is graphed on the left axis, while White data is graphed the right.

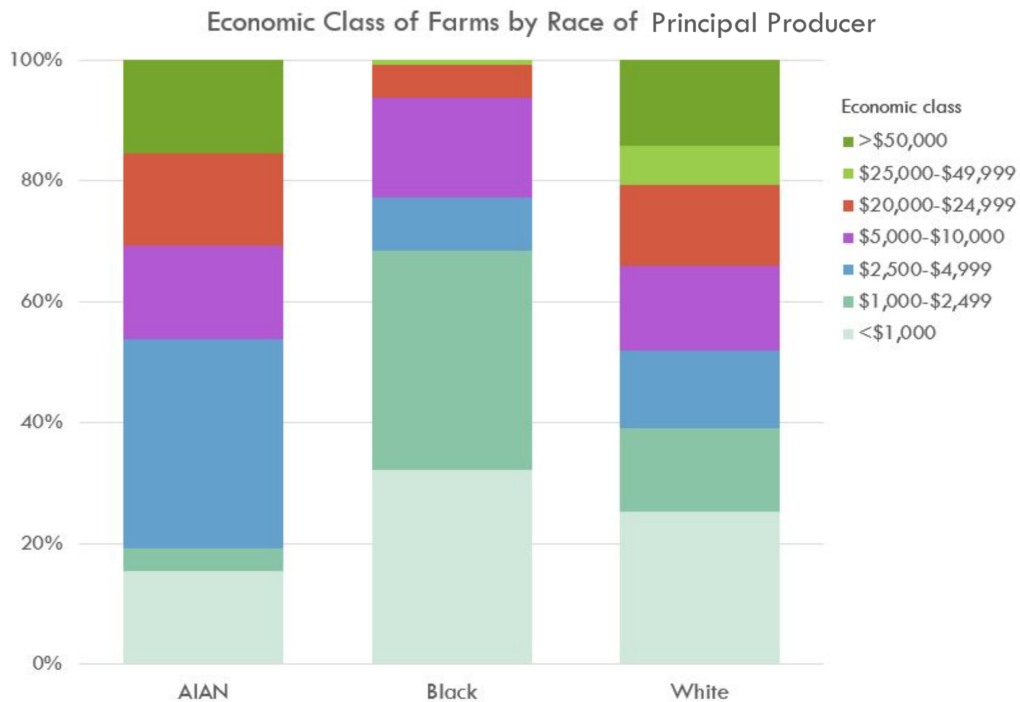


There is a significant difference in the size of farms across racial groups, particularly in the case of black principal producers. The vast majority of farms with black principal producers were between 1-9 acres, the smallest size class.

Fig 12 and 13. Economic class of Maine's farms by race of principal producer.

