

# Resident-Owned Housing: A New Path to Affordable Communities in a Post-Labor Economy

### **Introduction: Neighbors to Owners**

A resident of a mobile home park cooperative in Washington adjusts a sign celebrating their community's new resident ownership. In early 2023, residents of a mobile home park outside Seattle learned their landowner planned to sell the property. Gadiel Galvez, a 22-year-old resident, and his neighbors feared their predominantly Latino community would be **bulldozed** for yet another warehouse <sup>1</sup>. Rather than wait for eviction, they organized. With help from a nonprofit, the residents formed a cooperative and **purchased their park for \$5.25 million** <sup>2</sup> – outbidding corporate investors and securing their homes. "Everybody thought, 'You know what? I'm going to make this place the best that I can,'" Galvez recalls, describing how once-neglected trailers were soon painted and repaired by proud new owners <sup>3</sup>. This quiet revolution in Lakewood, Washington is just one example of a growing movement: **resident-owned housing models** that treat homes not as extractive investments, but as foundations for community stability and shared prosperity.

Across the United States and beyond, communities are responding to the intertwined crises of housing affordability and economic precarity by taking collective ownership of land and housing. From manufactured home parks in rural America to historic apartment blocks in Berlin, ordinary people are banding together to **buy out landlords, co-own their homes, and keep housing permanently affordable**. These initiatives – including resident-owned communities (ROCs), housing cooperatives, community land trusts, and other shared-equity arrangements – offer a **radical alternative to the traditional real estate investment trust (REIT)**. Rather than funneling rents and profits to distant investors, they keep wealth local and give power back to residents. In the context of a "post-labor" economy where secure lifelong employment is no longer the norm, such models provide a **new pathway to economic stability and agency** for working families. This narrative report explores how these REIT-like resident-owned housing structures function, highlights contemporary examples across the U.S., U.K., EU, and Australia, and examines their impact on communities in comparison to conventional real estate ownership.

## Housing, Labor, and the Need for New Models

Housing affordability has become a defining challenge of our time. In city after city, wages have not kept pace with soaring rents and home prices, leaving millions of people cost-burdened or displaced. Meanwhile, global capital treats housing as a commodity: homes are bought and sold by investors (including REITs and private equity firms) seeking high returns, often with little regard for local residents. The result is a widening gap between **housing as a human need and housing as a financial asset** 4. At the same time, the nature of work and income is changing. In this "**post-labor**" **era**, secure middle-class jobs that once enabled families to buy homes are increasingly scarce. The gig economy, automation, and precarious employment mean fewer people can count on stable wages or employer benefits. Traditional

homeownership – with its hefty mortgage and down payment requirements – remains out of reach for many, especially younger and lower-income households.

This confluence of trends has spurred interest in *alternative economic models* that decouple well-being from formal employment. If one's job can no longer guarantee security, could community ownership of assets like housing fill the gap? **Resident-owned housing models present one compelling answer**. By **locking in affordability and giving residents a stake** in the equity and governance of their homes, these models aim to provide long-term stability regardless of labor market flux. Families in cooperatives or community land trusts often enjoy lower housing costs (one U.S. survey found community land trust homeowners had **monthly payments about \$50 lower** on average than conventional homeowners (5) and protection from eviction, even if their incomes are modest or irregular. Equally important, they gain a measure of **economic agency**: as co-owners and decision-makers, they collectively control an asset that would otherwise control them. In the sections that follow, we delve into the major forms of resident-owned and shared-equity housing, illustrating how each works financially and legally, and how together they point toward a new paradigm of **locally grounded**, **post-labor economics**.

### **What Are Resident-Owned Housing Models?**

At their core, resident-owned housing models are approaches that **put the people who live in a community in charge of owning and managing it**. In a traditional Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT) or investor-owned property, the flow of power and profit is top-down: investors finance the housing and expect financial returns, while tenants pay rent and have little say. Resident-owned models invert this arrangement. They often involve **collective ownership structures – cooperatives, trusts, mutually owned companies – where residents hold shares or memberships** that entitle them to occupancy and a voice in governance. The "REIT-like" aspect of some models refers to their pooled investment structure (many individuals owning shares in a portfolio of properties), but critically, **the shareholders are local residents or community members**, not faceless investors. Instead of maximizing profit, the primary goals are affordability, security, and community control.

Key features distinguish resident-owned models from conventional ones:

- **Democratic Governance:** Each household or member typically has an equal vote in major decisions, regardless of the size of their unit or investment. This one-member-one-vote principle (akin to a cooperative or nonprofit) contrasts with corporate structures where votes correspond to shares owned. It ensures that *people* matter more than capital. For example, in a resident-owned community cooperative, homeowners elect a board of directors from among themselves to manage the property 6.
- Limited Profit and Affordability Locks: Many models employ share price or resale restrictions so that housing remains affordable over time. Rather than treating a home as a speculative asset to flip at market price, these communities often cap appreciation. In one model, when a member leaves and "sells" their stake, they receive only a modest return (for instance, tied to the Consumer Price Index) plus credit for any improvements <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup>. This **shared-equity approach** means outgoing residents recoup some wealth, but the home's price stays relatively low for the next family. The emphasis is on housing's *use value* providing shelter and stability rather than its exchange value on the market <sup>9</sup>.

