The struggle of a community

A case study of a community struggling against the effects of gentrification through the use of a CLT

Thijs Meeusen

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Summary

Worldwide, cities struggle to provide sufficient affordable housing for their residents. This is also the case in Amsterdam, where a change in demand in combination with the promotion of homeownership led to a strong decline in the social housing stock. This led to gentrification in some neighbourhoods. Every part of the city has its development regarding these processes, but the community of the H-buurt in the southeast of Amsterdam currently experiences the threat of gentrification.

Gentrification is a complex phenomenon that is not receptive to a single definition. Many different authors have shed light on the concept and there are different schools of thought on the exact functioning of the process. Distinctive for all gentrification processes is that they revolve around neighbourhood change, whereby affluent people start to move into a neighbourhood which is mainly inhabited by people with lower incomes. The influx of more affluent citizens causes housing prices to rise and eventually leads to displacement pressure or the displacement of people with lower incomes (Boterman & van Gent, 2014; Doucet, 2014; Hamnett, 1991; Zukin et al., 2009).

This study aims to explore the potential application of community land trusts in the Netherlands and their impact on gentrification processes. So, what are community land trusts? These are non-profit organisations that hold land for a community. A characteristic of this community is that the members are typically bound through the area they inhabit. A CLT functions as a steward for affordable housing and other forms of community infrastructure in perpetuity, on behalf of and in favour of the community (Center for Community Land Trust Innovation, 2022). Even though there are studies that suggest a moderating effect of CLTs on gentrification, there is not extensive enough research to give a definitive statement about this (Angotti, 2007; Bunce, 2018; Choi et al., 2017; Engelsman, 2016). Therefore, more research is needed in which different contexts are explored.

To fulfil the aim of this research, a case study was conducted. The chosen case is the CLT H-buurt located in the aforementioned southeastern part of Amsterdam. Not only does this case offer an outlook into the emergence of a CLT in a different context, but it is also the first CLT that is set up in the Netherlands. This CLT aims to create affordable housing and community infrastructure, all in favour of the local community.

The case was researched through qualitative research during which semi-structured interviews were held with actors in the dynamic of the case study, as well as with experts in the field of CLTs that were not directly involved in the case. The results of these interviews went into the conditions that lead to the emergence of CLTs. The internal governance of CLTs. The governance challenges of CLTs and the potential impact that CLTs could have on communities. These topics were discussed in regard to the case, and the general information gathered from the expert interviews.

The results of this study suggest that CLTs often result from the existence of a strong community within a financialised housing system from which the community feels excluded, even though the context in which CLTs are set up varies extensively. Besides these conditions, the model itself has many variations to it. Therefore, it can be applied in many different contexts and can be tailored to different systems. In the CLT H-buurt, this variation was also used as the division of seats on the board is different from most CLTs as it has no public representatives. A further characteristic of CLTs is the dependence on governments. In many cases, governments provide CLTs with funding and/or land. This creates a certain level of dependability which makes CLTs vulnerable to political developments that might change the

government's image of CLTs, which can result in a lack of funding or the removal of ownership rights to land. The CLT H-buurt is incorporated in a municipal testing ground and a good relationship exists between the CLT and the municipality of Amsterdam. However, the objectives of the testing ground are not all met. Specifically, better positioning for organisations such as CLTs in the organisation of the municipality is not achieved. The reason for this is the liberty that municipal employees can utilise in their work. Though this liberty, the CLT is sometimes not prioritised as much as conventional forms of development.

So how do these characteristics influence the CLT's ability to make an impact on the challenges arising from gentrification? This research has found that people who move into CLT housing are relieved from their displacement pressure, which is a significant impact. The impact on the community apart from the residents, however, is moderate at best. Both these forms of impact are related to the phase of gentrification in the area: if it is a late process, the CLT will struggle more to make an impact than when a district is starting to experience the first signs of gentrification. In the case of the H-buurt, big developments are planned in the area and securing a plot has proved to be challenging so far. The possibilities of acquiring more land that the CLT needs at first are difficult to assess, as the area might find itself in a more advanced gentrification process, in which case it would become more challenging to make an impact. However, currently, the CLT aims to offer amenities that would be beneficial to the entire community of the H-buurt which could enlarge the impact. It could create a stronger community which can offer some stability to residents that find themselves in the middle of the disruptive process of gentrification, albeit on a minor scale and not directly in the form of housing.

Samenvatting

Wereldwijd worstelen steden om voldoende betaalbare huisvesting voor hun inwoners te bieden. Dit is ook het geval in Amsterdam, waar een veranderde woningvraag in combinatie met het promoten van woningbezit leidde tot een sterke afname van de sociale woningvoorraad. Dit leidde in sommige wijken tot gentrificatie. Elk deel van de stad heeft zijn eigen ontwikkeling met betrekking tot deze processen, maar de gemeenschap van de H-buurt in het zuidoosten van Amsterdam ervaart momenteel de dreiging van gentrificatie.

Gentrificatie is een complex fenomeen dat niet ontvankelijk is voor één enkele definitie. Veel verschillende auteurs hebben hun licht op het concept geworpen en er zijn verschillende stromingen over de precieze werking van het proces. Kenmerkend voor alle gentrificatieprocessen is dat ze draaien om buurtverandering, waarbij welvarende mensen gaan verhuizen naar een wijk die vooral wordt bewoond door mensen met lagere inkomens. De instroom van meer welvarende burgers zorgt voor stijgende huizenprijzen en leidt uiteindelijk tot 'verplaatsingsdruk' of de letterlijke verdringing van mensen met lagere inkomens (Boterman & van Gent, 2014; Doucet, 2014; Hamnett, 1991; Zukin et al., 2009).

Deze studie heeft als doel de mogelijke toepassing van community land trusts in Nederland en hun impact op gentrificatieprocessen te verkennen. Alvorens dit uiteen te zetten moet worden uitgelegd wat een community land trust is. Dit zijn non-profitorganisaties die grond in bezit hebben voor een gemeenschap. Kenmerkend voor deze gemeenschap is dat de leden doorgaans gebonden zijn door het gebied waarin ze wonen. Een CLT fungeert als rentmeester voor betaalbare huisvesting en andere vormen van gemeenschapsinfrastuctuur voor altijd, namens en ten gunste van de gemeenschap (Center for Community Land Trust Innovation, 2022). Hoewel er studies zijn die een modererend effect van CLT's op gentrificatie suggereren, is er niet uitgebreid genoeg onderzoek om hier een definitieve uitspraak over te doen (Angotti, 2007; Bunce, 2018; Choi et al., 2017; Engelsman, 2016). Daarom is meer onderzoek nodig waarin verschillende contexten worden verkend.

Om aan het doel van dit onderzoek te voldoen is er een casestudy uitgevoerd. De gekozen case is de CLT H-buurt gelegen in het eerder genoemde zuidoostelijke deel van Amsterdam. Deze casus biedt niet alleen een blik op het ontstaan van een CLT in een andere context, het is ook de eerste CLT die in Nederland wordt opgericht. Deze CLT heeft het doel om betaalbare woningen en gemeenschapsinfrastuctuur te creëren, allemaal ten gunste van de lokale gemeenschap.

De casus is onderzocht door middel van kwalitatief onderzoek waarbij semigestructureerde interviews zijn gehouden met actoren die zijn betrokken in de casus, maar ook met experts op het gebied van CLT's die niet direct betrokken waren bij de casus. De resultaten van deze interviews gingen in op de omstandigheden die leidden tot de opkomst van CLT's. De interne governance van CLT's. De governance-uitdagingen van CLT's en de potentiële impact die CLT's kunnen hebben op gemeenschappen. Deze onderwerpen werden besproken met betrekking tot de casus en de algemene informatie verzameld uit de expertinterviews.

De resultaten van deze studie suggereren dat CLT's vaak voortkomen uit het bestaan van een sterke gemeenschap binnen een gefinancialiseerd huisvestingssysteem waarvan de gemeenschap zich buitengesloten voelt, ook al varieert de context waarin CLT's worden opgezet sterk. Naast deze voorwaarden kent het model zelf vele variaties. Daarom kan het in veel verschillende contexten worden toegepast en kan het worden afgestemd op verschillende systemen. In de CLT H-buurt werd deze variant ook gebruikt omdat de zetelverdeling in het bestuur anders is dan bij de meeste CLT's omdat er geen volksvertegenwoordigers zijn. Een

ander kenmerk van CLT's is de afhankelijkheid van overheden. In veel gevallen verstrekken overheden CLT's financiering en/of grond. Dit creëert een zekere mate van afhankelijkheid die CLT's kwetsbaar maakt voor politieke ontwikkelingen die het imago van de overheid van CLT's kunnen veranderen, wat kan resulteren in een gebrek aan financiering of het verwijderen van eigendomsrechten op land. De CLT H-buurt is opgenomen in een gemeentelijke proeftuin en er bestaat een goede relatie tussen de CLT en de gemeente Amsterdam. De doelstellingen van de proeftuin worden echter niet allemaal gehaald. Concreet wordt een betere positionering van organisaties als CLT's in de organisatie van de gemeente niet gerealiseerd. De reden hiervoor is de vrijheid die medewerkers van de gemeente in hun werk kunnen benutten. Ondanks deze vrijheid krijgt het CLT soms niet zoveel prioriteit als conventionele vormen van ontwikkeling.

Dus hoe beïnvloeden deze kenmerken het vermogen van de CLT om invloed uit te oefenen op de uitdagingen die voortvloeien uit gentrificatie? Uit dit onderzoek is gebleken dat mensen die naar CLT-woningen verhuizen, worden verlost van hun 'verplaatsingsdruk', wat een aanzienlijke impact is. De impact op de gemeenschap, afgezien van de bewoners van de CLT, is echter op zijn best matig. Beide vormen van impact houden verband met de fase van gentrificatie in het gebied: als het een laat proces is, zal het CLT meer moeite hebben om impact te maken dan wanneer een wijk de eerste tekenen van gentrificatie begint te ervaren. In het geval van de H-buurt zijn er grote ontwikkelingen gepland in het gebied en het verkrijgen van een perceel is tot nu toe een uitdaging gebleken. De mogelijkheden om meer grond te verwerven dat de CLT in eerste instantie nodig heeft, zijn moeilijk in te schatten, aangezien het gebied zich mogelijk in een gentrificatieproces bevindt dat verder gevorderd is, in welk geval het een grotere uitdaging zou worden om impact te maken. Op dit moment streeft de CLT er echter naar om voorzieningen te bieden die de hele gemeenschap van de H-buurt ten goede komen en die de impact kunnen vergroten. Het zou een sterkere gemeenschap kunnen creëren die enige stabiliteit kan bieden aan bewoners die zich midden in het ontwrichtende proces van gentrificatie bevinden, zij het op kleine schaal en niet direct in de vorm van huisvesting.

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1. Introduction

Urban development concerns creating and renovating the built environment in which human civilisation finds itself. This field consists of numerous elements, such as the creation of infrastructure for education, transportation and health (EU, n.d.). One essential part of this development is the provision of housing. This is a significant challenge in an increasing number of growing cities as they struggle to provide enough affordable housing for their current and future residents (Boelhouwer, 2020).

This is also a problem for the city of Amsterdam, which historically was home to a regulated housing market. However, the promotion of homeownership through national policy marginalised the position of housing corporations, which therefore could not fulfil their goal of providing affordable housing as well as in the past. This led to a decline in social housing and an increase in housing prices. In combination with an increasing demand for housing coming from urban professionals, the shortage of affordable housing led to the edging out of original residents with relatively low incomes. After this process, these low-income residents find themselves displaced to other municipalities or parts of the city with lower property values. This latter phenomenon eventually also spread to peripheral parts of the city (Savini et al. 2016). This leads to an increased risk of people experiencing insecurity about their future in their neighbourhood, their housing and the community as a whole. Generally, the people in these communities feel like they are left without a tool to help their situation (Atkinson, 2004; Marcuse, 2015).

These problems have sparked this research which goes into the functionality of Community Land Trusts as tools for communities threatened by gentrification by investigating the case of the CLT H-buurt in Amsterdam. The research aims to explore the potential application of community land trusts in The Netherlands and their impact on processes of gentrification.

The remainder of this chapter goes into the background of this study, after which the research problem will be discussed, leading to the research aims, objectives and questions. Furthermore, the significance of the study and the inevitable limitations are discussed. This chapter ends by providing an outline of the structure of this research.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Gentrification

Central to this research is the phenomenon of gentrification. Gentrification is a complex phenomenon that is not receptive to a single definition. Many different authors have shed light on the concept and there are different schools of thought on the exact functioning of the process. Distinctive for all gentrification processes is that they revolve around neighbourhood change, whereby affluent people start to move into a neighbourhood which is mainly inhabited by people with lower incomes. The influx of more affluent citizens causes housing prices to rise and eventually leads to displacement pressure or the displacement of people with lower incomes. What the effects of this are, might differ per area and the form of the process. However, distinctive is the disruptive effect that the influx of a new demographic has on a neighbourhood. Authors do not universally agree on what sparks this process. Some authors state that the process is led by urban policy that is aimed at creating a more mixed demographic in an area, whereas others view the commercial environment as a leading factor.

By others, the demand for housing by more affluent people is seen as the main cause. (Boterman & van Gent, 2014; Doucet, 2014; Hamnett, 1991; Zukin et al., 2009)

1.1.2 Community Land Trusts

A community land trust (CLT) is a non-profit organisation that holds titles to plots of land in favour of a community, usually with the goal of providing affordable housing or community infrastructure. Therefore, these plots of land will not be resold or rented out. Instead, they are taken out of the market in perpetuity. CLTs offer a different approach to ownership of land, organisation of the corporation, and the operational activities that distinguish CLTs from other forms of land ownership or housing provision. A characteristic of the community is that the members are typically bound through the area they inhabit. In terms of ownership, a characteristic is that the buildings stay within the community as members cannot sell their house to just anyone, it has to stay in the community and the price is set through a resale formula.

In terms of their organisational structure, CLTs are open for anyone to apply as a member as long as they live within the service area of the CLT. The size of this service area may differ from a neighbourhood to a region or city. The board of the organisation is typically elected by the members of the community. Typically, the seats on the board are divided amongst three groups: those representing residents of the CLT land, those representing residents of the service area and the third part is usually made up of public representatives.

(Center for Community Land Trust Innovation, 2022)

1.1.3 CLT H-buurt

An example of a CLT is the CLT H-buurt located in the southeastern part of Amsterdam (Amsterdam 'zuidoost'). This part of the city has recently been selected for large-scale housing developments that will attract more residents in the future (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020). The area is mainly a residential one that consists of high-rise buildings. The first one of these dates back to 1968. The area was originally designed as a futuristic city that reflects the design principles of Le Corbusier. This is still visible today: High buildings with lots of space in between them and a strict separation of functions. Furthermore, the area was characterised by a large amount of green space and waterways. According to the planners, this district formed the ideal city. However, the target group in mind for this area was more attracted to the more quiet and green environment found in towns outside of the city. Therefore, Amsterdam Zuidoost was left with those who had nowhere else to go, specifically the less socio-economically fortunate residents of the city. Consequently, the area has become known as a location where social and economic problems are rampant, with measures intended to improve its liveability being taken as far back as 1972. However, more vigorous action was needed to liberate the area of its problems. This led the municipality to demolish several high-rise buildings in 1992. Those that remained, were renovated (Van der Veer & Kornatowski, 2023).

Currently, a specific part within Zuidoost, the H-buurt, is home to a community that advocates for urban development taking place in favour of the local community. The reason for this is the threat of gentrification that the community experiences. A large development is planned in this area which will lead to the influx of many new residents. The community members have set up a CLT through which they are involved as an actor in the development. As an actor, the CLT represents the interests of the local community and is currently in the process of obtaining land. The CLT aims to develop affordable housing for the local community and to set up a community infrastructure in the form of communal amenities. By doing so, the community is the first in the Netherlands to use the CLT model for housing provision. (CLT H-Buurt, n.d.)

1.2 Research problem

Although the topic has not been extensively researched, CLTs are believed to have a moderating effect on processes of gentrification and their negative impacts (Angotti, 2007; Bunce, 2018; Choi et al., 2017; Engelsman, 2016). However, the impact of CLTs on gentrification could benefit from more research, especially in different contexts. Furthermore, the CLT movement originated in the USA but has gained more attention in Europe in recent years. This led to the creation of an increasing number of CLTs with numbers growing from 33 in 2017 to over 300 in 2022 (European CLT Network, n.d.). So, promising results regarding the impact of CLTs are paired with more widespread development of them. This calls for more research to be done on the impact of CLTs in different contexts. One of these contexts is the Dutch one as there is no scientific information regarding CLTs in the Netherlands. Therefore, a research gap is present here.

This is where the Dutch case of the CLT H-buurt should be introduced as the case study of this research. Why is a Dutch case relevant to this research? As mentioned, the CLT H-buurt is the very first CLT in the Netherlands that focuses on housing. Therefore, it is a valuable case to research how a CLT can be successful if there is no other organisation similar to it. Furthermore, gentrification is at play in Amsterdam which allows for a case study that does not only investigate the CLT as a national champion but it also allows for research into the impact of the CLT. Furthermore, since there are promising results regarding the impact that CLTs have, they could be considered as part of the solution to housing crises, which calls for further research.

1.3 Research aim, objectives and questions

This research aims to explore the potential application of community land trusts in the Netherlands and their impact on gentrification processes. To research this, the following question is formulated: *What impact do CLTs have on the challenges that arise from gentrification?* To fulfil this aim and thereby answer the question, some objectives are set for this research. First, a theoretical framework will be formed based on the theory of the right to the city.

Next, the functioning of CLTs worldwide to identify the successes and challenges they encounter. This will be done by searching for an answer to the question: *What are the successes and challenges of CLTs?*

The next objective is to evaluate the process of realisation of the CLT H-buurt through the following question: *What is the influence of the local context in the case of the H-buurt on the successes and challenges of the CLT?* In combination with the information gathered from the second objective, a statement will be made about the CLT's current effectiveness and its future challenges.

1.4 Significance

The fact that this research has a rather specific focus on the case of the CLT H-buurt in Amsterdam ensures that there is much practical significance to be gained. Because the governance of the CLT is researched, much information is gained about the different actors and the relationships between them. Therefore, the origin of challenges can be pointed out and practical implications can be made.