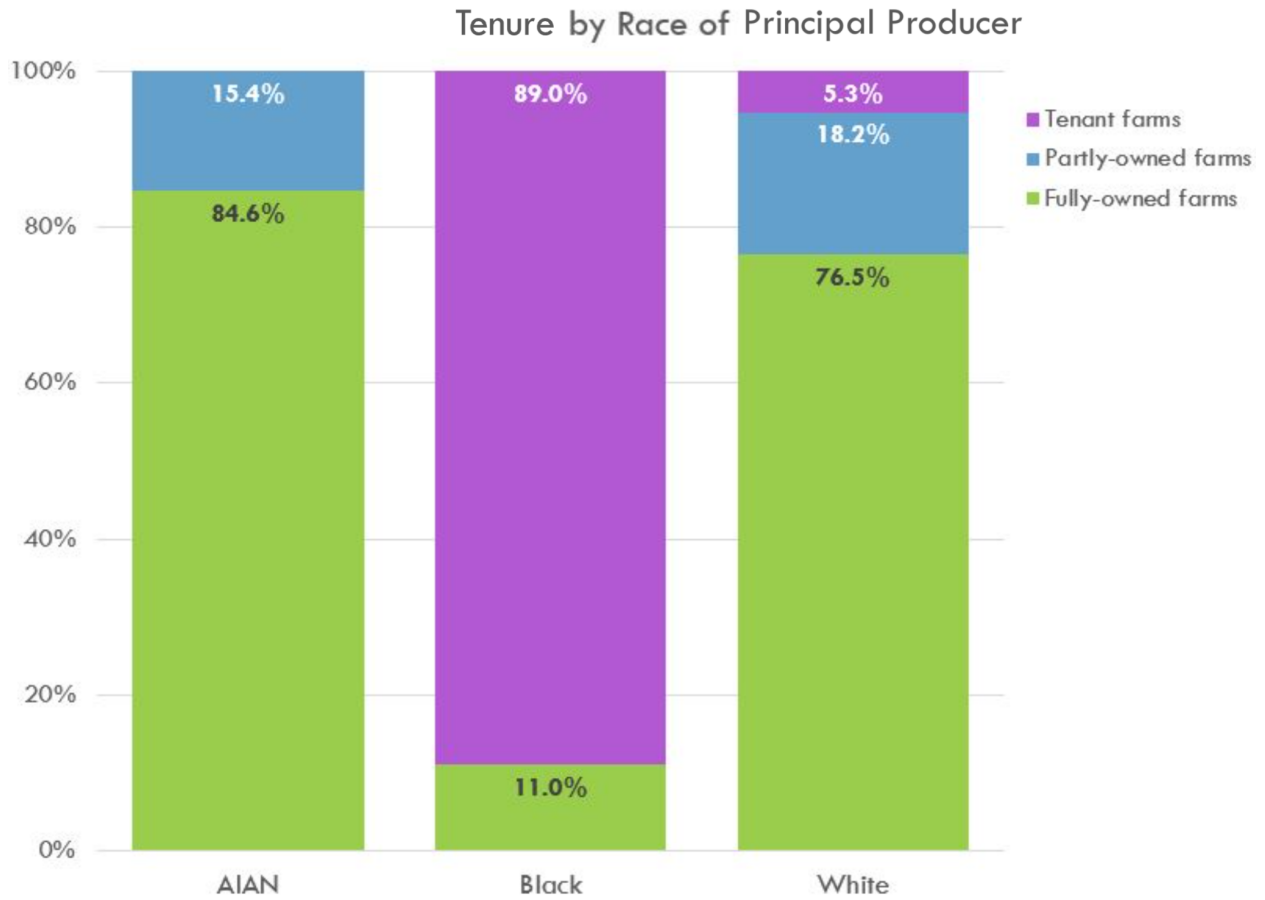


Note: AIAN and Black data is graphed on the left axis, while White data is graphed the right.



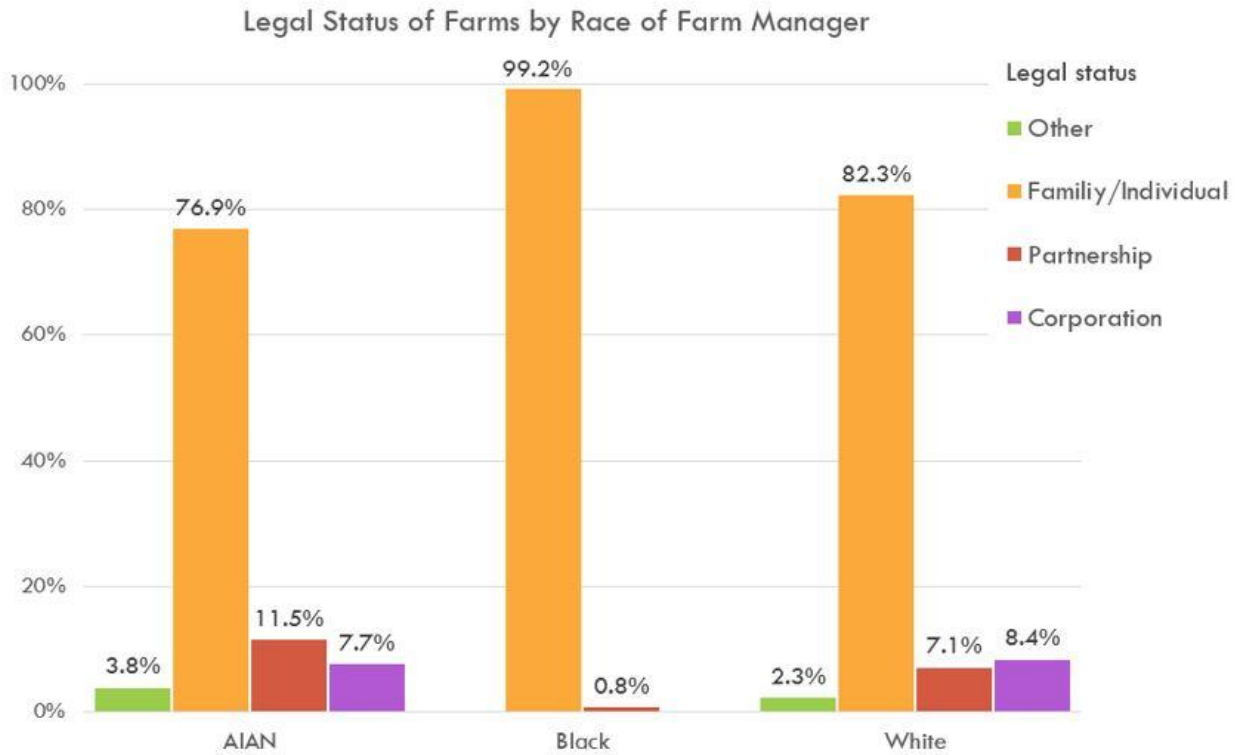
There was also a significant difference in the Economic class of farms by race. Farms with black principal producers had significantly lower sales than white principal producer farms.