- Shared Financial Responsibility: Residents collectively finance and maintain the property, whether through monthly co-op fees, "site rents" paid to their own cooperative, or group mortgages. By pooling resources, they can access financing that individuals might not obtain alone. For instance, in the Lakewood mobile home cooperative, the new resident-owners pay monthly lot fees not to an outside landlord but into their cooperative, which uses the income to service the purchase loan and maintain the park 10. This collective repayment structure transforms rent into an investment in one's own community.
- Permanent Removal from Speculative Market: A defining objective of many resident-owned models is to remove properties from the speculative real estate market altogether, effectively treating land and housing as a kind of commons. Whether through the deed riders of a community land trust or the bylaws of a cooperative, these properties carry covenants that prevent outright sale or conversion back to for-profit status. In Germany, the Mietshäuser Syndikat (Apartment House Syndicate) network, for example, uses a dual-ownership structure: each building is co-owned by the resident group and a central syndicate entity that holds a veto on any resale, ensuring the building can never be sold for private profit 11. The result is "de-commodified" housing: homes that exist to house people, not to enrich investors.

In the following sections, we explore several major categories of resident-owned and shared-equity housing, illustrating how these principles take shape in practice. We look at **resident-owned communities** (ROCs) in U.S. manufactured housing parks, **housing cooperatives** ranging from urban apartments in New York to co-ops in Zurich, **community land trusts** (CLTs) that split ownership of land and improvements to maintain affordability, **mutual and co-housing schemes** that blend communal living with shared equity, and **public or private initiatives** that support collective ownership. Through concrete case studies, we will see who created these models, how they operate legally and financially, and what outcomes they have achieved on the ground.

## Resident-Owned Communities (ROCs): When Tenants Buy the Land

One of the most dramatic and fast-growing examples of resident ownership is the transformation of investor-owned trailer parks into **Resident-Owned Communities** (**ROCs**). In the United States, roughly **22 million people live in manufactured homes**, which are among the nation's most important sources of unsubsidized affordable housing <sup>12</sup>. About 3 million of those households (around 8 million people) live in manufactured home parks – the often misnamed "mobile home parks" – where they typically own their home unit but **rent the plot of land underneath** <sup>12</sup>. This split-ownership model leaves residents uniquely vulnerable: they can be hit with steep lot rent increases or even lose their homes if the park owner sells the land for redevelopment <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup>. Moving a manufactured home is prohibitively expensive (a single-wide can cost \$3,000–\$9,000 to relocate, and double-wides far more) <sup>15</sup>, so residents are effectively captive to their landlord's policies.

**Resident-Owned Communities offer a way out of this trap**. A ROC is created when the homeowners in a park **band together to purchase the land** as a cooperative or nonprofit corporation, thereby becoming both **tenants and landlords** of their community. Instead of paying pad rent to an external landlord, each household pays a **site fee to their own cooperative**, which covers the mortgage, property taxes, insurance, and upkeep of the park <sup>16</sup>. Residents hold an equal share (membership) in the co-op and elect a board from among themselves to govern the community <sup>17</sup>. The legal structure is usually a **limited-equity cooperative**: the buy-in cost for residents is kept low (often a few hundred dollars for a co-op share) to

ensure everyone can participate <sup>18</sup>, and if they sell their home, the next owner also must join the co-op under the same terms. Crucially, the land title is owned collectively by the residents, which means **their homes can no longer be sold out from under them**. As one summary puts it, ROCs allow homeowners to "build home equity on secure, affordable land that they collectively own" <sup>16</sup>. Moreover, by owning land, manufactured homeowners become eligible for conventional mortgage loans (since their home is no longer on rented land) instead of high-interest chattel loans <sup>19</sup> – a key financial benefit.

The ROC movement has grown from a niche idea to a national network. As of 2019, there were approximately 1,000 resident-owned manufactured home communities across the U.S., about 2% of all parks <sup>20</sup>. That share may sound small, but it represents a significant shift for thousands of households. Nonprofit groups like ROC USA have been instrumental in scaling up this model. Launched in 2008 with backing from charitable and community development organizations, ROC USA provides training and specialized financing to help residents purchase their parks <sup>21</sup>. In just over a decade, ROC USA and its regional affiliates have assisted residents in **over 300 communities across 21 states**, helping about **22,000 homeowners** collectively buy their land <sup>22</sup>. Notably, none of the co-ops created with ROC USA's support have been foreclosed upon to date <sup>23</sup> – an indicator that these low-income communities, given the right support, can successfully manage multi-million-dollar assets.

