Beyond the Win:
Advocacy Strategies for Community Ownership Policy Implementation

GROUND WORKS CONSULTING

COLA | Lab
Community Ownership Learning & Action Lab

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About This Project

This document reflects research conducted by Leo Goldberg and Miriam Zuk of Ground Works Consulting in affiliation with The Community Ownership Learning & Action Lab at the University of Miami. In addition to reviewing published sources, the research team interviewed 37 community ownership advocates and practitioners from across the United States.

About Ground Works Consulting

Ground Works Consulting works at the intersection of community power-building and community development. We partner with communities to advance health equity, climate justice, and shared prosperity with a focus on housing justice and community development systems. We believe that communities can achieve more healthy and equitable futures through an honest reckoning with all forms of inequity, particularly structural racism. Operating between big vision and implementation, we work with a wide range of communities and leaders to transform aspirational ideas into positive community outcomes.

Acknowledgements

This research is indebted to the Community Ownership practitioners from around the country who gave time to discuss their work. See Appendix A for a list of interviewees.

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Beyond the Win: Advocacy Strategies for Community Ownership Policy Implementation

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Key Takeaways

After passing a flurry of state and local policies that advance Community Ownership, advocates are learning from a range of implementation successes and setbacks. While some policies and programs are yielding the intended impact, others have been slow to show results, scaled back in scope, or canceled altogether.

Public-sector capacity within implementing agencies is essential. Advocates address knowledge and resource gaps by providing training, drafting program documents, and advocating for adequate staffing.

Advocates are engaging with elected officials to maintain influence and sustain impact throughout policy rollouts. Educating elected officials has allowed advocates to sustain political support over time.

Ongoing attention and advocacy are required to ensure the effectiveness of Community Ownership policies, given their vulnerability to political shifts, budget cuts, and capacity constraints within implementing agencies. These policies face significant headwinds even after major political victories.

Governor Moore signs legislation enabling limited equity cooperatives in Maryland—April 2026

Key Takeaways

Continued

Advocates are shaping policy and program design with an eye towards their political and financial durability. Strategic program design (e.g. spreading benefits and ensuring short-term results) can be a tool for generating broad political support and long-term revenue sustainability.

Practitioners shared strategies for staying engaged and influencing outcomes after a win:

- Stay in campaign mode
- Cultivate broad support among legislators
- Use program design to create a broad constituency
- Build up the capacity of public sector implementers
- Design for immediate impact
- Institutionalize oversight

What is Community Ownership Policy?

Community Ownership policy includes both legal and programmatic policies directly connected to the operation of community-owned land and housing, as well as policies that create a conducive legal and budgetary environment for community ownership to thrive.

Among others, policies directly connected to community ownership include:

- State and local budget measures that fund housing co-operatives
- Opportunity to purchase acts
- Legislation that reforms the taxation of community land trust homes

Broader policies that contribute to a conducive ecosystem include:

- State homeownership funding initiatives for which CLTs, ROCs, and co-ops are eligible
- Anti-corporate ownership ordinances
- Local bond measures or transfer taxes to support affordable housing development

See Appendix B for more examples of Community Ownership policies.

Introduction

Recent campaigns to pass state and local policies that advance Community Ownership[1] have had notable successes—from extending state tax credits for limited equity cooperatives in Oregon to CLT acquisition funding in Baltimore to manufactured housing opportunity-to-purchase laws in Maine, Washington, and New York. These victories have turned the attention of many advocates to a new question: how are these policies and programs being implemented, and are they having the intended impact?

Results have been mixed. Some Community Ownership policies have been slow to roll out, undermined by implementing agencies, and even defunded or otherwise rolled back by political opponents. Other programs have been more successful, funding new permanently affordable homes, decreasing housing costs for low-income families, and expanding opportunities for community-owned organizations. In several cases, implementation has yielded a mix of successes and disappointments.

Recent mixed experiences underscore the critical importance of policy implementation in the Community Ownership policy space and the need to safeguard the long-term success of policy wins. This memo draws on the experience of campaigns across the country to explore how advocates have used a number of strategies to ensure the effective rollout of policies they championed while also learning from setbacks and disappointments. Interviews explored four phases of policy implementation that emerged over the course of the research: appropriation/raising revenue, deployment, uptake, and sustainability (more about these phases in Appendix C).