The specific characteristics of this research also ensure a significant scientific value. A research gap was identified for the Netherlands in section 1.2, as this is one of the countries where there is no scientific information available on CLTs. Therefore, this research can function as a first start to the creation of a body of literature on CLTs in the Netherlands. Furthermore, it can add to the body of literature on CLTs that already exists in Europe by adding a new context to it (Interreg, 2021).

Another form of scientific significance lies in the further investigation of the interaction between CLTs and gentrification. It was mentioned in section 1.2 that this topic is not extensively researched and scientific literature can benefit from more cases in which this is investigated. This research can form a part of that.

Furthermore, scientific value also lies in the theoretical approach to this research. The right to the city as a theoretical base is used in combination with the theory of urban commons to research the interaction between gentrification and CLTs. This is a unique theoretical approach to the concrete problem of a lack of affordable housing.

1.5 Outline

This thesis is structured as follows: first, the theoretical framework for this study will be presented (chapter 2). The right to the city will be extensively discussed in combination with the theory of urban commons. Also, the topic of gentrification is touched upon in this chapter. Therefore, it functions as a base for the research. After the theoretical framework is presented, the methods chapter (chapter 3) of this research is brought up which discusses the details of the design of this research. This is followed up with the results chapter (chapter 4) that discusses all relevant results to this research. Lastly, the main answer to this research will be answered in the conclusion (chapter 5), followed by the discussion (chapter 6).

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 The right to the city

The 1960s were a troubled period in French history which came to a climax in 1968 with student uprisings and strikes in factories. The student protests began at Nanterre University in the outskirts of Paris, where students championed progressive themes. The discontent with the erstwhile government grew amongst the public, spread throughout the city of Paris and soon led to more protests, the closing of factories such as Renault and eventually to new elections a month later (Chrisafis, 2018).

These events were influenced by the author that is central to the theory of this research. He argued that his ideas regarding the reappropriation of space influenced the students he taught at the Nanterre University in their uprising. This author is Henri Lefebvre who wrote about the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996).

2.1.1 Henri Lefebvre and the right to the city

Henry Lefebvre was a French sociologist who was the first to write about the right to the city (1968). Aside from sociology, Lefebvre was active in philosophy, state theory and urban studies. He took a keen interest in writings from Marx, Hegel, Nietzsche and Heidegger which influenced his thinking (Purcell, 2014). The right to the city emerged as an answer to the question of how social change should take place and what sort of change this should be (Lefebvre, 1968; Marcuse, 2014). The right to the city as Lefebvre proposed it, was an idea that resulted from the 'urban problematic' in cities in Western Europe that came as a consequence of the industrial revolution. These problems revolved around socio-economic exclusion and segregation, such as the displacement of workers to areas far away from the city centre (Lefebvre, 1968). Lefebvre saw the problems of his time and envisioned a socialist society highly influenced by Marx's writings. However, Lefebvre was not an orthodox Marxist. In fact, Marx's later work did not influence him much because it mostly consisted of critique of capitalism instead of exploring what possibilities arise, once people are liberated from all forms of domination (Lefebvre, 2009).

Thus, Lefebvre was a socialist. He was, however, rather critical of totalitarian state socialism such as that in the Soviet Union. So, what was socialism in Lefebvre's vision? His conception of socialism was a collective, self-governing society. It should be emphasised here that this society is by no means finished or completely planned out. Instead, it is an open project which goes beyond capitalism and state bureaucracy. So, how did Lefebvre arrive at the right of the city from his envisioned socialist society?

Lefebvre was one of the few Marxists who did not ignore questions of rights and citizenship because he saw the revolutionary potential that rights could have (Huchzermeyer, 2017; Lefebvre, 2003). He saw citizenship as an obsolete contract between the state and the citizens. This contract, he argued, needed to be deepened and extended to incorporate more rights. One of these rights is the right to the city, but also the right to self-management is highly important. The latter is a translation of what Lefebvre calls 'autogestion' and it refers to the appropriation of the means of production by the working class in factories. In Lefebvre's view, it is a dictatorship of the proletariat. The use of the word 'dictatorship' might seem odd since Lefebvre was deeply critical towards Stalinism and other forms of authoritarian leadership. However, the dictatorship he proposed is rather different from the dictatorship in which one person rules all. Instead, autogestion means that people start to manage their own affairs which would cause the state to be unnecessary. The right to the city, as one of the rights in the

deepened contract, emphasises the spatial understanding of politics and his vision in which urban space should be central in the vision of politics (Purcell, 2014). He called for a broad definition of revolution in which: "the transformation of society presupposes a collective ownership and management of space founded on the permanent participation of the interested parties, with their multiple, varied and even contradictory interests." – Lefebvre (1991, p422). Interested parties are the users that inhabit space.

As a Marxist, it is not odd to view industrial capitalism as the force behind urbanisation. However, Lefebvre argued that there was also a human force behind the construction of cities since cities have been around longer than industrial capitalism has. Lefebvre sees the cities as places where industrial capitalism has developed the most and where it even has the potential to get out of control. However, he also argues that the city is the place where industrial capitalism can be stopped through a revolution since it emerged here (Lefebvre, 1968; Purcell, 2014). Lefebvre saw the revolution he called for as a predominantly urban one: "A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realised its full potential; indeed it has failed in that it has not changed life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses." – Lefebvre (1991, p54)

Industrial capitalism reduces all elements in the city to mere economic exchange. This is also true for property. The people that hold property are the ones who have the right to make choices about the development of that property. This division of land results in the spatial division of users which prevents social interaction. This results in a situation where the network of social interactions is estranged from physical space. The right to the city is the struggle that intends to de-alienate space by appropriation. The city falls into the hands of users through this appropriation. This is a way of offering an alternative to the society in which economic exchange is dominant over use value. This gives a new role to the city. The city is no longer subject to capitalism, but it serves a network of cooperative social relations (Lefebvre, 1968; Purcell, 2014).

The social encounters that increasingly occur are a result of the appropriation of space. In Lefebvre's vision people that take part in these interactions, start to desire them increasingly. This raises the subject of participation. Lefebvre views participation as a procedure or step that is often not taken seriously. He argues that it is often merely an advisory role that citizens get during participation. Instead, he calls for real and active participation which is the activation and mobilization of inhabitants. For example, taking part in the production of space is far more active than attending a meeting that has the informing of citizens as its only purpose. Participation takes place in the social space and it leads citizens to become aware of their position in a network of users. By participating in the social space, citizens experience an awakening and become conscious of their role in the struggle against the industrial capitalist city (Lefebvre, 1968; Purcell, 2014).

2.1.2 Readings of the right to the city
After Lefebvre proposed his ideas, not much attention was paid to them in international literature since his publications were in French. Lefebvre's ideas gained more attention when they were translated into English in Writings on Cities in 1996 (Lefebvre, 1996; Mitchell, 2003). Furthermore, his ideas were then incorporated into different publications. Since then, the right to the city has been subjected to many different interpretations. Peter Marcuse (2014) proposed different interpretations of Lefebvre's theory based on five readings of the right to the city: Lefebvre's own reading, as well as the strategic, collaborationist, discontented and subversive readings.

According to Marcuse (2014), the first reading is Lefebvre's own reading. This reading views the right to the city as a cry and demand for social change and justice and is therefore not a

legal claim. It also emphasises the possibilities of technological advances in the post-war era. The right to the city in Lefebvre's view should be perceived as a battle cry for the abolition of unjust inequality.

The second reading is the strategic reading. This reading revolves around the unification of different marginalised groups. These groups are, amongst others: the homeless, and the poor but also those disadvantaged by gentrification or discrimination through race, ethnicity or gender. The right to the city is appealing to these groups, but none of them is in a significant position of power. The unification of these groups results in more power and a more influential position. The spatial reading is proposed as a relatively narrow interpretation of the right to the city. This reading regards the city merely as a physical environment that should be improved in the way that it is constructed, governed and maintained (Marcuse, 2014)

The third reading is a reading in which the right to the city is somewhat misused. This happens in the collaborationist reading. This reading uses the powerful term as a means to gain support for mild reforms. In this interpretation, the theory gets adopted by public institutions and those in power. The radical meaning of the right to the city is lost in this reading (Marcuse, 2014).

Marcuse also mentions the discontented reading. The key points in this reading are twofold. Those who are not included in the current city argue that inclusion in the existing city is not enough because unequal power relations would remain. Those who are included, run into the same problem: they are included in a system of which they do not share the goals. These goals are reached through competition which constricts the potential of citizens. They are convinced of these goals through an extreme cultural and ideological system, which counters their deepest desires. The people who are discontented in this interpretation are the activists of the New Left. These are students, teachers, intellectuals, artists and idealists who feel like mavericks in a society they cannot control. In practice, the exploited or excluded groups are not the ones that take a leading role in taking action. Instead, students, artists and idealists find themselves in a leading position in achieving the right to the city because they are financially free and have the opportunity to focus on these issues (Marcuse, 2014).

The subversive reading is the reading that will be used in the current research. This reading combines the momentum of Lefebvre's radical intention with the harsh realities that Lefebvre's reading – the strategic reading and the discontented reading – entail. This reading is seen as highly political and is associated with the Right to the City Alliance in the USA since it emerged there. The Right to the City Alliance is an organisation that aims to prevent further displacement of marginalised communities and create more affordable housing combined with sustainability and justice-related goals (Right to the City Alliance, n.d.). Due to this reading being an amalgamation of Lefebvre's own reading, the strategic reading and the discontented reading, it serves different groups and thereby, different interests. It serves the immediate needs of the excluded as well as the more long-term, ultimate goals of the discontented. In addition, those who do not accept or understand the term 'right to the city', but are subject to the same oppressive mechanisms as the excluded and discontented, are accommodated by this reading. 'Transformative' is the keyword in this reading. It hints towards the transformative utopian meaning that the right to the city has in Lefebvre's original reading while still achieving immediate, concrete goals (Marcuse, 2014). The plurality of this reading is the reason that it is chosen for the current research, mainly because this research will go into the appropriation of space which is associated with Lefebvre, whilst looking into the possibilities to overcome current urban problems directly.

2.1.3 David Harvey's contributions
An author that should not be left underexposed in the right to the city narrative is David Harvey (2008) who brought the right to the city theory back into debate when he wrote a paper in which

he linked the right to the city to the surplus value resulting from advanced capitalism. Harvey uses a Marxist approach just like Lefebvre. He argued that numerous movements for civil rights were limiting their struggle to the concrete problems they experienced instead of focussing on the actual problem, which he believed to be the capitalist society. This leads to many dispersed movements of which none is trying to tackle the predominant problem. In his article, he criticised the absorption of surplus value that is distinctive to capitalism. Surplus value can be best defined as profit that one has after entrepreneurial activities. Letting this surplus value stay still would let it depreciate, which would be against the entrepreneur's goals. Instead, the goal in a capitalist system is to use that surplus value to gain even more profit. Therefore, the surplus value must be invested in stable means for it not to depreciate. Harvey argues that this surplus gets invested in forms of urbanisation that do not serve the majority of the people. These forms of urbanisation are where the most appreciation can be achieved steadily. The result of this is that the built environment serves capital instead of citizens as the city turns into a place of investment instead of a place to live, work or play (Frantzanas, 2014; Harvey, 2008). Therefore, the right to the city is not being held by the citizens but by capital, Harvey argues. Capital has the right to transform cities according to its needs whereas citizens do not. Capital needs cities for investment, not cities for people to live in.

Harvey's contributions are in line with the subversive reading. He acknowledges the problems of the discontented and the excluded who are trying to improve their situation through numerous movements. Moreover, he states that these issues are side effects of the all-encompassing problem of capitalism. Thereby he hints back to the original transformative meaning of the right to the city as Lefebvre introduced it, but he also offers ways that problems can be solved on a local scale (Harvey, 2016; Lefebvre, 1968; H. Marcuse, 1964). One of the solutions he proposes that can make an impact is the de-commodification of basic human rights. He argues that a trend of commodification has taken place under capitalism. Commodification is a phenomenon described as the increased trading of basic human rights (such as water, housing, education, healthcare, etc.) on the free market. These rights are turned into commodities and become scarce, which leads to the lower classes not being able to acquire them. Harvey proposes to subtract more and more commodities from the market and make them available for a larger audience without the effects of market forces. He refers to this practice as decommodification (Harvey, 2016).

An example of how capital enjoys the privilege of the right to the city took place in New York under the Bloomberg administration. During this administration, one of the planning-related goals was to ensure that every billionaire would want a penthouse in the city. This is where the surplus capital is absorbed: in penthouses that are in use for a few weeks a year and only exist to hold financial value. However, surplus capital is not invested in affordable housing or making the city a place that most people experience the merits of, but rather gets invested in megaprojects or tourist attractions (Harvey, 2016). This phenomenon leads to the introduction of the next key concept: gentrification.

2.2 Gentrification
2.2.1 The process
Gentrification, much like the right to the city is a complex phenomenon that is not receptive to a single definition. Many different authors have shed light on the concept and there are different schools of thought on the exact functioning of the process. Distinctive for all gentrification processes is that they revolve around neighbourhood change, whereby affluent people start to move into a neighbourhood which is mainly inhabited by people with lower incomes. The influx of more affluent citizens causes housing prices to rise and eventually leads to displacement

pressure or the displacement of people with lower incomes. (Boterman & van Gent, 2014; Doucet, 2014; Hamnett, 1991; Zukin et al., 2009).

In the previous section, the example of New York under the Bloomberg administration was discussed. The situation in New York as Harvey describes it shows a resemblance to the process of gentrification as described by Brian Doucet (2014). In Doucet's view, gentrification is the result of urban renewal, which is initiated by urban governments much like in the example that is brought up by Harvey.

Harvey's writings on the right to the city do not go into a direct link between the right to the city and gentrification. However, the phenomena that he writes about showcase his view on this link and can be interpreted as the following: the link between gentrification and the right to the city is that cities offer stable investment opportunities in a capitalist society in the form of urbanisation originating from capitalism, which can result in gentrification and the displacement of the discontented or excluded (Harvey, 2008; 2016). These forms of urbanisation, however, don't just take place because governments initiate them. Smith (1987) describes gentrification as a process that developers, landlords and governments cause with their actions in the real estate market. Overall, Smith argues that these parties initiate urban renewal which comes as a result of a lack of investment in central areas of cities. Therefore, the potential revenue of the built environment in these areas does not compare to the low output that is gained. This 'rent gap' results in urban renewal, which then results in gentrification. Smith additionally argues that the characteristics of urban renewal depend on the housing demands of different groups.

Another view of the process is made by David Ley (1980), an early writer on gentrification who saw a changing demand as the driving force behind gentrification processes. He describes 2 trends of the post-industrial city that bring this changing demand: 1) the shift towards a service economy instead of an industrial one; and 2) the shift of power from large associations towards governments. In a later addition to this argument, he connects these trends to gentrification by arguing that the new workers demand housing in central areas (Hamnett, 1991; Ley, 1980). Ley and Smith have complimentary viewpoints on gentrification as the potential revenue of real estate would not rise without a changing demand in housing (Hamnett, 1991; Smith, 1979, 1987).

So far, authors have been discussed that focus on the supply side of gentrification processes. However, the demand side cannot be underexposed when gentrification is discussed. Again, different authors view groups within this demand differently based on characteristics such as profession, class, attitude and other types of social indicators. Terms such as 'young urban professionals', 'studentifyers', or artists are often used to indicate a social group that moves into a neighbourhood during a gentrification process (Blasius et al., 2016). Within this multiplicity of perspectives, most authors speak of two phases in processes of gentrification. First, pioneers move into the neighbourhood which lays the foundation for gentrification. Second, other groups move into the neighbourhood advancing the process (Blasius et al., 2016; Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). The pioneers are rather important in this process as they prove the demand of an area to investors. Without their presence, investment in the area would not take place and gentrification would remain absent (Hamnett, 1991).

2.2.2 The impacts

As discussed, gentrification revolves around neighbourhood changes. These changes consist of social, physical and economic impacts. In the social impacts, the most important change is the change of community that occurs through displacement. Negative expressions of this change often result in community conflicts. Contradictions in the interests and perspectives of original residents compared to those of the new residents, play a significant role in these

community conflicts (Atkinson, 2004). Most scholars view these social impacts as negative. However, positive social effects have also been found, such as the decrease in isolation of poor demographics through interactions between different groups (Byrne, 2003). However, these effects are reported to a much lesser extent and the negative impacts prevail in the eyes of most authors. The negative impacts also tie in with more broad societal questions such as social justice and personal ethics (Atkinson, 2004; Marcuse, 2015).

Physical impacts are an important factor in gentrification processes as these are the most visible ones. Depending on the specific location, process, and initiation of the process, the physical impacts can differ extensively. However, central is the physical upgrading of an area, often housing estates. This upgrading, on the one hand, takes place through the construction of new housing that fits better with the change in demand. On the other hand, the existing housing is restructured and transformed into units that the new residents aspire to inhabit (Doucet, 2014). Doucet (2014) argues that this also takes place beyond urban neighbourhoods and can take place in rural areas which, according to him, is the third spatial manifestation of gentrification. The fourth spatial form of impact according to Doucet (2014), lies in the commercial effect resulting from the changing demographic. The commercial environment in a neighbourhood starts to accommodate the new residents and their demands, which are inherently different to that of the original residents (Zukin, 2008).

The economic benefits are often brought up in the gentrification debate as a positive effect of the process. Indeed, property values increase and a new demographic might bring in extra tax revenue. Furthermore, the vacancy rate of buildings is often reduced. However, this happens at the expense of social or affordable housing. Thus, depending on one's position in the process, these could be positive impacts or negative ones (Atkinson, 2004; Doucet, 2014).