Case Study: Saving a Community in Washington State. In Lakewood, WA, mentioned earlier, 63 families lived in a modest park when word spread in 2022 that the owner was considering selling to a developer. The residents, many of them Latinx and working-class, feared the buyer would raze the park for a warehouse – leaving them with nowhere to relocate their homes <sup>24</sup>. With assistance from the ROC USA network, the residents hurriedly formed *Bob's and Jamestown Homeowners Cooperative*. They scraped together a tiny membership fee from each household and secured a mix of loans and grants (including a major \$5.25 million loan arranged by ROC USA's affiliate) <sup>6</sup>. In September 2022, the co-op outbid investor interest and purchased the entire 62-home community <sup>25</sup>. Now, the co-op's elected resident board manages the park, and the lot rent residents pay each month goes back into their own community's mortgage and maintenance. They not only averted eviction – they have seen an outpouring of community pride. "Since becoming owners... residents have worked together to manage and maintain the park," the Associated Press reported, noting people immediately began beautifying their homes and common areas <sup>26</sup>. A once-vulnerable neighborhood now has a foundation of security beneath it.

The **benefits of ROCs** are already visible in comparisons with investor-owned parks. On average, resident-owned communities have far more stable lot rents. One analysis found that in ROCs, annual site fee increases averaged **under 1% (0.9% per year)**, compared to **over 7% yearly increases** in similar investor-owned parks <sup>27</sup>. Over decades, this difference means dramatically lower housing costs for co-op members, as well as protection from sudden spikes. Residents also gain **peace of mind** – they know their community will not be sold off, and improvements they make will directly benefit them in the long run. And whereas corporate park owners often defer maintenance to cut costs, resident co-ops can prioritize reinvestment in infrastructure (water lines, roads, etc.), since their goal is long-term habitability, not maximizing profit this quarter <sup>14</sup> <sup>28</sup>.

**Challenges remain for scaling ROCs up further.** Would-be resident buyers frequently face stiff competition from deep-pocketed investors who have discovered mobile home parks as lucrative assets. In recent years, private equity firms and REITs have poured into the manufactured housing sector, viewing

these parks as high-yield investments (due to steady rents and captive tenants) <sup>29</sup>. Residents organizing a co-op must **race against the clock** to meet a seller's price and timeline, often needing technical help and loans quickly. Laws can make a big difference: some states have enacted "opportunity to purchase" **legislation** requiring park owners to give residents notice and a chance to buy the property on the same terms as any other buyer <sup>30</sup>. In 2023, Maine and Connecticut became the latest states to adopt such laws, joining roughly half of U.S. states with similar provisions <sup>31</sup>. Even where laws exist, co-ops need access to capital. The purchases usually require 100% (or even 110%) financing, since low-income residents cannot contribute large equity upfront <sup>18</sup>. ROC USA addresses this by serving as a specialized **community development financial institution (CDFI)**, leveraging philanthropic funds and public grants to provide low-interest loans that make these deals viable <sup>32</sup>. As calls grow for preserving affordable housing and resisting predatory investors, ROCs are increasingly seen as a **powerful tool to secure "mass affordable homeownership" at scale** <sup>33</sup> – potentially benefitting millions of Americans who live in factory-built homes.

Resident-owned manufactured home communities demonstrate how a **collective ownership approach can transform one of the country's most vulnerable housing sectors**. By **turning tenants into cooperative owners**, ROCs keep housing affordable, avert community displacement, and give people a direct stake in their neighborhood's future. The next sections will broaden the lens to other forms of cooperative and shared-equity housing, from city apartments to international examples, but many of the themes echo what we see in ROCs: **self-determination, shared responsibility, and the reorientation of housing toward long-term community value** instead of short-term profit.

# Cooperative Housing: Collective Ownership in Urban and Rural Settings

Cooperative housing is one of the oldest and most widespread models of resident ownership, found in many forms across different countries. In a housing cooperative (or **housing co-op** for short), a group of people jointly owns or leases a residential property and each household has membership in the cooperative corporation, **entitling them to occupy a housing unit and participate in governance**. Unlike a condominium, where individuals own their units outright, co-op members typically do not own their individual apartment or house as separate real estate. Instead, the co-op owns the entire property, and members own shares (or hold a membership certificate) that give them the right to occupy a specific unit and vote on co-op matters. This collective structure can be used to provide affordable housing, foster intentional communities, or simply give residents more control than they would have as renters. Co-ops can be **market-rate or limited-equity**; the latter aligns with our focus on affordability, as it restricts resale values to keep costs low for future members.

#### Limited-Equity Co-ops and Tenant Takeovers (United States)

In the United States, housing cooperatives gained prominence in the mid-20th century through both private initiative and public sponsorship. One notable wave came via programs like New York's **Mitchell-Lama** in the 1950s-60s, which helped develop tens of thousands of co-op apartments for middle-income families with government-assisted financing, in exchange for limiting equity appreciation. Many of those co-ops later **privatized** (allowing sales at market value) after required periods, but a substantial number remain limited-equity to this day, anchoring affordability in otherwise expensive cities.