The research brief includes an analysis of policy implementation cases that fell short of expectations, followed by findings on how advocates are influencing implementation processes. Findings are organized by three themes:

- How ongoing advocacy efforts can shape implementation
- Strategies for cultivating support from elected officials
- Strategies for cultivating support from implementing agencies

[1] We use Community Ownership to mean practices in which community members have a stake in both decision-making and ownership of land and housing, with the purpose of ensuring long-term community benefit rather than profit. The Community Ownership organizations at the center of this research include housing co-operatives, community land trusts, manufactured home community co-operatives, and community investment models.

Emergent Challenges to Community Ownership Policy Implementation

Recent years have seen the rollback of several state and local policies championed by Community Ownership advocates. In some cases, landmark policies and programs have been reduced in budget and scope, while others have been canceled altogether.

California's Foreclosure Intervention Housing Preservation Program (FIHPP), an acquisition and rehabilitation initiative championed by CLTs, was defunded before its launch in 2024. In Chicago, the Wealth Building Initiative was successfully implemented, disbursing millions to cooperatives and CLTs before a change in Mayor precipitated its closure and transition to a nonprofit-led initiative.

In 2016, Baltimore advocates won the creation of an Affordable Housing Trust Fund with a dedicated funding stream for CLTs. The funding began flowing in 2016 and continued to provide awards to CLTs through 2025. Nevertheless, advocates are struggling to counter mounting political opposition and attempts to diminish or cancel the CLT allocations.

Opportunity to Purchase ordinances have experienced a similar political rollercoaster ride. San Francisco's Community Opportunity to Purchase Act (COPA) has been on the books since 2019, resulting in the acquisition of 436 housing units by nonprofits. However, the mayor recently diverted revenue from a transfer tax ballot measure, approved by voters in 2020 to catalyze COPA transactions to the general fund.

Washington DC advocates rally to defend TOPA in March 2025; from https://streetsensemedia.org/article/housing-advocates-decry-topa-rollback/

In Washington DC, the longstanding Tenant Opportunity to Purchase (TOPA) program has been under constant attack, resulting in the October 2025 exemption of 2-4 unit buildings.

Interviewees cited the following challenges while considering these and other setbacks (detailed further below):

- Bureaucratic resistance
- Political turnover
- Public sector capacity
- Ongoing political opposition
- Changing budget conditions
- Narrow base of support

Bureaucratic resistance

Opposition to Community Ownership models from within state and local government agencies has reduced the impact of some policies and programs that appear beneficial to Community Ownership on paper but are rendered ineffective in practice. For example, interviewees noted that although some staff in a major city's housing department champion Community Ownership, a risk-averse legal team that holds significant influence over housing programs has impeded the growth of CLTs.

Note from the Academic Literature

Scholars have found that "street-level" bureaucrats, a.k.a. government workers who interact directly with the public to deliver services, shape policy through their decisions about program implementation. Their decisions can result in policies that diverge from the stated goals of legislators and advocates.[2] In many cases, even elected officials are unable to prescribe the actions of public sector implementers.[3]

[2] Lipsky, M. (2010). Street-level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public service (30th anniversary expanded ed.). Russell Sage Foundation.

[3] May, P. J., & Winter, S. C. (2009). Politicians, managers, and street-level bureaucrats: Influences on policy implementation. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 19(3), 453–476.

Political turnover

Over-reliance on individual elected officials or agency champions leaves programs vulnerable when leadership turns over. This can be especially challenging when an enthusiastic champion wants to "own" the issue and becomes associated with it by colleagues and/or rivals. Regardless of their ideological persuasion, subsequent officeholders are incentivized to elevate their own initiatives and marginalize those that they cannot take credit for. For example, despite being ideologically aligned with community-owned real estate strategies, a new mayor in Chicago reduced City support for the Community Wealth Building Initiative because it was considered to be the previous mayor's pet project.

Public sector capacity constraints

Shortages of staff, expertise, and other resources have hindered public agencies in implementing Community Ownership programs. One county passed a $2 million budget amendment to support CLT homeownership projects at the behest of local advocates and then delayed for years as its staff struggled to navigate HUD regulations that have posed no obstacle elsewhere.

