

**Networked Community Land Trusts:
An Analysis of Existing Models and Needs
Assessment for the Greater Boston
Community Land Trust Network**

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Abstract

Community-based organizations around Greater Boston are in the process of forming a network to address housing affordability, healthy food access, and displacement through community land trusts (CLTs). Leveraging the success of Dudley Neighbors Inc., organizations in Dorchester, Mattapan, Chinatown, and Roxbury have come together to keep their neighborhoods stable and sustainable. By scaling up certain tasks to the network level, partners hope to better advocate for resources from governments, funders, and financial institutions. They also hope to share information, certain resources, and contacts to facilitate regional CLT development. Through case studies of CLT networks nationwide and a needs assessment of Greater Boston network partners, this thesis makes recommendations for achieving a best organizational structure moving forward. It addresses use of the “central-server” structure, how it has fared in comparison to other interorganizational network structures, and how it can be adapted to the Greater Boston context. Finally, this thesis identifies opportunities for a technical assistance program with the city of Boston.

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Thank you to my case study participants across the United States, including the Essex CLT (NJ), Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative (GA), Crescent City CLT (LA), Northwest CLT Coalition (WA, OR, AK, ID, MT), Minnesota CLT Coalition (MN), and the Bay Area Consortium of CLTS (CA). The Greater Boston CLT Network will benefit greatly from your input and success stories.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Community land trusts (CLTs) have experienced an increase in visibility in the past few years as a tool for slowing or preventing gentrification and displacement, providing long term affordable housing, and creating opportunities for urban farming and economic development. The successful case of the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative and their CLT, Dudley Neighbors, Inc., has inspired organizations in neighboring communities to work together on developing a wider network of CLTs. In 2015, an informal group began meeting as the Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network (GBCLTN).

This thesis begins by summarizing the relevant topics of organizational and network theory. Next, it applies this knowledge to existing CLT interorganizational networks across the country, drawing out the shared and centralized activities that could provide a network with collaborative advantage. A collaborative advantage gives a network some benefit, from scaling up or centralizing activities, which outweighs the costs of its implementation, though there are situations in which a greater advantage can be achieved by working independently. Existing interorganizational networks, referring to themselves variously as “central-servers,” “consortia,” “collaboratives,” as well as “networks,” exhibit variation in their planning and implementation process, operations and activities, and success of network outcome. These choices in terminology do not necessarily correspond to a specific interorganizational network structure.

Chapter 2: Methodology introduces a framework for analyzing the structures.

Using the lessons learned in evaluating existing CLT interorganizational networks, this thesis includes a needs assessment to determine important activities that can help guide the development of the Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network. Creation of the needs assessment was conducted in

cooperation with network members, ensuring that it covered topics that the network itself considers relevant and important to address. The subsequent analysis of the needs assessment was also conducted with network members. This allowed members to comment and expand upon the comments of their colleagues and contributed to a more complete understanding of responses.

This thesis uses the term “interorganizational network” broadly to describe the range of collaborative structures being analyzed and then differentiate them based on nature of their structure and shared activities. Individual member organizational actors within the network are referred to as “organizations.”

The principal questions of this thesis are:

How have geographically associated community land trusts formed interorganizational networks?

- What member needs were expected to be served in forming an interorganizational network?
- What were the intended outcomes of forming the network?
- What were the actual outcomes of forming the network?

How are CLTs and other community organizations in Greater Boston organizing to form an interorganizational network that best serves the needs of the communities they represent?

- What are the particular needs of potential GBCLTN members?
- Is a “central-server” or some other network-type the right solution to help meet those needs?
- How should tasks be distributed within a network in order to gain a collaborative advantage?
- What new needs or problems could arise from collaboration?

How can GBCLTN grow and develop to best meet the needs of its members in the future?

- In what ways can a Greater Boston CLT Network fund itself and remain sustainable?
- What role can municipal and state governments play in supporting development of the GBCLTN?
- What can the GBCLTN do to ensure that community driven decision-making isn't lost in scaling up to a larger network?

Community Land Trusts

The community land trust (CLT) concept is one that has evolved and adapted over many years as a way to steward land under community control and retain lasting affordability. Traditionally, a CLT is a private nonprofit organization with a community-led tripartite board (explained below) that supports housing affordability by retaining title over land in perpetuity and ensuring that overlying buildings are available to eligible buyers at an affordable rate. Permanent affordability is guaranteed through a ground lease with the homebuyer, who retains ownership of the building but rents the land from the CLT, and a resale formula that dictates the maximum price a seller can demand to a new buyer (Davis, 2007, p. 1-4). CLTs are seen not only as a strategy to address housing affordability and neighborhood stability, but also as a way to achieve community *control* over its own neighborhood. This differentiates it from typical community development corporations (CDCs) and likely also contributes to its challenges. There are several policies across the country that support affordable housing production, but very few that do so in a way that explicitly empowers the community itself.

History

The prehistory of CLTs follows a collection of land scholars and activists seeking to achieve equitable access to land. Inspired by the Indian Gramdan (village gift) movement and the philosophical works of Henry George, they sought to address the idea that appreciating land values are created by a surrounding society rather than the investment of an individual landowner (Davis, 2007, p. 5).

An early example approaching the CLT definition was the School of Living, an intentional community founded by Ralph Borsodi in New York. According to Davis, this approximated a CLT but more so resembled a traditional land trust (p. 9). Land trusts began as a tool for conservation of natural spaces, whereas the *community* land trust is a descendent of social justice, civil rights, and activist movements in the United States (Brewer, 2003, p. 11). The School of Living lacked a community governance structure necessary to be a CLT (Davis, 2010, p. 9).

In 1969, Robert Swann and Slater King began New Communities, Inc. in rural Georgia, considered to be the first true community land trust (Davis, 2010, p. 15). Since then, CLTs have evolved over their history and adapted to urban and rural contexts. They have tinkered with facets of the tripartite board and with details of the ground lease and retail formula. They have also been utilized as a tool to build affordable commercial space and farms for urban agriculture. Currently, there are over 260 CLTs across the United States (Davis, 2010, p.1), over 170 in England and others internationally (National Community Land Trust Network [UK]). In 2006, CLTs in the United States came together to form the National Community Land Trust Network [US]. This network supports new and existing CLTs and regional CLT networks.

Function

Many tools for promoting housing affordability make initial purchase subsidies only to be lost when restrictions expire and the owner can sell at market rate (Davis, 2006). To avoid this, most CLTs use a shared equity approach: a ground lease on the land and resale formula on the house itself. The CLT, which owns the land, leases it to the homebuyer, who pays a monthly ground rent during a typical 99-year lease. This is the mechanism by which the homeowner occupies CLT land, and is one way in which CLTs gather operational revenue. When it comes time for the homeowner to sell their home, most CLTs have a right of first refusal, which ensures that the home goes to a buyer from the community the CLT was intended to serve. The selling price of the home is dictated by a resale formula determined by the community representative board of directors.

Evolving to suit their needs and contexts, some CLTs utilize deed restrictions to retain long-term affordability (Abramowitz and White, 2006, p. 7). A deed restriction is part of the deed that conveys property from one owner to another. CLTs can use deed restrictions to restrict future resales, buyer eligibility, occupancy and use.

Governance and Stewardship

The typical CLT tripartite board structure features equal numbers of representatives from CLT leaseholders, local residents on non-CLT land in the CLT service-area, and representatives of the broader public interest, usually municipal officials and community leaders (Davis, 2010, p. 9-13). Members are democratically elected by residents of the CLT service-area. This way, the CLT can act as a network of support for residents and a reflection of the community

itself (Baldwin *et al.*, 2015, p. 25). CLTs can work with homeowners, especially first-time homebuyers, through the purchasing and resale process, assist in acquiring a mortgage, and serve as a mediator between homeowner and bank in case of mortgage default or foreclosure.

Though not all CLTs conform to every facet of this description, emphasis on a local, decentralized, democratically governed structure tends to result in organizations that value their local autonomy. This small scale leads to a central problem in their formation: accessing resources that are generally made available only to larger-scale developers. Community development corporations, for example, tend to be larger organizations and better understood by funders and policymakers

Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network

The success of the Dudley Neighbors, Inc. (DNI) CLT in Roxbury and Dorchester has served as an inspiration to communities across the country, but especially within Greater Boston. Organizations and neighborhoods such as the Chinatown CLT in Chinatown, Coalition of Occupied Homes in Foreclosure (COHIF) and the Greater Bowdoin-Geneva Neighborhood Association in Dorchester, Mattapan United in Mattapan, the Urban Farming Institute of Boston, and others in East Boston, Somerville, and even as far as Western Massachusetts and Providence, RI are hoping to replicate and/or modify DNI's system to counteract the land speculation, rising rents and displacement running rampant through their own neighborhoods. Thus far, attempts at forming new CLTs in the area have encountered difficulty acquiring land in Boston's hot real estate market. The high cost of land acquisition and limited capacity of nonprofit community-based organizations mean that they are looking for creative ways to achieve their goals. These potential member organizations may see value in the

economies of scale associated with centralizing redundant activities and costs, sharing resources, sharing information, and unifying advocacy for CLT-friendly housing development policies.

Presently, the term “central-server” is being used to describe DNI’s position as the experienced and resourced central node of the network in Greater Boston. This term is in use by a number of CLTs around the United States. Within this term there is considerable variation in practice and outcome, but the key features of a central-server is that one organization acts as a hub for resources to others in a limited geographical area. Other interorganizational CLT networks are more diffuse in their structure, more geographically spread, or less committed to joint work. These interorganizational networks are referred to in this thesis as “CLT networks” or “coalitions.” This thesis features case studies on three attempts to create central-servers in Essex County, NJ, Atlanta, GA, and New Orleans, LA, and traces their paths as they adapt from the central-server blueprint. It also includes case studies of four more diffuse, less centralized CLT networks in Minnesota, the Pacific Northwest, South Florida, and the Bay Area, CA.

Members and potential members of Boston’s interorganizational CLT network refer to themselves as The Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network (GBCLTN). Though membership has not been formally defined, the network the following organizations were listed in the April 2016 launch event:

- Alternatives for Community & Environment (Roxbury, MA)
- Boston Tenant Coalition (Boston, MA)
- Chinatown CLT (Chinatown, MA)
- City Life/Vida Urbana (Boston, MA)
- Coalition of Occupied Homes in Foreclosure (Dorchester, MA)

- Dudley Neighbors Inc. (Roxbury & Dorchester, MA)
- Greater Bowdoin-Geneva Neighborhood Association (Dorchester, MA)
- Mattapan United (Mattapan, MA)
- New England United For Justice (Boston, MA)
- Right to the City Boston (Boston, MA)
- Urban Farming Institute of Boston (Boston, MA)

The GBCLTN has been meeting and conducting activities prior to any formal declaration or incorporation as an independent body. Since September 2015, network members have attended five CLT network meetings, two government hearings and meetings, a group consultation session, and an official launch event for the network. Meetings have largely been hosted by DNI, with attendance from the network's core members occasionally supplemented with representatives from funders, housing policy organizations and local universities. Meetings are held in order to plan events and brainstorm ideas. Organizational representatives work together to come up with novel funding mechanisms, as well as exploring one another's contacts for access to funding or government officials.

A group consultation in November 2015, facilitated by Burlington Associates' John Davis, helped to set the course for a conversation with Sheila Dillon, head of Boston's Department of Neighborhood Development (DND). Davis helped the network to frame its goals and strategize. These meetings resulted in the following goals for conversations with the Boston DND:

- Obtain more details on a Boston Housing Innovation Lab Program
- Impress upon the DND the growing power of the movement for CLTs
- Gain a commitment from DND for seed money for CLTs
- Get a contact at DND who will follow up with the GBCLTN

- Co-sponsor a forum with the GBCLTN for lending institutions to understand and work with CLTs
- Commit to explore and discuss prioritization in funding and land disposition for CLTs

Group consultations, meetings with government officials as a unified voice, and working together to acquire network-level funding are examples of how the GBCLTN has already acted as an interorganizational network. Dudley Neighbors, Inc. has clearly been the central convening point as the only CLT in the area with a proven track record and strong relationship with the local government. The other organizations provide their own skills, such as finance expertise or community organizing, to strengthen the overall network. Although DNI does not currently fit the definition of a central-server (to be laid out in Chapter 2), it is conducting many of the tasks typically associated with a central-server.

The network made its official launch in April 2016. The event brought residents, nonprofits, government officials, students, and others from across the city to learn about CLTs and how they can get involved in their own communities. The flyer for the event can be found in Appendix C.

The GBCLTN is at a stage of planning its own development towards an efficient and equitable collaborative structure. To the extent that DNI is already acting as a central-server, it likely needs a formalized system of accountability and compensation to ensure its own long-term sustainability. Depending on the needs of member organizations, the process may result in the centralization of a few or many activities. The collaborative structure could range from loose agreements and meetings, to a central, independent and funded node that

coordinates specified activities, to a complete merger of the network into a region-wide CLT.

The work of developing new CLTs and managing the operation of existing CLTs requires time and resources. Depending on the needs of individual organizations, the activities below could be reallocated to a centralized entity:

- Education around basic CLT structure and function
- Homebuyer counseling
- Community outreach and organizing
- Policy advocacy
- Land acquisition and disposition
- Project financing
- Construction/development of new homes/farms/commercial space
- Sales and marketing
- Maintenance of existing CLT land
- Legal assistance
- Technical development and training of employees

Centralization of a set of these activities may lead to the formation of a new interorganizational structure. If so, it will need to be adaptable to changing priorities and will need to evolve over time to account for growth and development. The process of reallocating activities and sustaining a network would likely add its own burdens, possibly including the following:

- Incorporating as a new entity/organization
- Hiring consultants to facilitate the process
- Coordinating meetings
- Coordinating collaborative activities
- Disseminating information

- Allocating resources

The members of GBCLTN are at varying stages of development and therefore have differing needs.

- Alternatives for Community and Environment is an environmental justice organization interested in exploring how their urban farming projects can benefit from a community land trust.
- The Chinatown Community Land Trust has incorporated as a 501(c)(3) but has struggled to acquire land in the particularly hot market of Boston's Chinatown.
- City Life/Vida Urbana is a citywide community organization that sees CLTs as part of their broader effort to promote tenant rights and address gentrification and displacement.
- The Coalition of Occupied Homes in Foreclosure has acquired several properties in Dorchester and is in the process of incorporating their community land trust
- Dudley Neighbors Inc. is the CLT arm of the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative and has a thirty-year track record of success, serving as a national model for community land trusts.
- The Greater Bowdoin-Geneva Neighborhood Association is an organization based in Dorchester, exploring opportunities to address gentrification and displacement.
- Mattapan United is in the process of building community support and determining which areas of their neighborhood could be ideal for a community land trust.

- New England United for Justice is a grassroots social, racial, and economic justice organization that sees CLTs as part of its empowerment of low-income communities and communities of color.
- The Urban Farming Institute of Boston already works with DNI, leasing land through their CLT for urban agriculture, but is interested in becoming its own CLT.

These organizations and others cite needs for technical and legal assistance in order to get their projects under way. The most pressing needs are land and organizing capacity for education and building community support. Because there is a lack of funds for organizing, education and land acquisition, a main goal of the GBCLTN is to advocate for funding and a favorable land transfer system from the current inventory held by the Boston Redevelopment Authority and Department of Neighborhood Development. Similar policy at the state level would benefit member organizations outside of the Boston municipality.

GBCLTN can learn from the body of literature on interorganizational networks as well as the experiences of other CLT networks across the country. Thus, this thesis draws from the most relevant vocabulary from organizational theory on interorganizational networks and analyzes the successes (and failures) of other CLT networks. This thesis also assesses the needs and capacities of GBCLTN members in order to provide a set of concrete recommendations for the future development of the network.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Research Questions

The central questions that guided this research were determined through discussions with core stakeholders and consultants with experience on this topic. This research began after I participated in a four-month collaborative project and report on community land trusts in Boston and a subsequent summer 2015 internship with Dudley Neighbors Inc. focused on building financial and policy support for a CLT network in Greater Boston. Time spent building relationships with local stakeholders gave me the opportunity to witness the network's development first-hand. Being embedded in this process for nearly a year before beginning research meant that local partners viewed me as not just an observer, but as a participant. In meetings, I was able to create space for discussion of how my research could best benefit the group.