Another source of co-ops has been **tenant-led conversions** of existing rental buildings, often in response to neglectful landlords or gentrification pressures. Nowhere has this been more significant than Washington, D.C., which passed the Tenant Opportunity to Purchase Act (TOPA) in the late 1970s. TOPA gives renters the first right to purchase their building if the owner puts it up for sale 34. With technical assistance and financing from nonprofits and the city, many D.C. tenant groups have exercised this right to form limited-equity cooperatives rather than allow their buildings to be sold off to luxury developers 35 36 . As a result, Washington D.C. today boasts around 4,400 units of limited-equity co-op housing in 99 buildings spread across the city 37. Crucially, more than half of these co-ops are in low-income or rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods 37. They serve as islands of stability where longtime residents can remain in their community and new affordable units are preserved, even as surrounding rents skyrocket. Researchers note that these co-ops "represent a stable form of homeownership" in areas that might otherwise see displacement 37. Members build modest equity (since resale prices of co-op shares are capped, often increasing only with inflation or a small percent annually), but more importantly, they enjoy security and self-governance. A city task force on limited-equity co-ops in 2019 concluded that this model is an economic and social solution" to affordable housing crises, emphasizing how co-ops empower residents to" control their housing costs long-term 38.

The legal and financial structure of limited-equity co-ops in the U.S. usually involves: a nonprofit cooperative corporation owned by the residents; one vote per household on co-op matters; limited share prices (initial purchase price is low, and any future sale back to the co-op or to a new member is formula-based); and often, regulatory agreements if public funding was used. Share prices can be as low as \$500 or a few thousand dollars, making **entry costs far lower than a conventional down payment**. Monthly carrying charges (similar to rent or HOA fees) cover the co-op's mortgage (if any) and expenses. Because members aren't trying to maximize resale profit, they can set aside adequate reserves for maintenance rather than skimping on upkeep. The cooperative owns the building collectively, so if one member defaults on their payments, it's the co-op's responsibility to manage – a form of mutual aid that can actually result in *lower* foreclosure rates; indeed, studies have found limited-equity co-ops have extremely low foreclosure and turnover rates, as people tend to stay for the long term in these secure communities 22.

One example of a thriving limited-equity co-op is the **Ella Jo Baker Intentional Community Cooperative** in Washington D.C., named after a civil rights hero. In the early 2000s, tenants of an apartment building in the Columbia Heights neighborhood (facing gentrification after a new subway station opened) used TOPA to purchase their 15-unit building with help from a local nonprofit, Mi Casa, Inc. They formed a co-op, completed major renovations, and capped their housing costs. Twenty years later, those units are still affordable to low-income families, even as nearby condos sell for hundreds of thousands of dollars. Similar stories play out across D.C., New York, San Francisco, and other cities where co-ops have been a grassroots tool to **fight displacement and give renters ownership stakes**.

It should be noted that not all housing co-ops in the U.S. are limited-equity or oriented to low-income residents. There are also market-rate co-ops (especially in New York City's higher-end real estate market) where share prices can be in the millions and the cooperative structure is chosen more for legal or tax reasons than for affordability. But those operate much like condos in practice. Our focus is on the **social justice lineage of co-ops** – the ones that emphasize "limited equity" to retain affordability and democratic control. These co-ops, particularly when supported by public policy (like TOPA or city financing programs), straddle the line between public and private, offering a form of **community-owned housing stock** that remains in the hands of residents over generations.

#### **Cooperative Housing on a Larger Scale (Europe and Beyond)**

If the American story of housing co-ops is about sporadic oases of affordability, in parts of Europe cooperative housing is a **mainstream pillar of the housing system**. Countries like **Sweden**, **Norway**, **Denmark**, **Germany**, **and Switzerland** have long traditions of cooperative housing, some dating back to the late 19th century labor movement. While not all of these co-ops are "limited-equity" in the strict sense, they generally operate on a nonprofit basis and aim to provide moderate-cost housing with strong tenant involvement.

In **Sweden**, for example, about 22% of all dwellings are in housing co-ops (bostadsrättsföreningar), making it one of the primary forms of homeownership. Members buy a share in the co-op (often by paying a large share loan) which grants them the right to their apartment, and they can sell that right on the market. Historically, the prices were regulated, but since the 1990s Sweden's co-ops have moved toward market pricing – meaning they've lost some affordability, though they still function as collective entities managed by residents. **Norway's** borettslag (housing co-ops) are similarly common; nearly 15% of Norway's population lives in co-op housing. Norwegian co-ops often have rules to keep them **owner-occupied (no absentee landlords)** and limit profit-taking, and they receive favorable financing from the state's housing bank, ensuring broad affordability. These Scandinavian co-ops show that **collective ownership can occur at large scale** – but also illustrate the tension that if profit controls are loosened, co-ops can drift toward being simply another tenure form without special affordability benefits.

Germany and Switzerland have particularly interesting cooperative sectors. Germany has around 2,000 housing cooperatives (Wohnungsgenossenschaften) owning hundreds of thousands of housing units nationwide. Many were formed by workers' unions or non-religious "building societies" in the early 20th century to house working-class families. In the former East Germany, state-backed co-ops also provided a lot of housing (some of which persist today as co-ops). German co-op members typically pay a deposit (equity share) to join – often modest – and then pay a monthly cost rent. They don't gain equity profit when leaving (they get back their deposit plus maybe a small increment), which keeps the focus on housing-asservice. Co-ops in Germany enjoy tax benefits and access to bank financing, and are seen as stable providers of below-market rents. For instance, in 2018 tenants of a building in Berlin's Friedrichshain district learned their 30-unit apartment house was being sold to investors. In a scenario reminiscent of Washington D.C.'s TOPA, these German tenants organized and - with support from an ethical foundation and a social bank - bought the building themselves. They joined the Mietshäuser Syndikat network to permanently remove it from speculation, declaring proudly: "We are our own landlord... We have an interest in stable finances and reject the idea that living space should be used to maximize profits" 39 40. Their cooperative now operates the building with rents set just high enough to pay off the Triodos Bank loan, and any future changes (like rerenting a flat or making upgrades) are decided collectively 41 40. This is one of over **160** such projects across Germany in the Syndikat alliance 42, each unique but sharing the model of **common ownership and self-organization** to keep housing affordable for the long term.