2.3 Assessing the impact

To analyse the case, the framework by Caciagli and Milan (2021) is chosen. The framework was developed for the analysis of urban commons, their relationship with the institutions and their impacts on the surrounding environment (Caciagli & Milan, 2021). Urban commons are defined as resources that are collectively managed by community members (Nononi, 2007). This originated from the general idea of the commons by Elinor Ostrom. Until Ostrom published her influential book 'Governing the Commons' in 1990, it was long believed that natural resources in communal use would lead to the depletion of these resources. Ostrom proposed 8 design principles for the stable governance of commons. These principles are:

1. Setting clear boundaries for both the users and the common resource

2. The adjustment to a local context

3. Communal decision-making on the use and appropriation of the common resource

4. Compliance with the collective decisions should be monitored by the users themselves

5. Gradual sanctioning in the case of rule violation

6. Inexpensive conflict-resolution mechanisms should be in place in advance

7. The community must be self-managed and recognised by institutions

8. In the case of a larger resource system, nested enterprises are necessary

(Field & Ostrom, 1992)

The concept of urban commons gained considerable attention during the previous decade. The notion was often integrated into politics through the emergence of grass-roots citizen initiatives that went into local politics with an agenda based on the commons. Over time, due to the increasing popularity of the concept in different fields, the commons got exposed to the risk of becoming a vague concept with not much explanatory value. Definitions that are attached to the concept touch upon physical resources, rights, values, spaces, self-governance (autogestion) and the ability to challenge capitalism. However, the concept is of use in the current research, since urban commons can be the result of decommodification in an urban environment, which Harvey called for as an application of the right to the city theory to the capitalistic urge of the commodification of basic human rights such as housing (Harvey, 2016).

This is in line with the theory on the right to the city as the main notion there is the appropriation of space in the struggle against capitalism. The current research focuses on the impact of CLTs on gentrification which is why CLTs can be perceived as commons and can therefore be analysed through the framework. Another similarity is the notion of autogestion which parallels the right to the city. The idea of governing the commons embodies the principle of community responsibility and decision-making. This concept can be identified as autogestion, where a community manages its affairs based on the principles of governing commons. In his 2011 article, Anant Maringanti argues that the right to the city can be materialised by asserting a right to the commons. The context for his argument is the utilization of the right to the city by indigenous communities in their struggle against capitalism in rural and remote locations. This argument cannot be exactly copied for the current research since this research does not regard remote communities. However, the notion of the commons being the object that the right to the city can appropriate is relevant to the link between the right to the city and the urban commons (Maringanti, 2011).

The functioning of the proposed framework is twofold. The first part of the framework consists of the four different configurations that commons can have (figure 1). This is useful because it emphasises the plurality of urban commons. These configurations are established through two variables. The first variable is the relationship of the common with the surrounding environment. On the left side of the spectrum, there is a pre-existing common that opens up to the surrounding environment and therefore to the community. The opening up of the common can also take place through activist practices such as occupation or appropriation of the space. The right side of the spectrum contains those urban commons that are created by the community through grass-roots initiatives (Caciagli & Milan, 2021).

The y-axis contains the relationship of the urban common with the institutions. The top of the spectrum contains those commons that are characterised by a top-down process in which institutions are the leading actors in the relationship. In this case, institutions call on communities to establish a common. The lower part of the y-axis contains relationships that have a bottom-up character, here communities can approach institutions to gain support for the common (Caciagli & Milan, 2021).
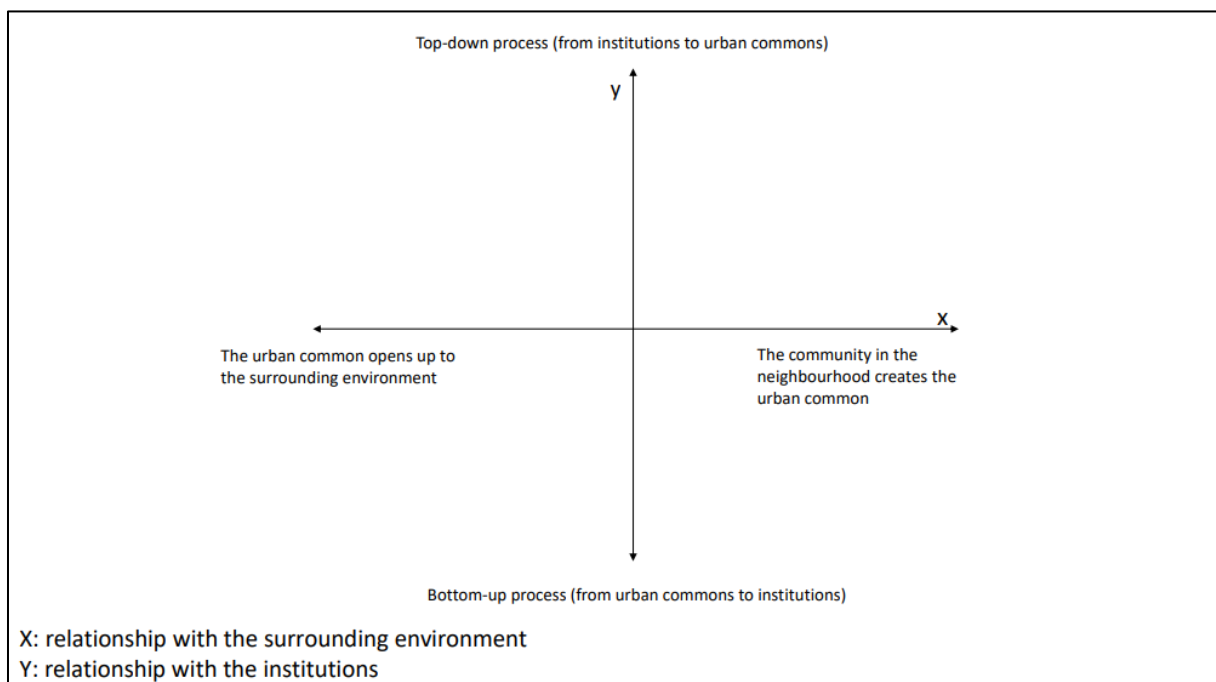
Figure 2.1: The four possible configurations of urban commons (Caciagli & Milan, 2021)

The proposed framework goes beyond the different configurations that commons can have. The second part of the framework contains the different possible impacts of commons on urban society. The framework proposes three different impacts: resilience, incorporation and resistance and transformation (Caciagli & Milan, 2021).

Resilience

The resilience impact appears when an urban common provides basic services that the state no longer provides. In this case, the common fills a gap in service provision left by the state. The provision of services by a common can cause politicization of individuals and resistance to the commodification of urban life. However, it is not a given that these commons question the market forces that are dominant in cities (Caciagli & Milan, 2021).

Incorporation

Gentrification and tourism are said to be flourishing at the expense of urban spaces and lifestyles. Urban commons can have a twofold impact on these urban phenomena. Urban commons can be of great importance in countering gentrification due to the subtraction of urban space from speculation. However, they can also function as a pull factor to the gentrifying class and therefore lead to gentrification. This takes place through the appropriation of the urban culture by the market. But in addition, tourists can take an interest in these spaces as they can offer the 'real urban experience' that many tourists look for (Caciagli & Milan, 2021).

Resistance and transformation

Urban commons can have a resistant and transformative impact if they take on the form of "bulwarks against gentrification and commodification processes" (Caciagli & Milan, 2021, p 406). They also show an alternative form of urban development in which socialization is prioritised over profit. This takes place simply through their presence and non-profit activities. The element of resistance in this may not last forever and should be confirmed daily.

The framework is used to determine what the configuration of the researched case is regarding its relationships with the surrounding environment and the institutions. This is useful in the interpretation and unravelling of the case. Furthermore, the determination of the impact is an important part of the framework for this research as it provides a base which is useful in analysing the impact of the case. Without this framework, it would prove to be challenging to analyse the results.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has given an outlook on the theory that underlies this research. The right to the city and the context that it originated from, has been introduced. This has been expanded by going into the different thoughts on the theory and eventually the contributions of David Harvey which created a bridge towards the theory on gentrification. Following the theory on gentrification, the framework for measuring the impact of urban commons was introduced by offering an understanding of the link between the right to the city and the urban commons. The next chapter will give an outlook on the used methods for the research.

3. Research method

This research aims to explore the potential application of community land trusts in The Netherlands and their impact on processes of gentrification. To investigate this, qualitative research was conducted. Qualitative research is a method that is concerned with research that is not measured in quantified data. However, qualitative research is much more than merely the opposite of quantitative research, as more characteristics distinguish it. One of these characteristics is the relationship between theory and research. Here, qualitative research takes an inductive approach which means that it focuses on the generation of theory. Furthermore, qualitative research rejects the epistemological orientation of the natural science model and instead, leaves space for personal interpretation of phenomena through the orientation of interpretivism (Bryman, 2016). A similar distinction is seen in the ontological orientation of quantitative and qualitative research. Quantitative research views social reality as an objective truth in which personal creation has no role. This is different from qualitative research, as it views "social reality as constantly shifting emergent property of individuals' creation" (Bryman, 2016, p. 36).

The reason that qualitative research was chosen is that it is a suitable methodology to research topics that not much is known about (Gaber, 1993). In this case, the research explored a concept that was not particularly new as CLTs had been established throughout different parts of the world. However, the implementation of CLTs in the Dutch context made for a unique topic that is underrepresented in literature (Interreg, 2021). Therefore, the explorative powers of qualitative research are suitable for the purpose of this research, which is why it was chosen.

3.1 Case study

Case study research is a method that is intensively discussed in the scientific world. This way of doing research is concerned with the complexity and nature of a specific case (Stake, 1995). The case itself can be a space, organization, group of people or even a community (Bryman, 2016). Therefore, cases can vary extensively, and the examples of cases are endless. However, the main condition for a case to be usable in a case study is that it should be bounded and should be a unique functioning entity as Stake (1995) argues. It should also be emphasised here that there are numerous different types of case studies. For example, a case study can be used to investigate a case over time, for a strategic purpose or as representation of a broader category of instances. The type of case study that was chosen in this research is the revelatory case. A revelatory case is one that has recently opened up to the possibility of scientific research (Yin, 2009). The exact nature of the case and why it is a revelatory one will be discussed in section 3.2.

There are several points of critique of case study methodology that have been raised throughout the years in the social sciences. An influential article written by Flyvbjerg (2006) in support of case study research refutes the critiques that have since emerged with regard to this methodology. In Flyvbjerg's view, the value of case study research lies in the context-dependent information that is gained from it. Case studies are unique in their ability to incorporate this type of information in research results (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

In his 2006 article, Flyvbjerg refutes 5 critiques about case study research. He introduces the following arguments as to why these critiques are mistakes:

1) *Practical knowledge is less valuable than general knowledge*
Flyvbjerg responds to this critique by arguing that predictive theories are not valuable in human affairs and that context-dependent knowledge is more valuable.

2) *Generalization is not possible based on a case study which causes it to be of no use in the contribution to scientific knowledge*
The argument posed here is that too much value is attached to formal generalization, whereas the power of an example in the shape of a case is undervalued.

3) *Generating hypotheses is the main purpose that case studies can be used for*
Flyvbjerg does not dispute the usefulness of case studies for the purpose of creating hypotheses. However, he argues that the use of case study research is not limited to generating hypotheses and that it can be used to test theories as well.

4) *A researcher has the tendency to confirm their predetermined beliefs*
It is not disputed that bias in research exists. However, Flyvbjerg has no argument that convinces him to subscribe to the idea that this bias only exists in case-study research. He, therefore, argues that a researcher's bias is real, but also that the risk of a bias is not limited to case study research.

5) *Case studies are too specific to summarise them into general theories*
Flyvbjerg refutes this by arguing that it is not desirable to summarise good studies because there is a risk of losing the narrative. He further claims that the studied phenomena are the cause of problems regarding summarisation into theory. He does not view the methodology as a determining factor.

The article by Flyvbjerg shows that case study research is a highly valuable methodology in the social sciences. His points are relevant to the current research as they strengthen the methodology by providing the benefits of case study research. These benefits, especially his refutation of the first mistake, are applicable and valuable for the researched topic. The first mistake is especially relevant as it stresses the value of case-dependent knowledge which was the result of this research.

3.2 Case selection

The literature shows that CLTs are promising in the countering of gentrification. More specifically, Choi et al. (2017) suggest that CLTs can function as stabilizing factors in neighbourhoods that are threatened by gentrification. Therefore, a case study was needed that allowed this practice to be researched in the Dutch context, where gentrification is perceived as a relatively mild process. This is due to the fact that a large share of the housing stock is in the hands of social housing organisations. However, as Doucet (2014) argues, gentrification is also pursued in urban policy and is therefore taking on more advanced forms. There are not many CLTs in the Netherlands but selection criteria were still of importance. The main point here was that the CLT in question had to be focused on housing as its main focus. Another point that increases the relevance of the Dutch case, is the effect that neoliberal housing policy had on the social housing market. It was mentioned that the Dutch housing stock is characterised by a large share of social housing that is maintained and managed by housing corporations. However, through increasing neoliberal policy, the position of housing

corporations is weakened and causes them to fail in providing adequate housing for some that require it. Housing corporations are also subjected to a 'landlord levy' which only impacts the social housing sector and therefore weakens them financially in comparison to other development parties (Musterd, 2014; Priemus, 2014). The current weak position of housing associations calls for the research of a case that explores a different path in providing affordable housing.

The case study selected in this research is the CLT H-buurt in the southeastern district of Amsterdam, which is the first CLT in The Netherlands. This CLT is also the only of its kind in the Netherlands as there are no other CLTs that focus on housing. The other CLTs either focus on agricultural activities or do not yet have an established purpose (Grondvanbestaan, 2020). The chosen CLT is located in De Bijlmer in the southeast of Amsterdam. The CLT has been in the process of realisation since 2018, but community-building efforts go back to 2006. Since 2018, numerous steps have been taken towards the realization of the CLT including feasibility studies, securing funding and community strengthening. The realization of the first building was planned to start this year and, according to the planning, will open in 2025. Thus, this CLT is currently not fully operational, but can still offer insights into the ways that the organisation cooperates with governments and other actors, what pitfalls were experienced and in general how feasible it is to start a CLT in the Netherlands. Eventually, a verdict can be made on the best way forward for the CLT (CLT H-buurt, n.d.).

3.3 Data collection

As discussed, case study methodology was chosen for this qualitative research. The data collection strategy will be discussed in the following sections. The main data collection approach was semi-structured interviews conducted with experts, CLT representatives and actors involved with the CLT from different perspectives such as that of the municipality.

3.3.1 Interviews

The majority of the data used in this research has been collected through interviews. These interviews were semi-structured. The theoretical framework was used as a guide that led to the topics that the questions revolved around. What is distinctive about semi-structured interviews is that every question is an open question that the interviewee can answer in their own words. Questions are created beforehand, usually based on a theory or hypothesis (Clifford & Cope, 2016). However, the format of the interview accommodates the interviewer in flexibility in terms of interview questions. This leads to a certain degree of freedom for the interviewer as they can pursue interesting leads during the interview. Because these leads can be unknown before the interview, and because the sensitivity of some topics is only addressed in the form of body language or nuanced speaking, the semi-structured interview is a highly valuable research method regarding relatively new topics and require an explorative approach (Newcomer et al., 2015). The topic list that contains the questions that the different respondents were asked can be found in the appendix (p. 68).

Participants were gathered through a combination of purposive and snowball sampling. Both methods are a non-probability form of sampling, meaning that the goal is not to find respondents on a random basis. The first sampling method aims at gathering the participants that are the most valuable for the research. This method was used to approach respondents of the CLT H-buurt, experts and government representatives. The snowballing method was a way of incorporating the network of respondents in the sampling method. Respondents could offer contact information at the end of the interviews if they thought that people in their network were valuable for this research (Bryman, 2016).

Participants for the interviews were selected according to several criteria. The participants were divided into two groups based on these criteria. The first group of respondents were the people involved in the CLT H-buurt that is used for the case study of this research. Criteria for these respondents were that they have been involved in the CLT H-buurt, either as experts, representatives, board members or are involved as government actors. The second group remains distant from the case study in question, as this group involves those who can be classified as experts on the topic of CLTs. These respondents had to be able to provide certain information that is useful to the case but applied in other contexts.

Respondent	Group	Role	Organisation
1	Experts	Scholar	Caño Martin Peña CLT
2	Experts	Scholar	Burlington Associates in Community Development
3	Experts	Chief Executive	Walterton and Elgin Community Homes
4	Experts	Coordinator	CLT Brussels
5	Experts	Community Manager	London CLT
6	Experts/ Case	Head of Project	European CLT Network
7	Case	Supporting expert	And The People
8	Case	Initiator and Board Member	CLT H-buurt
9	Case	Community representative and Board Member	CLT H-buurt
10	Case	Employee involved in the testing ground 'buurtplatformrecht'	Municipality of Amsterdam
11	Case	Neighbourhood contact	Municipality of Amsterdam

Table 3.1: List of interviewed respondents

The interviews were analysed through thematic analysis as described by Bryman (2016). The interviews of the different groups were analysed according to the same themes. These themes were identified in the transcripts after which the relevant parts of the interviews were connected to the respective theme. Through this method, it is possible to organise large quantities of data in the form of transcripts (Bryman, 2016). During this analysis, attention was paid to themes that were only raised by respondents in a certain group for this data to not get lost.

3.4 Quality of research

It is important to be critical towards the reliability and validity of research. A reflective attitude of researchers toward their work can ensure more reliable and valid outcomes. It is the responsibility of the researcher that these characteristics are embedded throughout the research (Bryman, 2016).

3.4.1 Reliability

Reliability of research is concerned with the precision of the researcher. This has to do with consistency and the possibility of repeating the research. According to Bryman (2016), this is mostly an issue in quantitative research. However, it is still of importance in this research to address the issue of reliability.

The reliability-related concerns in the current research found themselves in the semi-structured interviews with respondents in different groups. It has been established that the division of respondents into these groups has to do with the organisation that they are connected to. The nascent stage of the CLT as a developing organization, coupled with the present research inquiry, may have contributed to potential hesitancy among respondents to divulge information on certain topics. This possibility arises from the nature of the process, where participants may have perceived that their responses could affect the ongoing development of the CLT

The other concern that was connected to the characteristics of the research methods is that it could be difficult to analyse certain topics as they might only be raised in a few interviews and not in all of them. This posed the risk of data getting lost in the process of analysis. The impact of this risk could be somewhat reduced, by actively incorporating these topics in the interviews that follow.

3.4.2 Validity

Validity goes into the integrity of the results that research forms. Two forms of validity are addressed in this section: internal validity and external validity. Internal validity is concerned with whether the connection between concepts that the research shows, is actually there. It raises the question if the researched cause and its effect are connected. It could be that the effect would have taken place without the demonstrated 'cause' (Bryman, 2016). It was challenging to show a hard connection between the presence of a CLT and gentrification. This was due to the fact that the CLT was not functioning yet and therefore, the impossibility of demonstrating a relation. However, internal validity was still ensured by checking different statements about the relation between the presence of CLTs and the countering of gentrification with respondents from other groups.