Methods Overview

A literature review was chosen as a way to explore the considerations necessary to forming partnerships and networks. This thesis uses the vocabulary and concepts developed within the literature review to analyze a series of case studies on CLT interorganizational networks. Based on success in cases under consideration and their similarities to the Boston area, it draws best practices to inform the building of a successful interorganizational network. A needs assessment was conducted among core stakeholders, meeting attendees and potential members in order to determine their explicit goals and capacity to contribute to the network. Through a collaborative analysis process, this thesis evaluates the outside-Boston case studies and within-Boston needs assessment to propose recommendations for next steps.

Literature Review

This thesis begins with a literature review to gather and define the vocabulary for describing and understanding interorganizational networks. It includes an introduction to organizational theory, the benefits and drawbacks of collaboration, interorganizational network structures, and organizational evolution and development. Particularly suitable frameworks and vocabularies are chosen for analytical use in this thesis. The literature review also serves to refine my own understanding of the topic so that I can be aware of important concerns for collaboration.

Case Studies

Case studies were conducted to explore the range of structures that currently exist for CLT interorganizational networks. Based on conversations with CLT consultant John Davis, a number of examples were determined to be relevant enough for further study. Conversations with representatives of these interorganizational networks led to others, with each representing a slightly different approach to collaborative CLT interorganizational network development. This thesis uses the lenses and tools examined in the literature review to analyze the cases. The networks studied in this thesis are as follows:

- Essex Community Land Trust (Essex County, NJ)
- Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative (Atlanta, GA)
- Crescent City Community Land Trust (New Orleans, LA)
- Northwest CLT Coalition (WA, OR, ID, MT, WY, AK)
- Minnesota CLT Coalition (MN)
- South Florida CLT Network (Palm Beach and Broward County, FL)
- Bay Area Consortium of CLTs (Bay Area, CA)

These cases demonstrate a range of possible geographic locations and sizes, as well as procedures for task distribution among members. In general, these CLT interorganizational networks can be characterized by either a city- or region-wide CLT constituency or the inclusion of multiple independent community land trust organizations, as well as inclusion of non-CLT stakeholders such as government representatives, banks, community development financial institutions, and community organizing nonprofits. Another criterion for inclusion as a case study in this research includes a funding stream directed toward network formation and administration, and regularly scheduled meetings at the network level.

The information in the case studies is drawn from a combination of interviews and documents. Interviews cover the historical development of each network from early stages to today. Important considerations include necessary financial resources and interorganizational restructuring, and the manner in which resources are distributed among members. Network meeting schedules, task distribution, and subjective opinions on the current state of affairs will provide some background on best practices. For the interview template, see Appendix A. As part of the interview, I requested documents that have been used to assist the interorganizational network, such as memoranda of understanding (MOUs), business plans, needs assessments, and consulting materials. Due to the geographic spread of the case studies, interviews were conducted over the phone.

Interviews were then analyzed, in collaboration with April, 2016 GBCLTN meeting attendees, for other dimensions of similarity with a Greater Boston context, such as network geographic scale, demographic diversity, and degree of government involvement. This collaborative analysis took the form of a

presentation to meeting attendees in order to build a shared understanding of how interorganizational networks function elsewhere, and was followed by a discussion and questions from the group. A summary of the analysis was presented to potential GBCLTN partners before commencing the needs assessment interviews.

Needs Assessment

The final segment of this research was a needs assessment for the network as a whole, with a focus on the network-level needs of individual members. The first portion of the needs assessment (see Appendix B) was adapted directly from materials provided by Burlington Associates. The second portion, which was survey based, was also based on materials from Burlington Associates. However, it was further developed from a brainstorming session with core GBCLTN partners on ways to expand on the original in ways that are particularly relevant to Greater Boston members. The needs assessment process included interviews with representatives from member organizations. Interviewees were chosen through a collaborative decision-making process with Eliza Parad of the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative based on their history of participation in organizational meetings. The interviewees and the organizations they represent are as follows:

- Tony Hernandez, Director of Operations and Stewardship
 - Dudley Neighbors, Inc. (Roxbury, MA)
- Davida Andelman, Chairperson
 - Greater Bowdoin-Geneva Neighborhood Association (Dorchester, MA)
- Lincoln Larmond, Steering Committee
 - Mattapan United (Mattapan, MA)

- Barbara Knecht, Project Leader/Urban Farm Site Developer
 - Urban Farming Institute of Boston (Boston, MA)
- Dana McQuillin Dalke, Deputy Director
 - Coalition of Occupied Homes in Foreclosure (Dorchester, MA)
- Mimi Ramos, Executive Director
 - New England United for Justice (Boston, MA)
- Lydia Lowe, Co-Director
 - Chinese Progressive Association/Chinatown CLT (Chinatown, MA)

The needs assessment template can be found in Appendix B. It focuses on the interviewees' hopes and goals for the distribution of tasks among a coordinated interorganizational network. Some of these tasks include public policy advocacy, land acquisition, information and resource distribution, technical assistance and training, community organizing and education, construction and development, homebuyer counseling, resource development, and marketing. The first portion of the needs assessment allows the interviewee to place each task on a spectrum ranging from "central" to "shared" to "local." This framework, adapted from materials provided by consultant Michael Brown (Burlington Associates), is intended to determine the degree of centrality of the interorganizational network and the responsibilities of a central convenor/central-server. There is also an interview-based survey to determine the interviewees' concerns and priorities. Interviews were conducted in person at the interviewees' choice of location, with the exception of Dana McQuillin Dalke and Mimi Ramos, who were interviewed over the phone.

Observations of six network meetings between September 2015 and April 2016 also inform the needs assessment. By analyzing agendas and task

distributions, I was able to establish a baseline of current structure and function of the network.

Analysis

Initial analysis of the raw interview data was conducted separately by Eliza Parad and me. Then, working together, we compared major themes and lessons of both the case studies and needs assessments. This process served as a check on each of our conclusions about the assessment and helped to ensure recommendations that would not create unnecessary tension for the GBCLTN. It also helped to frame the discussion questions and presentation to the rest of the network, maximizing their comprehension of the results and ability to prioritize next steps.

Provan & Kenis' 2008 "modes of network governance," Burlington Associates' "Array of Potential CLT Operational Strategies" and Plastrik and Taylor's 2006 types of network purpose serve as the analysis tools to analyze the case studies and develop diagrams to represent their structure. The figures below represent these analytical frameworks, which will be further detailed in the literature review in Chapter 3.

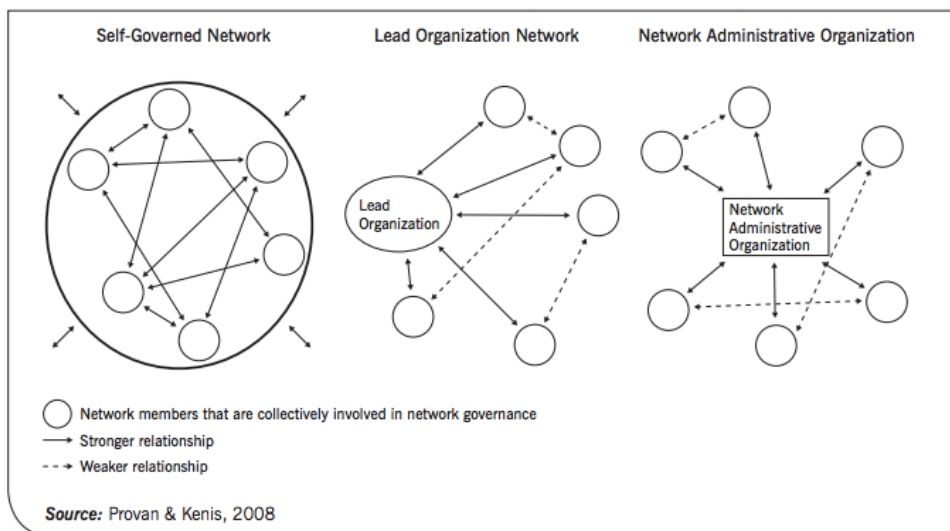


Figure 1: Modes of Network Governance (Provan & Kenis, 2008)

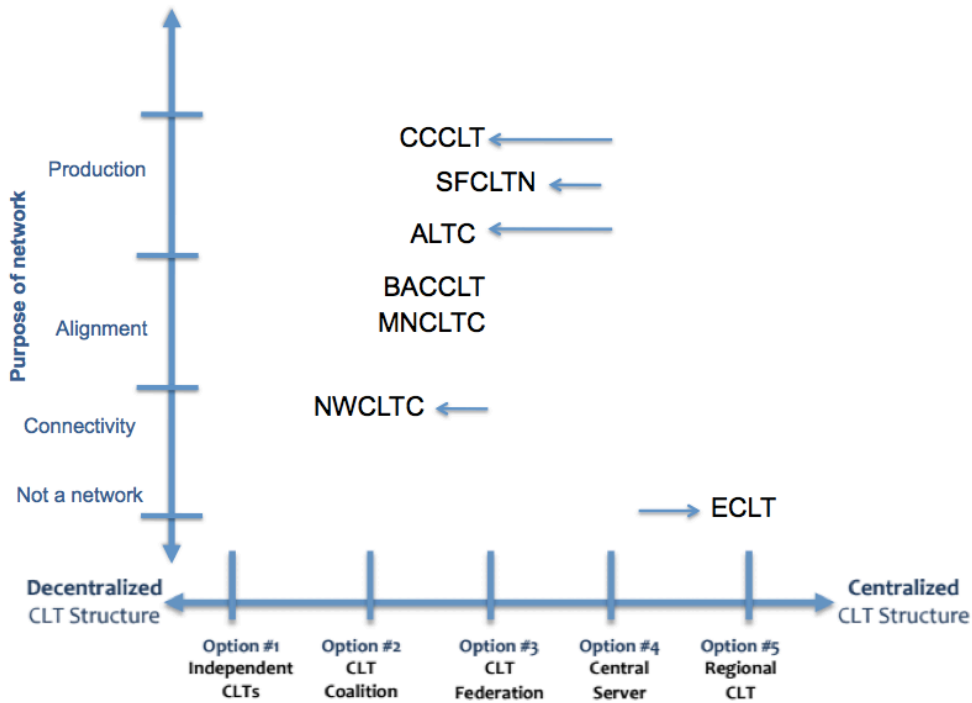


Figure 2: Burlington Associates “Array of CLT Operational Strategies” combined with Plastrik and Taylor’s network purpose framework

The needs assessment data was evaluated to determine concrete needs and goals expressed by members regarding a central-server or network structure, as well as the role of the municipal and state government. Partners’ views on a technical assistance provided by or in partnership with city of Boston were a key feature of the needs assessment.

Needs assessments from different partners were compiled into Table 5 in Chapter 5. A subsequent network meeting included a presentation of these findings followed by discussion and questions to clarify points and determine priorities moving forward. Table 5 presents the tasks that network members have agreed should be conducted at a central, shared, or local level. The next section in Chapter 5 summarizes the common responses to open response questions.

After presentation of case studies and needs assessment data, there was a guided discussion among partners to determine priorities. Taking into account

members' reaction to the data, this thesis makes a detailed set of recommendations as to how the Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network can further develop its structure and capacity to achieve its objectives.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Activity Coordination

Organizations can achieve greater efficiency by optimizing their scale and scope. Improved economies of scale decrease the cost per unit of output.

Economies of scope reduce costs by combining different levels of production and distribution, for example, incorporating work typically done by a separate organization (Anheier p. 155). These changes in scope and scale necessitate a greater complexity in broad organizational structure, but may lessen the overall complexity of having several unaffiliated organizations (p. 157). Described by several authors using different vocabularies, collaboration between organizations is often seen as conferring some advantage to the collaborators. Economies of scale and scope are two examples of many possible collaborative advantages, though they must be considered in relation to the costs of collaboration. Costs will depend on the particular context of the collaboration, but could include time and budgetary burdens associated with meeting attendance.

Charles Conteh explores the concept of “joint action,” which he says can be “coordinative, cooperative, or collaborative,” (p. 502, 2013). The factors affecting which form of joint action is chosen are whether the environment is “stable or unstable, homogenous or heterogeneous, concentrated or dispersed, simple or complex.” Depending on the type of joint action, relationships vary between “formal and informal”; they have “enduring resource transactions, flows and linkages” for achieving “mutually beneficial ends.” Conteh claims that collaborative arrangements are the “most formalized and integrated form of joint action,” (p. 502, 2013).

Gray and Wood take a systematic look at explanations for collaboration and collaborative alliances through a number of lenses. They define collaborative

alliance as “an interorganizational effort to address problems too complex and too protracted to be resolved by unilateral organizational action,” (p. 4, 1991). Gray and Wood’s lenses, relevant to our purposes, include *resource dependence theory*, *strategic management/social ecology theory*, *microeconomics theory*, and *institutional/negotiated order theory*:

Resource dependence theory asks how stability and uncertainty can be improved without depending too heavily on other organizations, what circumstances lead to collaborative alliances, and what patterns of dependence result from resource exchanges. From this perspective, alliances only form in high stakes situations in which parties are highly dependent on one another.

Strategic management looks at how to reduce threats from competition in order to gain a competitive advantage, with little room for collective action. However, paired with social ecology theory, the focus shifts to strategic achievement of collective benefits. Combined, these theories ask how participants in a collaborative alliance can limit their self-serving behaviors in order to achieve collective gains. Ideally, the competitive advantage sought is achieved through the collaborative alliance.

The microeconomics lens strives for efficiency in collaboration. How can an alliance set up an efficient system of resource sharing and task delegation? Once assembled, how can an alliance deal with free rider effects? Collaboration is seen as the best way to reduce transaction costs by centralizing features common to each member.

Institutional theory looks at an organization’s quest for legitimacy by incorporating influences from other existing institutions. Negotiated order theory asks about the symbolic aspects of collaborative linkages, such as shared understandings about goals, structures, and processes. Collaboration stems from

an agreement about the shared nature of problems and the need for a collective solution. However, responding to social pressures of existing institutions can limit the scope of a collaboration's perceived solutions. Together, these theories form a more general theory of collaboration.

Xavier de Souza Briggs attributes the growth of organizational cooperation and coordination in recent decades to the devolution of political decision-making from the federal level to state and local governments (2003). Privatization and "nonprofitization" has further removed the government from its former responsibilities (p. 3). Small-scale institutions and organizations are now charged with treating social ills, but many of these ills exist across geographic boundaries. They also require the input of separate organizations doing different but related work in order to tackle complex problems. What Briggs calls "partnerships" are a way of "patching things back together," (p. 4). Popp *et al.* agree with this, placing blame on the failures of other institutions to solve some of society's complex problems (2014, p. 20).

Many of these organizations, particularly nonprofits, may also compete for the same grants and resources. Organizations, especially nonprofits, depend on outside resources to function, and the acquisition of these resources can open them up to outside influence (Anheier, p. 150). They must respond to the demands of the resource environment in order to succeed, but many engage in strategies for inter-organizational linkages, mergers, joint ventures, and others in order to maintain autonomy or obtain additional resources. This is one way to expand both the scale and scope of the organization. Anheier uses the following figure to illustrate the range of inter-organizational linkages (p. 165):

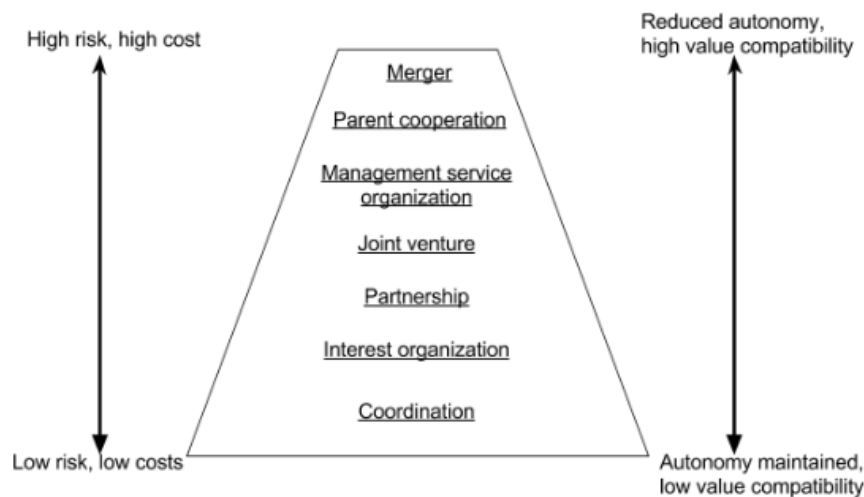


Figure 3: Range of Interorganizational Linkages (Anheier, 2005)

Coordination is an *ad hoc* approach to dealing with issues as they arise. An interest organization creates a separate entity to pool resources in order to further common interests. Partnerships are typically contractual agreements between businesses. A joint venture is one in which organizations remain autonomous, but agree on a manager to oversee coordination of a single project. A service organization is when organizations block together to receive bulk services. They can form a parent organization, which houses a franchise system network. Finally, organizations can fully merge with one another.