In **Switzerland**, housing cooperatives (Wohnbaugenossenschaften) are a cornerstone of the rental housing market. Nationally, about **5% of the housing stock is cooperative** <sup>43</sup>, but in cities the share is much higher. **Zurich**, for example, has around 100 housing co-ops that together account for roughly **23% of all apartments in the city** <sup>44</sup>. The city government actively supports this: Zurich has policies to provide public land or favorable loans to co-ops, aiming to increase the cooperative housing share to 33% in coming years. These Swiss co-ops are typically **nonprofit associations where tenants are members** and the apartments are rented at cost (often 20-30% below market rents). Importantly, co-ops in Switzerland have a **culture of** 

**innovation and community** – some new projects incorporate features like on-site childcare, shared facilities, and eco-friendly design. A flagship example is the **"Mehr als Wohnen"** ("More Than Living") project in Zurich, a large cooperative development opened in 2015 with over 350 units of mixed-size housing plus community spaces and businesses. It was co-developed by a consortium of cooperatives and demonstrates how co-ops can achieve scale and architectural quality that rivals private developers, all while maintaining affordability and resident participation. The cooperative ethos is so strong in Zurich that even the city's mayor once quipped that living in a co-op is a **"lifestyle choice" embraced by the middle class as well, not just an emergency option for the poor**.

Other European countries also have vibrant cooperative or community-led housing scenes. **Denmark's andel co-ops** house a significant fraction of Copenhagen's population, operating on a share system where co-op boards can control resale prices (though deregulation led to some co-ops becoming expensive). **France** historically had few housing co-ops, but recent legal changes (the **Organisme de Foncier Solidaire** law of 2014, akin to a CLT framework) are spurring limited-equity homeownership and co-op hybrids in cities like Lille and Paris. **Italy** saw worker-cooperatives build affordable housing in the 1970s, some of which still exist. And in **Spain**, a fascinating development is the import of a cooperative model from Uruguay: in Barcelona and the Basque Country, groups have created "**cessió d'ús**" housing co-ops (cessions of use), where the co-op holds the building and members have a long-term use right – they cannot sell for profit, and when they leave, the co-op selects a new member. Barcelona's award-winning **La Borda** project, completed in 2018, is one such co-op, built on city-leased land and designed collectively by its resident-members, featuring shared facilities and significantly lower costs than market housing. It shows how **public support (land or financing) combined with cooperative structure** can result in permanently affordable urban housing even in a hot real estate market.

Residents of a Berlin apartment house that joined the Mietshäuser Syndikat, celebrating in their communal courtyard. By collectively purchasing their building and partnering with a cooperative network, they became "their own landlords," keeping rents affordable and under tenant control 39 40.

Across all these examples, from D.C. to Zurich to Berlin, cooperative housing **flips the script of ownership**. Residents are no longer passive renters; they are members of a democratic community that owns (or leases) their housing collectively. This provides not only affordability but a sense of **agency and belonging**. Co-op members often describe how living in a cooperative changes one's mindset: you take care of common areas as an owner, you participate in meetings to decide budgets or new rules, and you balance individual interests with the group's well-being. In a way, co-ops are a form of practicing everyday democracy and mutual aid, rooted in housing.

However, cooperatives also require ongoing education and good governance to succeed. They are not a panacea – some co-ops have struggled with mismanagement, insufficient reserves, or internal conflict. Outside support (from federation organizations, technical assistance providers, or government monitors) can help keep co-ops healthy. For instance, **Montreal, Canada** has a large network of housing co-ops and provides umbrella services for maintenance and accounting, recognizing that volunteer resident boards may need professional backup. Similarly, the U.S. **National Association of Housing Cooperatives** and local groups provide training to co-op boards. The **post-labor aspect** here is that cooperative members essentially take on roles that in a rental would be done (or not done) by profit-driven landlords. This is additional "labor" in a sense – attending meetings, doing minor repairs, etc. – but it's labor invested in one's own community rather than given to an employer or landlord. Many find that trade-off worthwhile, as it builds skills and solidarity while keeping housing costs down.

In summary, housing cooperatives in their many forms show a spectrum of possibility: from small limited-equity co-ops preserving a dozen affordable units in a gentrifying U.S. neighborhood, to citywide systems where co-ops house a quarter of the population. The most successful examples point to the importance of **supportive policy (like tenant purchase rights or public land leases)** and a strong **cooperative culture** that values long-term affordability over speculative gain. Co-ops embody the idea that "we are both tenants and owners", as the Berlin residents said – a powerful stance in an era when pure private ownership has left so many behind.

