

# Community Matters

*Conversations with Reflective Practitioners  
about the Value & Variety of Resident  
Engagement in Community Land Trusts*



*Edited by John Emmeus Davis*

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*Dedicated to the memory of  
Reverend John Whitfield (1950–2022),  
a servant leader and faithful builder  
of the beloved community.*

*When we talk about community land trusts, there can't be a trust without community organization. People are the core. They can't be an object; they must be a subject. They have to lead the process.*

—Alejandro Cotté Morales,  
Chapter Two

*It's important to ensure that community-led projects are the way forward, rather than us going in to become saviors. Each community is the expert in understanding what their own community needs.*

—Razia Khanom,  
Chapter One

*There's still this desire to bring about an opportunity where we can see the best in each other; where we're able to celebrate achievements, not only locally but throughout the globe; to realize that individuals have a desire in their hearts, minds, and spirits to see the Beloved Community become a reality.*

—Rev. John Whitfield,  
Chapter One

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## Contributors



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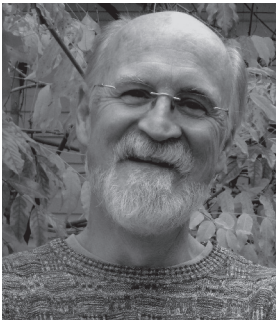


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**JOHN EMMEUS DAVIS** is President of the Center for CLT Innovation and Editor-in-Chief of Terra Nostra Press. He is a partner in Burlington Associates in Community Development, a consulting cooperative that has assisted over 120 CLTs throughout the United States since its founding in 1993. He previously served as his city's housing director in Burlington, Vermont under Mayors Bernie Sanders and Peter Clavelle. His publications include *Contested Ground* (1991), *The Affordable City* (1994), *The City-CLT Partner-*

ship (2008), *The Community Land Trust Reader* (2010), *Manuel d'antispéculation immobilière* (2014), and *On Common Ground* (2020). He also co-produced the film, *Arc of Justice*. He holds an MS and PhD from Cornell University.



**GEERT DE PAUW** has been active for more than 20 years championing the right to housing in Brussels as an activist and community worker. In 2008, following a study visit to the Champlain Housing Trust, he began advocating for the establishment of a CLT in Brussels. He coordinated the CLT feasibility study that was commissioned by the Brussels Capital Region. He has been a coordinator of the Brussels CLT since 2012. He was also a co-founder of SHICC (Sustainable Housing for Inclusive and Cohesive Communities), a European partnership to create a thriving CLT movement in Europe.



**TONY HERNANDEZ** is the Affordable Housing Technical Assistance Director at Grounded Solutions Network in the United States. He previously served as Director of Dudley Neighbors Inc., a community land trust established by the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston in 1988. DNI has combined community ownership of land, community control of development, and permanent affordability of housing to revitalize a large section of Roxbury that had long been scarred by vacant lots, abandoned buildings, and arson-for-profit. Tony and his family have been CLT homeowners for the past 20 years. He has a Master's degree in architecture.



**MARÍA E. HERNÁNDEZ-TORRALES** holds an LLM in environmental law from the Vermont Law School and an MA in Business Education from New York University. She studied for her undergraduate and Juris Doctor degrees at the University of Puerto Rico. Since 2005 she has been doing pro bono legal work for the Proyecto ENLACE and for the *Fideicomiso de la Tierra del Caño Martín Peña*. Since 2008, Hernández-Torrales has worked as an attorney and clinical professor at the University of Puerto Rico School of Law where she teaches the Community Economic Development Clinic.



**RAZIA KHANOM** is Vice Chair of the London Community Land Trust. She lives in South London with her husband and children, where she has spearheaded the London CLT's efforts to develop Community Land Trust homes at Christchurch Road, an historically diverse area of Brixton. Involved in the CLT's efforts in south London since its inception, Razia is also an active member of the local Muslim community and is involved in young persons' education. She has qualifications in finance and works in a local school.



**Mariolga Juliá Pacheco** directs the Office of Community Engagement and Social Development of the Caño Martín Peña ENLACE Project. A graduate of the Beatriz Lasalle Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Puerto Rico, her first approach to the Caño was as a volunteer and later as a student intern. She has served

as Special Projects Manager of the *Fideicomiso de la Tierra del Caño Martín Peña*, where she led the process for the granting of surface rights deeds to its members. One of her roles has been the institutional and participatory governance development of this collective land tenure instrument. She is part of the team that put the law and regulations into practice.



**GREG ROSENBERG** is a co-founder of the Center for CLT Innovation and serves as the Center's Coordinator. He is also a principal of *Rosenberg and Associates*, a consultancy focused on affordable and sustainable housing, cohousing, CLTs, and urban agriculture. He was a founder of the CLT Network and the CLT Academy in the USA and served as the Academy's first director. He previously led the Madison Area CLT, where he developed Troy Gardens, an urban eco-village featuring a working farm, community gardens, a restored prairie, and a 30-unit mixed-income cohousing project. Greg is an attorney and social worker, as well as a LEED Accredited Professional.



**DAVE SMITH** is a community organizer and affordable housing practitioner. He served for several years as Chair of the London Community Land Trust, the largest CLT in the UK, and was the organization's founding Executive Director from 2008 to 2014. He previously worked for the British Council and on Barack Obama's 2008 primary and presidential campaigns. More recently, he has worked at the National Housing Foundation and is currently Head of Communities at Eastlight Community Homes, a nonprofit housing provider based in Essex and Suffolk. He holds degrees from King's College,



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**JASON WEBB** is Community and Technical Assistance Principal at Grounded Solutions Network in the United States. He oversees training and technical assistance for cities, nonprofit organizations, and community groups and assists with the implementation of housing policies and programs with lasting affordability. He previously worked for 15 years at the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative and Dudley Neighbors Inc. in Boston, Massachusetts. There, he served in several capacities, including Director of Real Estate and Technology, Director of DNI, and Director of Administration and Finance. He also created a youth development/youth jobs program called *CommunityScapes*. Jason attended Boston University's School of Management.



**REV. JOHN WHITFIELD** was Director of the Mobile Regional Center for the Alabama Institute for Deaf and Blind and Senior Pastor at the New Zion Church in Fairhope, Alabama at the time of his death in July 2022. He was a graduate of the University of South Alabama. He later served as Executive Director of the Baldwin Housing Alliance, Vice President of the Alabama Association of Community Development Corporations, and Vice President of the Alabama Asset Building Coalition. He was a trainer for NeighborWorks America and a member of the boards of the National CLT Academy, the National CLT Network, and the Center for CLT Innovation. He co-founded Men of Valor and Purpose, a mentoring program for at-risk youth.