David A. Whetten creates a typology describing the nature of collaboration broken into four major forms (p. 4-10, 1981):

- Dyadic Linkage
- Organization Set
- Action Set
- Network

A dyadic linkage is collaboration between two relatively independent organizations that have a limited resource commitment. These can be difficult to

maintain due to staff turnover. An organization set is the result of an established central organization that has created a number of interorganizational linkages between different partners. Action sets are “constellations of agencies collectively pursuing a specific purpose,” and a network is defined as a “policy sub-system” with many interorganizational linkages. Conteh (2013) uses Whetten’s typology when his “collaborative network” is defined as an “‘action set’ sub-system with highly formalized and integrated forms of joint action,” (p. 503).

Briggs (2003) uses a different typology to describe partnerships. This includes the following models (p. 13):

- Communication Model: An informal relationship for information sharing with no written agreement.
- Cooperation Model: Entities share information and activities in order to achieve greater impact.
- Coordination Model: Information, activities and accountability for resource use are formally tracked. Participants form agreements with outside resource providers about shared accounting.
- Federation Model: Entities fill gaps in one service provider with strengths of another. Standardized referrals from one entity to another and formal information sharing.
- Merger Model: Remove organizational boundaries, often legally recognized. Nonprofit funding systems tend to discourage mergers.

Utilizing a related vocabulary, Briggs (2003) outlines some of the decision-making processes that go into forming the various levels of coordination between organizations. A nonprofit may find that they can benefit from another nonprofit’s capacities in order to limit their own risks in achieving their mission. Risk mitigation is a factor in Anheier’s diagram in Figure 3 above: stronger linkages

are associated with greater risk. Briggs, however, claims that linkages serve as a tool to decrease risk. This is accomplished by leveraging tangible resources (e.g. staff, equipment, data) and intangible resources (e.g. reputation, networks). On a similar note, Briggs touches on the idea of legitimacy gained through partnership. In some cases, a well-established organization lends legitimacy in partnership with a smaller one. In others cases, a large and distant institution may seek improved legitimacy in a particular community by partnering with a local organization.

Partnerships incur costs of their own, so it is important that the benefits outweigh any new problems associated with coordination of responsibilities. Time, money, reputation and legitimacy can be lost in a partnership that doesn't work as planned. Different organizations have their own systems, so integrating them can take a lot of up-front work (Briggs, 2003).

Inter-Organizational Networks

In a 2014 review conducted for the IBM Center for The Business of Government, Popp *et al.* study what is referred to as “a variegated undertaking where a variety of phenomena are described in multiple ways,”(p. 16). Specifically, Popp *et al.*'s literature review covers inter-organizational networks, on which research has historically been conducted in a diffuse manner resulting in a diverse vocabulary used to describe them. One consistent feature, according to Milward *et al.* is that networks tend not to have a strong “hierarchy of authority,” (2006). Popp's 2014 review was intended for nine distinct purposes, as explored in the literature (p. 10-11). Relevant to our purposes, their review of the literature examines networks for (p.32):

- Information sharing across organizational boundaries
- Capacity building, learning and skill sharing

- Innovation
- Policy advocacy
- Collaborative governance between government agencies and non-public groups

They look at the governance, leadership and structures of collaborative inter-organizational networks, which they define as having “three or more organizations working together toward a common purpose,” (p.18). Similarly, Provan and Kenis perform an analysis on “structures of authority and collaboration to allocate resources to coordinate and control joint action across the network as a whole,” rather than dyadic links between two partners (2008, p.231). They differentiate between serendipitous networks, which develop opportunistically, and goal-directed networks, which develop through conscious efforts of the members. They also differentiate between organizational governance, which is often legally mandated, and network governance, more voluntary with a less formal sense of ownership.

The main feature distinguishing forms of network governance, according to Provan and Kenis, is the degree to which it is brokered (p. 233). Networks can be minimally brokered and highly decentralized, where each member interacts with every other organization. Alternately, a network can be highly brokered, where a single organization acts as the centralized coordinator and there is minimal interaction between individual network members. Between these two extremes, an organization can take an informal centralized position, conducting few administrative responsibilities but acting as the convening unit.

The degree of centralization in a network depends on how loose/tight the organizational units are and how *complex/linear* are the interactions between them. The looseness/tightness refers to how close, geographically and socially,

each unit is and how the efforts of one unit affect another. Complexity/linearity refers to the order in which units must conduct their work. This can be thought of more in terms of manufacturing and is not as relevant to community organizations or housing where there is little in terms of chronological order that must be planned for from one community to another. In the case of urban neighborhoods served by different community organizations, there is a loose coupling and a complex interaction between them. According to Anheier, then, decisions are best reached at the lower levels where local knowledge is greatest, and decisions made by one neighborhood do not necessarily affect the situation in another neighborhood (p.154).

Participant-governed networks are governed by members themselves, without government oversight, while externally-governed networks are operated between organizations and some mandated government or otherwise more powerful network coordinator. Provan and Kenis term the central coordinator a network administrative organization (NAO). An externally governed network may be more relevant if there is significant buy-in from municipal or state governments. They can also help to lend legitimacy early on and spur initial growth, but may alter the mission of the network (p. 234). Table 1, below, outlines some of the conditions suited to each form of governance. Shared governance and lead organizations represent self-governed networks, while NAOs are externally governed. They define network effectiveness as “the attainment of positive network-level outcomes that could not normally be achieved by individual organizational participants acting independently,” (p. 234) Effectiveness depends on trust levels, number of participants, goal consensus, and need for network level skills and competencies. Density of trust pertains to whether trust is concentrated within one organization or a set of trusting dyadic

relationships (low density) or if trust is relatively even across the entire network (high density).

Table 1: Key Predictors of Effectiveness of Network Governance Forms (Provan & Kenis, 2008)

Governance Forms	Trust	Number of Participants	Goal Consensus	Need for Network-Level Competencies
Shared governance	High density	Few	High	Low
Lead organization	Low density, highly centralized	Moderate number	Moderately low	Moderate
Network administrative organization	Moderate density, NAO monitored by members	Moderate to many	Moderately high	High

A shared governance structure functions best in trusting environments with a small number of participants holding similar goals and with little need for network level competencies. A lead organization structure is more suited to situations with lower density, and tend to show a more centralized node structure with a moderate number of participants, that don't necessarily have complete goal consensus but do need more network level competencies. Finally, network administrative organizations are best in a middle density environment and where a moderate number of participants with moderate goal consensus and a high level of network level competencies can monitor the NAO itself (Provan & Kenis, 2008; Popp *et al.*, 2014).

Popp *et al.* (2014), citing Provan and Kenis (2008), provide the diagrams in Figure 4, illustrating networks that exhibit shared governance, lead organization, and network administrative organization structure.

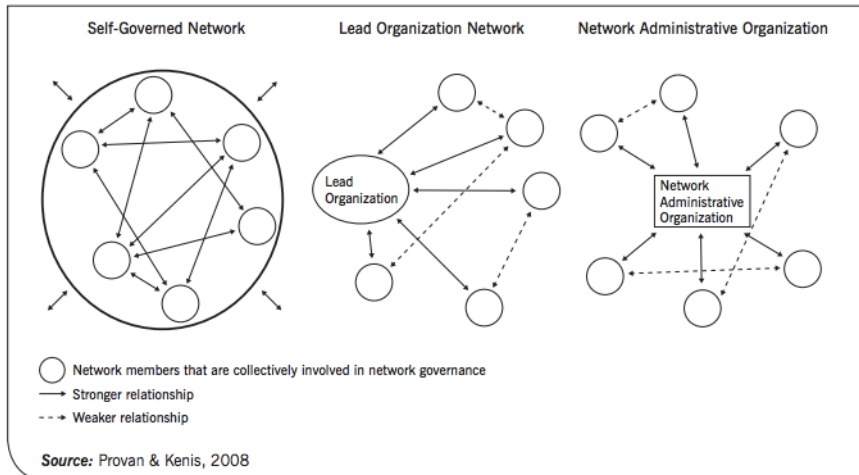


Figure 4: Modes of Network Governance (Provan & Kenis, 2008)

Once formed, a network must overcome the “three basic tensions” and “contradictory logics” of network governance (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 242).

These network-level tensions are as follows:

- Efficiency vs inclusiveness
- Internal vs external legitimacy
- Flexibility vs stability

Short-term efficiency must not be prioritized over long-term effectiveness.

As the authors admit, collaboration is rarely an efficient endeavor, so prioritizing inclusiveness may conflict with goals for efficiency. Efficiency can also be affected by “burn-out,” especially if certain participants end up with an unfair proportion of network tasks. In response, a shift toward more centralized network governance isn’t necessarily a bad thing, but it should reflect the needs of network members (p. 242).

Another related source of tension, studied by Saz-Carranza and Ospina (2011), is that between unity and diversity. Unity generates trust and a strong network identity, while diversity generates new ideas and innovative solutions. Their solution to this tension is “unity in diversity,” (p. 350). A network may seek to make acceptance of diverse opinions a uniting feature of their partnership. The

authors cite the importance of network administrative organizations in achieving this goal.

Especially as a network can bring together former or even current competitors for resources, it is important that it maintain internal legitimacy among participants (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 243). The network needs to maintain external legitimacy as well. It must be seen by outside groups as an “entity in its own right,” which can then act to reinforce the commitment of participants. Outside pressures may also conflict with the goals of individual organizations. Key roles of lead organizations or network administrative organizations are to act as the face of the organization to outsiders, but also to foster interaction and resolve conflicts between network members. This is less easy to accomplish among shared governance networks, which is why they benefit from fewer participants with a high goal consensus (p. 244).

Networks are hailed for their flexibility compared with hierarchical bureaucracies, but a long-term network needs to balance that flexibility with a level of stability (p. 244). Flexibility is needed to rapidly respond to changing stakeholder and funder needs but many environments require a level of consistency, and stability has been found as a major component of effectiveness even in the absence of sufficient resources (Provan and Milward, 1995). Formal hierarchies are an easy solution to maintain stability, but necessitate a loss of the flexibility that gives a network its advantageous properties.

Plastrik and Taylor (2006) differentiate interorganizational networks based on their function or purpose. The simplest network purpose is that of a connectivity network. In this case, organizations come together to improve the flow of information between them, but retain nearly complete autonomy (p. 34). An alignment network also connects network members, but attempts to create a

shared identity. This necessitates a small loss of autonomy in order to conform to the group identity (p. 35). A production network comes together to coordinate joint action. This action falls into six categories (p. 37):

- Generate goods and services
- Advocate for particular public policies
- Innovate to solve social problems
- Learn about and spread specific “best practices”
- Mobilize citizens
- Build capacity

There is considerable variation within production networks, depending on which joint actions the network participates in.

Burlington Associates has produced a spectrum of network governance relating directly to community land trusts, shown in Figure 5 below.



Figure 5: Array of Potential CLT Operational Strategies (Burlington Associates, n.d.)

Independent CLTs, the most decentralized CLT structure, do not coordinate activities or tasks. A CLT coalition is a group of independent CLTs that meet regularly to share ideas and contacts. One or more of the member organizations would be responsible for coordinating meetings, which may lead to issues in adequately compensating individual organizations for their work on the coalition. A CLT federation has independent organizational members, but incorporates a separately staffed and funded body responsible for further centralized activities, such as assistance with mortgage financing, homebuyer education, and policy

advocacy. This method removes issues around compensation for network-level work done by individual CLTs, but requires consistent funding for the coalition coordinator. Central-server CLTs are traditionally defined as one that does not engage in development. Instead, it partners with CLTs, CDCs, and other developers while providing only stewardship of the land. Individual member CLTs retain their board and community control over local priorities, but would not be responsible for development, marketing, sales and resales, or land stewardship. Often, this approach is used on a short-term basis where an established CLT incubates smaller CLTs until they are large enough to build their own staff and programming. Kaspen et al. expanded this definition in their research, finding that central-servers conduct regulatory and administrative tasks, partnership coordination tasks, in addition to certain development tasks (2013). Central-servers deal with issues around accountability to local communities and equitably distributing resources between member CLTs. A single, regional CLT is a complete merger into a single centralized organization over a wider region (Burlington Associates, n.d.).

The distinction between a coalition of independent CLTs and a CLT federation may blur when applied to existing scenarios. Many interorganizational CLT networks are funded for network-level activities, but do not incorporate a separate coordinating body. The specific network-level activities ascribed by Burlington Associates to either federations or coalitions are often interchangeable. This may be partially due to the fact that these descriptions are laid out with specific reference to the South Florida CLT Network and the activities they have chosen to centralize in their needs assessment.

Interorganizational Network Frameworks Synthesis

This literature review has introduced a number of frameworks used to describe and define types of organizations and how they form interorganizational networks. Below, these frameworks are presented according to their range from least formally centralized to most formally centralized:

Conteh (2013): Coordinative→Cooperative→Collaborative

Briggs (2003): Communication→Cooperation→Coordination→Federation→
Merger

Anheier (2005): Coordination→Interest Organization→Partnership→Joint
Venture→Management Service Organization→Parent Cooperation→Merger

Whetten (1981): Dyadic Linkage→Organization Set→Action Set→Network

Provan & Kenis (2008): Shared Governance→Lead Organization→Network
Administrative Organization

Plastrik & Taylor (2006): Connectivity Network→Alignment Network→
Production Network

Burlington Associates (n.d.):Independent →Coalition→Federation→Central-
Server→Regional (Merger)

Many of these frameworks have overlapping terms and concepts, while others are in conflict with one another. Because the framework built by Burlington Associates is already familiar to many in the CLT world, including many of the case studies in this thesis, it makes sense to use it to compare the cases under consideration in this thesis. However, because of its limitations in fully explaining the variation in CLT network structure and function, this thesis will add an additional dimension along Plastrik and Taylor's network purposes. An adaptation of Burlington Associates Array of CLT Operational Strategies to incorporate Plastrik and Taylor's network purpose is presented in Figure 6 below.