Poor communication between implementing agencies has also posed problems in some cases, and scholars have noted that the more agencies involved, the higher the risk of policy implementation failure.[4]

Ongoing political opposition

In several contexts, real estate interests and other stakeholders have sustained oppositional campaigns after policies are in place. Their ability to maintain lobbying, sometimes for years, has enabled them to wait for economic and political conditions to change in their favor (e.g. budget downturns, a conservative turn in the city council), at which point the opposition is able to divert funding from Community Ownership programs.

[4] Pressman, J. L., & Wildavsky, A. (1984). Implementation: How great expectations in Washington are dashed in Oakland (3rd ed.). University of California Press.

Changing budget conditions

Innovative Community Ownership-benefiting policies have flourished under conditions of budget plenty. However, these programs have come under scrutiny in bad budget years when public funding is often diverted to essential services and housing programs with longer track records.

Programs initiated with one-time funding are at especially high risk in future years. This was the case for several programs funded through pandemic-era federal outlays (e.g., ARPA) and for others made possible by one-time budget surpluses, such as the one that enabled FIHPP's 2021 budget allocation. While one-time revenue sources can enable the launch of innovative Community Ownership programs, reliance on them can jeopardize their long-term sustainability.

Particularly when Community Ownership projects receive one-time funding, they must show short-term results to have a chance of being sustained. Without demonstrating an almost immediate impact, these programs are at risk of losing political support needed to secure ongoing budget allocations and becoming targets for cuts.

Narrow base of support

Community Ownership programs with a small set of organizational beneficiaries have struggled to maintain support across time. When budget cuts are looming, it has been difficult for Community Ownership advocates to secure broader political support for programs that channel resources only to cooperatives, CLTs, and similar community-controlled projects.

How Advocates are Influencing Implementation to Protect Policy Wins

While the challenges are real, there are also many cases of successful community ownership policy implementation. Interviewees shared several strategies that have helped advocates ensure the effective rollout of Community Ownership-benefiting laws and government programs. These fall into three distinct strategy types:

- Sustaining advocacy pressure after policy wins
- Strategies for cultivating support from elected officials
- Strategies for cultivating support from implementing agencies

Sustaining Advocacy Pressure After Policy Wins

Interviewees spoke about how promising policies and programs frequently underdeliver without ongoing monitoring and advocacy intervention. Community Ownership policy advocates have developed several strategies to maintain a seat at the table with public-sector agencies and shape policy implementation.

Create community-led oversight bodies

Designing programs to include oversight and implementation bodies with designated seats for community members has helped some campaigns maintain influence years after a program is initiated.

That has been the case for the communities of the Caño Martín Peña area in San Juan, Puerto Rico. After years of advocacy, community members won major commitments from the city and commonwealth government to support the establishment of a CLT and restoration of the deteriorated ecosystem in the tidal channel that is home to 5,000 people.

The same campaign resulted in the creation of Proyecto ENLACE, a state-funded body with community members on its board of directors that is responsible for transitioning public lands to the CLT. Community advocates report that embedding resident leadership in this body has kept it on mission and responsive to community members.[5]

[5] Veronesi, M., Algoed, L., & Hernández, M. (2022). Community-led development and collective land tenure for environmental justice: The case of the Caño Martín Peña community land trust, Puerto Rico. International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development, 14, 1–10.

In Los Angeles, two campaigns that included substantial resources for Community Ownership models—Measure ULA (2022) and Measure A (2024)—produced civic oversight committees with extensive decision-making powers enshrined in their enabling statutes. Community advocates designed the committees to act as a check if political winds change and to guard against unfriendly program modifications.

Research on the role of oversight bodies in criminal justice reform offers insights relevant to Community Ownership. A study by the Vera Institute found that to be effective, civic oversight bodies need to be intentional in their makeup, integrating key stakeholders and constituencies. They also need to have decision-making authority rather than being solely advisory or symbolic. Finally, oversight bodies need ongoing funding and support in order to effectively carry out their mandate.[6]

Stay in campaign mode

Scholars have found that the level of ongoing attention paid to a policy by its advocacy champions impacts its implementation and results.[7]

So it is not surprising that interviewees stressed the importance of keeping advocacy coalitions together after winning policy campaigns in order to defend against rollback efforts. Once the campaign's energy has subsided and the campaign infrastructure is dismantled, it can be difficult to rally advocates to defend an initiative.