**THERESA WILLIAMSON**, PhD, is a city planner and the founding executive director of Catalytic Communities, an NGO working to support Rio de Janeiro's favelas through asset-based community development. CatComm produces RioOn-Watch, an award-winning local-to-global favela news platform, and manages Rio's Sustainable Favela Network and Favela Community Land Trust program. Theresa is an advocate for the recognition of favelas' heritage status and their residents' right to be treated as equal citizens. She received the 2018 American Society of Rio prize for her contributions to the city and the 2012 NAHRO Award for her contributions to the international housing debate.

# Featured Organizations

## **BRUSSELS COMMUNITY LAND TRUST**

Brussels, Belgium

*2021 World Habitat Award Winner*

<http://www.cltb.be>



Community Land Trust Bruxelles (CLTB) was formally incorporated in 2012, after four years of planning and organizing by activists from several housing and neighborhood associations. Although established to serve all of the Brussels Capital Region (population 1,100,000), CLTB has been especially active in the city's poorest neighborhoods like Anderlecht and Molenbeek. The first newly constructed homes developed by CLTB were inhabited in 2015, followed in subsequent years by additional multi-family housing projects being built at various locations across Brussels. CLTB has also played a major role in disseminating the CLT model in other cities in Belgium and in other countries in Europe.

## **CAÑO MARTÍN PEÑA COMMUNITY LAND TRUST**

San Juan, Puerto Rico

*2015 World Habitat Award Winner*

<http://cano3punto7.org>



The Caño Martín Peña CLT (*Fideicomiso de la Tierra del Caño Martín Peña*) was planned and designed by residents of seven neighborhoods surrounding the Caño Martín Peña, a highly polluted tidal estuary that runs through the center of San Juan, Puerto Rico. The Caño CLT was established in 2004 with the aim of regularizing land ownership and

avoiding gentrification and involuntary displacement, an anticipated result of the planned dredging and clean-up of the channel by the U.S. Corps of Engineers. Creation of the Caño CLT and the channel's ecological restoration are among the main elements of the wider ENLACE Caño Martín Peña Project.

**DUDLEY NEIGHBORS INC.,**  
**DUDLEY STREET NEIGHBORHOOD INITIATIVE**  
Boston, Massachusetts USA  
[www.dsni.org](http://www.dsni.org)



Dudley Neighbors Inc. (DNI) is a community land trust formed in 1988 to serve the Roxbury/North Dorchester area of Boston, Massachusetts. DNI was an outgrowth of years of grassroots organizing and participatory planning by the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI). In 1989, DSNI made history by becoming the first and only community-based organization in the United States to win the power of eminent domain. DNI and DSNI remain tightly intertwined today, sharing staff, resources, and a corporate umbrella. More importantly, they share a mission and vision of comprehensive neighborhood revitalization in which community ownership of land and community empowerment of the area's residents go hand-in-hand.

**HOUSTON COMMUNITY LAND TRUST**  
Houston, Texas USA  
[www.houstonclt.org](http://www.houstonclt.org)



Nonprofit organizations and community activists, concerned about the rising cost of housing and the threat of gentrification in African-American and Latino neighborhoods in Houston, began considering a CLT as early as 2015. When these areas were heavily damaged by a hurricane in 2017, City

officials realized that a CLT might be a critical tool for rebuilding, while also making homeownership more widely available for households of limited means. The Houston CLT was incorporated as an independent nonprofit the following year. Working in partnership with Houston's Housing and Community Development Department, the Houston Land Bank, and other affordable housing organizations, HCLT is grounded in principles of community engagement, equitable access to high-quality housing, and long-term stewardship for permanent affordability.

### **LONDON COMMUNITY LAND TRUST**

London, England

*[www.londonclt.org](http://www.londonclt.org)*



Founded in 2007, the London CLT is currently the largest CLT in England. It grew out of a community organizing campaign led by Citizens:UK to create 23 resale-restricted, owner-occupied homes at St Clements, the site of a former National Health Services hospital in London's East End. There are now projects being planned or developed in Lewisham, Southwark, Redbridge and Lambeth, as well as ongoing campaigns in other boroughs. London CLT ensures its homes are genuinely and permanently affordable, as prices on sale and resale are linked to local wages rather than to valuations on the open market.

## INTRODUCTION

# Keeping “Community” in Community Land Trusts: *Variations on a Theme*



*John Emmeus Davis*

Community land trusts proclaim “community” to be their most valued partner in the places they serve, the projects they develop, and the residents they involve in the inner workings of their organizations. They are not alone, of course. The entire field of community development is replete with nonprofit corporations and local cooperatives making similar claims. What distinguishes CLTs from many of their peers, however, is the degree to which an ideological and institutional commitment to community involvement is woven into the culture, structure, and operation of the CLT itself. This participatory element is just as important to what a CLT *is* and *does* as its distinctive approach to the ownership of land and the stewardship of housing.

Ask CLT practitioners—staff members, board members, or outside professionals—what makes their CLT special. They are as likely to talk about their organization’s relation to *people* as its relation to

*property*. For them, community matters as much as tenure. But they are just as likely to express widely different opinions as to what “community” means, why it matters, and how best to engage residents of the neighborhoods served by a CLT in the organization’s affairs.

Multiple conceptions of the meaning and value of “community” go hand-in-hand with multiple forms of resident engagement—strategies that often change as an organization evolves. CLT practitioners are fond of saying that “community organizing never stops.” But the process of building a constituency for a CLT when it is getting started is very different than the process of keeping residents vested and involved in the organization over time. Strategies for resident engagement become more varied, too, as a CLT’s portfolio of land and housing grows bigger or when its territory expands.

The variety of ways in which “community” is being conceptualized and operationalized in the larger world of CLTs can be seen as a ringing endorsement of the model’s adaptability. It is also a testament to the creativity of the movement’s leaders. CLT practitioners are continually inventing new ways to give voice to people and places they have pledged to serve.