### **Community Land Trusts and Shared-Equity Homeownership**

Running parallel to cooperatives, and often overlapping with them, is the model of the **Community Land Trust (CLT)** and other shared-equity homeownership arrangements. Community land trusts add an extra dimension to the concept of resident/community ownership: they **split the ownership of land from the ownership of buildings**. In a typical CLT, a nonprofit trust (governed by community members) holds title to a parcel of land *permanently*, while individual residents own their homes or hold long-term leases to their housing units on that land. By doing so, the CLT can ensure that the land is **never sold off or speculated upon**, and it can impose conditions – like resale price caps or income eligibility requirements – on the use of that land to keep the housing affordable for generations. Effectively, the trust removes the land's market value from the equation, so homeowners only have to finance the cost of the house itself, making homeownership accessible at a much lower price point.

The CLT concept originated in the late 1960s in the United States as an outgrowth of the civil rights movement. The very first CLT, New Communities, Inc., was established in 1969 in Georgia by Black farmers and civil rights activists including Charles and Shirley Sherrod <sup>45</sup>. They acquired nearly 6,000 acres to create a land base for Black families, at a time when systemic racism kept many from owning land or homes. New Communities pioneered the idea of communal land ownership to empower a disenfranchised community – an explicitly political act to "continue the fight against … vestiges of Jim Crow" <sup>46</sup>. Although that initial project faced many challenges (including losing the land in the 1980s due to a drought and lack of refinancing options), it planted the seed for the modern CLT movement.

The model truly took off several decades later. By the 2000s, CLTs were being created in urban neighborhoods as a strategy to combat gentrification and provide affordable homeownership. They proved especially effective at bridging the gap between **renting and owning**. A CLT homebuyer purchases a house (often a single-family home or a condominium) at an **below-market price** because the land is not included – instead, they enter into a long-term (often 99-year) ground lease with the CLT for the land <sup>47</sup>. The ground lease spells out the rights and responsibilities: the homeowner can use the land and even bequeath their home to heirs, but if they choose to sell, the sale price is **restricted by a formula** to keep it affordable for the next buyer <sup>48</sup>. Typically, they might get back their down payment plus perhaps 25% of any increase in value (the exact formulas vary), while the CLT retains the remainder of the appreciation to pass on as a subsidy. In this way, the **subsidy is retained in the home** – it doesn't enrich the first owner who sells, but stays to help the next family afford the house <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup>. This is often called a "permanent affordability" or subsidy retention model, in contrast to subsidy recapture models like down-payment assistance that the owner pays back (in theory) upon resale.

Today, CLTs are a significant presence in the affordable housing landscape. In the U.S. alone, there are over **225 community land trusts** 51, ranging from big city trusts with hundreds of homes to small rural efforts. Many are members of national networks like Grounded Solutions or the National CLT Network. Studies have

shown CLTs have strong outcomes: one survey cited in 2022 found that CLT homeowners experienced better overall **housing stability and quality of life** compared to similar renters, and even compared to traditional homeowners of similar incomes <sup>5</sup>. They had the lowest housing costs of the three groups, paying on average \$50 less per month than market-rate owners (a testament to the reduced purchase price and often lower mortgage debt) <sup>52</sup>. CLT owners also reflected a broader inclusion of people of color and female-headed households, suggesting CLTs are serving populations often left out of homeownership <sup>53</sup>. Crucially, during the 2008 foreclosure crisis, CLTs dramatically outperformed the market in avoiding foreclosures – one national study found foreclosure rates in CLT homes were 10 times lower than conventional loans, because CLT providers often step in to assist homeowners in trouble and because the underwriting was more careful on affordable prices. This resilience has made CLTs attractive to policymakers looking for sustainable homeownership models.

Let's illustrate how a CLT works with an example. Consider the Champlain Housing Trust (CHT) in Burlington, Vermont - one of the largest and most emulated CLTs in the world. CHT was born in 1984 when Burlington's then-mayor (a certain Bernie Sanders) pushed for a portion of city housing funds to establish a land trust to keep housing affordable. Fast-forward to today, and CHT has over 600 owner-occupied homes and over 2,000 rental units on its land. A family looking to buy a CHT home might find a house appraised at \$300,000 on the open market, but through the CLT they can buy it for maybe \$180,000 because the land value (say \$120,000) is taken out. They secure a mortgage for the \$180k, and sign the ground lease with the Trust. Years later, if they decide to move, the resale formula might allow them to sell for, say, \$200,000 (not \$500,000 even if the market soared) – giving them some equity gain but keeping the price in reach for another moderate-income buyer. Over decades, CHT has thus preserved a stock of homes affordable to households earning around 50-80% of median income in an area that would otherwise be far pricier. Not only that, CHT provides stewardship: it offers homebuyer education, monitors the condition of homes, and steps in with foreclosure prevention counseling if needed. This active stewardship is a hallmark of CLTs, ensuring that both the physical asset and the families are supported longterm, unlike the often hands-off approach of typical lenders or governments after an affordable home is sold.