For the ULA campaign in Los Angeles, the solution was to stay organized as a campaign after their ballot measure victory, maintaining their broad coalition that includes labor, transit advocates, and housing justice organizations. The coalition continued to meet regularly, while leaders circulated frequent updates and kept ULA in the public eye through rallies and the media.

This ongoing mobilization has proved crucial in seeing ULA through a series of political challenges, including efforts by the Governor, the Mayor, the City Council, and the state legislature to eliminate ULA in its first two years.

[6] Vera Institute. (2022). Civilian crisis response: A toolJointkit for equitable alternatives to police. www.vera.org/civilian-crisis-response-toolkit/7-ongoing-oversight-for-a-community-driven-program

[7] Vedung, E. (1997). Process Evaluation and Implementation Theory. In *Public Policy and Program Evaluation* (pp. 209–245). Transaction Publishers.

In Vermont, the Champlain Housing Trust has mobilized its substantial membership to fight off repeated attempts at rolling back policy achievements that support the growth of the CLT. In a Harvard Joint Center and Neighborworks publication, former Executive Director Brenda Torpy noted that the CLT relies on 300-500 CLT members to participate in advocacy annually in order to sustain their policy wins: "People try to get rid of inclusionary zoning every year, but if you have a community of people that are really invested, you have a powerful lobby."[8]

Build broad constituencies through inclusive program design

When policy initiatives benefit a broad array of stakeholders, those stakeholders tend to remain engaged in defending the program. Giving more parties skin in the game has proven fruitful for several statewide CLT public funding campaigns: by designing programs to extend funding to a wide array of homeownership nonprofits, these programs have secured the ongoing advocacy support of the beneficiaries. For example, Colorado CLTs have pursued property tax changes, HOA reform, and a new state homeownership loan product, all of which are applicable to income-restricted homeownership projects and not limited to CLT homes. In doing so, they have won the support of Habitat for Humanity affiliates and other homeownership nonprofits that join lobbying efforts.

Conversely, policy designs with fewer beneficiaries can mean fewer allies when political threats arise. California's 2021 $500 million Foreclosure Intervention Housing Preservation Program was designed primarily for use by CLTs. When a combination of bureaucratic hostility and budget cuts threatened to cancel the program before it made its first loan, the California CLT Network struggled to find vocal defenders in the broader affordable housing field. Most interest groups were not inclined to prioritize defending a program that did not promise their members direct financial benefits.

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[8] Palmer, A. (2019). Strategies for Sustainable Growth in Community Land Trusts [Gramlich Fellowship Paper]. Joint Center for Housing Studies and NeighborWorks America. https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/harvard_jchs_palmer_strategies_sustainable_growth_community_land_trusts_2019.pdf

Strategies for Cultivating Support from Elected Officials

Interviewees cited the need to maintain support from elected officials to ensure the sustained implementation of Community Ownership policies and programs over time.

Educating elected officials

Since most elected officials are unfamiliar with Community Ownership models, education has been a key strategy for cultivating champions in government. Education can take many forms, ranging from tours of housing cooperatives to legislative briefings to the "Donuts with Your Delegation" program that the California CLT Network launched in 2026 to support members in meeting face-to-face with their local representatives.

Since 2019, the New York City Community Land Initiative (NYCCLI) has conducted an annual campaign to educate the City Council on the importance of CLTs and Community Ownership. Meeting with council members and conducting briefings has allowed advocates to reach new elected officials and staff while reinforcing information for those who have been around for previous budget cycles. The result: each year NYCCLI has secured a $1.5 million budget allocation to support CLT operations.

This kind of ongoing outreach and education is particularly important given frequent turnover among officeholders. Making sure that new officeholders were familiar with the CLT model motivated Jeff Washburne, then Executive Director of the City of Lakes CLT, to pursue an annual education campaign: "Every year I would sit down with every council member, the mayor's office, all the county commissioners, and every State elected that had representation in the city of Minneapolis."

> **"Every year I would sit down with every council member, the mayor's office, all the county commissioners, and every state elected that had representation in the city of Minneapolis."**
>
> *– Jeff Washburne, former Executive Director of the City of Lakes CLT*

The Greater Boston CLT Network meets with elected officials at a "Policy & Pastries" event in February 2026. From the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative.