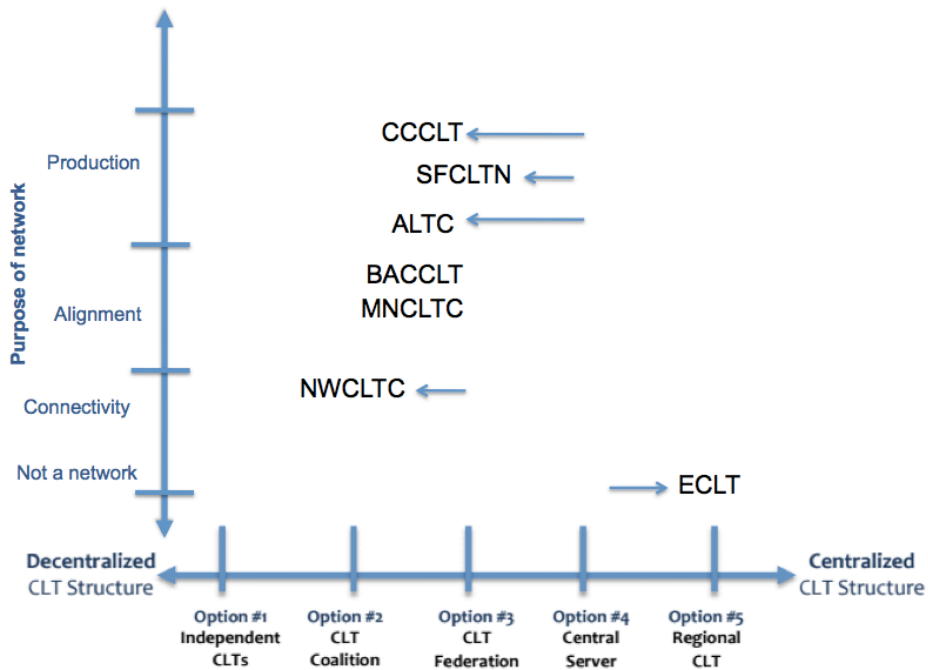


Figure 6: Burlington Associates “Array of CLT Operational Strategies” combined with Plastrik and Taylor's network purpose framework

Provan and Kenis provide a solid framework for diagramming network governance structures (see Figure 4). Their definition of network effectiveness and outline of conditions that determine the effectiveness of each interorganizational network form exhibit a predictive power that will be useful in the analysis of this thesis. Therefore, the frameworks built by Burlington Associates, Plastrik and Taylor, and Provan and Kenis will be the analysis tools of choice for the remainder of this thesis.

Chapter 4: Case Studies

Introduction

Community land trusts utilize many strategies to establish, grow, and sustain services to their communities. A commonly held notion is that CLT self-sustainability occurs after acquiring between 200-300 units, which allows enough turnover of units and fee collection to cover the costs of operation. This range leaves out the variation in CLT size and scope and the particular issues faced by individual communities, but there is certainly a scale at which CLT fees can fund enough of its programming that it does not require significant outside subsidy (Kaspen et al., 2013). Burlington Associates in Burlington, Vermont has decades of experience consulting with CLTs in their efforts to achieve this scale. A major theme in their work is getting geographically linked CLTs to coordinate tasks and leverage strengths to overcome weaknesses. Figure 7 was produced through a consulting process between Burlington Associates and the South Florida CLT Network, which explored the range of potential operational linkage structures between individual CLTs¹.



Figure 7: Array of Potential CLT Operational Strategies (Burlington Associates, n.d.)

Independent CLTs, the most decentralized CLT structure, do not coordinate activities or tasks. A CLT coalition is a group of independent CLTs

¹ Figure 7 and the accompanying explanation have been duplicated from the previous chapter in order for chapter 4 to function as a publication on CLT networks independent of this thesis.

that meet regularly to share ideas and contacts. One or more of the member organizations would be responsible for coordinating meetings, which may lead to issues in adequately compensating individual organizations for their work on the coalition. A CLT federation has independent organizational members, but incorporates a separately staffed and funded body responsible for further centralized activities, such as assistance with mortgage financing, homebuyer education, and policy advocacy. This method removes issues around compensation for network-level work done by individual CLTs, but requires consistent funding for the coalition coordinator. Central-server CLTs are traditionally defined as one that does not engage in development. Instead, it partners with CLTs, CDCs, and other developers while providing only stewardship of the land. Individual member CLTs retain their board and community control over local priorities, but would not be responsible for development, marketing, sales and resales, or land stewardship. Often, this approach is used on a short-term basis where an established CLT incubates smaller CLTs until they are large enough to build their own staff and programming. Kaspen et al. expanded this definition in their research, finding that central-servers conduct regulatory and administrative tasks, partnership coordination tasks, in addition to certain development tasks (2013). Central-servers deal with issues around accountability to local communities and equitably distributing resources between member CLTs. A single, regional CLT is a complete merger into a single centralized organization over a wider region (Burlington Associates, n.d.). To expand on the analytical power of the frameworks used in these case studies, the array of potential CLT operational strategies in Figure 7 above was combined with Plastrik and Taylor's framework, based on the particular tasks centrally conducted overall purpose of the network,

to create the diagram in Figure 19 in the discussion section at the end of this chapter.

Case studies analyzed in this thesis are summarized in Tables 2 and 3, and Figure 8 below. Essex CLT, in Essex County, NJ, the Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative in Atlanta, GA, Crescent City CLT in New Orleans, LA, and the South Florida CLT Network in Broward and Palm Beach Counties, FL were all begun with a central-server structure in mind at early stages. As time progressed, ECLT moved toward a regional CLT structure, while the others became increasingly decentralized and smaller in scope. ALTC and CCCLT occupy somewhat central roles in what could be described as an informal CLT Federation or Coalition. SFCLTN's structure is more formalized, with the Housing Leadership Council of Palm Beach County functioning as a Network Administrative Organization and the network as a whole more firmly established as a CLT Federation. The Bay Area Consortium of CLTs, Minnesota CLT Coalition, and Northwest CLT Coalition began with less focus on building a CLT movement. Their intention was merely to build support for an already healthy CLT ecosystem across a wider geographical range. Their activities are more confined to policy advocacy and quarterly/semiannual meetings to discuss strategies and work on problems together. Despite being funded for some centrally-coordinated activities, the nature of these activities place them closer to CLT Coalitions on the Burlington Associates array of CLT operational strategies.

The effectiveness of each interorganizational network cannot be based on their success implementing a particular structure, but rather the extent to which they can attain network-level outcomes that an individual organization could not have accomplished on its own. CLTs face a number of challenges, such as lack of access to land in hot housing markets, lack of familiarity with the concept, and

competition with other nonprofit housing entities. Forming a network does not necessarily eliminate these challenges, so the struggles faced by these interorganizational CLT networks across the country should be understood in relation to the significant hurdles faced by individual CLTs.

Table 2: Summary of Case Studies - 1

Name	Year Founded	Location	Intended Structure	Operating Structure (Burlington Assoc,)	Mode of Network Governance (Provan & Kenis)
ECLT	2011	Essex County, NJ	Central-Server	Regional CLT	N/A (not a network)
SFCLTN	2007	Broward and Palm Beach Counties, FL	Central-Server	CLT Federation	Network Administrative Organization
CCCLT	2000s	New Orleans, LA	Central-Server	CLT Coalition/ Federation	Lead Organization Network
ALTC	2010	Atlanta, GA	Central-Server	CLT Coalition/ Federation	Lead Organization Network
BACCLT	2012	Bay Area, CA	N/A	CLT Coalition/ Federation	Shared Governance
MNCLTC	1990s	Minnesota	N/A	CLT Coalition/ Federation	Shared Governance
NWCLTC	1999	AK, WA, OR, ID, MT, WY	N/A	CLT Coalition	Shared Governance

Table 3: Summary of Case Studies - 2

Name	Impetus of Formation	Heterogeneity of Membership (Low-Med-Hi)	Goal Congruence (Low-Med-Hi)	Network Purpose (Plastrik & Taylor)
ECLT	Foreclosure crisis, access to funding, housing affordability	N/A	N/A	N/A
SFCLTN	Access to funding, CLT-specific mortgages	Med	Med	Production (policy advocacy, learning, build capacity)
CCCLT	Hurricane Katrina, affordable rental housing, economic development	Med	Low	Production (generate products, build capacity)
ALTC	Atlanta BeltLine affordable housing requirement, subsidy retainment, policy advocacy	Med	Low	Alignment-Production (generate products, learning, build capacity)
BACCLT	CLT-specific mortgages, homeowner support and education, seed new CLTs	Low	Hi	Alignment-Production (policy advocacy, build capacity)
MNCLTC	CLT-specific mortgages, policy advocacy, seed new CLTs	Low	Hi	Alignment-Production (policy advocacy)
NWCLTC	Idea sharing	Low	Low-Med	Connective-Alignment

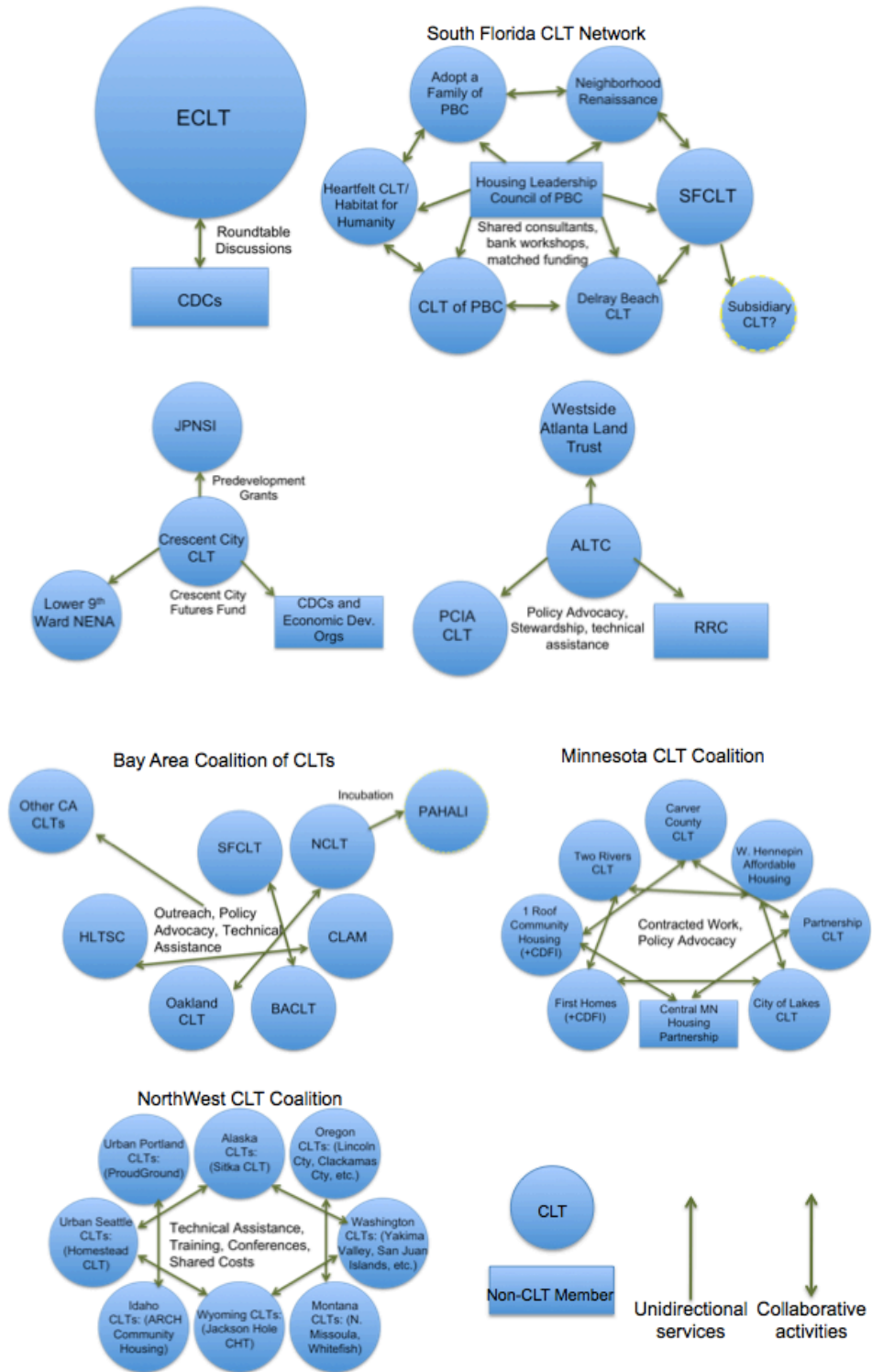


Figure 8: Summary of CLT Interorganizational Network Diagrams

The case studies that follow are a sample of CLT interorganizational networks from across the country. They represent real examples from across the

array of potential operational strategies outlined by Burlington Associates and have centralized different sets of tasks depending on the priorities of their membership. Their founding and development, successes and failures, have a lot to offer other CLTs seeking to work together and leverage strengths to broaden the success of the CLT movement.

Essex Community Land Trust: Essex County, NJ

The ECLT emerged in 2011 from the work of a group of community development corporations (CDCs), local government representatives, community development financial institutions (CDFIs) and community based organizations. Working closely with Harold Simon at the National Housing Institute (NHI) in New Jersey and with funding from the National CLT Network, ECLT began as an effort to retain housing affordability across Essex County. The diverse county includes both affluent suburbs, with requirements to build affordable housing through the state's inclusionary zoning law, and poor urban areas like Newark, which already has a rich network of CDCs and an affordable housing stock, much of which is deteriorating, with significant abandonment problems, and the continuing effects of the foreclosure crisis.

East Orange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • East Orange Revitalization & Development Corporation
Irvington	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brand New Day • Future Now Community Development Corporation
Newark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre Corinthian Housing Development Corp. • Crest Community Development Corp. • Episcopal Community Development, Inc. • Essex Properties Urban Renewal Associates, Inc. • Habitat for Humanity Newark, Inc. • Ironbound Community Corporation • La Casa de Don Pedro • Lincoln Park Coast Cultural District • New Community Corporation • Project Live, Inc. • Tri-City Peoples Corporation • Unified Vailsburg Services Organization
Orange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HANDS, Inc.
Montclair	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homes of Montclair Ecumenical Corporation (HOMECORP)
West Orange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jewish Community Housing Corporation

Figure 9: Housing and Community Development Network of New Jersey, Essex County Members (Kaspen et al. 2013)

With a shrinking pot of public money for community development and the continuously expiring affordability of current housing stock, ECLT formed as a central-server and made the decision not to be a developer. This way, CLTs could coordinate with existing CDCs and avoid competing directly for funds.

ECLT's primary partners are:

- Community Asset Preservation Corporation, the development arm of New Jersey Community Capital, a statewide CDFI
- HOMECorp, a CDC in Montclair, NJ
- Hands, Inc., a CDC in Orange, NJ
- Ironbound Community Corporation, a CDC in Newark, NJ

At its founding, ECLT's goal was to seed new CLTs around the county and persuade CDCs to incorporate the CLT model into their own programming. Early on, however, they found the complexity of founding new CLTs too difficult for local communities. Although existing CDCs generally embraced the CLT model, they were too wrapped up in their own work to incorporate the CLT model. They altered their mission from a central-server focused on seeding new

CLTs to a single countywide land steward. “A land trust and a CDC are the same until you finish building the house,” so “we do everything but the development,” (H. Simon, personal communication, April 20, 2016). ECLT does the groundwork of seeking out funding, working with and educating homebuyers, and exploring new development opportunities. Coordinating construction loans and site acquisitions are up to the CDCs, though there is an agreed upon split for developer fees in each project.

In addition to developer fees, ECLT is largely funded by charitable foundations and grants. Long-term, they expect to rely increasingly on revenue from ground lease fees, resale fees, real-estate commissions, and other fees associated with CLT services (Kaspen et al., 2013). As of this writing, the land trust comprises four two-family houses and is in the process of developing a six-unit townhome.

Governance and retainment of community control have been difficult in a CLT that covers a county of 22 municipalities. The organization’s constituency cannot be defined as a single “community,” and they do not utilize the tripartite board. Rather, the board consists of representatives from many stakeholders: representatives of low-income and minority communities (but not necessarily CLT homeowners), CDCs, CDFIs, the Urban League of Essex County, real estate consultants, and advocacy organizations, such as BlueWave and National Housing Institute (H. Simon, personal communication, April 20, 2016). ECLT intends to maintain flexibility in its board structure depending on how its constituency and partnerships develop over time. This includes the possibility of separating the board into an “executive board” for organizations and a “member board” for CLT homeowners (Kaspen et al p.12).

ECLT’s activities are chiefly composed of two programs: The Financial Freedom Homebuyer’s Club, which is a financial counseling program around homeownership, budgeting, and investing, and the Opportunity We Need Program, which is responsible for land stewardship and traditional CLT work. In their capacity as advocates for CLT-friendly policy and funding coordinators, they have encountered difficulties creating an environment of support. Campaigns to increase awareness among governments and banks resulted in a CLT loan program. Government officials are happy with the CLT model’s use of a one-time subsidy, but, with some exceptions, have not been actively supportive.