Not everyone sees it that way. There are any number of researchers, advocates, and critics who view the current state of the CLT movement in a less positive light, warning of a withering commitment to “community” among local CLTs.<sup>1</sup> Variations in resident engagement that depart from what is known in the United States as the “classic” CLT are especially suspect, seen as symptoms of decline rather than as signs of health. As one researcher recently lamented, bemoaning the lukewarm support for resident engagement she discovered among the staff of several CLTs she had studied, “How did a model of community ownership and local democracy become so diluted that ‘community’ was hardly a part of the process anymore?”<sup>2</sup>

This judgement strikes me as being overly pessimistic, although I confess to having voiced similar concerns on many occasions.<sup>3</sup> Worries about “keeping the ‘C’ in CLT” are, in fact, not entirely

misplaced. There are CLTs that started out with every intention of eventually incorporating the tripartite board and the voting membership of a “classic” CLT, but they have delayed doing so. There are other CLTs that never intended to include these participatory features at all.<sup>4</sup> Still others have dutifully retained the organizational scaffolding for an engaged constituency, but the resources devoted to sustaining this activity have grown less over time, caused by a lack of political will, a lack of staff capacity, or simply the daily grind of getting affordable housing financed and constructed. A high-performing CLT is expected to be a productive housing developer *and* a responsive community organizer, but it is tough wearing two hats. Some CLTs tilt toward the former at the expense of the latter.<sup>5</sup>

These cases notwithstanding, the situation is not nearly as bleak as the picture painted by critics who conclude that community is “hardly a part of the process anymore.” My personal observation, having worked with dozens of CLTs inside and outside the United States over the past few decades, is that community *still* matters. Most CLT practitioners, old and new, remain passionately committed to processes of informing, engaging, connecting, and empowering residents of the places they serve and the projects they build. Community has not been lost, nor is it withering away, although the manner in which it is conceived, purposed, and practiced has become increasingly complex.

The practitioners whose conversations were recorded for the present volume epitomize the persistence of this commitment—and its complexity. They were chosen because the CLTs with which they are associated have been especially effective in keeping “community” at the center of their programs and deliberations, putting engagement on a par with development. They were also chosen because, in their personal stories and professional careers, they have shown unwavering support for popular participation in guiding and governing their organizations, while demonstrating a willingness to modify their approach when warranted. They bring both a wealth of experience



and a critical eye to this whole endeavor, making them an unusually insightful cohort of “reflective practitioners”<sup>6</sup> for whom the “C” in CLT remains an article of faith, rather than a rigid orthodoxy from which any deviation is forbidden.

Their own organizations have, in fact, sometimes strayed from the straight and narrow path of the “classic” CLT in the composition and selection of their governing boards.<sup>7</sup> Their more significant departure, however, has been to multiply the ways in which people participate. Governance is not the only path their CLTs have followed when endeavoring to involve residents in the work they do and the decisions they make. Other forms of resident engagement are equally important. They represent different strategies for giving “community” a voice in their organizations—different ways for making “community matter.”

### **Community matters, in more ways than one**

Few words are more familiar in everyday conversation than “community”—and few are used less precisely. Even in scholarly journals, where a high degree of precision would presumably be a requirement, the term has proven surprisingly slippery. A researcher once reviewed dozens of articles in social science journals where “community” had figured prominently. He found 94 different meanings.<sup>8</sup> Another scholar, looking back at that research, noted that “community” is the rare concept that never carries a negative connotation. People may not agree on what “community” means, but it always refers to something unquestionably good, something desirable.

What is true in the abstract realm of academia is also true in the practical realm of community development. Practitioners employed in the challenging business of developing affordable housing, revitalizing disinvested neighborhoods, or delivering an array of social services to low-income residents use “community” in multiple ways. It sometimes refers to a place. It sometimes refers to the people who

inhabit that place. It sometimes refers to the relationships among those inhabitants. These meanings are often used interchangeably, moreover, with little regard for the differences among them.

CLT practitioners carve out a particular niche for themselves within this crowded field. The model of tenure they employ has different features from one country to another and, sometimes, from one city to another within the same country. A generic description that would fit a majority of CLTs, however, is that of a nonprofit, nongovernmental organization promoting *community-led development on community-owned land of residential buildings and other land-based assets that remain permanently affordable*.

The linchpin of this definition is “community,” of course, although it must be said that CLT practitioners use the term as loosely as everybody else. One must listen closely to the context to know whether they are talking about the geographically defined area in which their nonprofit organization has chosen to concentrate its activities or whether they are talking about the people who reside there—or some subset of that population.

Dig a little deeper, however, and it becomes clear that what CLT practitioners usually mean by “community” is neither geography nor residency, but the inter-personal *connections* that arise within a place of residence among people who live in proximity to one another. Neighbors interact. They become familiar. They sometimes become friends. They act individually, on occasion, to care for a neighbor in distress. They act collectively, on occasion, to improve the neighborhood or to defend it against a perceived threat. These relationships, these connections, are what distinguishes a community from a territory.

Places of residence provide especially fertile seedbeds from which the tendrils of community emerge. These connections of sentiment and solidarity grow naturally, organically within residential neighborhoods of every type—urban, suburban, and rural. But CLT practitioners do not leave these connections to chance. They intervene

to nurture their growth within the territory their CLT has prioritized for the acquisition of land, the development of housing, and the long-term stewardship of permanently affordable homes.

That is not to belittle inter-personal connections that happen within the place of residence *without* the nurturing touch of a CLT practitioner. All of these relationships have value, one way or another. All are part of the web of inclusion and care to which most CLT practitioners aspire in hoping to create, through their organization's holdings and their own efforts, a "beloved community." But some connections have a more immediate, utilitarian value in furthering the mission of the CLT; some are essential to the CLT's success. These are the tendrils that CLT practitioners selectively and intentionally strive to cultivate.

Many different meanings and manifestations of "community" are to be found in the conversations recorded in the coming chapters, including a number of times when the speaker is clearly referring to a particular geography or the population residing there. More often, however, "community" refers to one of five different types of inter-personal connections that result from the skilled intervention of talented CLT practitioners: *solidarity*, *constituency*, *mutuality*, *consultancy*, or *reciprocity*. These are my terms, by the way, not those of the reflective practitioners who are featured here. They use different words when discussing what "community" means and the various forms that engagement can take in connecting residents to each other—and connecting them to a local CLT.

I should point out, too, that community and property are seldom far apart in a CLT, whatever the form of resident engagement. When CLT practitioners lend their hands to knitting people together, it usually has a specific purpose related to parcels of land a CLT is trying to acquire, to units of housing a CLT is trying to build, or to the stewardship of lands and homes entrusted into a CLT's care. Property is the public stage on which solidarity, constituency, mutuality, consultancy, and reciprocity take turns dancing in the spotlight.