Indirectly influencing elected officials

Advocates also stressed that building relationships with elected officials' staff is a way to navigate officeholder turnover. Senior staff often have considerable sway over policy decisions and can carry their familiarity with Community Ownership from one position to the next as their bosses change over time.

Advocates have also found that media coverage and public validation can serve as tools for focusing the attention of elected officials. For example, the resident coalition that fought displacement in San Juan, Puerto Rico and founded the Caño Martín Peña CLT intentionally leveraged a series of prestigious awards (2009 American Planning Association, 2011 EPA Environmental Justice Award, 2015-16 UN World Habitat) that provided external validation and media attention. These awards became advocacy tools and were instrumental in maintaining government support for the project.[9]

Engaging in electoral politics

IRS restrictions on lobbying scare many practitioners away from undertaking policy advocacy and, in particular, from engaging with elected officials.

However, community advocates are exploring several IRS-compliant pathways to engage with electoral politics. To reach candidates early, CLT coalitions have hosted candidate forums, a permitted activity for 501(c)(3)s. Candidate forums can set the table for post-election relationships and offer practitioners an opportunity to educate politicians.

At least one group of advocates has created a 501(c)(4) organization to pursue advocacy activities not allowed under the 501(c)(3) structure. In 2021, members of the California CLT Network incorporated California CLT Action, an independent 501(c)(4), which has endorsed candidates in city council and state assembly races, coordinated doorknocking, and distributed materials promoting the candidates—all of which are viable activities for a 501(c)(4). California CLT Action used candidate questionnaires and invitations to attend fundraisers to educate candidates on the CLT model and put them on the record as supporters.

California CLT Action, a 501(c)(4), canvases for a San Jose City Council candidate and statewide ballot measure in 2024.

[9] Algoed, L. & Hernández Torrales, M. (2024). Communities as Global Actors in Counterhegemonic Policy Mobilities: Lessons from the Community Land Trust Movement. International Journal of the Commons, 18(1), 53–65. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48807664

Strategies for Cultivating Support from Implementing Agencies

Engaging elected officials is often necessary to ensure that programs are maintained over time, but educating and maintaining strong relationships with public agency staff can be just as important, if not more so. Public sector staff, whether at state housing finance agencies, municipal housing and planning departments, or county tax assessors' offices, often determine whether a program succeeds or fails. Their ability to implement Community Ownership policies and programs is determined by both their capacity—human capital, time, resources, and know-how—and their willingness to do so. Advocates can impact both variables.

Educating Agency Staff

Advocates and practitioners stressed the importance of reaching out to agency staff, many of whom are not well versed in key Community Ownership concepts, and providing them with training and resources. Public sector support for Community Ownership projects often requires agencies to adjust practices they are accustomed to in other programs, which can cause discomfort and friction. For example, community governance and permanent affordability requirements can entail additional legal and administrative effort for staff at a state finance agency or administrators of a municipal subsidy program.

Jeff Corey of One Roof Community Housing in Duluth has found that it is helpful to provide support for public sector administrators and maintain a positive working relationship: "We're constantly training new staff at the state and the city. It's hard because they turn over, and then you have to train the next one, but that's just how it is. It's about relationship building and not getting into an adversarial space."

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>
> *– Jeff Corey, One Roof Community Housing*

Cultivating Support from Agency Leadership

Practitioners also discussed the necessity of maintaining relationships with leadership at implementation agencies to ensure that Community Ownership programs receive the prioritization and resources they need. The case of the Foreclosure Intervention Housing Preservation Program (FIHPP) in California demonstrates the danger of not bringing agency leadership on board: advocates concluded that decision-makers at the state housing agency felt the program was forced on them by the legislature.

Consequently, they slowed the rollout to a crawl and declined to defend the program as the Governor's office sought budget cuts. If advocates had been able to win over agency leadership as internal champions, the program's outcome might have been very different.

Addressing Capacity Constraints

Thoughtful policies and programs often underperform because of capacity constraints at implementing agencies. One CLT coalition organizer shared that, "the county is over-committed administratively. They have a bare-bones staff and aren't able to administer big, ambitious programs. So, there is a real problem with the level of government capacity to implement the tenant opportunity to purchase program that we are calling for." In Baltimore, for example, a hard-won municipal CLT acquisition fund has been undermined by the slowness of the city's building permitting process.