Fig 14. Tenure by Race of Principal Producer.



There are significant discrepancies in tenure by race. The vast majority (about 90%) of black-managed farmers are tenant farms compared to about 5% for white managed farms. In contrast, a significant majority of farms are fully owned under AIAN (85%) and white (76%) management.

Fig 15. Legal Status of Farms by Race of Principal Producer.



Interestingly, the majority of Maine are family-run operations. That being said, corporate ownership is highest among farms with white principal producers..

Fig 16. Comparing principal producer demographic characteristics to demographics of Maine and the U.S.

	Acres Owned	Percent of Population	Percent of Farms	Difference
Maine				
	AIAN	0.62	0.34	- 0.28
	Black	1.27	1.71	+ 0.44
	White	94.6	97.5	+ 2.87
U.S.				
	AIAN	1.30	1.94	+ 0.64
	Black	13.4	1.57	- 11.8
	White	76.3	95.6	+ 19.4

In both Maine and the U.S. white people are overrepresented as principal producers. Black Americans are slightly overrepresented in Maine, but significantly underrepresented in the U.S. as a whole. Conversely, AIAN individuals are significantly underrepresented in Maine, but slightly overrepresented in the U.S.

## 5. Discussion

From the data gathered on current ownership and uses of land in Maine, it is clear that deep histories of racial injustice in connection to land administration continue to play out in who exactly has access to land. Data collected from many numerous sources confirm immense land access inequalities contemporarily, occurring as a result of these lasting legacies of settler colonialism and slavery.

### 1. Land Ownership Then and Now

The idea of land ownership is a product of Western ideology. This way of understanding the world is founded on hierarchical structures of meaning that situate the dominant, colonizing group as owners of land. Land in Common works to deconstruct these problematic contemporary structures of land ownership of the settler colonialism state that maintain unjust social hierarchies. Place is not just an objective region separated by boundaries but a “location of psychic, physical, and emotional conflict... The term place carries with it not only the meaning of spatial location but also those of social position and moral order” (Tuck and McKenzie 2016). The land, according to indigenous thought, is a subject of its own autonomy. “Much of Indigenous social thought is concerned with relationships, relationality, and collectivity. Important concepts include futurity, responsibility and reciprocity, obligations of being a guest,

and resistance” (Rowe and Tuck 2016). Presently, within the context of land ownership today, indigenous groups in Maine retain a total of 242,277 acres, which constitutes 1.2% of the entire state’s land.

## **2. Power Structures and Land Access**

Currently, 94% of Maine is privately owned with only 6% of Maine’s total land being publicly owned (Rasker 2020). Moreover, within the sector of conserved land in Maine—which constitutes 20% of Maine—more than half is considered private (Strauch 2022). Although private landowners usually allow for public access, the extent of recreational use is often complicated by legal titles. Much of this privately owned conserved land is tied up within what is called an easement. An easement is a legal agreement that permanently limits uses of the land—it becomes written in the land title—to protect conservation values, oftentimes denying public use of the land, creating a general lack of accessibility within these privately-owned acres of land. Thus, a significant amount of conservation work displaces indigenous groups from land, cutting off access to significant lands that hold great cultural value for indigenous peoples (Weyrauch 2020).