Separately and together, these strategies enable those who live on and around the organization's holdings to become active participants in a CLT's programming, rather than passive recipients of a CLT's largess.<sup>9</sup>

### ***Solidarity matters***

Community has meaning as “solidarity” when connections are nurtured among residents, organizations, and enterprises throughout the CLT's service area for the purpose of creating a common vision for the development of that territory and building collective power to make that vision a reality. These connections are inherently *political* in nature because they are used primarily by CLT practitioners and their allies to influence public policy and to extract resources—land, capital, and regulatory concessions—from governmental entities in support of the CLT.

The experience of the London CLT is illustrative, but many other CLTs have had similar experiences. As Dave Smith has said, describing the process of developing the London CLT's first project: “Certainly, in the case of St Clements, it wouldn't have happened without our politics forcing the political will. It was only because we were knocking on the door of City Hall that it eventually happened.”

Collective power in the place of residence can also force governmental entities to pay more attention to lower-income neighborhoods that normally receive less investment in public infrastructure and public safety. As Tony Hernandez says, “It makes a difference having a voice and an advocate that can elevate our neighborhood in the eyes of government to assure we're being served” (Chapter Three).

Solidarity has a defensive purpose too, protecting lower-income people against the disruptions and depredations caused by what Alejandro Cotté Morales has called “a capitalist system that is constantly prowling, literally, and affecting the more vulnerable people, the communities living in poverty” (Chapter Six). When a CLT

owns land in the heart of such an area, it becomes a bulwark against displacement. To quote Alejandro once again, describing the effect of the CLT's holdings in the neighborhoods along the Martín Peña Canal: "People now have more power. People went from being an object to being a subject. . . . It's not easy to push someone out if everyone owns the land together" (Chapter Two).

The process of prying resources away from governmental entities or fending off speculative predators is sometimes adversarial. People are organized and mobilized to force concessions from reluctant authorities. At other times and in other places, the process is one of partnering with government. As Jason Webb has noted, talking about the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston,

"We never did the sort of classic Saul Alinsky organizing, where there always needed to be a boogymen; there always needed to be a target. Our organizing principle came from a more participatory and common-vision standpoint" (Chapter Three).<sup>10</sup>

### ***Constituency matters***

Community has meaning as "constituency" when residents of the area served by a CLT are actively recruited into the corporate membership of the CLT and formally granted, through the corporation's bylaws, the right to participate in the CLT's governance.<sup>11</sup> The composition of a CLT's membership and governing board can vary greatly from one CLT to another. In the "classic" model, however, two-thirds of the seats on the board of directors are elected by this constituency. Members are drawn from individuals who occupy homes on lands owned by the CLT or who use the CLT's lands for non-residential purposes. Members are also drawn from people living throughout the CLT's wider service area who are not direct beneficiaries of the CLT's holdings, "people who put themselves forward,

who self-nominate and want to be involved,” as Dave Smith has described members of the London CLT (Chapter Four).

These connections are *organizational* in nature, bestowing rights and responsibilities on a legally constituted membership and giving that constituency a degree of control over the organization that is charged with owning land, doing development, and performing stewardship on behalf of the residents of a particular place. Some CLTs turn the participatory thermostat way down, giving members minimal say in the CLT’s affairs, even to the point where, as happens in the French version of the CLT, some CLTs do not have a membership at all. At the other extreme, there are CLTs like the Caño Martín Peña CLT in Puerto Rico which turn the thermostat way up. There, as Mariolga Juliá Pacheco relates, the organization’s leaders and staff believe:

People must be part of the governance structure of every CLT at all times; not only at board meetings, but every day. Because this also produces a sense of ownership towards that common space that we want to protect, and we want it to be a successful space for everyone involved (Chapter One).

When it comes to cultivating a constituency, resident engagement can be a complicated affair. CLT practitioners must concentrate simultaneously on increasing the *number* of organizational members, strengthening the *vertical* connections between the CLT and its members, and encouraging *horizontal* connections among the members themselves. Many CLTs hold property across a wide territory, moreover, serving multiple neighborhoods. This can create special challenges, as Geert De Pauw has said about his own CLT in Belgium, where members are spread throughout the Brussels region:

We tried to create a community out of them, trying to connect people and to organize some community activities with them. We wanted to get more people involved in the life of the community land trust and give them a sense of belonging to some wider community. . . . There were some positive results out of it. But we didn't really manage to create a movement where everyone who wanted a home and became a member of the CLT would feel a part of it (Chapter Five).

### ***Mutuality matters***

Community has meaning as “mutuality” when connections are nurtured in the place of residence that are primarily *social* in nature. These are informal, inter-personal relationships that enable neighbors to interact respectfully and familiarly, enjoying each other's company, celebrating special occasions, and lending a hand when needed. As Razia Khanom says, “That's what we do in communities. We help each other, we support each other, and we're also inspiring each other” (Chapter Four).

While neighborly relations of sentiment and care can grow naturally among people sharing the same geography, CLT practitioners have a particular interest in seeing them flourish in the residential projects they develop and manage, especially in multi-unit cooperatives, condominiums, and rentals. The CLT in Brussels is a case in point. After falling short in their initial efforts to instill a “sense of belonging” among members spread across the capital region, CLTB narrowed its focus and adjusted its strategy. In the words of Geert De Pauw:

Now, as more and more housing projects are getting developed, we are investing more time and energy in building local communities *within* the housing projects—and possibly with the communities living around them—rather than trying to invest in a regional movement with all the people (Chapter Five).

The energies of CLTB's staff are currently being poured into organizing events that help residents to become acquainted with their neighbors and providing trainings that give residents the tools to make collective decisions and to participate in managing their multi-unit projects.

A more expansive notion of mutuality, where bonds of familiarity and sociability extend beyond specific projects, often guides the efforts of CLT practitioners who are focused on revitalizing an entire neighborhood—or, in the case of the Caño Martín Peña CLT, improving a cluster of neighborhoods. This is what Mariolga Juliá Pacheco means, I believe, when she talks about interpersonal relationships improving a homeowner's "quality of life in the spaces outside the four walls of one's home" (Chapter Six), or when Dave Smith talks about the London CLT being in the business of building "continually thriving communities" in addition to building homes (Chapter Four). Tony Hernandez eloquently describes this more extensive notion of mutuality when he says:

The model looks to preserve this old-school feel of a village, a place where your children can play outside and your neighbors are watching over them when you cannot. The essence of that lies in weaving all of these pieces together. Whether you have a market-rate home or a community land trust home, the goal is that we ultimately share those resources and those benefits, so at the end of the day we can live successful lives with our families. I would like to think that's the main goal of a CLT (Chapter Three).