> **"The county is over-committed administratively. They have a bare-bones staff and aren't able to administer big, ambitious programs. So, there is a real problem with the level of government capacity to implement the tenant opportunity to purchase program that we are calling for."**
>
> *- CLT Coalition Organizer*

In some cases, advocates have deployed strategies to proactively account for these capacity challenges. For example, after winning their citywide ballot measure in 2022, the United to House LA Coalition did not take a back seat and wait for the City to implement. Instead, cognizant of staffing limitations at the City, the Coalition drafted guidelines for all eleven programs initiated by the ballot measure and delivered them to program staff, who drew on them in the officially published versions.

Another strategy for addressing capacity constraints is to build adequate administrative funding into program designs. By dedicating program revenues or budget appropriations to public-sector implementation staffing, advocates can preempt the capacity shortfalls that have undermined innovative Community Ownership policies.

Note from the Academic Literature

Scholars have found that civil society organizations can positively impact policy outcomes by disseminating information on new programs and, in doing so, increase their uptake. In this way, organizations provide outreach and publicity where public agencies do not have the capacity to do so.[10]

[10] Vedung, E. (1997). Process Evaluation and Implementation Theory. In *Public Policy and Program Evaluation* (pp. 209–245). Transaction Publishers.

Implications for Practice

Practitioner interviews and analysis of both successful and unsuccessful cases of Community Ownership policy implementation point to several strategic considerations for organizations seeking to ensure the impact of Community Ownership policies after legislative or budgetary wins:

1. Stay in campaign mode
2. Cultivate broad support among legislators
3. Use program design to create a broad constituency
4. Build up the capacity of public sector implementers
5. Design for immediate impact
6. Institutionalize oversight

By utilizing these strategies, advocates can ensure that policies and programs are successfully administered, but they will also raise tensions that advocates must navigate. For one, advocates must balance the long game—building support among a broad set of legislators and securing sustainable funding—against the need to seize sudden windows of opportunity, such as when a legislator offers to run a bill supportive of Community Ownership, or an unexpected tranche of public funds becomes available.

Advocates also have to navigate the question of how closely to align with elected officials or agency administrators. In some cases, working on the inside can be key to a program's success; at other times, public pressure is necessary.

Finally, this analysis of implementation highlights difficult questions about which policy goals advocates pursue and how they shape those goals into policy proposals. Transformative measures are high on upside but risk losing short-term support if they can't show immediate impact; more modest policy changes may be more sustainable but risk coming up short in addressing practitioners' needs.

With more Community Ownership policy campaigns currently underway across the country, there will be more cases to learn from and successes to emulate. A sharper focus on implementation will give Community Ownership advocates greater influence on the real-world outcomes of policy campaigns.

Appendix A

Interviewees

- Charles Allison-Godfrey, Elevation CLT
- Monjia Belizaire, SHARE Baltimore
- Abby Bronson, ROC-New Hampshire
- Kelli Cicirelli, ROC-New Hampshire
- Jeff Corey, One Roof Community Housing
- Rania Dalloul, UHAB
- Peter Dean, UHAB
- Deyanira Del Rio, NYC Community Land Initiative, New Economy Project
- James DeFillipis, Rutgers University
- Julia Duranti-Martínez, LISC
- David Ellsworth-Keller, Northwest Community Land Trust Coalition
- Kody Glazer, Florida Housing Coalition
- Elise Goldin, NYC Community Land Initiative, New Economy Project
- Mary Griffin, Cooperative Development Foundation
- Arielle Hersh, UHAB
- Rick Jacobus, Street Level Advisors
- Jonathan Jager, Public Counsel
- Kristin King-Ries
- Jessica Melendez, TRUST South LA
- Minnie McMahon, Greater Boston CLT Network
- Sandra McNeill, LA CLT Coalition
- Josh Newton, Cooperation San Diego
- Victoria O'Banion, Northwest Cooperative Development Center
- Krystle Okafor, Maryland Community Investment Corporation
- Jason Paschall, CoNorth
- Doug Ryan, Grounded Solutions Network
- Colby Sledge, Grounded Solutions Network
- Jason Spicer, CUNY
- Will Spisak, NYC Community Land Initiative, New Economy Project
- Stacey Sutton, University of Illinois Chicago
- Brett Theodos, Urban Institute
- Matthew Vu, LA CLT Coalition
- Jeff Washburne, MN CLT Coalition
- Olivia Williams, Wisconsin CLT Network
- Simon Windell, Northwest Community Land Trust Coalition
- Matthew Wyman, Florida Housing Coalition