Indigenous groups, people of color, and females are all specifically noted as having much less access to land when compared to white, male individuals in the state. Just seven major corporations or families—JD Irving, Pingree Heirs, John Malone, Peter Buck, HC Haynes, Cassidy Heirs, and Roger Miliken—own a composite of 25% of Maine with a significant portion of each entity previously listed identifying as white and male. What’s more, indigenous groups as a whole have autonomy over just 1.2% of Maine’s land. Much of Maine’s conserved land, which is often perceived as an objective piece of land, is integrated within a number of legal titles that make access on the part of the public out of the question.

## **3. Racial Disparities in Farming**

For members of the BIPOC community, working on land is inextricably tied with ancestral experience. These range of experiences include violence, exploitation, oppression and forced removal. Some members of these communities view working on land as a way to connect with their ancestors, reflect, and heal from historical traumas. While this sentiment is not shared by everyone, it is important that members of historically oppressed communities have the opportunity to determine their own relationship with land.

Consequently, it is troubling to see that such significant disparities still exist in farming in Maine.

Ninety-eight percent of farms and 99.5% of farmland has a white principal producer. This indicates that of all of the farms in Maine, people of color are barely represented. When examining farm characteristics across racial lines, farms with black principal producers tended to be significantly smaller than farms under AIAN and white principal production. The same was true for farm sales. Although proportionally, AIAN farms looked similar to white farms, the scale of farms with white principal producers is so much larger than that of AIAN farms that comparing AIAN and white producers by acreage or sales is not a meaningful comparison.

As noted previously, there have been a number of policies that have made it extremely difficult

for people of color to accumulate wealth, particularly in the case of African Americans. The majority of farms with white principal producers were full-owned, meaning that they owned all of the land they operated on (see appendices for full definition).

Maine, as it stands, is an extremely white state. Nonetheless, white people are overrepresented in agriculture compared to their population demographic. Interestingly, black producers were slightly overrepresented in our dataset compared to Maine's population demographics, as opposed to AIAN producers, who were significantly underrepresented.

This is particularly interesting when compared to national level data. Nationally, African Americans are extremely underrepresented in farming, while AIAN individuals are slightly overrepresented. More research is warranted on why this is. For instance, is it a result of differences in demographic characteristics between Maine and the U.S. or are there particular local/state-wide efforts that have helped or hindered these groups and their access to agriculture. One way to look into this would be to run state-to-state comparisons between Maine and states with similar population demographics.

## **4. Recommendations**

Through our extensive research and data collection, we have met as a group and deemed the following procedures most appropriate for Land in Common to undergo to benefit all people of Maine in the future:

### **1. Education**

Educating the population of Maine on the issue of land injustice is key for Land in Common to grow its membership and complete the work it wants to do. In conversations with some of our peers outside of the classroom, we found that many of our peers outside of the classroom were unaware of land justice as a concept, let alone land justice in Maine. Introducing a short term course on land justice taught by Land in Common or a Bates faculty member could help raise awareness to how land justice has shaped their surroundings and Maine's demographics composition. Given Land in Common's already established relationship with Bates. If Land in Common wanted to continue this research project, offering a Short-Term would be a great way to simultaneously teach non-ES students about land justice and get cross-disciplinary research assistance on this project. Land in Common could also educate middle and high school students in the community. As opposed to Bates students, who come from across the U.S. and the world, the majority of local middle and high school students are from Maine and will live there after they graduate. Educating communities who have an even stronger connection to Maine could spark an even larger opportunity for Land in Common to enact the changes in its mission. Having this kind of connection to Maine



## **2. Website development, community outreach, and grants.**

This data could potentially be used in materials published by Land in Common on its website, at community outreach events, or in grant proposals to support their key initiatives. Land in Common could use our data, graphs and maps to provide quantitative or visual information to support and further its mission.

## **3. Community Engagement**

Involvement from local communities is proven time and again as one of the most effective mechanisms by which social impact occurs. We propose that Land in Common should attempt to get more involved within their community and neighboring communities. By sharing the data we have compiled, formatted in a way that is attractive to the eye of a passing citizen; Land in Common can receive more local support. We also propose that fundraising in low costly ways would be a very proactive way in acquiring funds.

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## Appendices

### 1. Appendix

Conserved land: “land that is permanently protected from development with a perpetual conservation or open space easement or fee ownership, held by a Federal, State, or local government or nonprofit conservancy organization, whereby such land is dedicated and bound to natural resource, forestry, wildlife, passive recreation, historic, cultural, or open space purposes, or to sustain water quality and natural resource values.”