### ***Consultancy matters***

Community has meaning as "consultancy" when a CLT has a culture and a policy of constantly reaching out to residents of the neighborhood(s) it serves in order to hear their concerns, to solicit their advice, and to accept their guidance in planning the organization's



projects and programs. These connections are primarily *informational* in nature. Their purpose is not power (solidarity), governance (constituency), sociability (mutuality), or stewardship (reciprocity), but communication. When a CLT makes consultancy a key part of its planning and programming, the CLT is transparent in sharing information, intentional in soliciting it, and responsive when receiving it.

This process of listening and responding to residents of the place(s) served by a CLT often begins in the early days of planning the organization. It continues, for most CLTs, long after the organization is established. Tony Hernandez likens the latter to the CLT serving as a “doctor” who is regularly “taking the pulse of the community; having a diagnostic of what’s really going on” (Chapter Three).

Consultancy can also happen on a case-by-case basis whenever a new land use or a new project is proposed. For some CLTs, “community-led development” is less about governing the organization that is sponsoring development and more about the process of informing and involving proximate stakeholders every time a development is planned. For example, it was a standard practice of the Brussels CLT in their first residential projects to get prospective homebuyers involved in helping to design the housing they were eventually going to occupy. At the London CLT, there is a policy of actively engaging residents of each neighborhood in which a new project is to be developed.<sup>12</sup> At the Caño Martín Peña CLT, there is an organizational “climate,” according to Mariolga Juliá Pacheco, that presumes the inclusion of “affected parties in decisionmaking processes” (Chapter Six). Those who are “affected” by a proposed project may or may not be members of the CLT, but because they live in proximity to the site, they are consulted and heard. Mariolga goes on to explain:

We include the people who are closest to a particular situation and give them the opportunity to have a say, participating in the

decisionmaking and other tasks related to what is going to happen in that space. This goes beyond a board. Even when the board includes members of the land trust and representation from the larger community, there will always be a more local level of what's happening in those spaces.

### ***Reciprocity matters***

Community has meaning as “reciprocity” when the relationship between a CLT and the people who are using its lands and inhabiting its homes is one of shared responsibility, where both parties are equally vested in making this marriage of convenience function smoothly, amicably, and openly over the course of many years. It is a relationship that originates in connections that are essentially *contractual* in nature, but that matures in many CLTs into a stewardship regime that is more *collaborative* in operation and effect.<sup>13</sup>

The CLT, in these cases, does not merely impose conditions and enforce restrictions on the use and resale of property. It cultivates a trusting, supportive relationship with the people who make use of the CLT's lands and who inhabit its homes, an inter-personal connection that continues long after development is done. As Ashley Allen explains:

We have a stewardship responsibility. We're not just building housing and washing our hands. We have a different perspective than a traditional builder. We have a different perspective than maybe a municipality who's building affordable housing and selling it and then good luck trying to find somebody at local government to respond if there are any problems (Chapter Seven).

This expansive perspective on a CLT's stewardship responsibilities is shared by many CLT practitioners. As one of Ashley Allen's peers said several years ago, describing her own CLT in Albuquerque,

“We are the developer that doesn’t go away.”<sup>14</sup> For CLTs like these, the enforcement of affordability controls (and other provisions in the ground lease) remains a priority. But stewardship also includes the preservation of buildings, making sure they are soundly constructed and well-maintained. Stewardship also includes protection of the occupants’ security of tenure, preventing predatory lending and making sure that people do not lose their homes if they get behind in paying their mortgages or utilities.<sup>15</sup> More fundamentally, the responsibility of CLTs that have a reciprocal relationship with their leaseholders is to stand behind them, in good times and bad, helping them to succeed in the housing that is theirs. As Mariolga Juliá Pacheco says, when describing the relationship between her own organization and the people who reside on the lands owned by the Caño Martín Peña CLT, “They know they have our backing” (Chapter Six).

Admittedly, it is something of a stretch to call a two-party relationship between a CLT and a leaseholder a “community.” As a CLT’s portfolio grows bigger, however, and as the CLT becomes responsible for an increasing number of leaseholds, more and more threads of obligation and concern crisscross a CLT’s service area. It seems reasonable to call that dense network of responsibility and reciprocity a kind of “community.”

### **Weaving together the strands of engagement**

Despite elucidating five different meanings and manifestations of “community,” I am now going to muddy the waters by admitting that they are not as separate and distinct as I have made them seem. The boundaries between them are quite permeable, one form of resident engagement frequently merging with another.

This happens, first of all, because “the needs of communities are fluid,” as Razia Khanom has noted (Chapter One). CLT practitioners are constantly adjusting their priorities to meet those needs, while

modifying their approach to involving residents in the delivery of projects and services. That is what Alejandro Cotté Morales means, I believe, when he says that organizing “must renovate itself constantly, responding to people’s reality” (Chapter Six).

Resident engagement can also flow from one form to another because, as Geert De Pauw points out, “the political climate can change” (Chapter Five). The clearest example is the back-and-forth between solidarity and other forms of engagement. CLT practitioners may have assumed that the sort of organizing they did in a CLT’s early days to build solidarity among residents and allies to attract the support of governmental authorities was no longer needed; they had won the day. But, as CLTs in both Brussels and Houston later discovered, what is given by government can be taken away government. When there is a change in policy or personnel in a governmental agency, CLT practitioners who may have shifted resources toward becoming better stewards of the housing they’ve created can suddenly discover they must return to a more adversarial, political strategy in order to protect or restore gains they had thought were secure.

Practitioners change strategies, on other occasions, because they learn from their mistakes; or, at least, they realize that what they have been doing is not working as well as they had hoped. They then devise and pursue an alternative strategy that might work better. That’s what reflective practitioners do. When the Brussels CLT saw that building a region-wide constituency was not accomplishing what they had intended, for example, they re-allocated resources to focus on mutuality instead. They did not completely abandon their commitment to cultivating a voting constituency, but they dedicated more resources to facilitating connections among residents inside their multi-unit housing projects.