External validity is concerned with the generalisation of data beyond the specifics of the research context. In the current research, it was possible to generalise research results (Bryman, 2016). This point was addressed in section 3.1., as one of the criticisms of case study research. It was stated here that generalisation of case study results is possible (Flyvbjerg, 2006). However, the question should be asked if it is desirable in this case. Since this study was rather exploratory and CLTs in the Netherlands are in the initial phase, one should be careful in generalising these results into other contexts.

4. Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of this research. To provide a structured chapter, the results are discussed based on the following topics: CLT emergence, internal CLT governance, governance challenges, and impact. Within these topics, the results are further divided into results that are general for the CLT model and those that are purely related to the case. This also matches with the structure of the research questions as the first one points to the success and challenges of CLTs, and the second one examines the effect of the local context. In this case, the local context refers to the H-buurt. As the CLT model can be applied in many different ways, different cases will be discussed to offer clarity into this pluralism that is characteristic of CLTs. After this, the application of the model in the H-buurt is made clear.

The results that are presented in this chapter are derived from the data in the interviews that were conducted, complemented with information originating from documents from the European Community Land Trust Network and literature on specific topics. The conducted interviews are divided into 2 groups: those that contribute to the general understanding of the workings of CLTs and those directly connected to the case. The distinction between these interviews shapes the structure of this chapter, as the general results and the case-specific results are discussed in separate paragraphs.

4.2 The emergence of CLTs

4.2.1 General

Several issues have led to the emergence of CLTs around the world. It is often characteristic of the emergence of CLTs that a group of people experience rising rents, the influx of affluent people into their community, or displacement pressure. This can take place in affluent neighbourhoods in large cities as well as in informal settlements in the global south. In this section, the emergence of 3 different CLTs will be discussed to provide an outlook on the different contexts in which CLTs are used as tools, and what can be learned about them in light of the CLT H-buurt in Amsterdam, the focus of this thesis. The first example will describe the characteristics of the emergence of the first CLT in continental Europe. The second example will go into the initiation of a CLT in London and the third explores the emergence of a community-based CLT in Puerto Rico and the lessons it holds for the case of the CLT H-buurt.

The case of the CLT-B in Brussels is discussed first. This CLT arose from a group of activists, homeless people and squatters that tried to address housing as a basic right in regional policy through protests and disruptive action like the occupation of vacant buildings. The occupation of a vacant monastery in 2007 was their biggest call for action. At the time, the government had been pursuing social mixing as a strategy to improve the social environment in certain parts of the city for over 30 years. The government allegedly did this by investing in real estate in neighbourhoods with a mainly immigrant or working-class demographic, resulting in an influx of more affluent homebuyers. When this policy was adopted, it made sense, according to respondent 4, as the population of the city was decreasing. However, the policy remained in place as the city started to become a more desirable place to live. According to respondent 4, this led to rents rising to unprecedented heights. The protest movement that eventually provided the basis for the CLT-B, got the opportunity to visit the Champlain Housing Trust

which is a CLT that provides affordable housing in Vermont. This CLT is an international champion regarding the retention of affordable housing for local communities and received the UN World Habitat Award, a prize aimed at rewarding pioneers in their approach to housing challenges. What the protest movement witnessed during their visit to the Champlain Housing Trust sparked the idea to put their efforts to a more constructive purpose by bringing the model to continental Europe and adapting it to the European and Belgian systems. This shows that the CLT model in this case was adapted to a situation characterised by a struggle for the provision of affordable housing. This is similar to the situation in Amsterdam as access to affordable housing is also something that the community struggles with. One key difference between the CLT-B and the CLT H-buurt is that the one in Brussels emerged from a protest group whereas the CLT H-buurt originated from the dissatisfaction of the local community with the municipality in providing the communal needs. This illustrates that the CLT in Amsterdam might have more community support than one of the CLT pioneers on the European continent, at least at the time of its emergence. More information on the community-based aspect of the CLT H-buurt is provided in section 4.3.2.

In the example of the CLT-B, the CLT is started directly by activists that work against the financialised housing system that they are excluded from as they cannot afford the prices. Other configurations are also possible if the reasons for starting a CLT are roughly the same. The example of the London CLT, which was discussed with the Community Manager of this CLT, illustrates this. This CLT is located in several parts of London where they provide affordable housing in perpetuity. The CLT is related to a community organising network called Citizens UK. This is a network that helps communities to be more organised and build political power and support. In their efforts, they collaborate with civil society institutions such as mosques, schools and churches. Apart from organising communities, the organisation also directly aims to tackle issues that relate to migration, knife crime or housing. When the objective in a certain community is related to housing, the CLT London gets involved to take care of this part of the project. Thus, the CLT London does not directly consist of the excluded groups but still works in favour of them. This shows that, even out of similar conditions such as social issues and a shortage of affordable housing, different ways of emergence can take place.

Another example that demonstrates the pluralism of the CLT model is the Caño Martin Peña CLT, located in San Juan, Puerto Rico. This CLT includes 8 different communities making up a population of 25.000 residents. These communities inhabit a plot of land that used to be on the periphery of the city but is now located in a strategic location due to urban sprawl. These communities have a strong emotional and historical connection to the land they inhabit. However, this connection is jeopardised as real estate prices are rising and the government has expressed the ambition of turning San Juan into the Miami of Puerto Rico. However, certain infrastructure projects have to be undertaken to achieve this. One of these projects is the waterway that flows through the area. It has to be drenched and infrastructure has to be put in place. The communities are not in favour of the aim to develop the city into a high-end one, but they do support infrastructural improvements in this area. According to a Scholar involved in this CLT, the communities want these infrastructural improvements to take place for local people, not just for the attraction of tourists and investment. This, in combination with the displacement of several people who had inhabited this land, was the reason these communities organised themselves into a CLT. The communities viewed this as the best construction to give them a better position after much deliberation of different models. The unique adaptability, which is essential to the CLT model, was the key characteristic in their choice as the CLT's future was uncertain. After all, most inhabitants did not have a formal right to the land which could cause issues in later stages. Moreover, this was the first CLT to be set up in an informal settlement, meaning that no precedent was set (Algoed et al., 2021). This

CLT is also a pioneer because it is the first CLT that was initiated entirely by the community without deep involvement from government officials or experts, according to the interviewed scholar. When she was asked about the reason for her involvement in this CLT, she states she can dedicate time to organise less urgent activities such as exchanges and that she is not deeply involved in the everyday governance of the CLT. She emphasises in her answer that her network in the science behind CLTs or her general knowledge about the model are not reasons for her to be involved. Instead, the community is perfectly capable of governing the CLT itself and has its own network. This example shows how the model defends communities against involuntary displacement. This is a hopeful result for the CLT H-buurt as a key characteristic of it is its community-based approach in the same way as the CLT in Puerto Rico. Furthermore, the CLT H-buurt aims to have a similar relationship between the CLT and its experts. Also, the experts in Amsterdam do not want to be as involved in the decision-making and governance of the CLT as they are now as the community should be in charge. This example shows that such a relationship is possible as long as there is a strong community.

The examples above illustrate the plurality that characterises not only the CLT model but also the circumstances that may lead to the emergence of a CLT. Furthermore, the examples also show how the emergence of a CLT can be initiated by different types of actors such as activists or community members who directly experience problems. Regarding the case of the CLT H-buurt, the first example illustrates the advantage of the community-based aspect which is present in the H-buurt. The second example shows the possibility of a community taking charge to change their neighbourhood. Furthermore, it shows an example of a community-based approach and the way that it affects the involvement of experts.

4.2.2 The case of the H-buurt
In the case of the H-buurt, community-building efforts go back to 2005 when the community was centred around the Maranatha Community Transformation Centre (MCTC). MCTC is usually described as a church, but it is much more than that. Many different types of activities are hosted in favour of the local community ranging from spiritual guidance to legal counselling. The community had around 80 volunteers in 2005 that were involved in these community projects that focussed on social work and empowerment. There were plans for this community to start a CLT in a garage where the community centre was previously located. These plans turned out to be too ambitious, and the CLT was not realised at this location. However, this was an important step in the process towards starting a CLT, as it showed the vigour of this community. Thus, when the community was approached by And The People (ATP), an organisation that supports co-creation processes and contributes to democratisation in spatial planning processes, a collaboration ensued which set out to create the first CLT in the Netherlands. ATP functions as a supporting organisation that is experienced in spatial development and has an extensive network. By contrast, the community that wants to set up the CLT is not experienced and does not have as extensive a network. Therefore, ATP functions as a supporting actor on the side of the CLT. The relationship between these two organisations is further discussed in section 4.4.3.

The problems that led to the goal of creating a CLT have to do with the housing crisis in Amsterdam. Before I give insight into the experiences and approaches of respondents to this crisis, the causes of this crisis should be discussed. Historically, the Dutch housing market was always seen as a highly regulated one due to a large share of social housing. However, as the end of the 20th century approached, a shift to the promotion of home ownership took place. Housing corporations were put in a precarious situation because of this shift, and the social housing stock started to decline and housing prices were on the rise. In addition to this trend and specific to the case of Amsterdam, an increasing demand for housing for urban professionals since 1990 arose, which the city needed to accommodate. Thus, the need for a

less regulated market was born. The new and rising demand led to an increase in housing prices and an increase in owner occupancy at the expense of affordable housing. According to Savini et al. (2016), housing corporations had to adapt to this development and took an entrepreneurial approach to their governance. In this approach, large numbers of social housing were sold to provide housing corporations with funds to build new housing. Specific to the area of Zuidoost, where the H-buurt is located, are the urban renewal initiatives that took place since 1990. This renewal was aimed at increasing the level of owner occupancy, which took place at the expense of social housing. Remarkably, this did not lead to gentrification immediately, unlike in the city centre and surrounding areas. A reason for this could be the negative stigma regarding Zuidoost that remained. Also, subsidies were cut and priorities were put elsewhere when the 2008 recession hit. However, the trends accelerated after municipal housing policy was aimed at furthering gentrification, causing a more severe decrease in the social housing stock (Savini et al., 2016). Furthermore, middle-class residents were nudged into the deregulated market as social housing prices increased to make up for the recent increase in taxation on the side of housing corporations. Recently, the municipality has set the goal of making the city's housing stock more inclusive. However, countering decades of housing-related problems proves to be a challenge (Savini et al., 2016). To this day, the social housing share has declined to an all-time low of 37% (50% in 2007) and housing prices are at a record high (*Dashboard Kerncijfers | Website Onderzoek En Statistiek*, 2022).

Given the above, it is safe to say that there is a housing problem in Amsterdam for those who require affordable housing. Furthermore, according to the initiator and board member of the CLT (respondent 8), gentrification is a problem in the area of Zuidoost. He refers to the situation in which land is purchased by private developers who then develop housing for more affluent people than those who currently live in the area of Zuidoost. Buildings owned by housing corporations are not spared in such developments. The respondent further mentions that buildings consisting of social housing units are sometimes purchased by private developers, who then demolish them in favour of new developments for a different target audience.

Respondent 9, a community representative of the CLT, emphasises that numerous problems in this part of Amsterdam often result from the low average income of people in the area. The issues beyond housing include legal problems and financial issues that, in the worst cases, even lead to a shortage of food. The MCTC makes an effort in trying to counter or mitigate these issues. This is done by providing free breakfast for school children, offering free legal counselling, as well as providing help in managing personal finances. However, the community representative emphasises that the housing shortage is an all-encompassing problem as it is one of the basic needs. If one lacks a place to call home, it can lead to a lot of stress which might function as an accelerator for other problems. He speaks of an extreme process of gentrification, noting that: "Well, gentrification is prevalent as we speak because low-income tenants cannot afford to purchase a house." He concludes that "the low-income households are being edged out of their community." This means that the residents experience displacement.

The statements made by respondent 9 are supported in the literature. Previous research has suggested that tenants struggling with rent payments have lower self-reported health than those who do not struggle (Clair et al., 2016). Self-reported health is known as a valuable indicator of one's health and is associated with mortality (Miilunpalo et al., 1997). The impact of housing-related problems such as foreclosure or rent arrears on one's health should therefore not be underestimated. These problems can also affect one's mental health and can even function as the main risk factor in suicides, as reported by Fowler et al. (2015). Now that many people struggle to acquire affordable housing, the need for a solution is highlighted as these health-related issues should not be desired.

This statement is made more tangible when the respondent describes the same trend as respondent 8, the initiator and board member of the CLT. He also refers to social housing being demolished, which will then be replaced by units that are aimed at a group that does not require affordable housing, accelerating the process of gentrification. These events or trends are in line with a policy aimed at social mixing that has been prevailing in Amsterdam in the past. The ideology behind this aims at creating a socio-economic mix in which the more affluent residents alleviate issues that are perceivably being caused by less affluent residents. An important element of this idea is that it is believed that more affluent residents feel a deeper connection to their physical environment. In Amsterdam, these processes are initiated by large redevelopments or the sale of social housing (Hochstenbach, 2017). However, it is not that simple. There is little evidence to support that such policies have positive effects on the less affluent residents (Lees, 2008). It is therefore not surprising that the initiator and board member suggests that this trend should be terminated. He states that otherwise, it might lead to the displacement of low-income groups in Zuidoost. The respondent further suggests that the alternatives to remaining in their current home would enhance their problems even further. According to this respondent, the alternatives offer too little space and privacy to be referred to as adequate.

By contrast, one of the supporting experts from the support organisation called And The People suggests the gentrification process is more subtle than it is described above. He describes a subtle process of gentrification. By saying this, he refers to the same trend as respondent 9 in which social housing is being sold and replaced by higher-priced units for other groups. However, he is not as negative and states that the municipality has the best intention and tries to involve the local community. He describes this as a trend that might accelerate a process of renewal, but in which the local community is involved. He notes that this process has countered the gentrification that could have taken place if the community had not been involved, but that nevertheless, not all original residents could return. The subtleness in his view resides in the fact that the municipality is not actively trying to displace people.

An expert from ATP further illustrates how subtle the gentrification process is by giving an example of how the neighbourhood changes through the eyes of some residents. He describes how a group of young people from the H-buurt saw a café emerging on a plot where they used to play basketball (see Figure 1). This café was increasingly visited by people from outside the neighbourhood, and by people that usually would not go there. As time went on, the group increasingly felt like it was not their neighbourhood anymore, and eventually, a fence was put up around the plot. According to the expert, this gives them the impression that they are being alienated from their neighbourhood: "There are very subtle processes that actually give them the idea of "okay, my neighbourhood is changing and not for me and I am not a part of that.""

By saying this, the respondent refers to the risk of the community not being connected to their neighbourhood. He goes on to mention the number of units that will be added to the H-buurt in the future that would lead to the influx of 1500 new residents. He states that this subtle process in which the community is estranged from their neighbourhood could be accelerated by this influx. Through this subtle process, some residents of the H-buurt might underestimate the topic of gentrification as they are not directly being told to leave. According to the supporting expert, the information provision is an issue here: "People are not concerned with it [the development] (…). I mean, the council is trying very hard. But, I mean… It's so easy not to notice a flyer or a message."

In the quote above, the supporting expert emphasises the disconnect between the plans of the municipality and the extent to which this raises questions in the community. He states that many residents are not yet convinced of the impact that the influx of 1500 new residents would

have on the atmosphere of the neighbourhood. In this context, the community is not being informed adequately, according to the respondent.

ATP aims to involve more people from the H-buurt in the development. However, the expert admits that he is not yet convinced of a better way to provide the neighbourhood with information regarding future developments. Until this is done in another way, there will be residents that underestimate both the impact of the development in their neighbourhood and the subtle gentrification processes taking place. After having discussed how specific characteristics affect CLT emergence, I next present the results that give more information on the way CLTs are internally governed.

Figure 4.1: The Heesterveld Creative Community housing and the bar 'Oma Ietje' on the ground floor (Oma Ietje, 2022).

4.3 Internal governance
4.3.1 General
Internal governance in this context refers to the way that the CLTs are designed, how the board is configured and how CLTs make choices. Furthermore, attention will be given to the way that these governance-related topics evolve during the lifetime of CLTs. These topics are important to discuss in a more general way before the specifics of the governance of the CLT H-buurt can be examined. This is needed to discuss the way that the CLT H-buurt differs from the general model.

First, it should be noted that the way that CLTs are internally governed can vary a lot. According to respondent 1, this degree of variation results from the necessity of CLTs being tailored to the local context:

If it's not based on local characteristics or if those people who are starting it up aren't really aware of what goes on locally then I think it's going to be difficult. Then you're more likely to start a Land Trust and not Community Land Trust (respondent 1).

This illustrates one of the basic characteristics of the CLT model. Respondent 2 supports this statement by saying that a commitment to involve residents in the board of a CLT is also part of the basic model. He explains the model further by speaking of the different elements in the word 'community land trust'. He states that, aside from the possibilities in variation, a universal basic model remains at the centre of most CLTs. This includes the following elements:

Community: The first boundary condition for the model is the commitment to community involvement. Without this involvement, it would be a completely different form of housing provision. Therefore, it cannot be a CLT without the community being deeply involved in its governance. The amount of community involvement is one of the characteristics that sets CLTs apart from any other form of affordable housing provision. The model was even given an award for this characteristic by the European Commission with the RegioStars Award in the category for citizens' engagement for cohesive cities, as stated by respondent 6.

Land: The second central element of the model is the communal ownership of land by a non-profit corporation. This corporation is accountable to the residents that live in the service area of the CLT.

Trust: The last universal commitment of CLTs is trust. This element does not refer to the organisational structure of a CLT, as the word 'trust' might suggest. Rather, it refers to the duties of stewardship that a CLT performs and the management of the buildings (Davis et al., 2020).

The variation that is often applied to this model results from the local context in which a CLT is located. Respondent 2 states that this is where the true value and power of the model lie. By having a basic model that can be applied to local circumstances, priorities and politics, CLTs create considerable impacts. He gives an example to support this statement, noting that US-located CLTs interaction with different legal structures depends on the state where they are located. Much of the law regarding real estate is different for each state, making it more difficult to start a CLT in some states than in others. In this context, the variation that the model holds enables it to be adapted to these local laws. This principle also translates to different contexts where the CLT model is applied, such as the European context in which each country has its own laws regarding real estate and housing provision. The ability to adjust the model is then useful. In the case of the H-buurt, this is especially true as this is the first CLT in the Netherlands, and for it to succeed, it should be adjusted to national legislation.