Indigenous land: “includes trust land, in which the federal government holds legal title but beneficial interest remains with the individual or tribe as well as fee land purchased by tribes, in which the tribe acquires legal title under specific statutory authority.”

Cultivated land: “land that has been cleared of its natural vegetation and is presently planted with a crop.”

Forest land: This data was collected by J.W. Sewall and warrants further research.

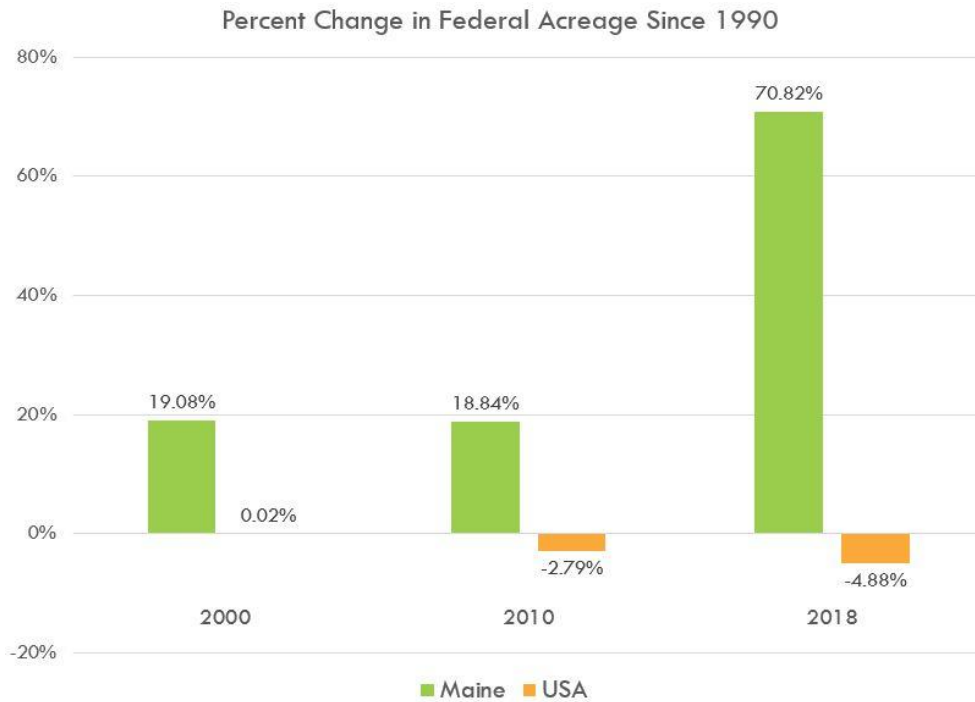
Corporation: “a legal entity created under state law, usually for the purpose of conducting business. A corporation is separate from its individual owners, or shareholders, who own stock in the company.”

Principal Farmer: “A principal producer is a producer who indicated they were a principal operator. There may be multiple principal producers on a farm,” but each has at least one principal producer.

Tenure: “Full owners operated only land they owned; Part owners operated land they owned and also land they rented from others; Tenants operated only land they rented from others or worked on shares for others.”

## 2. Additional Figures

Fig 17. Comparison of the Percent Change in Federal Acreage from 1990-2018 for Maine and the U.S.



While federal land ownership in the U.S. has decreased since 1990 (-4.88%), there has been a major increase in the percentage of land owned by the federal government in Maine (70.82%).

### 3. Data in Tabular Format

Maine's largest landowners

Land Owner Name	Acres Owned	Land Owned as a Percentage of Maine
Pingree Heirs	83,000	4.3
JD Irving	1250000	6.4
John Malone	1048000	5.4
Peter Buck (Subway Founder	1236000	6.3
H.C Haynes	180000	0.9
Cassidy Heirs	220180	1.1
Roger Miliken	120000	0.6
Total	6000000	24

Maine forest ownership across various land-owning entities

Land Owner Type	Acres Owned	Land Owned as a Percentage of Maine
REITs & TIMOS	3041749	15.6
Family Owners	4169563	21.4
Industrial	1317666	6.8
Logging Contractors	791264	4.1
Non-industrial	58,994	0.3
Private Conservation	610681	3.1
Public	1427258	7.3
Tribal	248216	1.3
Other (Small Owners)	5934639	30.4
Total	17600,030	90.3

Maine's conserved land

Government Owner	Acres Owned	Land Owned as a Percentage of Maine
Municipal	57000	2.9
State	1076000	27
Federal	273000	1.4
Private	2578000	64.7
Total	3984000	20.4