Appendix B

Community Ownership Policies

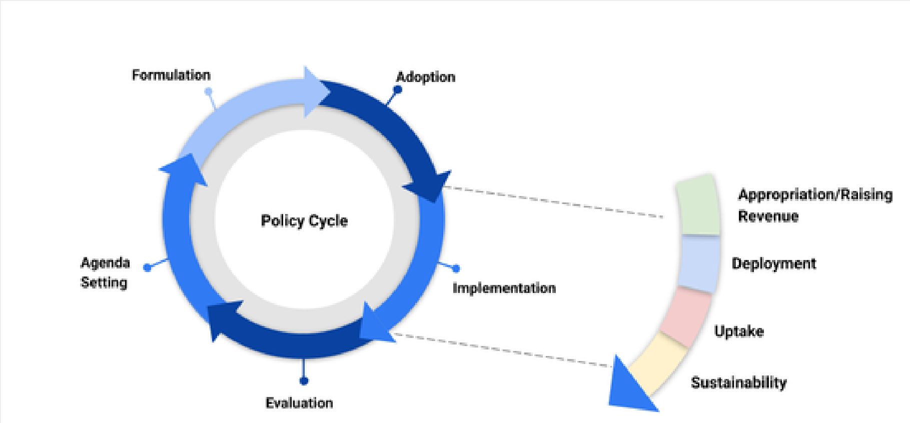
Expanding Access to Land and Property	Strengthening CO Organization Capacity	Enhancing Legal Security and Legitimacy	Supporting Affordability ($)
• First right of refusal and opportunity to purchase • Land donations (including land back) • Discounted sales • Incentives for private owners to sell to community ownership organizations • Eminent domain authority • Land banking partnership • Inclusionary zoning with CLT options • Prioritize CO in public land/property dispositions • Tax incentives for selling property to CO orgs • Preferential climate adaptation, disaster recovery, and planned retreat strategy that prioritizes community ownership models	• Funding streams for CO capacity building and operations • TA programs • Stewardship contracts	• Statutory definitions of community ownership • Ground lease standards and guidelines • Removal of regulatory and statutory barriers to community ownership and perpetual affordability • Adjusting programs, statutory language, and materials to allow for community ownership and perpetual affordability (e.g., regulatory agreements)	• Adapting down payment assistance, below-market-rate mortgages and other affordable housing grants and financing products to accommodate CO structures (e.g., shared loans for co-ops) • Set asides or prioritization in subsidy and loan programs for community ownership • Tax exemption and assessment methods • Tax policies that recognize affordability restrictions • Inclusionary housing that's stewarded by land trusts • Creation of new government entities to finance and otherwise support CO such as Social Housing Development Authorities, Public Banks, and Community Wealth Building Initiatives

Appendix C

Interviews with Community Ownership advocates focused on four phases of implementation:

Implementation Phase	Description
Appropriation/Raising revenue	In many cases, after a policy is passed, funds are appropriated for implementation, whether that is to stand up a new program, enforce new laws, or create a subsidy pool. When campaigns secure a new funding source, such as a bond issuance or a property tax increase, this is the stage at which the revenue-raising mechanisms are implemented.
Deployment	Resources are utilized by the implementing agency to effectuate the policy. This can take different forms depending on the type of policy, ranging from the enforcement of laws, to the provision of technical assistance, to the disposition of public funding or property.
Uptake	Once new laws are on the books or new resources are made available by implementing agencies, target beneficiaries make use of the new policy/program.
Sustainability	Many variables affect a policy's ability to remain in place over time. Some are specific to the success of implementation, while others are connected to the political and budgetary environment.

Each phase depends on effective administration by public-sector actors and can be influenced by advocates. Each phase has also been the site of recent successes in the Community Ownership policy rollout, as well as shortcomings that undermined the intended impacts of hard-won campaigns.



"Policy Cycle" adapted from Howlett, M. and M. Ramesh (2003). *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*, Toronto, Oxford University Press.