Moving forward, ECLT intends to continue focusing on preserving affordable housing as a traditional CLT. They will cultivate relationships with CDCs and banks across Essex County until they hit a critical mass of self-sustainability. Once they reach this point they may consider expanding their scope or reverting back to their initial plan of seeding local CLTs.

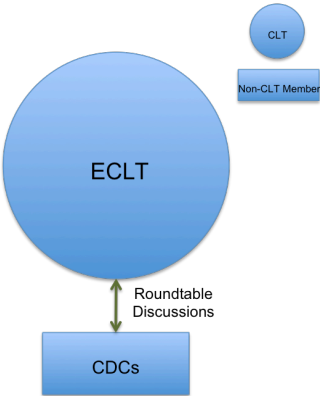


Figure 10: ECLT Regional Structure.

South Florida Community Land Trust Network: Broward and Palm Beach Counties, FL

Several community land trusts in South Florida began forming in the mid-2000s at the peak of the real estate boom. Covering diverse demographics and a large geography, individual organizations started seeking a way to retain their

local work while acquiring larger-scale funding. CLTs had also encountered problems acquiring CLT lending products (S. Cabrera, personal communication, December 17, 2015). The South Florida CLT Network formed in 2007 and received the Cornerstone Homeowner Innovation Program grant in 2012. CLTs and housing organizations in Palm Beach and Broward Counties applied for the grant as a group to fund three years of internal capacity building (M. Bartle, personal communication, December 2, 2015). The network is currently comprised of 7 organizations with 250 units.

CLTs in the network:

- Delray Beach CLT (Delray Beach, FL)
- Habitat for Humanity/HeartFelt Housing of South Palm Beach County (Delray Beach, FL)
- The CLT of Palm Beach County, Inc. (West Palm Beach, FL)
- Adopt a Family of the Palm Beaches, Inc. (Lake Worth, FL)
- South Florida CLT (SFCLT) (Fort Lauderdale, FL)
- Neighborhood Renaissance, Inc. (West Palm Beach, FL)
- Housing Partnership (Riviera Beach, FL)

The Housing Leadership Council of Palm Beach County (HLCPC) acts as liaison and facilitator. According to HLCPC's Suzanne Cabrera, this allows them to moderate the network and ensure an equitable distribution of benefits. Michael Brown of Burlington Associates worked with the network early on to define activities at the centralized vs. local level.

Funding, which must be matched by the network, goes through HLCPC as the convenor to reimburse individual organizations for network level activities. Because the Cornerstone Partnership grant is limited to three years the network has focused on short-term projects, though they did end up receiving a fourth

year of funding (M. Bartle, personal communication, December 2, 2015). The network contracts consultants to conduct many of their activities, avoiding the logistics of hiring additional staff. There was a policy advocacy campaign to change tax assessments in a way that facilitates CLT development. The network hired a consultant to work with lenders and conduct a workshop, which led to the network partnering with ten new banks. Lenders felt the investment was too small to work with individual organizations, but they felt “more comfortable knowing they has[sic] a larger pool of potential loans,” (HLCPBC, n.d.). They created a standardized ground lease, a region-wide homebuyer manual, and conducted CLT homebuyer classes. The network conducts quarterly meetings, though relationships between members vary from “informal partnerships” to “very tight knit.” Members tend to “coalesce around projects,” (M. Bartle, personal communication, December 2, 2015; S. Cabrera, personal communication December 17, 2015).

The South Florida CLT is likely to expand into Miami-Dade County in the next year. Their plan is to seed smaller, neighborhood-based CLTs that they can centrally manage.

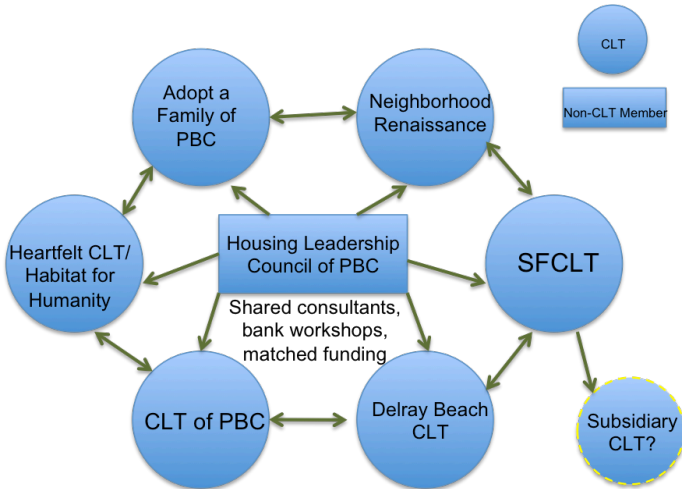


Figure 11: SFCLTN Network Structure.

Crescent City Community Land Trust: New Orleans, LA

The Crescent City Community Land Trust began its formation in the mid-2000s. After Hurricane Katrina, there was a lack of access to affordable rental housing in New Orleans. Post hurricane reconstruction subsidies for homeownership were strong enough that a CLT shared-equity homeownership program was a “tough sell,” (A. Miller, personal communication, December 4, 2015). Efforts to gain a share of these subsidies for CLT development did not work out, so the CLT began with a special focus on rental housing, minority-owned business and economic development. After a feasibility study to determine commercial development opportunities and putting together a commercial model for CLT investment, they found success by partnering with a downtown developer revitalizing the historic Pythian Building. Plans for the building include a low-income health clinic, office space, retail, and residential units. 40% of the residential units will remain affordable long-term. The CLT itself will have ownership over 15% of the project, likely a result of complications in separating the land from the building in partnership with a mixed-use developer (A. Miller, personal communication, December 4, 2015).

In the Lower Ninth Ward, the Neighborhood Empowerment Network Association (Lower 9th Ward NENA) focuses on affordable housing, housing counseling services, and financial counseling to low-income families. Lower 9th Ward NENA began working with the CCLT early after its founding. CLT historian John Davis describes their relationship in a 2011 interview with Community-Wealth:

There is a dual effort in New Orleans. In the Lower Ninth Ward, there is a focus on using a CLT to do housing, where an existing organization, the Neighborhood Empowerment Network Association (NENA), is sponsoring a land trust program. There is also a citywide effort, the Crescent City Community Land Trust, which was set up to support NENA but also to support community

land trusts in neighborhoods across New Orleans. The Crescent City CLT has a focus not only on the production and preservation of affordable housing, but also on the redevelopment of commercial corridors and commercial districts in less affluent neighborhoods. (Dubb, 2011).

2008 saw the official incorporation of the Jane Place Neighborhood Sustainability Initiative (JPNSI) as a CLT in New Orleans' Mid-City neighborhoods. They joined the loose network of organizations dedicated to community control over development and long-term housing affordability, led by CCCLT. After a long process, in 2015 they rehabilitated and launched a four-unit residential, low-income affordable rental apartment building. This was made possible in part through a predevelopment grant made by CCLT to JPNSI (A. Miller, personal communication, December 4, 2015).

The predevelopment money came from a Ford Foundation grant made to CCCLT to fund its activities as a central-server to the city of New Orleans. Despite receiving outside funding and conducting some activities together, there is no codified partnership, contract, or memorandum of understanding within the interorganizational network. The goal of the Ford grant was simply to provide some capacity building help (A. Miller, personal communication, December 4, 2015). The network of organizational relationships between CLTs in New Orleans is generally governed through each organization hosting representatives of the others on their board of directors. The formation of the interorganizational network was documented through a consulting process by Michael Brown of Burlington Associates in 2009-2010. A 2009 needs assessment saw a loose agreement that the central-server would function as a policy advocate, real estate buyer, site developer, information clearinghouse, and a central source for resource development of grants and other funding (Burlington Associates, 2010).

Functions Best Served by a Central Server	Functions Best Served between a Central Server and a Neighborhood CLT	Functions Best Served by a Neighborhood CLT
Public policy advocate	Landowner/lessor	Community organizer
Real estate buyer	Housing developer	Land-use planner
Site developer	Commercial developer	Homebuyer educator/counselor
Resource clearinghouse	Mortgage broker	Sales manager
	Post-purchase steward	Property manager

Figure 12: Results of a Needs Assessment for Task Distribution in a New Orleans Central-Server CLT (Burlington Associates, 2010)

In its capacity as a central-server, CCCLT has produced a model ground lease for the entire state of Louisiana. In 2015 it began running the Crescent City Futures Fund to support development projects through acquisition and predevelopment loans for CLTs. The program is administered by the Capital Impact Partners, a national CDFI and economic development nonprofit, and largely funded by a \$1 million investment by the Greater New Orleans Foundation (Greater New Orleans Foundation, 2015). Beyond that, CCLT has scaled back its intentions as a central-server entity moving forward (A. Miller, personal communication, December 4, 2015).

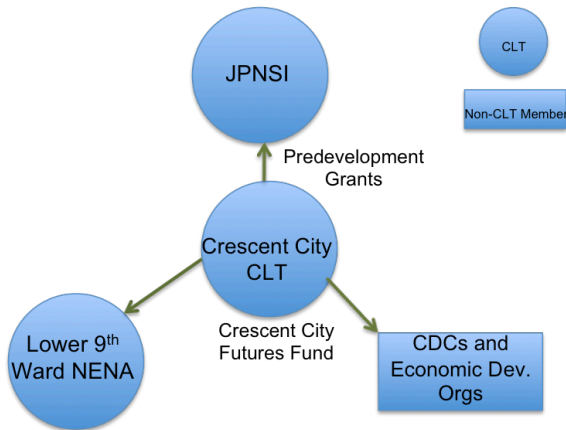


Figure 13: CCCLT Network Structure.

Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative: Atlanta, GA

The Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative began in 2010 after community, public, and civic leaders engaged in a series of discussions over a three-year period in response to the Atlanta BeltLine Redevelopment and the potential

displacement of residents in the communities that were directly adjacent to the redevelopment. The BeltLine project, a 25-year, \$2.8 billion comprehensive redevelopment of a ring around the city of Atlanta, touches 45 separate neighborhoods (Kaspen *et al.*, 2013, L. Hoffman, personal communication, April 15, 2016). The project included a mandate to build 5,600 units of affordable housing. Utilizing tax allocation districts, similar to tax increment financing (TIF), the BeltLine created a citywide affordable housing trust fund. A working group with representatives from the City of Atlanta Land Bank Authority, the Atlanta Housing Association of Neighborhood-based Developers, and Tony Pickett from the ALTC saw that the BeltLine touched a lot of low-income and underserved communities (Davidson, 2012). They saw this as an opportunity to build and preserve that affordable housing through a CLT model so as to retain any initial subsidies. Excitement around the seemingly extensive buy-in across sectors led to ALTC preparing to act as a central-server that could seed and support neighborhood-based CLTs along the BeltLine (Kaspen *et al.* 2013). According to an interview with John Davis in Community-Wealth:

They have tried to anticipate the negative externalities and social inequities that often result from a massive public investment in “urban renewal.” They have built social equity into their planning from Day One, (Dubb, 2011).

The idea that a group of independent-acting CLTs could work with the well-funded and organized BeltLine to effectively address displacement resulting from the redevelopment was “not a viable option,” (Kaspen *et al.* 2013). Instead they should join as one central-server. According to a 2011 presentation prepared by then executive director Tony Pickett, ALTC incorporated as a way to:

- Create a favorable climate for CLT development.

- Nurture the formation of at least two neighborhood-based, resident controlled CLTs within three years.
- Perform the stewardship functions of a CLT in neighborhoods where local capacity does not exist to carry out these functions.

ALTC began working with the Pittsburgh Community Improvement Association (PCIA), Resources for Residents and Communities (RRC), the SouthWest Atlanta Neighborhood Collaborative (SWANC) and the Grove Park Community to create and sustain new CLTs.

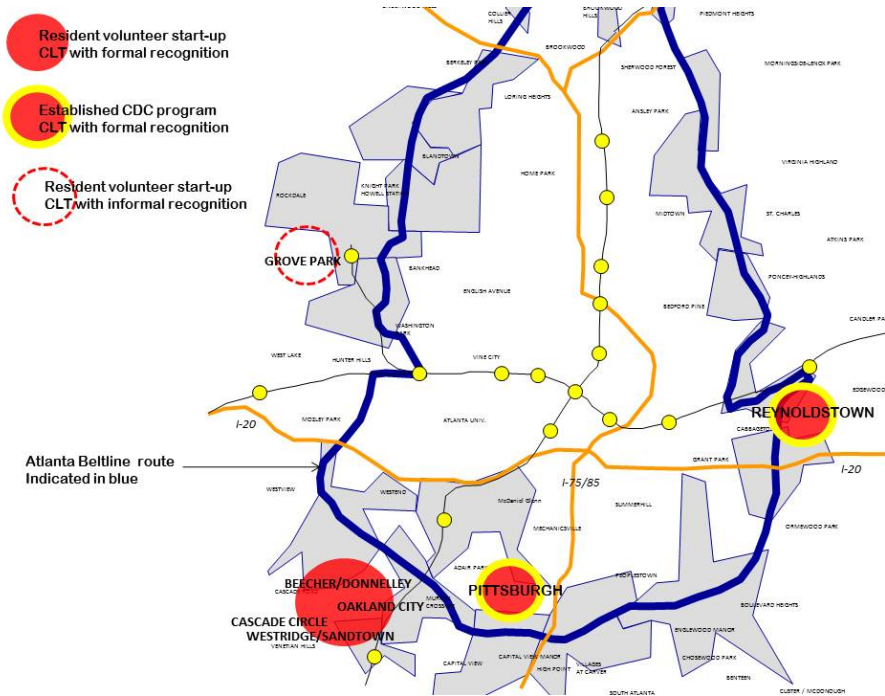


Figure 14: ALTC Neighborhood Layout: Early Progress (atlantaltc.org)

Despite start-up and organizational support from community development foundations and investors like the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Home Depot Foundation, NCB Capital, and Wells Fargo, ALTC could not get the BeltLine to commit to the CLT model as a vehicle to meet their affordable housing goals (Davidson, 2012). Bank of America began working with ALTC but ultimately decided not to participate in the CLT project. After months of negotiations with Wells Fargo to approve a CLT loan product, PCIA used the product to close on

one home. In general, the bank did not see CLT projects as valuable enough to be worth their time. For example, in the economically depressed Pittsburgh neighborhood, CLT homes were only valued around \$80,000. PCIA could not get a dedicated loan officer to work on only one or two of these projects at a time (L. Hoffman, personal communication, April 15, 2016).

This hasn't stopped the collaborative from providing some technical assistance for CDCs on CLT mechanics, including a standardized ground lease and resale formula (Kaspen et al. 2013). ALTC raises funds for their own programmatic work and have passed resources to other CLTs when possible. However, recently ALTC's focus has been a transition to a more traditional, independent CLT structure. They still work with PCIA in some stewardship capacity, and are exploring opportunities to provide technical assistance to a new West Atlanta Land Trust near the new Atlanta Falcons' dome (L. Hoffman, personal communication, April 15, 2016). As of this writing, ALTC had just completed a new business plan to formalize their new direction. This is expected to include a strategy to find a financial institution committed to and understanding of the shared equity model.

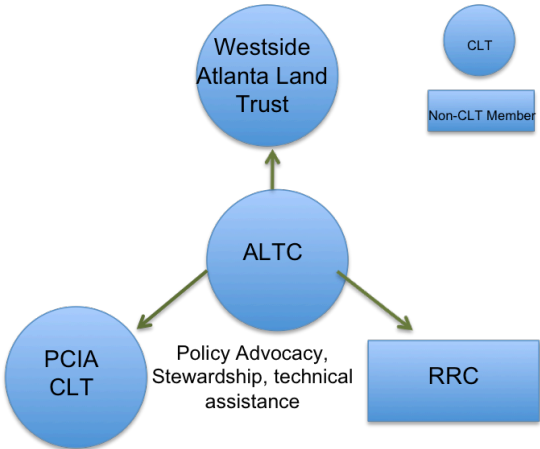


Figure 15: ALTC Network Structure.