Case Study: Community Rebuilding in Liverpool. CLTs are not just an American phenomenon. In the U.K., the Granby Four Streets CLT in Liverpool provides a vivid story of residents harnessing a land trust to revive their neighborhood. Granby, a historically Black community, saw most of its homes boarded up and slated for demolition after decades of neglect. By 2011, only a handful of households remained on Cairns Street amid rows of empty, derelict terraces 54. In an act of defiance, a group of women still living there began planting flowers in abandoned lots and painting boarded houses in bright colors - doing anything to show that their neighborhood was not dead. They organized a street market that drew people from all over Liverpool to their once-forgotten block 55. Building on this momentum, the residents took an audacious step: they formed a community land trust with "no land, no money, just imagination," as organizer Hazel Tilley put it 56. At the time, CLTs were virtually unheard of in U.K. cities (they had only been legally recognized in 2008) 57). But the mere existence of the CLT gave the community a vehicle to acquire and hold property collectively. When the city council's latest regeneration scheme fell through, Granby's CLT sprang into action – pitching its own plan to rehabilitate the houses with a mix of self-help and partnership, and crucially, securing some seed funding from social investors and foundations who were inspired by their vision <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> . The breakthrough came when the council agreed to transfer 13 vacant houses to the CLT for £1 each 60 . The

CLT renovated 11 of them to create beautiful, affordable homes, sold or rented to local people with ties to the community, and pegged their resale values to local incomes (not the speculative market) <sup>61</sup>. Two badly fire-damaged houses were converted into a community-owned winter garden and meeting space <sup>62</sup>. The street market is now run by the CLT and has become a launchpad for local entrepreneurs <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup>. In 2015, the project gained international fame when the architects (Assemble Studio) working with Granby residents won the prestigious Turner Prize for their collaborative approach to rebuilding the neighborhood <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup>. The Granby CLT's success – **transforming a "shattered street" into a thriving community on its own terms** – has been called "one of the most remarkable stories in British urban history" <sup>67</sup>. More tangibly, it's seeded further CLTs in the U.K. and shown local governments that partnering with community land trusts can deliver results where top-down regeneration failed.

CLTs in the U.K. have since grown into a movement of their own. There are now over 300 community-led housing projects (including CLTs, co-ops, etc.) completed or in development across England and Wales. London's first CLT homes sold in 2017 in a redeveloped old hospital site (St. Clements in East London) – with one-bed flats going for £130,000 in a market where similar units cost triple that, the prices tied to median local incomes. The Mayor of London and some local councils have started to actively support CLTs by **offering public land at discounted rates** and seed funding <sup>68</sup> <sup>58</sup>. Meanwhile, the concept has spread to continental Europe: the **Brussels CLT** in Belgium was the first on the European continent, delivering its first 9 homes in 2015 and now expanding to over 100 homes across several projects <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup>. Brussels' CLT explicitly targets working-class and immigrant families and has adapted the model to multi-unit buildings in a dense city. In 2021, the city of Amsterdam in the Netherlands also agreed to pilot a CLT, and there are projects in France (where they're called Organismes de Foncier Solidaire) and Germany considering it.

Back in the U.S., CLTs are diversifying. Some are focused on single-family homes; others, like the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston, have even built parks, urban farms, and commercial spaces on CLT land to prevent displacement of local businesses and community institutions. In Houston, Texas – a city known for sprawl and lack of zoning – the local government recently created a CLT program to take vacant lots and build affordable homes, selling the houses but retaining land ownership to keep them affordable in perpetuity. This model is being used to aid flood victims in Houston, marrying climate resilience with housing affordability.

It's worth mentioning **shared-equity homeownership** more broadly as an umbrella that includes CLTs but also other mechanisms. For instance, some nonprofit housing developers sell homes with **deed restrictions** that limit the price (much like a CLT ground lease would) without a separate land trust entity. Others use **silent second mortgages** (subsidies that don't require payment unless the home is sold for a profit) to ensure affordability. And in the U.K., the term "shared ownership" refers to yet another model: people buy a portion (say 25-75%) of a home's equity and pay rent on the remainder to a housing association, with the option to "staircase" up to full ownership. Shared ownership has helped many households onto the property ladder, though it has its criticisms (complex leases, rent increases, etc.), and it doesn't involve collective ownership. By contrast, the models we focus on *do* emphasize collective or community ownership of at least the land if not the structure.

The **common thread** in CLTs and shared-equity models is the idea of balancing individual asset building with **community stewardship of affordability**. Owners get stability, a stake, and often some equity growth, but they agree to forego windfall gains for the sake of future buyers. In a way, it's a social contract:

each generation of owners benefits from the prior generation's affordability commitment and in turn pays it forward. This is a fundamentally different approach than the traditional market where one tries to maximize personal gain from housing. In a post-labor economic framing, CLTs and shared equity housing allow people to achieve a degree of economic security (through stable housing costs and modest wealth accumulation) without requiring a high or rapidly rising income. The community collectively "earns" the appreciation rather than the individual, slowing down wealth accumulation at the household level but broadening access to ownership across households. For many, the trade-off is worth it to obtain an affordable home they might otherwise never afford.