Not only is there fluidity between strategies, there is also a *synergy* among them. CLT practitioners pursue multiple, complementary strategies at the same time. When a CLT does a good job of stewardship, for example, it is deepening the pool of people who can

be called upon if organizing for collective power becomes necessary. As Ashley Allen says, happy homeowners are “major organizing assets . . . our best advocates” (Chapter Two). Similarly, there is an overlap between building a voting constituency and building solidarity, captured nicely in the formula voiced by Razia Khanom: “The more membership we have, the more power we will wield” (Chapter One).

There is also a sense, in listening to these CLT practitioners, of multiple strategies of resident engagement overlapping and coalescing to build connections that radiate far beyond the CLT’s own holdings. Even an activity as tightly focused as stewardship (reciprocity) can foster relations of solidarity and mutuality that benefit everyone who resides within a CLT’s service area, not just the people who use the CLT’s land or who inhabit the CLT’s homes. Dudley Neighbors has been especially effective in this regard. In the words of Jason Webb:

As a CLT, you really have to take community as far and wide as possible and be inclusive of everybody . . . That’s why, at least for Dudley, we did a lot of work in making sure that, as we did a lot of stewardship for our homeowners, at specific times we also allowed for that stewardship to flow to their neighbors. If we were bringing in a contractor, let’s say a fencing contractor, and some of the neighbors also wanted their fencing done, we didn’t say, “Oh no, these fencing contractors can only work for our homeowners.” We would share that information and allow for those other homeowners to share in some of benefits we were bringing in. (Chapter Three).

One final observation I would make about these multiple meanings of “community” and these multiple forms of resident engagement: a hierarchy does not exist among them. One is not more important than another to a CLT’s success; one is not more essential

than the others to making community “matter” in a CLT’s work. Alejandro Cotté Morales is especially clear on that point:

We must also be respecting and understanding the different types of participation. We have been led to believe that participation necessarily implies people attending meetings or assemblies. Since we started here, however, we have seen different types of participation and they are all equally valuable (Chapter Six).

This is where critics of the CLT’s “withering” commitment to community often get it wrong. They concentrate solely on governance—what I have characterized as “constituency”—overlooking the other ways that participation can occur in a CLT. I have sometimes made the same mistake myself.

I have come to accept, however, that participation can assume multiple forms—with varying degrees of internal intensity. There may not be a hierarchy *among* solidarity, constituency, mutuality, consultancy, and reciprocity, in other words, but there is a hierarchy *within* each one. There are different levels of participation, which vary according to the extent to which a CLT’s projects, programs, and plans are actually determined by the collective voice of a place-based community. This has been described by the authors of a recent essay, drawing on an earlier academic article, as a “ladder of participation,” one that ranges from tokenism at the bottom to community control at the top.<sup>16</sup> The authors apply this imagery to the governance of a CLT, but I would contend that constituency is not alone in this. Every form of resident engagement has its own “ladder of participation.” Or, to repeat the analogy I suggested in my earlier discussion of solidarity, each form of resident engagement has an internal thermostat. CLT practitioners, at different times and in different places, dial the temperature of participation up or down, responding to conditions, politics, and needs that are constantly in flux.

This raises a rather thorny issue for practitioners and researchers. What degree of participation is “enough” in judging whether or not community actually “matters” in the organization and operation of a particular CLT? If there are, indeed, five different strategies that CLT practitioners can employ in engaging residents and building community, must all five be present before we can say with confidence that the “C” in CLT is alive and well? What if one or two are missing, but the others are dialed up to the highest degree of participation?

When governance is the only form of participation that is deemed to “matter,” critics of the current state of the CLT movement are quick to render a judgement that essentially says, “no constituency, no community.” That has essentially been the verdict of those who perceive the commitment to community to be in serious decline. Jason Webb went so far as to say, during the panel discussion recorded in Chapter One, that organizations which lack a voting membership and a tripartite board should not even be *called* community land trusts; in his opinion, they are “frauds.”

The problem I find with this particular point of view, despite its sincerity in extolling the virtues of CLTs that are “community-led,” is that it places constituency at the pinnacle of a dubious hierarchy, diminishing the value of other forms of resident engagement. It inadvertently praises CLTs that have structured the governance of their organizations along lines of the “classic” CLT, but may have turned the participatory temperature way down on building power within their service areas, building community within their projects, consulting with affected residents before they develop a project, or creating a stewardship regime that goes beyond contractual compliance. Conversely, it denigrates CLTs that have turned the temperature of solidarity, mutuality, constancy, and reciprocity way up, but may possess neither a voting membership nor an elected board. I cannot bring myself to call the former legitimate and the latter fraudulent.

This question of how many kinds and degrees of participation might be “enough” raises the related question of *when* participation should occur in planning and operating a CLT. Alejandro Cotté Morales, for one, is quite clear:

It should be there from the beginning. When we talk about participatory planning, we mean that people should be involved starting from the design phase of their process. Participation makes people feel useful and relevant to the process. Thus, they take responsibility for what happens. If the process is from the top down, if it’s implemented incorrectly for lack of active participation, it will not meet the needs of the people; it will not reflect the community’s reality (Chapter Two).

But what of CLTs that get started in other ways? There are community land trusts that have been created as a top-down initiative of a municipal government. There are others that been grafted onto the trunk of another nonprofit, the latter of which may have a governing board that is structured quite differently than that of the “classic” CLT. There are also newer CLTs like the one in Houston that have not yet added a voting membership or a stewardship program, waiting until there is a critical mass of homeowners who can get involved in both. In the meantime, the Houston CLT has made resident engagement a high priority, despite lacking a corporate constituency and a robust stewardship regime. They have done intensive engagement to develop what Ashley Allen calls, “a group that supports you and sees your vision and wants to work toward a similar vision” (Chapter Seven).

What has been especially helpful in cultivating these connections, in the case of the Houston CLT, is that the organization’s leadership is racially and linguistically representative of the people residing in the places where the CLT has chosen to work. Ashley Allen again:



When it comes to our board, yes, all of it is Black or Hispanic. I do think that's important. . . . I think it helps to have people who understand those communities and their unique perspectives and unique needs, having that relationship and building that trust. I think we benefit from having leadership of color. It's made it a lot easier for us to go into a neighborhood (Chapter Seven).

I resist saying that an organization which has made such a concerted effort to engage with the people it serves—and to look like the people it serves—doesn't deserve to be called a CLT. I believe, in fact, that the Houston CLT is not only a land trust but a *community* land trust, despite lacking (for now) some of the organizational and operational features found in many other CLTs in the United States.