At the same time, the governance of a CLT is prone to change during its lifetime. External factors can influence a CLT in such a way that a change in governance is necessary. An example of such a factor is provided by respondent 2 in mentioning the situation in which the board of a CLT has to balance between the parties who have access to the funding and the residents of a CLT. The balance that is maintained between these two parties depends on several factors, such as the political ideas of the government and the effect that those have on a CLT's funding. The effect of external governance practices on the governance of CLTs will be discussed in more detail in sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.

The variation in governance models is also suggested by the formation of a CLT's board. For most CLTs, the board consists of 3 groups: residents of the CLT, residents of the surrounding area, and public representatives or experts. The first group is rather self-evident as it consists of representatives of the community that live in the community themselves. This is

characteristic of CLTs, as it ensures a certain degree of a community-led approach to governance questions. The second group consists of those who are not residents of the CLT itself, but who live in the area where the CLT is located. This ensures that people living in the area of the CLT, but not in CLT homes, can influence the choices made by the organisation. In general, the third part of the board is reserved for 'public representatives' which is, according to respondent 2, the most diverse part of the board as this can consist of politicians, church representatives, or people involved in other non-profit organisations. Furthermore, board members in this category are not spatially bound to the CLT. When asked if this is a potential risk for CLTs, respondent 2 states that it would be if this group was given enough power. However, the model is designed in such a way that each group is assigned an equal number of seats. This ensures that one part of the board can dominate the others. This board design is called 'tripartite governance' and refers to the equal distribution of voting power which mitigates risks. The scholar further states that the final third is not the only part of the board where potential risks lie:

> There's a risk from the 1/3 of the people who don't live on the land but live in the neighbourhood. What about if it's a gentrifying neighbourhood and the people in that third, are all representing the voices of the gentrifiers, the people who have moved into the neighbourhood (respondent 2)?

The respondent further gives an example in which a CLT in a gentrifying neighbourhood, with several affluent people in the board to whom he referred to as 'gentrifiers', were not diverted from their original mission. So far, this division of power has worked to protect the purpose of most CLTs. However, the respondent brings nuance to his statement by noting that the model is still relatively new and that it has only stood the test of time for the past 50 years. The future might contain problems that the tripartite governance design cannot solve.

4.3.2 The case of the H-buurt

Now that the general governance of CLTs has been discussed, the governance-related choices made by the CLT H-buurt will be examined. It is noteworthy that the CLT is configured rather differently from the general model. Instead of implementing the tripartite governance in the case of the CLT H-buurt, the organisational structure is divided across the different groups that a tripartite structure holds. In the general model, the three groups would come together in the form of a board. In the case of the CLT H-buurt, these groups are divided across different organisations that are connected. First, the CLT H-buurtvereniging, the name of the neighbourhood organisation, was set up as a general neighbourhood organisation that functions as a platform for numerous initiatives in the neighbourhood that benefit the community. Everyone in the neighbourhood can become a member of this organisation. Within this organisation, the woon-coop (housing cooperative) is located. This is a sub-organisation where people can apply for membership if they are interested in living in CLT housing. The democratically elected board is located within the broad neighbourhood organisation and thus consists of people that live in the community and those who live in the community and want to be a part of the CLT.

Besides ATP, the municipality is involved as an actor as they currently hold the land that the CLT aims to occupy. Furthermore, the CLT has to fit within the municipality's housing policy and spatial developments. How the different organisations are configured is illustrated in Figure 4.2.
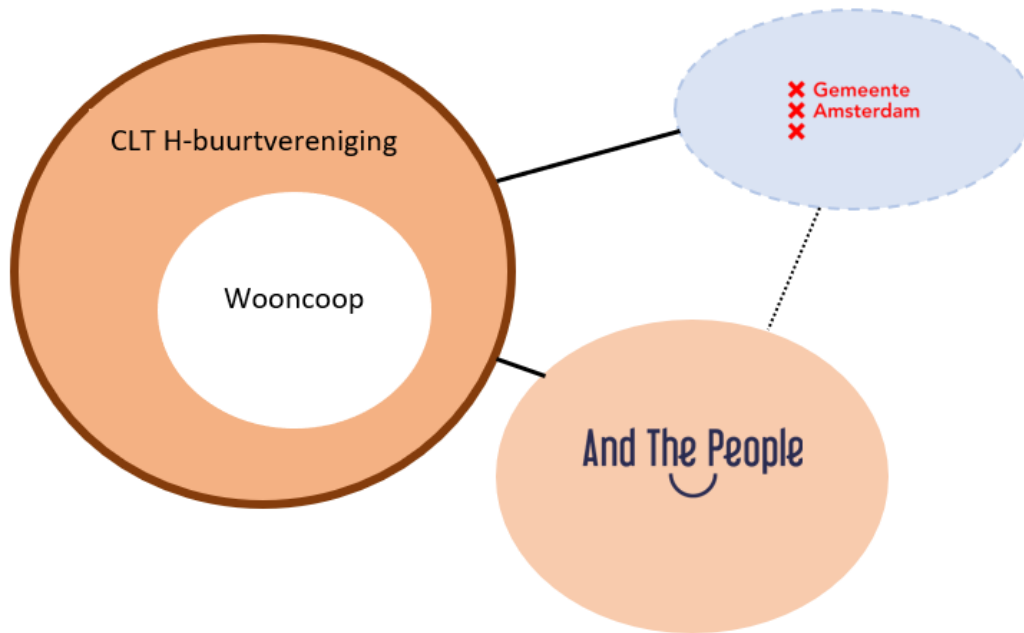
Figure 4.2: The configuration of the involved actors in the realisation of the CLT.

In figure 4.2 the CLT H-buurtvereniging is the largest organisation to illustrate its importance for the neighbourhood. The Wooncoop is only a part of this organisation. ATP is currently an actor that stands alongside the CLT and supports it, but organisationally is smaller than the buurtvereniging. The buurtvereniging is also supported by the municipality as it is formally recognised within a testing ground. Their relationship will be more extensively discussed in section 4.4.3. The reason that there is a dotted line between ATP and the municipality is that they do not have a formal relationship comparable to the one between the CLT H-buurtvereniging and the municipality. Instead, it is a more informal relationship formed by the network of the experts of ATP.

It is noteworthy that the third group of people that a CLT board usually holds is lacking in the case of the CLT H-buurt. As discussed, this part of the board is rather diverse and can contain different kinds of actors and commonly even experts. However, in this case, the experts are involved externally through ATP and do not have a seat on the board. Therefore, the board of the CLT H-buurt only consists of two groups: those who live in the community and those who plan to live in a CLT home. As this third part of the board is usually so diverse, it is difficult to state what would happen if it is lacking. What can be said is that certain broader interests in favour of the city which would usually be represented by public representatives, might not get the attention that they require. Section 4.4.3 will extensively discuss the relationships between the actors and how they cooperate. The section above contains an example in which this third group within the boards was slowly taken over by 'gentrifiers'. These people could not dominate the board through its tripartite configuration. However, in the case of the CLT H-buurt, this risk is prevented in an even more rigorous manner. The possibility of even having people on the board who do not live in the community is lacking as there are no seats for a third group. This ensures that the CLT cannot be taken over in favour of newcomers.

Furthermore, it is remarkable that the broad neighbourhood organisation (CLT H-buurt vereniging) has the CLT element in its name. It might seem logical as the woon-coop is located within this organisation. However, this broad organisation is aimed at much more than just the

provision of affordable housing. In fact, it functions as a platform for all neighbourhood initiatives of which the CLT is only one element.

I have now established what the configuration is of the different actors, which raises the question why this configuration was chosen. When asked about the arrangement of the board of CLT H-buurt, the initiator of the CLT does not see a problem in the absence of a third group within the board. When he was asked about possible challenges that the absence of the third group could cause, respondent 8 answered: "The only challenge is that a lot of the board members don't have much time. For meetings and decision making."

Thus, it is safe to say that no challenges are seen in this arrangement by the initiator of the CLT. However, considering that the answer did not go into the actual arrangement of the board, and instead the respondent speaks of the time constraints of the board members, he might underestimate future issues that could arise.

As explained, the boards of most CLTs are made up of three groups that balance each other out. This construction ensures that the interests of all are equally represented and the risk of domination of one group is thereby non-existent. In this case, however, the group that is missing is the group that would be the most diverse in its configuration. Therefore, possible risks are difficult to point out as this group does not necessarily have to be made up of public representatives or comparable actors. One risk could be that experts, usually located in this part of the board, are lacking. However, in the case of the CLT H-buurt, experts are involved externally as ATP is connected to the CLT. These experts do not sit on the board and therefore do not have a vote. If that would be the case, it might go against the CLT's most important element, which is that the CLT is community-based.

The expert from ATP emphasises that currently, they take on a coordinating role and are not just limited to providing advice as experts. He also notes that he is often seen as an important person in decision-making processes by the board of the CLT. However, he is not a part of the community and he hopes that the community will increase the level of ownership they take over the project and feel more entitled to take decisions on their own, according to the following quote: "Because now we are still involved as experts in the organization and actually would like to slowly take more distance and just really want to take on an expert role and to a lesser extent be running the organization."

This statement also makes it clear why this configuration of the board was chosen. The CLT has to remain a community-based organisation, and the H-buurt ensured this by not involving ATP in the board formally. The supporting expert from ATP wishes to be less directly involved in the CLT, which this construction enables. As ATP is not formally involved in the board, it could make it easier to pull back and ensure more ownership for the community in the long term.

Thus, the expert wishes for a more leading role by the members of the community. A requirement for this is the presence of a tight-knit community that can do so. The initiator and board member emphasises the community-based approach of this CLT when asked about the role of the community. According to him, this community-based approach is unique to the CLT in Amsterdam and can ensure its long-term sustainability. When asked about the power of the community, he answered: "I think it will help them take good care of what belongs to them." And further, "(…) they take more responsibility for that [maintaining the CLT]. So in the long term, it's more durable."

Thus, in the case of the CLT H-buurt, the community-based approach results in a deep involvement of residents according to the initiator and board member. The uniqueness of this community-based approach also lies in the creation of community infrastructure (e.g. a

community centre) in the H-buurt, which currently does not exist. Therefore, much effort goes towards strengthening the community. Amongst other efforts, an Asset Based Community Development training was done which focusses on working together as a community in a more professional and organised way. Another training experience was aimed at the woon-coop to support the collective management of the building. Furthermore, the community holds a strong wish to set up a community infrastructure by providing communal amenities in the building once it is finalised, including washing machines, a kitchen, and a meeting space. Therefore, the broad community organisation affects the woon-coop as these amenities are located in the CLT building. A more prominent way that the community impacts the woon-coop is in the form of the allocation policy. In this scheme, the community as a whole will determine the criteria that one has to satisfy to be qualified to live in the building. These criteria will be democratically agreed upon as every member has a vote in the determination of the allocation policy.

Thus, the approach is community-based, which is projected onto every aspect of the organisation. The way that the allocation policy will determine who gets to live in the building is a democratic procedure within the broad neighbourhood organisation. This procedure ensures that the entire community can be involved in decisions regarding the allocation policy. The community-based approach is also seen in the services and amenities that the CLT building should offer to the community once it is finalised. Furthermore, a professional approach is taken in this direction as the community is being trained to manage their building and community. The problems that the community currently faces endanger the perpetual presence of a tight-knit community. The approach that is taken in this case can be seen as an antithesis to the current situation in which the community starts to feel threatened by gentrification. Instead of waiting to perhaps become victims of this process, the residents of the H-buurt use the power of the community in the hope that they can ensure a stable community that is not endangered by gentrification. What is noteworthy is that this is not yet the case. However, the community-building efforts that are currently taking place could ensure a more stable community, even before the realisation of a CLT building. Furthermore, the vision that the CLT should be completely community-based is not yet a reality as the experts from ATP are deeply involved and are often expected to help in decision-making processes. However, the configuration of the board makes this easily possible, as ATP is not formally involved.

4.4 The governance challenges of CLTs
4.4.1 The negative effect of governance practices
CLTs, like most other forms of real estate provision, come with many different challenges. The position of a CLT as an actor on the forcefield of urban developments is unique, and so are its challenges. This unique position will be explored first, after which this section goes into the many different challenges that CLTs face which are derived from the interviews. The extent to which these challenges are related to governments is also discussed.

CLTs are rather different from other actors in urban development processes. CLTs are non-profit organisations, are community-led, and thus not part of the government. Furthermore, CLTs are characterised by little funding, and the available funding usually comes from governments in the form of subsidies or grants. This makes CLTs reliant on governments and therefore vulnerable. This is also the reason that the funding of CLTs is included in this section. The two topics are simply too intertwined to disentangle. The reliance on governments is also part of the way that CLTs acquire land. The funding that goes towards CLTs is not sufficient to compete with private developers on the free market, according to several respondents. Not only is competing with private developers nearly impossible but it could also be questioned if

this is desirable. After all, public funding of a CLT is meant for affordable housing for local communities. Using public funds to compete on the free market in the interest of one local community might not be desirable, as a large share of this money would then end up with the selling party and would not benefit most citizens. Therefore, generally, CLTs rely on governments to transfer plots of land to them according to several respondents. Therefore, not just the topic of funding is included in this section, also the attainment of land by CLTs is included as it is heavily intertwined with governance.

The dependence of CLTs on governments for funding and attaining land results in a situation where a CLT has fewer challenges related to these topics, if the government in power is positive about the model instead of sceptical, according to several respondents. The following quote from respondent 2 who is a scholar at the Burlington Associates for Community Development, shows that it can be challenging to work with governments given the scepticism that politicians often have of CLTs:

> We had to build power. We had to show up at City Hall and in City Council meetings and pound the table and have a show of power in order to get the government to provide land, to provide money so that we could do our deals (respondent 2).

This resembles the efforts of the CLT H-buurt, as the CLT wants to build power for the community to enter the playing field of urban development. However, respondent 2 also emphasises the challenges that sometimes arise in the case of a change in government. He discusses how the treatment of CLTs by governments can change overnight by discussing the American system. This is an extreme example as the system in the Netherlands is different, but it shows the sensitivity of the model. In the US context in which the political system is dominated by two parties, change can take place depending on which party is in power. According to respondent 2, a change of government can mean that funding is taken away from the CLT because the practice of a CLT does not match the political ideas of the newly elected party:

> Now you've got a Conservative mayor who doesn't like this idea of taking land off the market and they don't like this strange socialist idea of permanent affordability? Then we've got to show up in numbers at our City Council meeting and try to get our money back (respondent 2).

The sensitivity of the model to the whims of governments is further demonstrated by the coordinator of CLT Brussels. He explains that a number of their projects were carried out within district contracts. These contracts are local plans in which the government states where the investment for urban renewal goes per district. These plans cover numerous topics, such as physical public space, social services, employment issues and housing. The respondent states that it is easier to acquire land at an affordable price when working within these district contracts, and thus, within the goals of the government. The statement made by respondent 4 emphasises the reliance on the government by showing that incorporation in local plans makes it much easier to carry out projects at an affordable price because it is easier to acquire land. The CLT H-buurt can learn from this and should aim to operate within certain governmental goals and try to be of help in achieving these goals, in order to acquire land more easily and qualify for more funding. How this is done, is discussed in the next paragraph which goes into the circumstances of the case.

The way that CLTs acquire land is strongly connected to the relationship with the government in power. This is further illustrated by the case of the London CLT, which experiences challenges arising from site-specific characteristics. The sites that the local council transfers to the CLT are often those that are not prioritised for commercial development, according to

respondent 5, the Community Manager of the CLT. These sites are not suitable for commercial development because they are the hardest and most expensive regarding development. According to respondent 5, this causes extra building costs which are hard to pay for as the CLT does not get enough funding to do so, which puts the organisation in a difficult situation:

> (…) we are not really given enough funding to make them affordable in the way that we want to. So there is a continual pressure where we are asking for more grant funding or otherwise, we have to raise the cost of the homes, which is (…) against the mission (respondent 5).

The lack of funding is also an issue in CLT Brussels. The respondent on behalf of the CLT states that more established actors, such as housing corporations, defend their territory which affects the funding that goes towards CLTs. These other actors fear that every euro that goes to a CLT will not go to them, which would jeopardise their ability to achieve their objectives. Not only does this illustrate the difficulty of relying on public funding, but it also brings about the issue of competing for public funds with more established parties that might have the same objective.

The vulnerability and dependence on governments are illustrated best in the case of the Caño Martín Peña CLT. This CLT was set up as a response to rising property values. As the community was culturally connected to their land, they wanted to find a system that would ensure perpetual affordability. The CLT was set up in 2004 and experienced its biggest challenge in 2009 when the government threatened to take away the land that they occupied. The expert explains how the CLT remained in existence:

> (…) that was a big setback for sure, but the good thing was that they indeed had very strong networks, so thousands of people took to the streets to say, "That land is theirs and you are not going to take it away", and so they did indeed win and in 2009 they got the land back (respondent 1).

The context in which this took place is much different from that of the Netherlands where this research takes place. However, it does show the fragility of these grassroots movements and the relevance of strong networking which is no different from the situation in the Netherlands. In this case, the presence of a strong network that was willing to protest kept the CLT in existence. In summary, the negative effects or risks connected to governance that CLTs come across, mostly have to do with funding, acquiring land and keeping the allocated or acquired land in control of the CLT. These issues are due to the subordinate position that the government in question can give CLTs.

4.4.2 The positive effect of governance practices

The different examples described so far showcase the interaction between governments and CLTs and the effect that it has on a CLT's finances. So far, the examples paint a picture in which governance decisions have a negative influence on finances, and thereby the successfulness of CLTs. However, this is not always the case. Governance decisions can also have a positive influence on CLTs, which will be described in the following two examples that were raised during the interviews.