Minnesota Community Land Trust Coalition: MN

Community land trusts in Minnesota got their start in the early nineties when groups in Duluth and St. Paul started receiving state capacity funds, which “really paved the way for 13 other CLTs to start,” (J. Washburne, personal communication, March 31, 2016). When the Mayo Clinic and Rochester Area Foundation put \$14 million toward community land trusts in the late nineties it caught the attention of a lot of funders and the state housing finance agency. They were able to produce 200 units in only two years. By the time Jeff Washburne started working at the City of Lakes CLT in 2002, other organizations around the state had begun meeting as a loose coalition. The Minnesota Community Land Trust Coalition incorporated as its own 501(c)(3) in 2004.

The initial formation of the coalition was in response to challenges in the mortgage market around getting realtors, appraisers, and lenders on board (J. Washburne, personal communication, March 31, 2016). Because these challenges were regional in nature, it made sense to come together as a statewide group. An early strategy was getting the term “community land trust” recognized in state statute.

What began as 13 organizations eventually narrowed down to eight, as attrition during the market crash saw the loss of several Minnesota CLTs. These eight organizations include:

- Carver County Community Development Agency CLT (CCCLT), Chaska, MN
- Central Minnesota Housing Partnership, St. Cloud, MN
- City of Lakes Community Land Trust, Minneapolis, MN
- First Homes, Rochester, MN
- 1 Roof Community Housing, Duluth, MN

- Partnership Community Land Trust, Slayton, MN
- Two Rivers Community Land Trust, Woodbury, MN
- West Hennepin Affordable Housing Land Trust, Minnetonka, MN

Of these, five are operating at a self-sufficient scale in terms of their own programming. Duluth has 300 units, Rochester has 250, Minneapolis has 250 and growing, Hennepin County has 150 and St. Paul has 120. These organizations have been in the CLT business for over a decade and there is a high degree of trust between them and within the coalition (J. Washburne, personal communication, March 31, 2016).

Officially, the mission of the MNCLTC is to coordinate, support, enhance and further the activities of community land trusts in Minnesota. Early efforts in the mortgage market and getting new CLTs off the ground have shifted. The coalition is now focused on advocating at the state level for better policy to sustain CLTs. They are still nominally committed to seeding new CLTs, but are admittedly not directing significant efforts toward that currently. Occasionally, they find it necessary to talk communities *out of* CLTs if they don't seem to be ready for it. There has been a history of mistakes made by CLTs that think they can succeed with only volunteers, (J. Washburne, personal communication, March 31, 2016).

The coalition conducts quarterly meetings, and bylaws require that a dedicated representative attend at least 75% of these meetings (MNCLTC MOU, 2011). Members are required to pay annual dues and dues from sale and resale fees to fund the coalition, and to participate in data collection initiatives. The coalition also receives foundation grants. The funds the coalition receives are used to pay a state-level lobbyist and a part-time consultant for administrative tasks. In the past, the coalition has contracted an executive director to take care

of larger projects, but this has not worked well. The coalition regularly receives funding between \$1-3 million from the Minnesota Housing Finance Agency for organization-level CLT housing activities (J. Washburne, personal communication, March 31, 2016).

Some of the organizational members take on specialized tasks. First Homes in Rochester and 1 Roof Community Housing in Duluth have utilized their strong funding sources to incorporate as a CDFI, though they are not currently seeing these activities to their full capacity. West Hennepin Affordable Housing Land Trust in Minnetonka specializes in financial technical assistance.

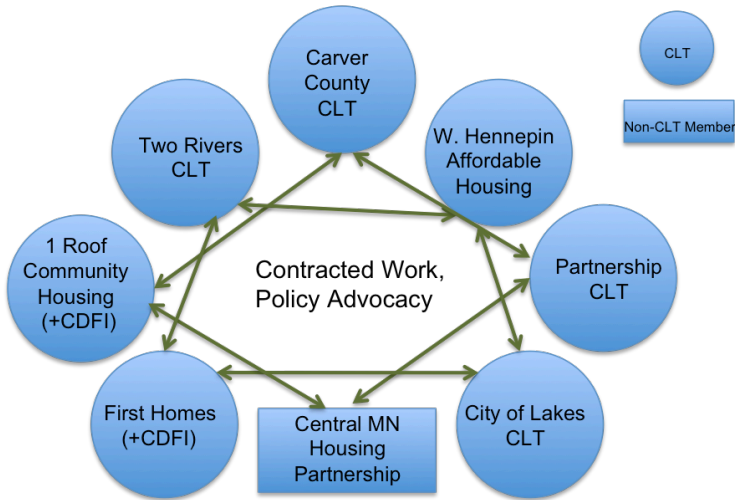


Figure 16: MNCLTC Network Structure.

Northwest Community Land Trust Coalition: WA, OR, AK, ID, WY, MT

The Northwest Community Land Trust Coalition (NWCLTC) grew from a collaborative network of CLTs on Washington State’s San Juan Islands and in 1999 began expanding to include organizations across the region interested in sharing best practices, contacts and resources (K. Ullrich, personal communication, April 4, 2016). The first ten years saw informal, biannual meetings to share ideas and struggles, with occasional opportunities to

collaborate on projects. Today, at least 40% of Washington and Oregon combined geography is covered by a CLT (NWCLTC, 2010).

Eventually the NWCLTC became its own 501(c)(3) and hired a staff member for securing grants to fund network-level activities. The 25 participating organizational members come from a wide geographical area, including both urban and rural areas in Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming and Montana. Organizational governance ranges between community-driven and city-directed initiatives. Bylaws of the coalition list the following goals:

- Permanently affordable housing and homeownership opportunities
- Acquiring and preserving land in an environmentally and socially responsible manner
- Promoting the development of economic opportunities within their respective communities
- Providing permanently affordable access to land and capital for community purposes

Early funding went toward the Capacity Building Institute, an in-depth training on starting up CLTs. In 2008 the institute brought in CLT, real estate, and architecture experts from across the region and country for a series of training sessions. The sessions covered ground lease and resale formulas, organizational sustainability, housing development, accounting and bookkeeping, member recruitment, and others (Capacity Building Institute, n.d.).

NWCLTC conducted an ambitious 2010 strategic plan to direct their activities through 2014. The plan is instructive as to the goals and needs of member organizations despite the eventual scaling back of the central coalition's role (K. Ullrich, personal communication, April 4, 2016). The plan lists strategies for growth at organizational and network levels, increased funding and

awareness, and better policies and partnerships region wide. It outlines a revenue plan, 15% of which would be generated from membership dues, 15% from fees for service, and 70% from public and private grants, half of which would be multi-year commitments. It sets out a plan for balancing its service provision between supporting established CLTs and targeting areas for new CLT development. It briefly mentions plans to develop a “hub-and-spoke/federation approach,” later used synonymously with “central-server” in conversation with Katie Ullrich (NWCLTC, 2010, K. Ullrich, personal communication, April 4, 2016). Additional strategies include identifying and cultivating relationships with key elected officials and exploring opportunities for community members to invest in their local CLT.

More recently, the coalition has conducted fewer meetings in an effort to get members to attend national CLT network meetings. The NWCLTC no longer has its own staff, and most of the work is done by a volunteer board of representatives from member organizations. Costs associated with technical assistance and conference attendances are offset by member dues (\$100-\$500 per year depending on portfolio size) and a limited amount of grant funding at the network-level. Future plans are limited by time and capacity issues, though there is some discussion of a shared marketing piece presenting stories collected from homeowners across the region (K. Ullrich, personal communication, April 4, 2016).

Within the network, individual organizations receive varying degrees of municipal support. Proud Ground in Portland, OR receives annual funding through the city’s Community Development Block Grant allocation for education and homebuyer counseling. CLTs in Washington are currently pushing for a

property tax assessment system beneficial to projects producing and maintaining long-term affordable housing (K. Ullrich, personal communication, April 4, 2016).

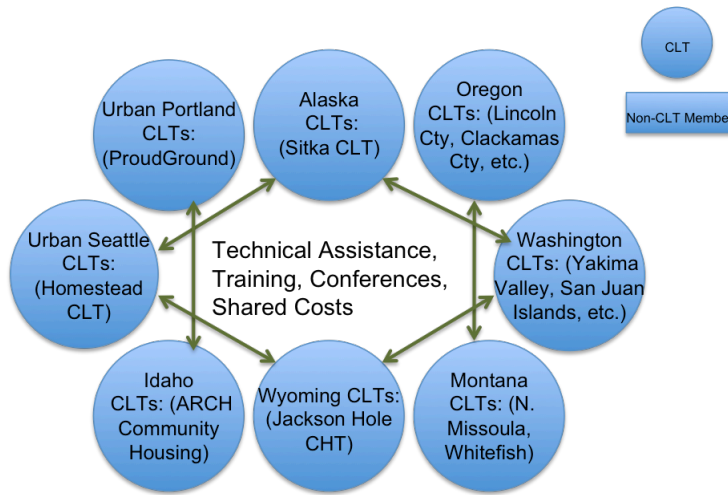


Figure 17: NWCLTC Network Structure.

Bay Area Consortium of Community Land Trusts: Bay Area, CA

The Bay Area Consortium of Community Land Trusts (BACCLT) was

formed in 2012 to share efforts and facilitate marketing, resale listings, access to mortgage financing, homeowner support and education, and development of new CLTs. Previously, the housing industry in California viewed CLTs as a “rounding error,” but as a coalition they hold \$50 million in assets and over 750 homes.

Member organizations span a core area of five counties, though efforts extend through a nine-county Greater Bay Area region (I. Winters, personal communication, December 9, 2015). The member organizations are:

- Community Land Trust Association of West Marin (CLAM)
- Oakland CLT
- San Francisco CLT
- Preserving Affordable Housing Assets Longterm, Inc. (PAHALI)
- Northern California Land Trust (NCLT)
- Housing Land Trust of Sonoma County (HLTSC)

- Bay Area Community Land Trust (BACLT)

Early funding came from the Federal Home Loan Bank's AHEAD program, with \$50,000 intended to fund a stewardship coordinator that would assist the consortium from the NCLT office. These funds have been used to pay for seven hours of stewardship activities a week. These activities are distributed between the member organizations and funds were not used to hire a new coordinator (I. Winters, personal communication, December 9, 2015).

The Metropolitan Transportation Commission, a subgroup of regional planning entity the Association of Bay Area Governments provided funding to catalogue the history of BACCLT projects, identify best practices, and implement an acquisition fund. NCLT acts as the lead agency and then subcontracts work to the other member organizations (I. Winters, personal communication, December 9, 2015).

Within San Francisco, the SFCLT is supported by the city's Small Site Acquisition Fund. The policy, put in place in 2009 and finally implemented in 2014, aids non-profits purchasing real estate between 5-25 units. The funds are in the form of ready cash that is faster than ordinary government capital (I. Winters, personal communication, December 9, 2015). The fund amounts to \$20 million per year, drawn from in-lieu fees from the city's inclusionary housing ordinance and condo conversion fees (Li and Fong, 2016).

The consortium meets quarterly, often focused on funding applications, advocating for statewide CLT policy, reviewing and evaluating projects, and sharing technical expertise (I. Winters, personal communication, December 9, 2015). Formal consortium members work to support newly established CLTs (recently in Fresno and Bolinas, CA) and reconnect with withering CLTs (e.g. Humboldt and Hemet, CA). A most recent focus has been on stabilizing

homeowners in East Palo Alto through coordinating with PAHALI. Currently unincorporated, PAHALI is incubated by NCLT to organize around two recently donated sites in East Palo Alto. BACCLT also works to organize CLTs across the state through a newer and more loosely associated California CLT Network (BACCLT, personal communication, January 15, 2016).

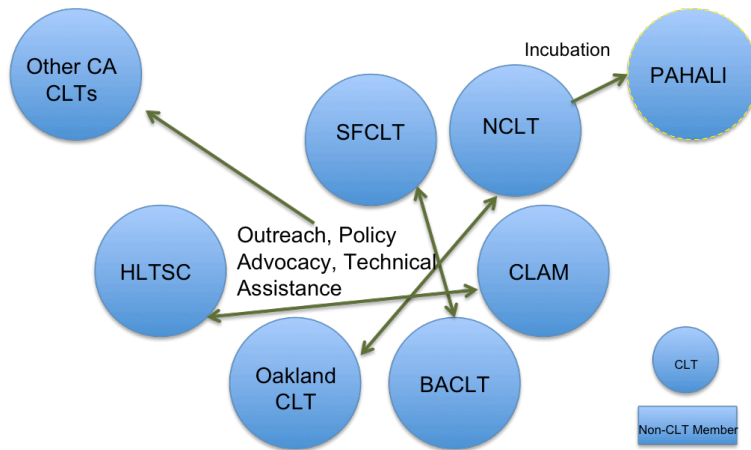


Figure 18: BACCLT Network Structure.

Discussion

The first three network cases (New Jersey, New Orleans, Atlanta) intended to form central-servers as a way to facilitate building a new CLT system from scratch across a more limited geographical range. The system would be integrated with an existing network of CDCs and other housing agencies. The central-server organization itself was supplied with educational and counseling resources, financial and legal expertise, and the power to negotiate with city/county officials for its membership. As Figure 19 shows below, case studies tended to drift away from the central-server model, with ECLT becoming a regional CLT and CCCLT and ALTC operating more as CLT coalitions or federations. This should not be perceived as a failure of the network, but rather a shift in strategy. Members found that their network-level effectiveness could be enhanced by departing from the central-server model.

Figure 19 below shows the relative position changes of each case study example on a two-dimensional spectrum with Burlington Associates' Array of Potential CLT Operational Strategies (n.d.) on the x-axis and Plastrik & Taylor's (2006) network purpose framework on the y-axis.

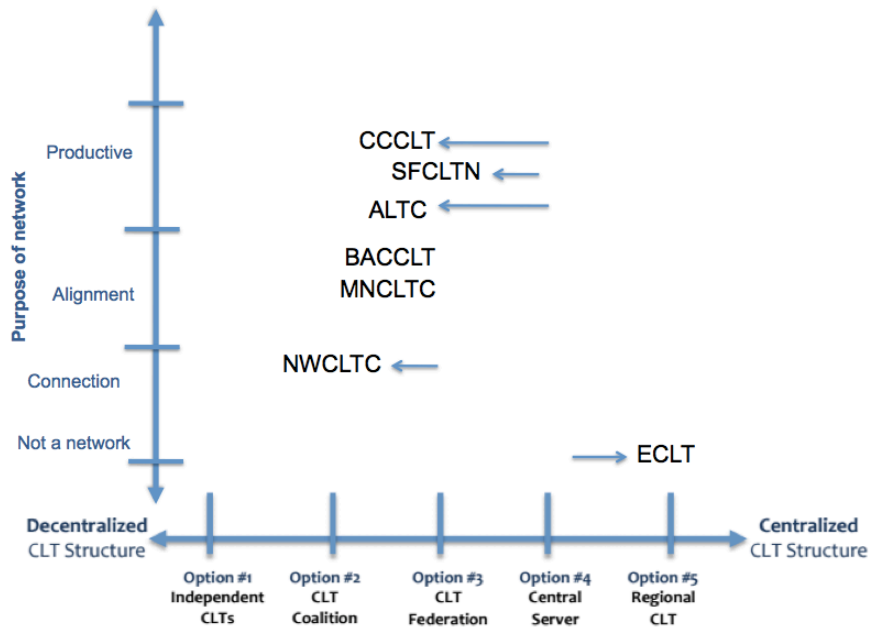


Figure 19: Case Studies Arranged over the Array of Potential CLT Operational Strategies (Burlington Associates, n.d.) on the x-axis and Plastrik & Taylor's (2006) network purpose framework on the y-axis

There was a general theme that arose over the course of the case study interviews in which less centralized CLT networks (BACCLT, MNCLTC, NWCLTC) focused on all the accomplishments of their work together, while attempts at central-servers had seen a mixture of successes and failures, including eventual shifts in strategy (SFCLTN, CCCLT, ALTC, ECLT). More diffuse CLT networks were less responsible for assisting in the development of new CLTs, though a number of CLTs in the network did facilitate new CLT development when those opportunities arose. The South Florida CLT Network was initially planned to function as a central-server, but ended up with a formalized structure more closely resembling the networks of established CLTs found in Minnesota, the Pacific Northwest, and California's Bay Area. It has

retained a greater degree of centrality, with the Housing Leadership Council of Palm Beach County acting as a network administrative organization. This is a reasonable outcome for them given their moderate density of trust, moderate-high number of participants, goal consensus, and need for network level competencies. Based on this, Provan and Kenis (2008) would predict a high degree of brokerage associated with network administrative organizations. The Essex Community Land Trust was also intended to form as a central-server and seed new CLTs across the county, but is currently acting as a single county-wide CLT. This makes it difficult to apply the Provan and Kenis framework. It could be considered an extremely high degree of brokerage due to a need for efficiency and external legitimacy, both important to building a CLT from scratch. Crescent City CLT and the Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative have shifted their strategy from a central-server to a traditional CLT that serves some facilitating roles for other local CLTs and community organizations. This may also be illustrated by a move from Provan & Kenis' network administrative organization to a lead organization, as ALTC and CCCLT don't quite resemble a CLT federation the way that SFCLTN does. They both exhibit a small number of participants, moderate goal consensus, and need for network level competencies associated with a brokered network. However, the difficulty of beginning a CLT network from scratch resulted in a strategy shift away from network-level activities and toward pure CLT function.