This drives home the point made earlier by Alejandro Cotté Morales. We should respect that there are many types of participation. We should also understand, as Jason Webb has said, that “this idea of community is not always a bed of roses. Some of this stuff is really, really messy” (Chapter Three). That is certainly true—and not necessarily bad. What we learn from listening to the reflective practitioners who are featured in the chapters that follow is that an organization can be deeply committed to keeping the “C” in CLT and can be heavily engaged in giving residents a voice in the organization's affairs even if it employs unorthodox strategies and structures to make that happen. Such variety makes for a messier picture. But, as the title of an earlier essay published by Terra Nostra Press put it, “messy is good.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Conversations with reflective practitioners**

The meanings and manifestations of “community” that matter the most to a CLT do not happen by themselves. They are a conscious product of strategic interventions by trained professionals and committed volunteers, a point colorfully made Alejandro Cotté Morales:

Communities can be idealized. “Look, how cute; the community is organized.” Well, it’s not like that. That did not happen by the grace of the Holy Spirit. It happened because of community organizers. People talk about “organic processes,” but there’s always someone driving things, facilitating things (Chapter Six).

All of the practitioners featured here have been “facilitating things” in their own CLTs for a number of years. On occasion, they have played the role of a traditional community organizer, fostering the sort of group formation and collective action that extracts essential resources from the powers-that-be. As external conditions have changed, however, and as their organization’s internal holdings of land and housing have grown larger and more diverse, these practitioners have been called upon to play other roles and to pursue other strategies for incorporating “community” into the fabric of their CLTs.

They have built a corporate constituency for guiding the CLT’s decision-making. They have nurtured connections of sociability among residents and neighbors of the housing developed by their CLT. They have consulted residents living near proposed projects, regardless of whether they are members of the CLT, involving them in decisions of design, development, and use. They have endeavored to create a stewardship regime that goes beyond the contractual, cultivating a more collaborative relationship with people who are leasing the CLT’s lands and inhabiting its homes.

There is a storehouse of knowledge in the depth and diversity of their experience. When CLT practitioners like these are encouraged to talk candidly and reflectively about the communities they serve, the strategies they employ, and what’s worked well (and less well) in fostering greater participation, they teach a virtual master class on the purpose and practice of resident engagement. What can be learned from them is both practical and inspirational. Talking about his own experience in organizing the London CLT, Dave Smith has

said, “You’ve got to tell stories to people . . . which they themselves can then tell to other people. These are stories they can take on, they can own, and interpret and tell to others” (Chapter Two). Practitioner stories are similar. Hearing what motivates practitioners who are striving to keep the “C” in CLT, despite the obstacles put in their path, provides a narrative of commitment and perseverance that can inspire others to keep the faith, to make it their own, and to pass it on.

A forum for mining these experiences and sharing these stories was provided by the Center for CLT Innovation at the end of 2021.<sup>18</sup> Eight seasoned practitioners, representing five different CLTs, were invited to take part in two panel discussions devoted to the place of “community” in the international CLT movement. The first was entitled “Building the Beloved Community.” Moderated by Theresa Williamson from Brazil, it was aired as a live stream with simultaneous translation into English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese. The second was entitled “CLTs and Community Organizing.” Moderated by Dave Smith from England, it too was aired as a live stream, with simultaneous translation into English and Spanish.

Listening to these discussions on the day they occurred and reviewing the transcripts later on, my colleagues and I at the Center for CLT Innovation realized that some remarkable content had been generated that deserved a wider audience. We also understood that, as informative and inspiring as these panel discussions had been, they had merely scratched the surface. Each of our panelists had much more to say on topics of vital importance to the global CLT movement.

Early in 2022, therefore, we arranged a series of follow-up interviews to delve more deeply into points the panelists had made the previous year. In a couple of cases, these were one-on-one interviews. In three other cases, a pair of people were interviewed at the same time, one from the first panel and one from the second. All of

these conversations were recorded, transcribed, and edited for clarity and length.

There was not an interview protocol containing specific questions that were asked of everyone. The individuals who conducted these interviews are reflective practitioners in their own right, with years of experience working with CLTs. They were encouraged to host an informal exchange, following the conversational thread wherever it might lead.

There were several subjects that we urged every conversation to touch upon, however. First of all, we wanted these practitioners to discuss *who* their “community” might be. We encouraged them to talk specifically about the constituencies and beneficiaries of their CLTs. We also hoped they would talk candidly about tensions that occasionally arise among the populations they serve, recognizing that interests and opinions that differ (and sometimes conflict) are a fact of life within nearly all residential neighborhoods.

We wanted them to discuss *how* they have met the twin challenges of recruiting residents to take part in their CLT’s work and retaining them over time. Or, as María E. Hernández-Torrales asks in Chapter Three, “How do you keep the flame of participation alive?” We encouraged them to talk candidly, in particular, about strategies for engaging and building trust with people who have been racially and ethnically marginalized. “There’s a lot of trauma there that needs to be overcome,” as Razia Khanom says in Chapter One.

Equally important, we wanted these practitioners to say *why* they believe participation adds value for the people and places served by the CLT—and for the CLT itself. There are costs incurred by the organization in nurturing connections of solidarity, constituency, mutuality, consultancy, and reciprocity. What are the net benefits that make resident engagement eminently worthwhile?

The answers provided by these reflective practitioners give us a glimpse into the many ways that community still matters in their

own CLTs—and for the CLT movement as a whole. They offer a birds-eye view of a participatory landscape more varied and vital than commonly perceived by CLT critics who find few footprints on the ground showing “community” to be alive and well.

To be fair, these tell-tale signs are easy to miss. The model’s other components are much more conspicuous. *Land*—acquiring it; developing it; using it—is the foundation for everything a CLT hopes to achieve. *Trust*, stewarding lands and homes entrusted into its care, is the foundation for everything a CLT hopes to preserve. Both the “L” in CLT and the “T” are essential to what a CLT is and does. It makes sense that so much attention is lavished upon them, resulting in a steady stream of technical manuals, policy reports, and scholarly research depicting the many ways that land can be utilized and that stewardship can be done.

Far less attention is devoted to the “C” in CLT, even though this component is just as essential to a CLT’s identity and function. Few publications have previously considered why a community’s participation in a CLT’s activities adds value. Even fewer have attempted to chart the multiple ways in which participation is being facilitated by CLT practitioners throughout the world. On those rare occasions when “community” does catch the eye of advocates and researchers, they tend to focus exclusively on whether residents are represented on a CLT’s governing board. Other forms of participation are overlooked or undervalued.