The effect of governance on CLTs was raised in the interview with respondent 3, the Chief Executive at Walterton and Elgin Community Homes (WECH) which is a mix between a social housing corporation and a CLT in London. In the past, WECH was able to acquire many housing units through legislation called 'tenants' choice'. This legislation was meant to sell off council-owned housing to private owners. The local community of the northern part of Westminster City did not want their homes to fall into the hands of private owners and started a campaign during which they advocated for community control over the properties. The local

council, against their wishes, had to transfer certain estates to the community, in addition to some funding which was meant to refurbish these estates. Using the legislation against the purpose that the government had intended it for caused a big legislative change, as this was the last time that the 'tenants' choice' legislation was used. When asked about his view on the possibility of starting a new CLT of the same size as Walterton and Elgin Community Homes (675 homes), the respondent states that councils are more likely to keep hold of the homes they have in possession, rather than lose them. So even though it no longer exists, the governance practices that led to the 'tenants' choice' legislation meant that this CLT could grow up to the numbers it has now, although this legislation did not have this intent. In this specific case, the possibility of growth was related to the unique position of CLTs within governance approaches. Thus, even policies not in favour of communities can have opportunities for CLTs. Therefore, this shows that it might be fruitful for CLTs to look at legislation in a creative manner.

The case described above shows an accidental positive effect of governance on CLTs: the presence of a policy that, contrary to its intent, made it possible for a housing corporation to acquire many units in favour of the local community. However, governance can also have an intended positive effect on CLTs and can even initiate the emergence of a CLT.

This is the case in the emergence of the Champlain Housing Trust. This example was extensively discussed during interviews with respondents 1 and 2, and will therefore be described more in-depth. After Bernie Sanders was elected mayor of Burlington, Vermont, the decommodification of housing was embraced and the Burlington Community Land Trust, now Champlain Housing Trust, was initiated. Mayor Sanders created a Community and Economic Development Office and invited John Davis (in this research known as respondent 2) from the Institute for Community Economics to introduce the idea of CLTs to the community of Burlington. Burlington was subject to a long period of neglect regarding housing affordability and quality. The city was threatened by gentrification and many people wanted to take matters into their own hands. Soon, volunteers started putting in the work that was necessary to make the CLT a success. This shows that leadership and legitimacy can function as enablers for projects such as the emergence of a CLT and that this eventually can have a large impact.

So, is the initiation by the government better or worse than initiation by a local community? Even though this paragraph might give the impression that governmental initiation is better, it should be emphasised that there is no 'right' way of setting up a CLT. As respondent 1 states: "It's not that one [initiation from the government or community] is good and the other bad, not at all. CLTs can be started in completely different ways and will always have a large impact on those living in cities."

Much more important than the initiation of a CLT, are the local circumstances under which a CLT comes to be and that the initiation and configuration of the CLT match with these circumstances. These issues will be discussed later in this chapter.

However, the position of governments remains strong and because of that, CLTs remain vulnerable to the direction of urban policies that come from governments. A government can give a green light for a particular direction, but it can also switch the light to red. As respondent 2 puts it: "What government gives, government can take away so you always have to be vigilant."

A sidenote that should be placed here is that CLTs are making ground in the sense that they are increasingly more familiar with the European government. Respondent 6, who is involved in setting up a European CLT Network and involved in the CLT-B, states that the exponential growth of CLTs in North Western Europe was achieved partly due to the SHICC project. The SHICC project (Sustainable Housing for Inclusive and Cohesive Cities) was a four-year project

that was aimed at enabling the emergence of more CLTs. The respondent argues that through this project, the recognition of CLTs by the European Commission was achieved. Furthermore, the UN has recognised the model as a best practice in their New Urban Agenda and in the Cities for Adequate Housing Declaration. Throughout Europe, the model has begun to appear in policy documents. The EU encourages the replication of CLTs. Thus, the model is often celebrated for its innovative ways of development. However, this remains quite abstract as it does not directly lead to the incorporation of the model in national housing policies. In fact, a link to the CLT H-buurt, apart from the additional funding gained from the EU, can hardly be made here. Eventually, these achievements may lead to better national policy regarding CLTs but for the CLT H-buurt, this has not yet been the case. According to the respondent involved in the EU, a big step in creating policy could be the development of a European CLT network which focuses on knowledge exchange and could lead to more widespread development of CLTs.

However, dependence on governments can also create more success, depending on the government. An example which illustrates the effect of political developments on CLTs is that of WECH. Depending on the character of the political development within the government, it could have a positive effect on the organisation, according to the Chief Executive of this CLT. The local council in which this CLT is located is an example of this, as it recently changed from a conservative one, into a labour council. According to the respondent, this can make it easier to acquire land and makes for a better relationship.

This section has explained the effect of governance on funding and land acquisition which determine the successfulness of CLTs to a high degree. In the next section, I explain how these issues affect the case study of this research: the CLT H-buurt in Amsterdam.

4.4.3 The case
The relationship with the municipality of Amsterdam is an important step in looking into the governance challenges in the case. Earlier in this chapter, it was established that CLTs are vulnerable to — and to a large extent depend on — governments for funding and the acquisition of land. This is why it is important to look into the relationship between the CLT and the municipality.

And The People
When one discusses the relationship between the CLT and the municipality, the supporting role of ATP should be explained first, as ATP stands in close contact with the municipality. A supporting expert from ATP states that it is important for any neighbourhood organisation to have a 'double network'. He refers to a network that is deeply rooted in the local community and has links to the government, institutions, and the private sector. This networking role is taken up by ATP, which holds strong ties with different departments within the municipality. The neighbourhood organisation has been a grassroots initiative from the start and thus lacks the skills or the network to start a CLT, unlike ATP. The expert emphasises that they do not intend to take ownership of the CLT and that the community should be in charge. This view is shared by the community, according to the initiator and board member of the CLT. However, according to him, the community could not be more positive about the involvement of ATP: "I think they have done a tremendous job. Because if left to us as a community alone, we do not have the skills to put projects together, do trainings, get funding… They did a lot so far."

'Neighbourhood platform rights'
With the position of ATP in relation to the CLT itself in mind, I now explore the relationship between the CLT and the municipality of Amsterdam. First, the distinction between different departments should be made. An expert involved with the CLT through ATP, notes that in referring to the municipality, one should always speak of different departments because each

department has a different view on, or relationship with the CLT. The expert from ATP states this regarding the distinction between departments: "Well one [department] gives a lot of support and space. The other opposes you."

In general, however, it should be noted that the municipal council has taken notice of the opportunities for grassroots initiatives and citizens. Following a cry for more community involvement from numerous neighbourhood platforms, the municipality set up a testing ground for 'neighbourhood platform rights'. This is an important element in the treatment of the CLT by the municipality and therefore, it will be discussed in detail as it may affect the CLT's success to a large extent.

The 'neighbourhood platform rights' testing ground consists of a set of rights granted to certain neighbourhood platforms. Through this testing ground, the municipality, together with neighbourhood platforms and citizen initiatives, researches how more effective and sustainable collaboration between the municipality and its citizens could be achieved. This initiative started in March 2022. In total, 9 platforms where neighbourhood initiatives come together were picked for this testing ground, and the CLT H-buurt is one of them. The initiator and board member of the CLT explains why it is involved in this testing ground: "CLT was selected as one of the platforms for this area. What CLT does, is bring all social initiatives and other organisations in this area together on this platform." This shows a strong acceptance of the CLT model and community initiatives in general, from the perspective of the municipality.

According to the municipal employee involved in the project, the goals for the testing ground are trifold: better positioning of platforms, independent support, and funding. The testing ground is not a cure-all, however, as insecurity about these platforms and the way to involve them remains within the municipality. An employee at the municipality involved in the testing ground describes their perspective on the testing ground as follows:

> I think it is partly due to unfamiliarity or something, that colleagues also find it difficult. Not especially regarding the CLT, but the neighbourhood platforms in a broader sense. Can you give away a right to a limited group of people and who don't you give it to? Those are considerations. So those are always questions that get asked. And now it can also be a bit of a clincher. It is often said, is it representative? Is this indeed a partner at the table? (respondent 10)

These are all questions that the platforms themselves see as illegitimate according to the municipal employee. They emphasise the legitimacy of their organisations and acknowledge that they do not represent everyone but instead, a certain number of people that want to be represented through them. However, this differs from the idea that the municipality should involve all residents. Therefore, it is often questioned what the position of these neighbourhood platforms should be within the municipality. This is remarkable as one of the goals of the testing ground is better positioning. Apparently, there are different views within the municipality on what this position should be. This is no ideal base to develop a testing ground on as there is no universal idea of at least one of these goals. Next, the overall state of achievement regarding these goals is discussed, in particular for the case of the CLT H-buurt.

Out of the three goals that came with the testing ground (better positioning, more funding and independent support), only two have been achieved. Extra funding is available for these platforms, and independent support is provided by an organisation that supports renters and homeowners in the Amsterdam region. This organisation is called !WOON, and offers training to strengthen the community, or manage a building with a group of residents, also in the case of the CLT. According to the municipal employee, this better positioning is the only goal that has not yet been achieved. She states that this problem results from the many different

perspectives regarding the testing ground, and the increased democratisation that it should accomplish. This is in line with a statement made by an expert from ATP. He speaks of frustrations that sometimes arise on the side of the municipality with the supporting position of ATP to the CLT. ATP has expertise and experience in spatial planning processes and can articulate concerns from the side of the CLT in a professional manner. Tensions arose when those involved in the CLT had concerns and questions regarding urban development in the area of Zuidoost. ATP professionally voiced these concerns and questions during participation processes which led to frustration within the project team of the municipality as they assumed to be dealing with regular citizens instead of professionals. Professionally articulated input can have more impact on the building process than input coming from one who is not an expert. The municipal employee also mentions the project team when she was asked about the reason why the position of these platforms was not yet achieved. She states that project teams are used to organising participation in their own way, and do not automatically give neighbourhood platforms the position at the table that the testing ground aims to enable. This is not just an issue in the area of Zuidoost and thus for the CLT, but also in other parts of Amsterdam where the project teams in charge of local developments do not involve neighbourhood platforms from the very beginning of developments. To a large extent, however, the position of the neighbourhood platforms depends on the specific project manager in charge of the development, according to the municipal employee: "But there are good examples in the city. From area development where residents get a good position at the table or organised residents groups do, but it still really depends on which project manager is involved."

Given this situation, steps could be taken to ensure that the intended position is achieved to bring about more democratisation. The municipal employee states that the importance of the testing ground should be more established throughout the organisation, and should not be subject to personal judgement by project managers. She states that the priorities of time planning and budget conflict with the involvement of residents. Finishing projects with a set budget and timeframe is nothing new. Involving residents through this testing ground is, and might therefore not be prioritised as much according to the municipal employee. The step that should be taken to prevent this from happening in the future is involving the managing boards of the different departments to make them aware of the unequal treatment of these conflicting priorities. If this remains a problem, the issue can also be taken up to the political level where the priorities should be reviewed.

Thus, the testing ground offers a degree of legitimacy to neighbourhood platforms such as the CLT. However, this degree of legitimacy is not carried throughout the entire organisation, which leads to frustration and confusion. More critically, it jeopardises the probability of achieving a better position for these platforms, which is one of the main goals in the testing ground. However, the good intention of the municipality remains, and the fact that the CLT is a part of the testing ground ensures a good relationship with the municipality. Furthermore, funding and independent support is also ensured through this testing ground.

The relationship in general
Furthermore, the way that the CLT is approached by the municipality is viewed as positive, according to the initiator and board member of the CLT: "I think it's good. I think it's also [good] for them. That they think: "Okay, the first CLT in the Netherlands is in Amsterdam." Later he adds: "From the beginning, they were very open." This indicates a healthy relationship between the two actors. Furthermore, a supporting expert from ATP touches upon a relationship with a specific civil servant within the municipality. In Amsterdam, the city is divided into different governance territories. Each territory has a designated contact at the municipality in the form of a 'gebiedsmakelaar' (area broker). This is a person who is not formally connected to a policy area, but whose responsibility it is that the voices from the area are heard within the

municipality. The supporting expert emphasises the 'gebiedsmakelaar' open attitude towards direct collaboration. This ties in with the importance of a 'double network' mentioned by the same respondent in earlier in this section, as the open character of this relationship ensures short ties with the municipality. The 'gebiedsmakelaar' also speaks positively of the collaboration between the municipality and the CLT, noting certain efforts aimed at creating a strong H-buurt. The 'gebiedsmakelaar' notes that:

> The situation in Zuidoost is such that this part of Amsterdam needs a multi-year plan or program, especially in terms of empowering the residents who are vulnerable residents of Southeast, reducing poverty, improving the situation of the youth and also (…) retaining as much local entrepreneurship as possible, but also retaining (…) certain homes (respondent 11).

In these efforts, he emphasises the importance of the CLT in their representation of the community. He notes that the H-buurt is a neighbourhood consisting of many different groups that the CLT can bring together and represent. This gives the CLT a more legitimate position which, according to the respondent, is an important element in the municipality's aim to co-create policy together with the neighbourhood, to have the community on board and create a sustainable neighbourhood.

Furthermore, the 'gebiedsmakelaar' also states that the different departments and individuals within the municipality view the CLT differently. Thereby, the points made by the municipal employee involved in the testing ground are recognised. He emphasises that, despite this, the municipality should aim to collaborate with the CLT and other initiatives like it. Furthermore, he states that the different opinions within the municipality often result from different ideas on how public funds should be spent. These funds should benefit everyone and according to the respondent, some individuals are sceptical about the amount of people that are represented through initiatives such as the CLT.

Thus, in general, many good things can be said about the relationship between the CLT and the municipality of Amsterdam. However, the relationship does not come without its problems. Previously, the issue of the position of neighbourhood platforms being subjected to personal judgement by project managers was raised. In line with this, another frustration from the CLT in its relationship with the municipality concerns parallel structures that the municipality sometimes sets up separately from the organisational structures that the neighbourhood already has. Respondent 7, a supporting expert from ATP states the following about this issue: "(…) often parallel structures are also established that actually disrupt things, which a neighbourhood platform is attempting to build up." This can take place in numerous contexts, such as the participatory processes of developments. It all results from good intentions by the municipality, as these parallel structures are always intended to involve more citizens. However, it should be questioned if these structures are worth it, if these efforts come at the expense of the progress that neighbourhood platforms were making so far.

Funding
As discussed in section 4.4.1., funding cannot be discussed separately from governance as a large share of a CLT's funding includes public funds. Therefore, the funding of a CLT is heavily intertwined with their treatment by governments. In the case of the H-buurt, this is no different, and the challenge of financial sustainability was raised during interviews. Earlier in this section, it was established that the testing ground ensures some funding, which prevents big financial issues. One of the supporting experts from ATP emphasises their efforts to connect the goals of the CLT to the policy goals of the municipality to make it more relevant for the municipality and to be eligible for more funding. Concretely, he gives the example of the doughnut economy which is a central theme in municipal urban policy:

> (…) how can you link certain initiatives to a long-term proposition? We called it a doughnut proposition after the doughnut economy because the municipality of Amsterdam is committed to that, so we are constantly looking for brackets on how we can make it interesting for the municipality. But at the same time, to make it sustainable (respondent 7).

A rather positive outlook on the relationship between the CLT, ATP and the municipality, comes from the initiator and board member of the CLT. He states that the municipality has been very open and cooperative since the emergence of the idea for a CLT. The municipality funded the first research that had to be done to see how viable a CLT was. According to respondent 8, this might have to do with the CLT H-buurt being the first CLT in the Netherlands. The CLT could therefore bring extra publicity to the city of Amsterdam.

4.5 Potential impact on communities

4.5.1. General

Now that it is clear what affects CLTs in their ability to make a difference, it is time to look into the impact CLTs make. The goals of most CLTs are aimed at the retention of affordable housing, the creation of affordable housing, or at enhancing developments favouring local communities. However, it remains difficult to measure this impact as the success of a CLT might be judged differently by different actors. For example, if a CLT is able to prevent the purchase of social housing units by a private developer, then this would be seen as a positive development on the side of the community. The developer, however, would disagree and perhaps the government might do so as well as they now miss out on extra tax revenue. Obviously, this is a hypothetical situation but it illustrates how the 'success' of one actor might be perceived rather differently by others. In this thesis, the impact regarding the goals in favour of communities will be assessed as impact.

Thus, it is now relevant to look into the ability of CLTs to impact local communities positively. In section 4.5.2, this will be done for the case of the CLT H-buurt. To make a judgement on the impact that the CLT H-buurt can have on the community, it should be discussed how CLTs make an impact on communities in other places. The results show that this can be done in numerous ways. In the first place, a positive impact is made by providing affordable housing for those who are unable to afford prices set by market forces. However, the respondents that spoke of the impact of CLTs were cautious in their judgement of the size of this impact. The coordinator at the CLT-B, notes that it is difficult to make an impact as an individual CLT does not fit within the actors that exist in most housing markets. He mentions the example of the Champlain Housing Trust in Burlington and how this CLT, which has existed for over 30 years, is viewed as an example to the CLT in Brussels. However, he states that these 30 years of effort have not yet led to a concrete impact on the housing market in this small city. He states that a more integrated approach is needed for CLTs to extensively impact the housing market in a city. In saying this, he aims at a system in which a CLT is a legitimate actor that does not have to struggle to be included.

The current situation, however, is one in which most CLTs have to struggle for their position. A scholar at the Caño Martin Peña CLT speaks about the system that is determinative for a CLT's success. She states that the impact of a CLT heavily depends on the context in which it operates. The context in most contemporary cities is characterised by a highly financialised housing system, or in her words, "the system of wild west real estate capitalism." This context is one in which the respondent thinks CLTs can make little difference. She then emphasises the need to stay realistic about the expectations regarding the CLT model: "I am certainly not

one to sell CLT as the grand magic formula, not at all. I really think it's really important to be very critical about what CLT can do and what CLT can't do." Thus, it cannot be the solution to deep-rooted problems such as gentrification, according to her. She brings context to her statement by saying that the model has helped to mitigate gentrification-related problems for the residents of the Caño Martin Peña, but that the causing system around it, remains. For the CLT H-buurt, this shows that they might not be able to prevent gentrification in the sense that the CLT cannot change the entire housing system in which it exists. Therefore, the CLT should be realistic about its expectations of what it can do and for whom it can make an impact.