The Bay Area Consortium of CLTs and Minnesota CLT coalition exhibit a high density of trust, small-moderate number of participants, relatively high goal consensus and lower need for network level competencies associated with a lower level of brokerage. The NorthWest CLT Coalition has a much larger number of participants, but its need for network level competencies has been

scaled back so far that their need for network brokerage is also low according to Provan and Kenis' framework.

The variation of goals and degrees of successful structure implementation across these case studies provide considerable insight for the Greater Boston CLT Network as they implement their own network structure. There are cases of efficiently functioning networks with successful financial programs and access to funding, as well as cases of strategic failures and need for a scaled-back network strategy.

There are also many contextual factors that should be considered when drawing comparisons. In the case of Essex CLT and the Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative, organizations felt apprehensive about partnering with such a new organization. They were uncertain about its financial capacity for longevity and sustainability. Area CDCs had a general lack of understanding of CLTs and how a partnership would look (Kaspen et al. p. 15, L. Hoffman, personal communication, April 15, 2016). In Boston, the long and successful history of Dudley Neighbors, Inc. may counteract some of these difficulties. Urban areas such as Greater Boston may not need to coordinate as extensively with CDCs, so ECLT and ALTC's strategic failures don't necessarily apply to the GBCLTN. ALTC also had to contend at its beginning with a majority Republican state legislature, which may have been opposed to working with the capital city due to political affiliations (L. Hoffman, personal communication, April 15, 2015). Crescent City CLT, despite scaling back its original intent, had good things to say about shared technical and legal assistance. They found financial resource sharing more difficult between organizations, stating that a citywide strategy may be easier (A. Miller, personal communication, December 4, 2015).

The NorthWest CLT Coalition warns against indiscriminate support for CLTs. Some have started and failed at the community level, with a negative effect on the movement as a whole (K. Ullrich, personal communication, April 4, 2016).

The Bay Area Consortium of CLTs benefitted from regional planning entities Metropolitan Transportation Commission and Association of Bay Area Governments. They act as liaisons and have assisted in pointing CLTs to local people that could provide technical assistance. (I. Winters, personal communication, December 9, 2015). They have also been pleased with the incubation model used by Northern California CLT to assist new CLT PAHALI. Finally, San Francisco's Small Site Acquisition policy could be explored further for its applicability in Boston's similarly hot housing market.

South Florida CLT Network's success can perhaps be partially credited to its ease in acquiring land. Real estate is often given away by municipalities, but the cost to build is often more expensive than the potential selling price (M. Bartle, personal communication, December 2, 2015). They also benefit from a local inclusionary zoning ordinance requiring that all affordable units produced through the ordinance go to a CLT (HLCPBC, n.d.). They also suggest working with a network member that functions as a CDFI, increasing the scope of the network. (M. Bartle, personal communication, December 2, 2015).

A final important consideration is the date of each networks establishment. Those which were started from scratch (ECLT, ALTC, CCCLT) could be expected to shift their strategy considerably from its original intent. The other interorganizational CLT networks (SFCLTN, BACCLT, MNCLTC, NWCLTC) began with established CLTs and less ambitious goals. These

networks have also shifted strategy as their CLTs mature and the network can focus less on assisting brand new ones.

Chapter 5: Greater Boston CLT Network Needs Assessment

Needs Assessment

A needs assessment, consisting of network observations and in-depth one-on-one interviews led to the findings that follow. More information on methodology can be found in Chapter 2 and the needs assessment template can be found in Appendix B. The goal of the needs assessment was to determine how and which tasks associated with CLT development and operations can be centralized so as not to be duplicated across several independent organizations. The outcome of the needs assessment is found in Table 5 below.

Table 4: Needs Assessment Central-Server Matrix for the GBCLTN. * denotes tasks on which there was disagreement between members.

Functions Best Served by a Central-Server	Functions Best Served between a Central-Server and a Neighborhood CLT	Functions Best Served by a Neighborhood CLT
Information and resource clearinghouse	Public policy advocacy	Land acquisition and disposition coordination
Coordinating collaborative partnerships	Project financing and resource development*	Housing and commercial development planning
Coordinating technical assistance and training		Community organizing
Post-purchase stewardship*		Governance and community outreach
		Land-use planning
		Construction and development*
		Land ownership
		Homebuyer counseling and case management*
		Sales and property management
		Business incubation and support services

One thing that stands out about this distribution of tasks is its heavy emphasis on Functions Best Served by a Neighborhood CLT. Compare this with Crescent City CLT's version in Figure 13, which calls for more central and shared tasks and less individual organizational autonomy. Organizations in the GBLCTN preferred to keep land acquisition and disposition at the local level, though some did express concern at the need for mediation between groups working toward different goals in the same service area (i.e. Mattapan United seeking housing vs. UFI seeking agriculture in Mattapan). Groups prefer to keep housing and commercial development planning at the local level, citing concerns that locals are hesitant to work with what they perceive as outside developers, or even any development at all. Community organizing was best suited to local work, but there is opportunity for City Life/Vida Urbana to organize around broader issues. There may also be opportunities for network-level training for organizers. Interviewees preferred local control of governance and community outreach, especially in the structure of community-level organizations. Network level governance is expanded on in the open-response section to follow. Land use planning and land ownership were expected to remain local, which further strengthens the theme of local autonomy. The majority of respondents preferred construction and development to be coordinated at the local level, though there was not a clear consensus. It could depend on the size of the development in question, and whether the local organization has the experience to coordinate on its own. Homebuyer counseling and case management was disagreed on, though most preferred local control over these tasks. Homeowners may prefer a local person to work with, but centralizing these tasks could result in a more efficient and standardized system. The benefit of working with a local organization is also reflected in the preference for sales and property

management to be conducted at the local level. Respondents were generally unsure about business incubation and support services, especially since CLT commercial space hasn't been fully explored by the GBCLTN. However, it seems that this uncertainty caused respondents to edge on the side of local community autonomy.

Public policy advocacy has been one of the major projects of the GBCLTN thus far, and its placement as both a central and local task reflect the desire to push for policy at the city and state level, as well as with local city councilors. City Life/Vida Urbana is also seen as a quasi-network level policy advocacy arm of the GBCLTN, and is already assisting in this work. Project financing and resource development was emphasized at both the central and local level. Respondents tended to agree that resources needed to be made available for network-level functions. Local organizations would prefer to be responsible for financing their own projects, but seek considerable assistance or even a co-signer relationship with either DNI or some other central-convenor entity.

Information and resource clearinghouse was seen as a central function of the network, especially as organizations are getting off the ground and need to reference standard ground leases or operations manual. Respondents value their local autonomy in coordinating local collaboration, but see a greater value in allowing the network to coordinate higher-level collaborations. Technical assistance and training was viewed in the context of conversations about a municipal TA program. This has been one topic on which the city of Boston has been willing to negotiate the most. The Boston Housing Innovation Lab has expended time and resources working with the GBCLTN to develop a TA program. In general, the TA program is envisioned as collaboration between

experienced network-level representatives and the city. DNI, being the most experienced, and viewed by members as the current convenor of the network, has been coordinating and providing technical assistance on an ad hoc basis. COHIF's considerable experience in project financing has also given them opportunity to provide technical assistance. One goal of a more formalized TA program would be to reimburse individual organizations for the TA that they provide.

Survey

In addition to the needs assessment matrix, the interview process included a survey to elicit further discussion on member goals and potential issues associated with centralized tasks. Seven organizational representatives were interviewed. Responses to each question are outlined below:

What benefits does your organization and local community gain by being part of the network? What benefits would you like to see in the future?

The most common responses were around capacity building, funding and technical assistance. Other responses included knowledge sharing and education around CLTs, increased policy advocacy, and leveraging resources. Technical assistance and information/resource clearinghouse were two of the centralized tasks in the needs assessment, so this should not come as a surprise. Members expect that they can depend on their network partners to provide some of the skills that they lack and that the network can advocate for larger scale funding and resources.

What city-wide or regional benefits do you see from the network? What benefits would you like to see in the future?

These responses largely overlapped with those to the previous question. More funding was a common response, along with better community organizing

capacity. Interviewees also cited more sweeping benefits such as preventing displacement and real estate speculation, and shifting the way the city thinks about land.

What are your priorities in forming a network? How do the goals of the network align with the goals of your CLT/organization?

The top priority for interviewees was addressing CLT education. For many members, their constituency is only now being introduced to the CLT concept. For more-established members, they still require education and assistance in building and sustaining a successful CLT. Policy advocacy and building relationships with the city, including determining the nature of the municipal technical assistance program, was another priority. Tony Hernandez of Dudley Neighbors, Inc. emphasized the need to distinguish the Greater Boston CLT movement as a movement of its own, regardless of DNI's involvement. Other interviewee priorities could generally be categorized by the degree of their CLT development; those further along in the process demand technical assistance while others prefer education and policy advocacy.

Should the network be composed of organizational staff? Should it incorporate boards of directors?

Respondents agreed that staff generally made the most sense as network members, though many emphasized the need for community input. Because many CLT boards include residents, it would make sense to include board members in network meetings when possible. A perceived lack of community-level focus had resulted in missing out on at least one grant opportunity. Membership in general needs to be flexible since so many organizations are interested despite being at such different stages.

Who should be involved in decision-making conversations and who should facilitate them?

There was not much agreement on who should be responsible for decision-making. Two respondents were happy to keep DSNI empowered to make decisions on behalf of the network, at least in the short term. Others mentioned an executive panel and rotating coordinator position, especially for bigger decisions. Respondents expressed concern with building too much of a new structure or requiring too many additional meetings.

What indicators could be used to show the network reaching its goals?

The most common indicator was more land and more CLTs in Boston. Another important indicator was a more formalized strategy and structure for the network, especially establishing reporting mechanisms between the network and individual organizations.

What risks would your organization take in joining a network?

The greatest risk to member organizations was the burden on their time and capacity. Organizations don't want to give up their local work in order to spend more time on network activities. This relates to the second greatest risk: increasing tension between the network and community residents. If the network isn't fully vetted by a member's community it may lead to a loss of legitimacy. Respondents also feared possible tension between the network and the city, especially with changing political administrations. They did not consider any of these risks to be problems at present.

What is your organization's current capacity to engage in the network?

Most organizations see their current capacity as meeting attendance and participation. Each organization has one or two staff spending some time working on network level activities and meetings. DNI has the greatest capacity, and has

been acting as host and convenor since the process began. COHIF's staff and board have also committed significant time to network meetings and activities, offering financial technical assistance.

What strengths can your organization offer to the GBCLTN?

DNI offers its thirty year track record and current position as a convenor/coordinator of the network. The Chinatown CLT has a lot of experience in community organizing and has been educating its residents on CLTs for some time. COHIF has real estate expertise and property negotiation experience, as well as several units that are likely to be put on their CLT. Urban Farming Institute brings a strong focus on non-housing CLTs to the table, something other interested organizations are hoping to build off of. Other organizations have offered commitment to continue engaging their constituencies.

What weaknesses or hurdles is your organization hoping to address?

The majority of respondents are hoping to address capacity issues and gain access to technical assistance. Organizations in early stages of CLT development want to improve their organizing capacity and education opportunities for their constituency. Chinatown CLT in particular views high real estate prices and land acquisition as their main hurdle.

To what degree does your organization's staff identify as part of a Greater Boston CLT Network and what can be done to create a sense of unity among your organization's staff with the GBCLTN?

Most, but not all member organization staff identify as part of the GBCLTN. More are familiar with CLTs as a vehicle for affordable housing retention, but are not familiar with the Greater Boston movement. Interviewees expected that the April GBCLTN launch event would raise awareness about the network.

To what degree does your organization's constituency identify as part of a Greater Boston CLT Network and what can be done to create a sense of unity among your constituency with the GBCLTN?

All respondents answered that their organization's constituency was unaware of a Greater Boston CLT Network. This could also be partially addressed by the April launch event, but mostly it speaks to the need for educational and organizing resources at the organizational and network-level.

How do you envision a broader network retaining community members' input in decision-making?

Most interviewees view the individual organization's board structure as a vehicle for retaining community input in decision-making. This system could be made a mandatory rule for inclusion as a voting member of the network. If it incorporates as an independent nonprofit, the GBCLTN board should also reflect the communities it represents. There may be some opportunities for broader citywide inclusion, but "town hall" type decision-making was viewed by one respondent as requiring more capacity than they were willing to commit.

Do you have any questions or concerns about network structures or the network-building process thus far?

There were some general themes that weren't directly addressed in the interview template, but that require further consideration. This includes: emphasis on non-housing activities, such as agriculture, open space, and commercial developments. There was repeated mention of general distrust in city programs, especially as political power changes hands over the years. Finally, the network needs to distinguish itself from DNI and DSNI. Many respondents conflated DNI/DSNI with the central-server concept, while Tony Hernandez at DNI stressed that DNI does not have the capacity to act as *the* central-server.

What, in your view, would be an ideal city-run technical assistance program?

Respondents had many different ideas for a technical assistance program, which makes sense considering the different positions they are starting from. Most importantly, the network is seeking a fast acting and easy to access program that can respond at the pace of Boston real estate deals. This requires a point person with the city who can be of assistance at short notice. Respondents also stressed the need for it to be a partnership with the network and not just a city-run program. Ideally, the program could cover everything listed by respondents: legal, financial, and architectural assistance, education, neighborhood planning, coordinating banks and CDCs, and an understanding of urban agriculture.

Chapter 6: Findings and Recommendations

The preceding case studies of CLT interorganizational networks from around the United States and needs assessment of member organizations of the Greater Boston CLT Network have been conducted in order to answer three main research questions:

- 1. How have geographically associated community land trusts formed interorganizational networks?**
- 2. How are CLTs and other community organizations in Greater Boston organizing to form an interorganizational network that best serves the needs of the communities they represent?**
- 3. How can GBCLTN grow and develop to best meet the needs of its members in the future?**

The following discussion will review the findings of seven case studies and the Greater Boston CLT Network needs assessment and make recommendations for next steps.

How have geographically associated community land trusts formed interorganizational networks?

The case studies in chapter 4 showcase an array of structures and functions for interorganizational CLT networks. Each example indicates the impetus for network formation, the network's intended structure, and the tasks and roles that comprise the actual outcome of its structure.

The reason for formation of an interorganizational network depends on a multitude of factors, including geography, economic climate, policy climate, and relative positions of member organizations. The looser network structures tended to be more geographically spread and formed from pre-existing CLT organizations. Their goals included advocating for county or state policies,

gaining access to financial products, standardizing ground leases and resale formulas, and sharing resources for CLT homebuyer education and counseling. Existing CLTs could operate as before but without duplicating regional-level efforts. They have also served the role of incubators for new CLTs until they achieve their own sustainability.