Maine Agriculture Census Data

	American Indian / Alaskan Native	Asian	Black	Native Hawaiian /Pacific Islander	White
Number of Farms	26	28	127	8	7423
Land in Farms	.	786	.		1300088
<b>Size</b>					
1-9 Acres	4	10	120		1293
10-49 Acres	9	10	7		2142
150-179 Acres	8	8	0		2389
180-499 Acres	3	0	0		1103
500 Acres	2	0	0		496
<b>Ownership</b>					
Owned farms	26	26	14		7027
Owned land	.	556	150		1039462
Rented farms	4	8	113		1747
Rented land	.	230	.		260636



<b>Continued</b>	<b>American Indian / Alaskan Native</b>	<b>Asian</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Native Hawaiian /Pacific Islander</b>	<b>White</b>
<b>Tenure</b>					
Fully owned farms	22	20	14		5676
Fully Owned Acres	3999	.	.		641019
Partly owned farms	4	6	0		1351
Partly owned acres	.	402	0		589322
Tenant farms	0	2	113		396
Tenant owned acres	0	.	117		69747
Market Value of Agricultural Products Sold and Government Payments (\$1000)	818	390	435		674500
<b>Economic Class</b>					
<\$1000	4	5	41		1879
\$1000-\$2499	1	5	46		1029
\$2500-\$4999	9	2	11		950
\$5000-\$10000	4	4	21		1040
\$20,000-\$24,999	4	8	7		987
\$25000-\$49999	0	1	1		485
>\$50,000	4	3	0		1053
<b>Loans</b>					
Farms with CCC loans	0	0	0	0	8
\$ in loans	0	0	0	0	0

<b>Continued</b>	<b>American Indian / Alaskan Native</b>	<b>Asian</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander</b>	<b>White</b>
<b>Legal Status</b>					
Family/Individual	20	21	126	7	6106
Partnership	3	4	1	7	526
Corporation	2	3	0	1	620
Other	1	0	0	0	171

#### U.S. Agriculture Census Data

	<b>American Indian / Alaskan Native</b>	<b>Asian</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander</b>	<b>White</b>
<b>Number of Farms</b>	39,632	13,904	32,052	2,092	1,955,737
<b>Land in Farms</b>	51095994	1831229	3862936	426,068	843,497,615
<b>Size</b>					
1-9 Acres	11716	4693	4971	810	251601
10-49 Acres	9300	4718	11613	661	557536
150-179 Acres	7523	2951	10909	336	543042
180-499 Acres	4345	926	3421	163	305998
500 Acres	6748	616	1138	122	297560
<b>Ownership</b>					
Owned farms	38135	12054	29011	1767	1837634
Owned land	45476847	1286025	2397710	206772	498564102
Rented farms	7019	3077	10850	605	595262
Rented land	5619147	545204	1465226	219296	344933513

<b>Continued</b>	American Indian / Alaskan Native	Asian	Black	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	White
<b>Tenure</b>	16423	10825	21200	1472	1360403
Fully owned farms	16423	10825	21200	1472	1360403
Fully Owned Acres	33435721	986242	1647519	150345	274029832
Partly owned farms	6634	1227	7809	282	477173
Partly owned acres	6997528	656704	1878577	231992	493872917
Tenant farms	16575	1852	3043	338	118161
Tenant owned acres	10662745	188283	336840	43801	75594866
Market Value of Agricultural Products Sold and Government Payments (\$1000)	2137232	6659080	987475	414300	388,248,112
<b>Economic Class</b>					
<\$1000	18690	2519	9585	606	440,376
\$1000-\$2499	4251	1108	4517	196	207380
\$2500-\$4999	3802	1079	4331	225	201,905
\$5000-\$10000	4007	1431	4770	280	223,989
\$20,000-\$24,999	3698	1775	4700	275	242,335
\$25000-\$49999	1873	1134	1953	187	149,973
>\$50,000	3311	4858	2196	323	489,779
<b>Loans</b>					
Farms with CCC loans	41	20	91	2	18021
\$ in loans	4889	1897	5258		2470468
Legal Status	35425	10372	29035	1711	1675176

<b>Continued</b>	American Indian / Alaskan Native	Asian	Black	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	White
Family/Individual	1431	1474	1408	167	126064
Partnership					
Corporation	698	1767	1034	150	113420
Other	2078	291	575	64	41077