Characteristic of such a system full of inequalities, is the difficulty of acquiring land to build units. The interaction between this market system and a CLT was raised by a scholar at Burlington Associates in Community Development. He mentions two determinative factors for a CLT's success in countering or mitigating gentrification: the amount of CLT units and the concentration of these units. The prevention of displacement of the CLT residents is self-evident but the moderating effect on the housing market of the surrounding neighbourhood is influenced by the amount of housing and the concentration. The respondent goes on to say that CLTs form islands within the usual housing markets. He refers to this as the creation of islands in an ocean in which the islands are CLT housing and the ocean is an overheated market. He uses this metaphor to explain a CLT's ability to halt gentrification processes. According to the respondent, CLTs can only prevent displacement of their residents but cannot exercise a moderating effect on the prices of surrounding real estate if gentrification has truly taken off in a neighbourhood. Additionally, it becomes increasingly harder to acquire new plots of land in a neighbourhood where gentrification is taking place, which jeopardises a CLT's ability to moderate this process. For the CLT H-buurt, it is thus important to assess the current state of the gentrification processes to make a judgement on the probability that the impact can mitigate these processes.

An example of a CLT struggling against an advanced process of gentrification and a rise in land value is that of WECH. The chief executive states that this CLT is located near one of the most expensive parts of London where multi-million-pound mansions with private guards are no exception. Trying to make an impact on a less affluent community near such an area is naturally challenging. The respondent states that the CLT deals with this by being creative and not sticking to a very rigid plan. By being creative, the CLT can develop units in unconventional ways such as on top of existing housing. By doing so, extra units are created without the need for more land. Not sticking to a rigid plan allows the CLT to take on opportunities once they arise. But opportunities are scarce and the CLT has to put in much effort to be able to find them. After all, the respondent stresses that a lack of land leads to a lack of development opportunities: "So we will look for opportunities basically where they might come up, but building is hard though in this area. There is not much spare land around here at all, to be honest."

Thus, these respondents all agree that CLTs can make an impact, but that the extent of this depends on the context. If the context is characterised by high housing prices, or if gentrification is prevalent in the area, then it is difficult to make an impact. However, the biggest impact made by CLTs remains the one on the actual CLT residents that are not or no longer at risk of displacement. Furthermore, other forms of impact can be made by CLTs besides the provision of affordable housing.

One way that an impact can be made, according to the scholar at the Caño Martin Peña CLT, is located within the CLT's ability to disrupt and challenge current systems of housing provision. The model does so by questioning the current system and voicing the critiques of residents. She is convinced that the model potentially holds the power to disrupt current systems of

housing provision by showcasing an alternative. This is a way of making impact that any CLT exercises in its existence by default. Thus, this is also the case for the CLT H-buurt.

Another form of impact made by CLTs which would have an enhancing effect on local communities is through supporting communities in numerous ways. This is an interesting topic to go into regarding this research, as the CLT H-buurt also plans to provide community support amenities in addition to their core mission: the provision of affordable housing (respondent 8). In the interview with the coordinator at the CLT-B, other forms of impact were brought up. He mentions an example of a project run within their organisation which is aimed at providing bikes for residents, but also bike-riding lessons offered by residents. This was only used by the CLT residents at first, but is increasingly picked up by surrounding residents. This project offers a healthy and sustainable mode of personal transportation to a neighbourhood and makes an impact in that way. Admittedly, this impact is small and the size of this initiative is not great considering the size and population of the city of Brussels. However, it showcases an interesting additional way of supporting the local community which holds lessons for other CLTs. Additionally, the respondent gives other examples from their efforts to improve the circumstances in neighbourhoods where their CLT housing is located. One of these cases revolves around the creation of a park, initiated by the municipality. This park is to be located in an area of which the respondent is convinced that it would be rather challenging to get enough people involved in the participation process. CLT-B housing is located in this neighbourhood which, according to respondent 4, is home to people who are more motivated to be involved and ensure a place for their children to play than other residents. Through these efforts, an impact is made on the broader neighbourhood as the quality of the park might benefit from the participation which in this case, is done by motivated CLT residents. Other forms of impact that the CLT can make in the future, according to respondent 4, are in the form of a homework supervision class that is being held in one of the CLT buildings. The organisation is currently discussing opening this initiative up to other members of the community that do not live in CLT housing. These examples show that the activities aimed at making a positive impact on a community can be very diverse and context-specific. Therefore, it is interesting to go into these activities for the case of the CLT H-buurt which is done in section 4.5.2.

Relating to the involved character of CLT residents that was brought up previously regarding the participation process of a park, is the allocation policy of CLTs which the Community Manager at London CLT spoke about. She states that, besides the consideration of housing need and affordability, much attention is paid to the level of involvement that someone has in a neighbourhood during the allocation process of the London CLT. This judgement is made through points that are awarded for the amount of time the potential resident has lived in the neighbourhood, whether they are involved in a local institution such as a church, or whether their kids go to school in the area. Also, points can be awarded to potential residents if they can argue that they support the community in other ways. She argues that involved residents that are rooted in the neighbourhood and pay attention to others can help to make an impact on the community:

> I think that that policy is really aimed at keeping communities together and also at ensuring that the people that move into all kind of projects will have more of an outward-looking focus or be better neighbours and they'll be willing to do more community projects. I guess that's a very localised mitigation against gentrification, because we want to see the people living there that have always or not always lived there, but have a connection (respondent 5).

Similar statements come from respondent 2 (Scholar at Burlington Associates in Community Development). He states that a CLT can function as a bulwark against gentrification and that

the retention of original residents in a neighbourhood is a strong element in this. Not only because displacement is prevented for these residents, but also due to their behaviour in a commercial sense. He refers to the local orientation of CLT residents regarding their everyday needs. He states that these are people who still visit the local establishments, unlike more affluent residents that came into the neighbourhood through gentrification. The support of these CLT residents for these local establishments, is an important element in the mitigation of commercial gentrification according to the respondent.

> They (CLT residents) are the ones who are still going to the corner store. They are the ones still going to the barbershop, and the hardware store and in some CLTs we are also buying those little stores and preserving not just the housing in the neighbourhood, but also the other places in the neighbourhoods that would otherwise be gentrified out because gentrification doesn't just displace residential uses it also displaces commercial uses. You know… low value uses (respondent 2).

In the quote above, respondent 2 also states that some CLTs go beyond the purpose of providing housing and other forms of community support, by buying local businesses that would otherwise disappear due to gentrification. This might go far beyond the intent of most CLTs but it is a way of protecting local businesses and not just affordable housing. Furthermore, it does show the relevance of a good allocation policy that defends the universal values of a community. This is an opportunity for the CLT H-buurt as a good allocation policy can retain those people who are deeply involved in the community.

Another valuable impact that CLTs can have is suggested by the Community Manager of the London CLT. To have more stable funding, the CLT started a collaboration with the National Health Service which consists of research into the health advantages for CLT residents over residents in non-CLT housing. In exchange for functioning as a case for the research, the CLT is given funding. Eventually, the CLT also wants to benefit from the outcomes of the research. If it gets proven that CLT residents have health advantages over residents who do not live in CLT housing, it would form an extra argument to develop more CLT housing and get more funding from governments.

Another form of impact that the CLT model can make, is through its unique way of dealing with tenants' payment problems. In most systems, not being able to afford rent can lead to eviction in the worst-case scenario. However, the CLT model is different in this regard as there is no classic landlord-tenant relationship. In the case of a CLT, much attention is paid to the person that actually lives in the house. A CLT is set up in such a way that help is offered in such a situation as opposed to an eviction. Respondent 2 (Scholar, Burlington Associates in Community Development) states the following about this: "If it's a typical landlord-tenant relationship, they're not going to tell us. Well, we want them to tell us so we can do something about it. It's you know, it's for their sake. It's for our sake." Additionally, according to the European Community Land Trust Network, foreclosure situations, as well as payment delinquency, take place less in CLT housing than in conventional housing provision. The main reason for this is the affordability of the houses but also the involved attitude of CLTs in such situations is given as an additional reason for this phenomenon (European CLT Network, 2022a). According to the initiator and board member of the CLT H-buurt, the income in the H-buurt is very low and people struggle to make ends meet. These residents would benefit from a similar treatment as described above, in case they cannot make their payments.

Thus, the potential impact that CLTs can make, is not limited to the provision of affordable housing in which case the impact highly depends on the context. Other forms of impact can be made by supporting local communities and using certain aspects of the CLT model in these

efforts. Respondent 4 (Coordinator at the CLT Brussels) takes the application of the model even further and states that the whole model could potentially be used in other domains. He mentions a current trend of co-housing for a more affluent target group as a form of housing that could make use of the model. Furthermore, he states that renovation will be an increasingly important topic in the domain of housing and that the CLT model can offer a form of financing fitting this purpose. The examples he brings up might not directly fit into the impact that most current CLTs are attempting to make. However, an impact can be made in these forms as they aim to offer a fitting housing-related solution to the need of certain communities. It is not the core purpose of the model and not the way CLTs are currently attempting to make an impact, but it should be mentioned as these are forms that could potentially be used in the future if the model is applied in a broader sense.

An interesting remark that should be added is the potential reversed effect that CLTs could have due to the high standards in maintenance and design compared to commercial actors in the provision of affordable housing. This issue was brought up in the interview with respondent 2 (Scholar at the Burlington Associates in Community Development) when he was questioned about the likelihood of a reversed effect taking place. He states that in a vast majority of cases, CLTs function as a bulwark against gentrification. However, he also explains that the high building and maintenance standards of CLTs are kept to ensure that CLT houses fit into a neighbourhood well, and do not enhance the stigma which is sometimes placed on residents of affordable housing. These high standards can make a neighbourhood look more appealing to more affluent groups, enhancing gentrification. However, the respondent has never seen such a process in practice but deems it as a slight possibility.

4.5.2 The case

Thus, it is discussed that CLTs can have a moderating effect on gentrification in a neighbourhood, but that the model is by no means a 'cure-all'. The potential impact is highly dependent on the local housing market and system. However, it is also discovered that additional impact can be made through other activities that are not directly linked to the provision of affordable housing. In this section, these topics will be discovered within the context of the case of the CLT H-buurt. Finally, an assessment is made of the opportunities for the CLT to make an impact, currently and in the future.

To assess the future impact that the CLT can make, the intent of the CLT should be clear. The main goal, of providing affordable housing, is self-evident. Besides this, the CLT also aims to make an impact on the wider community by providing community infrastructure which was discussed in section 4.3.2. In this, the CLT aims to strengthen the community of the H-buurt by providing certain amenities such as a communal kitchen, washing machines and a meeting space. These are amenities that the community currently lacks. The main impact that would be made by this CLT would be on the actual residents of the CLT. A community representative of the CLT states that residents would no longer experience displacement pressure. Furthermore, even concerns about affording housing in the future would be alleviated as rates for the homes would be pre-set and would not change every year.

Furthermore, the CLT is also a 'stepping stone' for all other neighbourhood initiatives in the context of the testing ground. Therefore, there might be an impact within the unification of people and initiatives that are trying to improve the neighbourhood. According to the board member at the CLT, the board is humble regarding the expected impact:

> CLT is not in a position to give housing to all those who are in need of housing.
> What we are doing now is only for 2 blocks, that is nothing. It is like a drop of water
> in the ocean, nothing. But it is a stepping stone, it's just a pilot project. From there

we can see which direction we are going and how the government sees it (respondent 9).

This is in line with the statements made in the previous paragraph regarding the impact. From those results, it was clear that the CLT in Amsterdam should not expect to change the entire market and save every member of the community from rising housing prices or displacement. Also in line with the previous paragraph is the CLT's ability to challenge and question the current system. This is supported by a municipal employee involved in the testing ground when she states that initiatives such as the CLT are about the creation of a 'just city'. She later adds to this by saying: "So indeed, who does the city belong to? It is about those questions." In the previous paragraph, it became clear that a CLT makes this impact without aiming to do so. Its mere existence can spark these questions and therefore, challenge a system. In this case, it is positive that this gets recognised by the municipality.

Another form of possible impact recognised by the municipal employee is the potential that the CLT has in increasing the level of trust in the government. This point is not only made by her, but also the 'gebiedsmakelaar' raised this issue. Currently, the level of trust in the municipality is not high and in some areas, such as 'Zuidoost', even lower than in most parts of the city. The respondent states that people might experience estrangement from their own city as there is no housing for their price range anymore, and that this estrangement might be one of the causes of the distrust in the municipality. This distrust results in low voter percentages in some neighbourhoods, in some cases as low as 20%. The unification of the community in collaboration with the municipality through the CLT is something that the employee thinks might contribute to a solution for these issues. The 'gebiedsmakelaar' adds to this by stating that the playing field will be more even between the municipality and the CLT in comparison to the relationship between the municipality and individual citizens. The creation of ownership and responsibility are important elements in the increase of trust in the government and a fruitful collaboration according to this respondent.

However, the main way that the municipal employee thinks that the biggest impact will be made is through the balancing effect of the CLT. She expects that the CLT will be an important factor in preventing an advanced stage of gentrification in which all low-income residents would get displaced.

Nonetheless, it is not a sure thing that this impact will be made by the CLT because the CLT is not yet operational and the board members see a set of challenges in their future. The first of these is a challenge that was previously mentioned. It concerns the fact that the CLT is not yet operational in the sense that the organisation does not yet provide housing. In the past, some members signed up expecting to get a CLT home in a short amount of time without being familiar with the state of the organisation and the allocation policy. Therefore, many members did not return after the first meeting with the CLT. The board member and initiator of the CLT states about this: "[It is a challenge] to convince people that they should trust this process and that it will really happen if we don't give up. So it's a big challenge to motivate people, to put their feet there and stand there until it comes to realisation. That is the main challenge I see."

The second challenge that the board members see is related to the low average income that most families in this neighbourhood live on. In order to realise the units, the future residents have to pay a certain amount of contribution upfront. According to the board member and initiator of the CLT, this sum is usually close to 5000 euros for similar organisations. This would be a real challenge for most future CLT residents as the average income is so low, that such a contribution would be near impossible to pay for these families. At the time of the interview, the respondent was not sure how they would tackle this issue. The only thing he could say on how to deal with this was by speaking with the government and possibly having a subsidy

allocated to them, which would then be used to halve the contribution of 5000 euros. However, it is questionable how much of a long-term solution this is.

As with most CLTs discussed in this research, acquiring land on which the apartments would be built, is a challenge. According to several respondents, the municipality cannot sell or give the land to the CLT. Instead, a public tender process has to take place in which the CLT currently does not stand a big chance against other parties. During the interviews, both the CLT and the municipality stated to be looking at ways to organise this, but they could not disclose more information.

A sidenote that should be made here is that the 'gebiedsmakelaar' emphasises the value of the CLT for the municipality. The planned developments in the area of 'Zuidoost' will have a large impact on the neighbourhood according to him. The CLT is seen as a means of retaining a certain amount of local entrepreneurship during the attraction of more affluent groups. Thus, not enabling the CLT to be set up, would endanger the ability of the CLT to retain local entrepreneurship.

In conclusion, the biggest impact would be made for actual CLT residents as their displacement pressure is alleviated. However, as the results show, the possible impact is not just for the residents. The CLT aims to make the entire community benefit from their efforts through the provision of communal amenities. The CLT also functions as a neighbourhood organisation that functions as a stepping stone for other initiatives, which would benefit the community. Furthermore, the relationship between the CLT and the municipality could increase trust in the government amongst the residents of 'Zuidoost'. Finally, the CLT already challenges and questions the current housing system in Amsterdam. The fact that the municipal employee raised the topic of social justice and stated that the CLT questions the status quo, is an ultimate recognition of the CLT's efforts in this stage of the process.

5. Conclusion

This research has focussed on the impact that CLTs have on the challenges that arise from gentrification. The main question to this research was: *What impact do CLTs have on the challenges that arise from gentrification?* After researching the emergence of CLTs, their internal governance, governance challenges and the potential impact that such organisations can have on local communities, it is clear that this question is complex as many different factors are at play. This chapter will provide the concluding answer to this question, situate this research in a scientific context and elaborate on its contribution to scientific literature.

To provide a concluding answer to this question, the different relevant factors should be discussed. First, it is important to discuss the conditions that are near inevitable for the emergence of a CLT. This research suggests that the contexts in which CLTs emerge differ extensively, but that a strong community and a struggle against a financialised housing system are key factors that are at play in most CLTs. A financialised housing system functions as the spark for the discontent of a community, whereas a high degree of closeness within a community functions as a flame, igniting the fire that is the emergence of such organisations. This phenomenon was seen in the case of the H-buurt, where a discontented community feels the need to step up to the financialised housing system that creates displacement pressure. Once the discontent with the financialised system has urged members of the community to decide to start a CLT, they are confronted with the variation within the model in the sense that they have to design their CLT based on the context of the location and the institutions. This research found that this variation is one of the strengths of the model, which ensures its application in different situations and systems. The CLT H-buurt offers an excellent example of this variation. An indication of this variation is the absence of people who live outside of the H-buurt on the board of the CLT. Most CLTs have a portion of their seats devoted to public representatives or people living outside of the community; thus, the case of CLT H-buurt offers an unconventional approach, but a great illustration of the variation of the model.

As much as variation is an essential element of the model, so is its dependability on governments which can make CLTs vulnerable to political developments within governments. An example of such a development is the election of a new mayor who has a negative view of CLTs. This is an important issue, as it shows a limitation of the potential impact made by CLTs. Trying to stand up to a government that works in support of a financialised housing system which marginalises the needs of communities is a difficult task. The results show several examples where CLTs struggle to take part in urban developments in an impactful way due to governments treating them as subordinate in comparison to other actors. To a certain degree, this phenomenon takes place in the researched case. In the case of the H-buurt, the CLT heavily depends on the acceptance given by the municipality. In this case, the acceptance is given to the CLT through the testing ground which experiments with giving certain rights to communities. The position of the CLT within this testing ground enables it to work towards its goals through the availability of more funding and independent support. However, besides the funding and the support, the testing ground also aims at improving the position of neighbourhood initiatives, such as the CLT. This latter goal is not realised. Personal judgement by municipal employees regarding the prioritisation of such initiatives becomes a significant factor in the success of the CLT, which is another excellent example of its vulnerability.

So, where do variability, presence of a strong community within a system of financialised housing provision, vulnerability and legitimisation leave the CLT in its ability to make an impact on the challenges that arise from gentrification? Apart from these factors, respondents were cautious in their statements about the impact that CLTs may bring about. Besides the people

living in CLT housing, the impact of a CLT on the process of gentrification is moderate at best. However, the phase of gentrification is a significant factor in this. If it is a late process, a CLT will struggle to make an impact. If the process is emerging and a neighbourhood is not in extremely high demand, a CLT is left with more options and may be more successful in making an impact. Furthermore, the efforts of many CLTs go beyond the provision of housing alone. Community building activities, the creation of community infrastructure, or even the organising of a community into an association can be important elements in the struggle against gentrification, as they will ensure a more stable and close community.