Despite concerted efforts among Essex CLT, Crescent City CLT, Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative, and the South Florida CLT Network, the central-server model as outlined by Burlington Associates was not implemented successfully. Essex CLT took on a regional CLT structure. ALTC and Crescent City CLT have focused their efforts on typical community level work, though they still coordinate some technical assistance and funding with local partners. The South Florida CLT Network retained a more formalized and centralized structure, but did not end up conforming to the central-server outlined by Burlington Associates. A lack of CLT development experience among membership and a lack of policy and philanthropic support were among the most cited reasons for the shift in strategy. How are CLTs and other community organizations in Greater Boston organizing to form an interorganizational network that best serves the needs of the communities they represent?

Chapter 5 outlines the current status of the GBCLTN and provides a needs assessment for member organizations as the network continues to seek a more stable and sustainable structure. In its current form, the network most closely resembles Provan & Kenis' lead organization network, with DNI occupying the role of lead organization (2008). The GBCLTN exhibits a high density of trust, low number of participants, and moderate to high goal consensus, but its need for network level competencies prevents it from taking a shared governance structure. Placement on the Burlington Associates array of

potential CLT operational strategies is more difficult, since so few of the participant organizations are functioning as CLTs. DNI most closely resembles the convener of a CLT federation, since it is a separately funded body conducting most of the network-level activities. Really, it is an independent local CLT that plays a few central-server roles, similar to the resulting structure in Atlanta and New Orleans. Plastrik and Taylor would describe the GBCLTN as a production network, based on its goals around network-level policy advocacy, coordinating technical assistance, and assisting with aspects of the development process.

The term “central-server” has been used in discussions internal to the network and with the City of Boston. However, the central server frame should be used carefully, given the challenges the model has faced in other regions of the United States. Caution is advisable, but there are enough distinctions between the case studies in this thesis and the context of Greater Boston to support consideration of the central-server model.

Contextual aspects also separate the GBCLTN from some of the issues faced in the case studies. In the case of ECLT, participating organizations were apprehensive about partnering with a brand new organization, questioning its financial capacity for longevity and sustainability (Kaspen *et al.* p. 15). In Boston, DNI has the legitimacy and longevity to counteract this notion. ALTC had no track record as a developer, leading to issues negotiating with funders and governments. DNI does have a track record as a developer (L. Hoffman, personal communication, April 15, 2016). Alex Miller of CCCLT lamented the difficulty of conducting technical assistance through an inexperienced central-server. DNI has been and is conducting technical assistance for some time (A. Miller, personal communication, December 4, 2015).

The political context in a place like Atlanta led to further difficulties, as the Republican-controlled state legislature was not inclined to assist mostly Democratic urban Atlanta, which may have contributed to their lack of funding support (L. Hoffman, personal communication, April 15, 2016). In Florida, land acquisition is relatively easy, which is not the case in Boston. Instead, they have struggled in funding their site developments (M. Bartle, personal communication, December 2, 2015). The geography of Greater Boston is also more confined than those of Atlanta and the whole of Essex County, NJ. This geographic concentration may help to facilitate stronger relationships and more efficient implementation of projects.

The needs assessment itself shows that participants value a high degree of individual organizational autonomy. According to the survey, centralized tasks would be limited to those associated with an information and resource clearinghouse, coordinating collaborative partnerships, conducting technical assistance and training, and post-purchase stewardship. The tasks of policy advocacy and resource development would be shared with local organizations. The vast majority of the activities of implementing and sustaining CLTs (e.g. land acquisition, development planning, community organizing, land ownership, case management, sales, etc.) would lie in the hands of local organizations. The relatively decentralized needs of GBCLTN members may make it easier to sustain a central-server-type body.

Additional concerns that the central-server-type body would have to address include mediating intra-neighborhood competition and conflict, especially in prioritizing land for agriculture vs. housing or commercial developments. There is a large gap in terms of communities identifying as part of a Greater Boston network, which may improve over time as it becomes more established.

Regardless, one focus of the central-server-type body would have to be on CLT education. The central-server-type body itself was viewed by most member representatives as indistinguishable from DNI, while DNI's Tony Hernandez asserts that the body would need to be organizationally distinct from DNI.

Currently, the functions of DNI in its capacity as the central-server-type body are conducted by three staff: Eliza Parad, who spends approximately 30% of her time on network coordination, Tony Hernandez, who spends 10% of his time on network coordination, and Harry Smith, also spending 10% of his time on network coordination.

There are a number of risks associated with forming a network that need to be accounted for. NWCLTC saw many new CLTs get their start only to fail at the community level, "leaving a bad taste in the mouth of funders" and "concern for the movement," (K. Ullrich, personal communication, April 4, 2016). With Chinatown, Mattapan, and Dorchester all looking hopefully at new CLTs in the coming years, it is important to consider what one or two failures might mean to the network as a whole. BACCLT provided insight into CLT incubation, saying that their new CLT, PAHALI, incubated by NCLT, was a productive way to work, and may be reproducible in Boston (I. Winters, personal communication, December 9, 2015).

How can GBCLTN grow and develop to best meet the needs of its members in the future?

To best ensure its own sustainability and fulfillment of its member commitments, the GBCLTN will have to determine a budget for its functions and acquire the funds to support it. This will depend on decisions around network governance and staffing. A newly incorporated organization separate from DNI would necessitate a new executive director, possibly some other administrative

support, and a board of directors. These positions could largely come from network member organizations, but the bylaws would need to be explicit in order to form a new 501(c)(3). A central-server-type body budget would likely need to cover.

- Personnel: Executive Director, Other Staff
- Insurance: Directors & Officers, General Liability
- Office Space: Rent, Utilities
- Equipment, Supplies, Travel/Training, Miscellaneous

Potential revenue sources include:

- Operations
 - Developer fees*
 - Marketing fees*
 - Ground lease fees*
 - Lease re-issuance fees*
 - Fees-for-service
- External Fundraising
 - Foundations
 - Municipal funding
 - State funding

*Despite GBCLTN members wanting to maintain local control over development, marketing, and land stewardship, the network could still extract these fees to support its programming.

Until it implements a formal structure and acquires the resources to fund it, GBCLTN must continue to address its activities on an ad hoc basis. If the network decides to formally incorporate a new central-server-type body, it will need to work out the tension between the efficiency of housing it at DNI and the desire to institutionally distinguish it from DNI. This is feasible given the similar

institutional distinction between DNI and the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, both housed in the same office. Legal and financial issues with incorporating a new 501(c)(3) may not be seen as worth the effort in the short-term, and other cities' experience with independent central-servers does not bode well for an independent Greater Boston central-server-type body.

Simpler than incorporating a new nonprofit, a pool of funds should be created to reimburse network members for previously uncompensated network-level staff-time. These funds would ease the burden on member organizations for the assets they provide. The challenge for many of the case study CLT central-servers was a lack of philanthropic support, so resource development will need to take a prioritized role to ensure sustained funding.

Representatives of Boston's Department of Neighborhood Development (DND) have expressed some support for the GBCLTN, conditional on it being a single actor or organization representing the network. GBCLTN members repeatedly stress the need to fund an organizer or coordinator and a desire for the city to create some sort of funding stream tailored to long-term housing affordability. The city could ensure that the GBCLTN acts as a unified voice in negotiations with DND by creating the funding stream that allows it to do so.

Technical assistance seems to be the area that is most needed by member organizations and most likely to be provided by the municipality. A common theme in the needs assessment was the desire for technical assistance through partnership between the city of Boston and a community based organization. The most logical community partner in this system would be the central-server-type body of the GBCLTN. The network needs to identify an individual or group within the city to coordinate the implementation of a technical assistance program, which should initially prioritize community organizing and

education to build greater base support. Starting with these concrete activities, the GBCLTN can strengthen its relationship with the city and use it as a springboard to better define the technical assistance program moving forward. Technical assistance can evolve as opportunities arise. Beyond that, both the city's and GBCLTN members' ideas of technical assistance have been either vague or so multifaceted as to be impossible to implement. Different network members require different types of technical assistance, hence the consistent pleas for funding for coordinating and reimbursement.

The city of Boston could provide additional assistance by bringing funders on board. Even if it is hesitant to commit to monetary assistance itself, the city could leverage its power and influence to bring banks and CDFIs to a negotiating table with the GBCLTN. Community based organizations would need to continuously ensure that the decision-making process does not stray too far from the local autonomy desired in the needs assessment. Regardless, continued policy advocacy at the city and state level, and coordinating with banks and foundations will need to be top priorities moving forward. As a network, achieving some monetary and policy support will likely make the difference between a unified network structure and a decentralized coalition of independent CLTs and community organizations.

As the GBCLTN and its members evolve, it will be important to revisit the needs assessment and to reevaluate which tasks work best at the local/shared/central level. If they acquire many new members it could lead to a change in trust density and goal consensus. This could necessitate a higher degree of brokerage, similar to the South Florida CLT Network. Better-established CLT members will alter the need for centralized tasks and network level competencies. The GBCLTN may eventually come closer to resembling the

diffuse and less brokered networks of stable CLTs in Minnesota, California, and the Pacific Northwest if its members become stable CLTs. While its membership grows in both number and geography, the network must act as a mediator in the event of tensions over turf in neighborhoods like Dorchester and Mattapan, where there may be multiple network members at play.

A final but important concern in achieving the needs of its membership will be retaining community resident input in decision-making. The needs assessment makes it clear that community members on individual CLT boards must retain some degree of control over network-level decisions. This can be achieved only if the member organizations and their boards identify themselves as part of a broader network, which was shown to be a gap in the needs assessment. The network should prioritize community organizing and education about CLTs in general and participation in the GBCLTN specifically.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis has outlined the major concepts of organizational theory affecting network formation. It has analyzed interorganizational community land trust networks across the country. Finally, it has assessed the opportunities and needs for an interorganizational network in Greater Boston. Through observation, interviews, and analysis of the literature, it has presented a set of recommendations to the Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network as they determine their structure and function.

There is an opportunity for further research into government-community partnered technical assistance programs. The needs assessment in this thesis brought out themes desired by network members, but fine details and their feasibility were hard to ascertain and may be better dealt with as they arise. One strong opportunity for city assistance is to leverage their position to bring more funders and housing developers to the negotiating table. This level of multi-sector coordination may approach the collective impact approach explored by Kania and Kramer (2011), Waltzer, *et al* (2016), and Christens and Inzeo (2016). Collective impact has been successfully implemented in nearby Somerville's Shape Up Somerville program to reduce obesity and promote healthier lifestyles among its residents, so Boston could draw from the experience of its neighbor to address the complex issue of long-term housing affordability.

The GBCLTN already exists, but it remains to be determined how it can work most efficiently moving forward. According to this analysis, that can be achieved by greater government and funder buy-in, broader education and understanding around CLTs and the GBCLTN, and a clear network mediator role to manage possible long-term tensions.

Appendix

Appendix A: CLT Central-Server/Network Interview Template

Questions:

How long has the network been in place?

What is the scale of the network? How many counties are represented?

How often do you meet?

What initial conditions led to the formation of the network?

What have been the activities of the network thus far? Have member goals generally been met?

What are plans for the future of the network?

Does the network assist member CLTs through their development or are most already firmly in place?

What is the structure of your network? Is there a central convening committee with member representatives of each individual organizations? Or is there a central network-administering organization that is separately funded?

How does the consortium deal with shared resources/billing staff time? Essentially, what is the financial/economic system in place for running the consortium?

What has been the role of government agencies and policy in building and sustaining the network?

Do you have any materials available from the consortium formation process? e.g. a needs assessment, meeting minutes, consulting materials, a business plan?

What are your general reflections on your model of the CLT network?

Appendix B: GBCLTN Needs Assessment and Interview Template

Needs Assessment: Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network

Ben Baldwin - Tufts Urban + Environmental Policy + Planning

Spring 2016

Organization Data	Answer
Date filled out:	
Organization:	
Lead Contact:	
Phone:	
Email:	
URL:	
Address:	
Service area in general:	
Approx. market value of portfolio:	
Number of current units:	
Purpose of CLT (Homeownership, rental, agriculture, commercial)	

Functions	<u>CENTRAL</u>	<u>LOCAL</u>	<u>SHARED</u>
• Public policy advocacy			
• Land acquisition and disposition coordination			
• Information and resource clearinghouse			
• Coordinating collaborative partnerships			
• Coordinating technical assistance and training			
• Housing and commercial development planning			
• Project financing and resource development			
• Procurement coordination			
• Community organizing			
• Governance and community outreach			
• Land-use planning			
• Construction and development			
• Land ownership			
• Homebuyer counseling and case management			
• Post-purchase stewardship			
• Sales and property management			
• Business incubation and support services			

Survey Question
What benefits does your org and local community gain by being part of the network? What benefits would you like to see in the future?
What city-wide or regional benefits do you see from the network? What benefits would you like to see in the future?
What are your priorities in forming a network? How do the goals of the network align with the goals of your CLT? E.g. improve productivity in service delivery, gain legitimacy and political support
Should the network be composed of org staff? Should it incorporate boards of directors?
Who should be involved in decision-making conversations and who should facilitate them?
What indicators could be used to show the network reaching its goals?
What risks would your organization take in joining a network?
What is your organization's current capacity to engage in the network?
What strengths can your organization offer to the GBCLTN?
What weaknesses or hurdles is your organization hoping to address?
To what degree does your organization's staff identify as part of a Greater Boston CLT Network?
What can be done to create a sense of unity among your organization's staff with the GBCLTN?
To what degree does your constituency identify as part of a Greater Boston CLT Network?
What can be done to create a sense of unity among your constituency with the GBCLTN?
How do you envision a broader network retaining community members' input in decisionmaking?
Do you have any questions or concerns about network structures or the network-building process thus far?

Adapted from:

Bay Area Consortium of CLTs revolving loan fund needs assessment (2015). Michael Brown, Burlington Associates, Burlington, VT.

New Orleans CLT Central Server Strategic Issues and Decisions (2010). Michael Brown, Burlington Associates, Burlington, VT.

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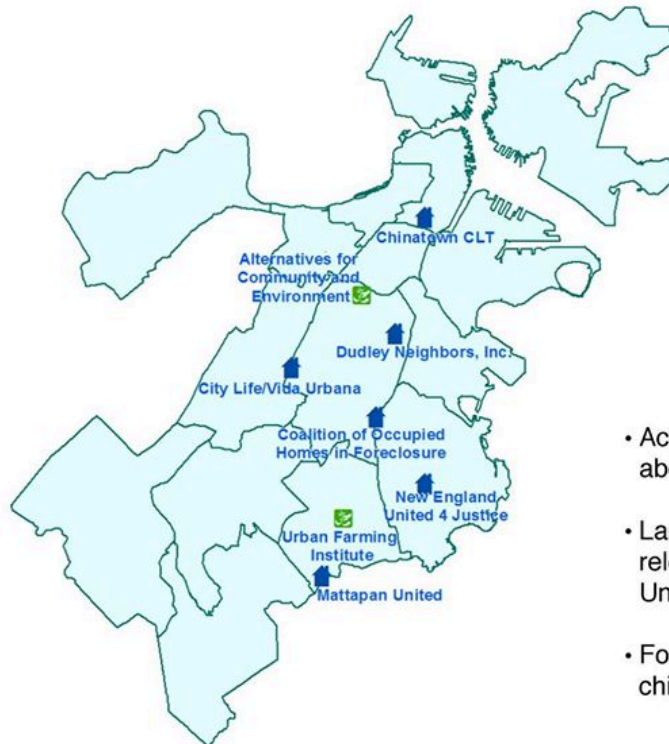
Appendix C: GBCLTN Launch Flyer

Please join us at the launch of the
Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network

Wednesday, April 27th 2016

6:00 - 8:00pm

Great Hall of the Codman Square Health Center
6 Norfolk Street Dorchester (closest T stop Shawmut)



- Activities to learn about land trusts
- Land trust report release by Tufts University
- Food and childcare

The Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network Members:

Chinatown Community Land Trust, City Life/Vida Urbana, The Coalition for Occupied Homes in Foreclosure (COHIF), Dudley Neighbors, Inc., Mattapan United, New England United for Justice, The Urban Farming Institute, Greater Bowdoin/Geneva Neighborhood Association, Boston Tenant Coalition

For more information contact Eliza Parad at Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative 617.442.9670 x135 or eparad@dsni.org

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