The present publication is a small step toward correcting such longstanding neglect. It is not a detailed roadmap, however, depicting the best route to follow in reaching a desired destination. It is an evocative travelogue, narrated by experienced guides who say why the journey is worth taking and what to see and do along the way.

Its point of departure is a sentiment shared by most CLT practitioners, namely that community matters as much as tenure in the work they do. After that, things get messy. Practitioners ascribe different meanings to “community.” They pursue different strategies

for giving residents a voice in their organizations. Itineraries diverge.

That is hardly surprising at a time when CLTs are busily diversifying their holdings of land and housing, expanding their territory, and entering new neighborhoods, cities, and countries. When circumstances change, so must the practice of participation—which is precisely what those practitioners have done who are featured in the following pages. Many roads lead to the promised land of keeping “community” in community land trusts.

### Notes

1. See, for example, James DeFilippis, Brian Stromberg, and Olivia R. Williams, “W(h)ither the Community in Community Land Trusts?” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 40 (6): 755-769 (2018). Although this article makes the same mistake I have sometimes made, focusing too narrowly on governance, it is a fine piece of constructive criticism, describing how some CLTs are falling short in meeting their own standards and promises of community involvement.
2. Olivia R. Williams, “Community Land Without Grants and Debt: Funding Ecovillage Neighborhoods with Community Shareholders.” *Communities*, #182 (Spring 2019).
3. See, for instance, the concluding paragraphs of “Origins and Evolution of the Community Land Trust in the United States,” Chapter One in J.E. Davis (ed.), *The Community Land Trust Reader*, Cambridge MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy (2010), as well as “Better Together: The Transformative Complexity of Community, Land, and Trust,” Chapter Twenty-six in J.E. Davis, Line Algoed, and Maria Hernandez-Torrales (eds.), *On Common Ground: International Perspectives on the Community Land Trust*, Madison WI: Terra Nostra Press (2020).
4. There are a number of CLTs in the USA and in other countries that do not have a membership. A perfect example would be the French version of the community land trust, *Organismes de Foncier Solidaire*.

5. An argument that such a trade-off is neither inevitable nor necessary is provided in *Impactful Development and Community Empowerment: Balancing the Dual Goals of a Global CLT Movement*, J.E. Davis, L. Algoed, and M.E. Hernandez-Torrales (eds.), Madison, WI: Terra Nostra Press (2020). See, in particular, the opening essay by Tony Pickett and Emily Thaden, “Combining Scale and Community Control to Advance Mixed-income Neighborhoods.”
6. Donald Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*. London: Routledge (1992). Schon draws on John Dewey’s *Experience and Education* (1938) to argue that “reflective practitioners” do not rely on formulas learned in graduate school, but on improvisation learned by what works—and what doesn’t—in daily practice. He paints a portrait of professionals who critically reflect upon their practice and make nimble adjustments as needed.
7. A more detailed description of the “classic” CLT can be found in Chapter One of *On Common Ground*, *op. cit.*
8. George A. Hillery, “Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement.” *Rural Sociology*, 20, 111-123 (1955).
9. This echoes the distinction drawn by Anna Hope, where she talks about the difference between housing development that is community-*focused* and housing development that is community-*led*. To the extent that the “C” in CLT is active rather than passive, a CLT obviously belongs in the latter category. Anna Hope, “Community-led Housing in England: From Adversity to Diversity.” *Planning Theory & Practice* 23 (2022).
10. There is a division of labor between the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, which does participatory planning and community organizing, and Dudley Neighbors Inc., which holds land and performs the duties of stewardship. DSNi takes the lead in facilitating solidarity throughout the neighborhood, although DNI is both a partner and a beneficiary. The London CLT and the Caño Martín Peña CLT, unlike DNI, are not subsidiaries of another nonprofit corporation, but like DNI they are beneficiaries

of the solidarity work done by other organizations of which they are a member: Citizens:UK, in the case of the London CLT; and the Group of the Eight Communities (G-8) in the case of the Caño CLT.

11. Rights of membership in the “classic” CLT also include approving amendments to the CLT’s bylaws, approving the sale of land, and dissolving the corporation.
12. As Dave Smith says in Chapter Four, “We could probably knock our houses up cheaper and quicker if we didn’t involve people in the process. Everything has got a cost-benefit to it. We put huge weight on the participation, the quality of it.”
13. In courses taught by the National CLT Academy in the USA between 2006 and 2012, stewardship was described as a “marriage of convenience,” where both parties are equally committed to keeping friction at a minimum and to making the marriage work. In such an arrangement, the operational goal for a CLT is to ensure that *compliance is routine and enforcement is unnecessary*. A more detailed description of this collaborative conception of stewardship can be found in J.E. Davis, “Common Ground: Community-owned Land as a Platform for Equitable and Sustainable Development.” *University of San Francisco Law Journal* 51 (2017). [Reprinted as Chapter Three in *On Common Ground, op. cit.*]
14. This characterization of a CLT was coined by Connie Chavez, former Executive Director of the Sawmill Community Land Trust in Albuquerque, New Mexico (USA).
15. A dozen years ago, I dubbed the preservation of affordability, the promotion of good repair, and the protection of security of tenure the “three faces of stewardship.” Within these three operational goals, there are multiple duties that are performed best as a collaborative effort of the CLT and its leaseholders. The earliest attempt to identify these goals and duties appeared in J.E. Davis, “Homes That Last: The Case for Counter-Cyclical Stewardship,” *Shelterforce*, Winter 2008. [Reprinted as Chapter Forty-six in *The Community Land Trust Reader, op. cit.*]



16. Jeffrey S. Lowe, Natalie Prochaska, and Dennis Keating, “Bringing Permanent Affordable Housing and Community Control to Scale: The Potential of Community Land Trust and Land Bank Collaboration,” *Cities* 126 (2022). They adapted and applied Sherry Arnstein’s “ladder” to community control in a CLT. (Sherry R. Arnstein, “A Ladder of Citizen Participation,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35(4): 216-224, 1969.)
17. Steven Hill, Catherine Harrington, and Tom Archer, “Messy is Good: Origins and Evolution of the CLT Movement in England.” Chapter 8 in *On Common Ground, op. cit.*
18. These panels, offered as part of the 2021 International CLT Festival, were co-sponsored by the Center for CLT Innovation and by a consortium of European CLTs known as “Sustainable Housing for Inclusive and Cohesive Cities” (SHICC).