Thus, the impact that a CLT makes is located within the provision of housing for those who need it, and in this sense, the impact should not be underestimated. It should be stressed that a CLT can truly make a difference in offering a sense of stability that comes with housing. Housing-related problems such as rent arrears are all-encompassing problems that have a large impact on one's health. Housing-related problems can even be the main risk factor in suicides. Therefore, the impact made by providing someone with perpetually affordable CLT housing can be great. This is done on a small scale in the case of the CLT H-buurt. However, the model should not be underestimated in the impact that it can have on individuals that are struggling.

For those who are unable to move into CLT housing, the impact remains moderate at best and is dependent on how advanced the gentrification process is in this location. To give these results more value, they should be situated within a broader context. Thus, this chapter will go on to discuss the results in relation to the theory of the right to the city. In the theoretical framework, the right to the city was proposed as the theoretical basis of this study. The subversive reading of this theory was used in this research. In this interpretation, the radical transformative value of the theory (long-term) is combined with the immediate achievement of goals in favour of discontented and excluded groups (short-term).

So, how is the right to the city theory reflected in the practices of the CLT H-buurt? To see how the CLT's objectives are achieved through this theory, it is important to look into the actual goals of the CLT and how they fit into the theory. One goal that is in line with the discontent of the community is the long-term preservation of the H-buurt as a strong community that is not affected by gentrification processes. The excluded group consist of those who are not able to find an affordable place to live or currently experience displacement pressure. This is a more urgent goal that would benefit from immediate action. In a way, the CLT serves both of these goals, as displacement is prevented for those who are able to move into CLT homes. In addition, the community infrastructure that will be set up could play a significant role in maintaining the closeness of the community in the long run.

Besides the discontented and the excluded groups being addressed in this interpretation, it also accommodates more long-term and idealistic goals. 'Transformative' is a keyword in the subversive reading which hints at the need for social change. The right to the city was the answer to the question of how social change in Lefebvre's understanding. The need for social change, as discussed by Harvey, is a need for resistance to capitalism by decommodifying basic rights such as housing. Here, I argue that the CLT H-buurt is actively struggling against the financialised housing system by practising the decommodification of housing in the financialised housing system of Amsterdam, albeit on a minor scale. The CLT does this by aiming to subtract land from the market and develop housing without a profit incentive. The idea of the right to the city is that people who are dissatisfied with the status quo take action to work towards a system that works for them. The community of the H-buurt is doing this according to their means. Regardless of what the future impact of their efforts might be, they are doing everything they can to have a positive impact on their community. Regarding the future, large-scale developments are planned in the area and securing a plot has proved to be

challenging so far. The possibilities of acquiring more land that the CLT initially needs are difficult to assess, as the area might find itself in a gentrification process that has advanced too far to acquire more land.

6. Discussion

This research aims to explore the potential application of community land trusts in the Netherlands and their impact on gentrification processes. The following research questions are formulated to fulfil this aim: *1) What are the successes and challenges of CLTs? 2) What is the influence of the local context of the H-buurt on the successes and challenges of the CLT?* These questions were answered by conducting case study research regarding the CLT H-buurt in Amsterdam, where interviews were carried out with prominent people in this CLT. In addition to this, scientific literature was consulted and expert interviews were conducted with professionals in the field of CLTs worldwide.

6.1 Results and the framework

The framework chosen to analyse these results was proposed in the theoretical framework chapter. The framework consists of 2 components both aimed at identifying the role of urban commons in European cities. The first part regards the relationships that an urban common has with its surrounding environment and local institutions. The second component focuses on the function of the urban commons based on its situation within space and society. In this discussion, the main results will be analysed through this framework to assess the role and impact of the CLT H-buurt.

6.1.1 The impact

The results of this research were presented according to the following themes: emergence, internal governance, governance challenges and the potential impact on communities. The most important part of the results section has to do with the results of the potential impact of CLTs on communities. The study established that the greatest impact would be experienced by individuals who secure residency in CLT housing, as their displacement pressure would be relieved, and they would benefit from perpetual affordability. However, the impact on other individuals remains rather limited as the system in which the CLT operates remains. Other forms of impact highly depend on the specific characteristics of the CLT, and also on the system in which the CLT is situated. For the CLT H-buurt, the greatest impact would also be made for CLT residents, and other forms of impact are limited. However, the board is realistic regarding its expectations. In the long term, the board is ambitious and wants to make a difference for the community, both by providing houses and community amenities. However, they realise that their impact might be limited and that they will not be able to help everyone. Moreover, they state that they will not be able to provide homes for everyone in the community that applies for one. These individuals would be left with their displacement pressure, even though a CLT is present in their community. An important part of the impact is the effort to set up community infrastructure containing necessary amenities for community members. This infrastructure could provide this group that is left out with some form of stability.

6.1.2 The CLT as an urban common in the framework

The results reveal that the community attempts to appropriate the use of space in this specific part of the H-buurt can be regarded as an urban common. Moreover, the CLT strokes with most of the design principles as proposed by Ostrom (1990). Therefore it is a logical step to look at how this common is situated within the framework by Caciagli & Milan (2021). The first step herein is looking into the emergence of the CLT as a common. The emergence is then situated somewhere along the spectrum visualised on the X-axis, ranging from an urban common opening up to the community, to the community creating a common on its own.

The active position of the community in combination with the fact that the CLT was no pre-existing common that could be opened up to the community but has to be created, situates this common on the right side of the X-axis. Regarding the Y-axis, analysis indicates a bottom-up process in which the local community leads. The community approached the municipality with the idea of creating a CLT. This initiative was then embraced by the municipality through the testing ground, but the community remains the actor that created the urban common. Thus, this regards bottom-up activities, through which the CLT is located on the bottom part of the Y-axis. Combining both axes, leads to an urban common configuration in which the community has created the common and the relationships with the institutions are bottom up. In the remainder of this section, I will analyse the other key results of this research through this framework to explore whether this configuration can be confirmed.

Regarding the emergency of the CLT, it was established that the main characteristic of the model is its broad deployability. However, the interviews also show that a strong communal base within a context of impending gentrification often functions as a starting point for CLTs. It can be said that a strong community is a condition for the emergence of a CLT, after which the broad deployability of the model comes into play. In the results section, it became clear that the community of the H-buurt constitutes such a strong community. It is organised, members are actively supporting the community, show initiative and members even follow trainings to improve the community. This community forms the basis for the CLT This further supports the CLT's position on the right side of the X-Axis, indicating the creation of a commons by the community. The community-based creation of the CLT further confirms the position of these commons on the bottom part of the Y-axis, which indicates a bottom-up process of emergence.

Regarding the theme of internal governance, the results showed a large degree of variation that applies to the CLT model. This variation was used in the case of the CLT H-buurt as its position as the first CLT in the Netherlands required it to have a unique form. This shows from the unique configuration of the board as well as from the nesting of the woon-coop within the broad neighbourhood organisation. This unique form of governance is of use in the CLT's cooperation with the municipality of Amsterdam because the broad neighbourhood organisation is part of the testing ground as they do not only focus on housing, and the woon-coop is nested within the broader organisation. In this specific result, the relationship with the municipality is important for the CLT H-buurt. The municipality in this case legitimised the CLT as an urban common by incorporating it into the testing ground, which can be seen as a top-down process regarding the emergence of the CLT. However, the community first had to organise themselves and approach the municipality, so the order of these events confirms the bottom-up process regarding the relationship indicated on the Y-axis. Therefore, the previously stated configuration of the CLT as an urban common remains unchanged.

The results also explored the governance challenges of CLTs and explored the dependence of CLTs on governments for access to land and funding. This makes CLTs depend on the political vision that the local government has of CLTs and the decommodification of housing that it consists of. In the case of Amsterdam, the CLT is legitimised through a testing ground and a good relationship exists between the CLT and the municipality has resulted in an increase in funding and independent support. However, the CLT is not better positioned within the municipality as a partner in the development of the H-buurt, despite this being one of the goals of the testing ground. As a result of this persistent marginalised position, the acquisition of land and funding remain a challenge in the long term. Because this result goes into the exact configuration of power and priorities within the testing ground, it does not affect the position of the CLT as an urban common within the first part of the analytical framework.

Thus, the configuration of the CLT H-buurt as a commons is characterised by the strong position of the local community. The results show that this common was created by the local

community and that the relationship with institutions is characterised as a bottom-up process. The used analytical framework goes beyond the configuration of relationships of commons, and also offers the possibility of determining the impact of the commons on its urban environment. In the case of the CLT H-buurt, it is difficult to determine whether the impact lies in 'resilience' or in 'resistance and transformation', as these two forms of impact are similar. I argue that the impact is best described as 'resilience' with the possibility of turning into 'resistance and transformation'. Currently, the CLT as a commons aims to provide basic amenities for a certain group which the state fails to provide, namely: affordable housing and community infrastructure. According to the analytical framework, providing a basic right that the state fails to provide, is in line with the resilient impact. Furthermore, this impact is characterised by the articulation of forms of resistance against the commodification of urban life. It could be argued that this resistance is articulated in the form of starting a CLT. The community views this as a movement that counters the financialised character of the developments around it. However, this form of impact is not characterised by the challenging of the status quo regarding resource allocation, nor does it question the contemporary model of urban development which, according to the analytical framework, should be the case in a resilience impact. The challenge of resource allocation and the questioning of contemporary urban development does not completely match the situation of the H-buurt. In fact, the allocation of resources is somewhat challenged. The incorporation of the CLT into the testing ground by the municipality ensures that more funding goes to the CLT H-buurt. Furthermore, one could argue that the contemporary model of urban development is also challenged as an alternative is offered in which other values than financial ones are prioritised. In order for the impact of a commons to be characterised as 'resistance and transformation', it should function as a bulwark against gentrification. In this case, the CLT is not fully operational and such a statement cannot yet be made. However, another important element regarding this impact is that a commons should offer an alternative model to urban development which is centred around socialisation. Such an alternative comes from a vision of urban development based on communal needs. This latter form of impact is something that is not actively sought, but rather a principle that arises through the presence and non-profit activities of such a commons. An alternative form of development centred around socialisation is offered by the CLT in the form of development centred around the needs of the community. Not just in the form of housing, but also through the CLT's efforts in offering a community infrastructure. Thus, on the one hand, the impact of 'resistance and transformation' is achieved through the offering of an alternative form of development. On the other hand, it cannot yet be stated that the urban common functions as a bulwark against gentrification. Therefore, the impact of this CLT is only partly in line with the impact of 'resistance and transformation'.

Thus, the results show that the impact of the CLT H-buurt as a commons cannot be classified as either 'resilience' or 'resistance and transformation' within the framework of Caciagli and Milan (2021). Rather, the impact of this common partly consists of 'resilience' and partly of 'resistance and transformation'. Thus, the impact of this CLT is twofold, but could also change over time. Future events can change the course of the CLT and thus the impact it has as a common.

6.2 Limitations

Any research has its limitations, and so does this dissertation. The main limitation of this study is its inability to discuss the definitive impact of the CLT as it is not yet operational. Therefore, the study remains limited to discussing the process towards the creation of housing. This limitation results from the chosen case and was known before the start of the research.

Therefore, this limitation is not unexpected, but it would be valuable to create a more comprehensive picture of the CLT when it is fully implemented.

A limitation that was not foreseen is the relatively low number of interviews that were conducted. It proved to be challenging to make appointments with those directly involved in the case study. This is highly understandable as giving interviews is the last priority for them at this stage. Furthermore, according to some of the respondents, they had numerous interview requests per week. Therefore, the CLT H-buurt agreed with ATP that only one interview would be given per student. This decision was made after they agreed to several interviews, and it thus came as a surprise. An exception was made for this research which was highly appreciated, but still, more than a few interviews with these parties could not be conducted. Also on the side of the municipality, more interviews would have strengthened the research. However, as the testing ground is an experimental project, not many professionals are focused on it.

6.3 Recommendations

6.3.1 Application

After all the results and their implications are presented, it is important to go into how this research can be applied in the presented case. An important application of this research lies within the relationship between the CLT H-buurt and the municipality. It was shown that municipal employees within the project team use personal prioritisation to a certain level. By this, I mean that the involvement of organisations within the testing ground, such as the CLT, do not get the same priority as more established goals such as staying within budget and schedule. This happens simply because some of these employees regard the goals related to the testing ground as 'new' and they are used to working according to the more established goals. This result should be used by the municipality to be more uniform in their treatment. Hierarchy within the municipality should be used for this and if the problem remains, it can even be taken up to the political level.

A recommendation for application for the CLT lies in the involvement of experts, specifically, in the leading role that experts from ATP have. The board members and other key people within the CLT should get more comfortable in dealing with the municipality and other professional actors to be more sustainable. ATP declares that they do not want to be this involved in the future, and their absence should not leave a large gap in the relationship with the municipality.

6.3.2. Future research

The first recommendation for future research is closely linked to the main limitation of this study. The need for future research lies within the current state of the CLT. The CLT is currently not fully operational which limits this study to a certain extent. Future research could be more detailed and definitive on the impact of the CLT. Thus, the first recommendation is to do research into the impact of the first CLT in the Netherlands when it has been operational for several years in order to make more definitive statements.

Further research should also aim to go deeper into the institutionalisation of CLTs. In this research, no respondent gave the impression that their organisations were given the same priority as other housing providers. This is also the case in Amsterdam, where the way that the municipality handles the CLT eventually comes down to the personal vision of the testing ground that some professionals have. CLTs would therefore benefit from a more institutionalised approach. However, this approach is mostly not taken, and the model is treated in a way that is best described as experimental, especially in the case used in this

research. Therefore, future research should look at the form that an institutionalised approach regarding CLTs could have.

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Appendix

Topic list interviews CLT H-Buurt

Respondents

- **Initiator and board member (respondent 8)**
- **Community representative and board member (respondent 9)**

Emergence of the CLT

- When was the idea of a community land trust first raised in the community of the H-buurt?
- how did the presence of the Maranatha Community Transformation Centre influence the emergence?
- What was the attitude of the municipality towards your initiative?

The communal struggle

- From what I have read about the CLT H-buurt there is a very close community, that deals with challenges such as housing and a lack of community infrastructure. How did this community become so close?
- Does the community experience a process of gentrification?
- I was told about the struggle against the process of gentrification by (…), how does the community experience this?
- What are the perspectives of people regarding housing? Does the community depend on a successful outcome of the CLT?
- What is the motivation of people to be this involved in the community?

Governance of the CLT

- How would you describe the current relationship with the municipality
- What have been the main challenges in setting up the CLT so far?
- What challenges do you see in the future?
- How do you plan to overcome these challenges?
- Could you explain the organisational structure of the actors involved in the CLT?

Impact

- Incorporated through other questions

Topic list interview And The People

Respondent

- **Supporting expert (respondent 7)**

Emergence

- Why is the H-buurt suitable for this project?

Governance

- How would you describe the involvement of ATP?
- How would you describe the interaction with the municipality?
- How are the different actors organised?
- How is the community involved in the urban development of the H-buurt by the municipality?
- Could you explain the structure of finance of the CLT? How is this arranged long-term?

Impact

- Incorporated though other questions

Topic list interviews municipality of Amsterdam

Respondents

- **Employee involved in the testing ground 'buurtplatformrecht' (respondent 10)**
- **Neighbourhood contact ('gebiedsmakelaar') (respondent 11)**

Testing ground

- Why is the CLT H-buurt chosen for the testing ground?
- How does the CLT compare to other initiatives
- How does the testing ground relate to other development goals?

Relationship with the CLT

- How is the relationship with the municipality arranged?
- How would you describe the attitude of the municipality towards the CLT?
- What steps should be taken to overcome the challenges herein?
- How dependent is the CLT on the municipality?
- What is the value of the CLT for the city of Amsterdam?
- How does the CLT fit in the masterplan 'Zuidoost'?

Impact

- What is the value of the CLT for the area?
- How can an impact be made besides the creation of housing?

Topic list interview European CLT Network

Respondent

- **Head of project (respondent 6)**

SHICC

- The goal of the project was to make CLTs a mainstream option for housing supply. Was the expectation of the project to reach this goal by 2021?
- How much closer did this goal become through the SHICC project?
- Would you say this goal was achieved?
- On which criteria were the partners chosen for the SHICC project?

Development of CLTs in Europe

- What are essential steps the EU could still take to ensure a widespread development of CLTs across NWE?
- How important is European guidance in CLT development?

CLT Network

- What is the current state of the CLT Network?
- How certain is it that the network will exist in the future?
- If it takes too long for the Network to be operational, do you think the housing problems in certain cities might progress to a degree where the network cannot make the impact that it could make today?

Topic list interviews experts

Respondents

- **Scholar (respondent 1) –**　　　　　　**Caño Martin Peña CLT**
- **Scholar (respondent 2) –**　　　　　　**Burlington Associates in Community Development**
- **Coordinator (respondent 4) –**　　　　**CLT Brussels**
- **Community manager (respondent 5) –**　**London CLT**
- **Chief Executive (respondent 3) –**　　 **Walterton and Elgin Community Homes**

CLTs in general

- How would you describe CLTs?

Governance in general and in specific cases

- How would you describe the organisational structure?
- What can you tell about the development of CLTs across the USA/Europe/the UK?
- What makes for a successful CLT?
- Which different configurations can be adapted?
- How do these configurations suit with certain goals?
- How is the success influenced by politics?
- What are the weaknesses of the model?
- Are there risks in the tripartite governance?
- How is the allocation policy arranged?
- What happens in cases of financial issues on the side of residents?

Specific cases of the respondents

- What was the reason for the emergence of the CLT?
- What were the important factors in the emergence?
- How was the project initiated?
- How would you describe the area in which your CLT is based?
- How severe is the gentrification process in your area?
- What were the challenges herein?
- Do these challenges still arise?
- Is there competition with private sector actors?
- How is the relationship with the local governments arrange
- How does governance affect the CLT?
- How is funding ensured?
- How important is the community in the project?
- How is the community motivated?
- How can you become sustainable in the future?
- What is the impact that the CLT has made?/ What will be the impact?