Of course, scaling these models up remains a challenge largely of **capital and policy**. CLTs need initial subsidies – whether it's donated land or grants – to make that first sale affordable. They then preserve that subsidy forever, which is efficient, but it means *someone* must invest the funds or land at the start. There is growing interest in using public funds (housing trust funds, inclusionary zoning contributions, etc.) to seed CLTs precisely because it's a one-time subsidy that serves family after family. For instance, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in 2022 created a \$85 million grant program specifically for shared equity housing like CLTs and co-ops, marking the first time federal funds could directly capitalize these models. Private philanthropy, too, has been stepping up: community foundations in places like Durham, North Carolina and the Bay Area have put millions into acquiring land for CLTs to address racial wealth gaps. These are hopeful signs that the model is hitting the mainstream as a policy option.

# Mutual and Municipal Models: Public-Backed and Hybrid Approaches

While co-ops and CLTs often emerge from grassroots or nonprofit efforts, there are instances where **governments or public entities have taken a direct role in fostering collective ownership**. These hybrid models demonstrate how state support can amplify the impact of resident-owned housing – or create new models altogether that blend public and resident control.

#### **Municipal Limited-Equity and Rental Co-ops**

Perhaps the most famous example of large-scale, publicly-backed collective housing is **Vienna, Austria's social housing system**. Though not structured as resident-owned in the way of co-ops or CLTs, Vienna's model deserves mention for context. The city directly owns and manages about 25% of housing (council housing), and an additional ~20% is owned by limited-profit housing associations – many of which are **housing cooperatives or community companies regulated by law to reinvest all profits**. These limited-profit housing providers (under Austria's Non-Profit Housing Act) receive favorable public loans and subsidies to build housing, and in return must keep rents low and capped by cost. Tenants often have strong protections and sometimes representation on advisory boards, though not one-member-one-vote as in a true co-op. The outcome is a city where **over 50% of residents live in housing free from market pressures**, with rents roughly 20-30% below private market levels, and a mix of income groups all accessing high-quality apartments. Vienna demonstrates that *de-commodified housing on a massive scale* is possible with sustained public investment and regulation – effectively treating housing as infrastructure. While residents don't "own" the units, they do collectively benefit from the appreciating land values in the city (since those gains are kept in the city or nonprofit sector, not extracted by investors). Vienna's success in maintaining affordability and livability is often cited by housing reformers worldwide 71 (12)

In **England**, a different twist occurred with **tenant-led housing associations**. One example we encountered is Walterton & Elgin Community Homes (WECH) in London. In the late 1980s, tenants in two West London public housing estates learned the local government planned to sell their homes to a private developer. The tenants fought back, organizing and invoking a new "Tenants' Choice" law that allowed them to vote for a different landlord. In a remarkable campaign, they voted to form their own housing association, wresting control away from both the council and any private buyer 73. WECH was established in 1992 as a resident-controlled housing association and community land trust, owning around 600 homes. Every adult resident is a member of the association, and the board is majority residents. Rents are kept at social housing levels (affordable to people on lower incomes) and the homes will never be sold on the open market. Decades on, WECH is held up as a model of successful self-management and community governance in public housing 74. The estate, once troubled, has high tenant satisfaction and even built some new infill homes on its land. WECH's story shows that with enabling legislation and determination, public housing tenants can convert their housing into community-owned assets. It's similar in spirit to co-ops, though legally structured as a community benefit society (a type of nonprofit). The U.K. has also seen smaller "stock transfer" co-operatives where council housing was transferred to residentowned co-ops (particularly in the 1990s), and more recently "Community Gateway" associations which involve tenants in governance to a high degree.

Another municipally supported model is the Mutual Home Ownership Society (MHOS) concept in the U.K., championed by thinkers at the New Economics Foundation. This is essentially a collective equity model: instead of each household taking out individual mortgages, the group (society) takes a single mortgage to build or buy homes, and each member's monthly payment buys them equity shares in the society. The innovation is that the value of shares is linked to local wages, not the open housing market 75. So if a member leaves, the amount they get for their shares depends on wage inflation, ensuring the home remains affordable to someone with a similar real income. The pioneering project using this model is **LILAC** (Low Impact Living Affordable Community) in Leeds, England. LILAC combined the MHOS financing model with a co-housing lifestyle. Completed in 2013, it consists of 20 eco-friendly homes built of straw-bale and timber, plus shared gardens and a common house. Residents' contributions vary with their income (to ensure fairness) - higher earners buy more equity shares per month - but everyone's equity grows at the same modest rate. This way, "housing is seen in functional terms, not as an investment," explains a founder; the focus is on cost and use value, not speculation 76 77. LILAC's homes remain permanently affordable to people on median incomes in Leeds, and the community has full self-governance. While LILAC was the first of its kind, the model is gaining attention. A second MHOS project called Marmalade Lane (Cambridge's first co-housing community) considered a similar scheme, and others in London are exploring it. The challenge is that banks are less familiar with this form, so getting financing took perseverance – LILAC ended up with a "corporate mortgage" on the whole site (78) (79). But now that it's proven, there is hope more mutual home ownership societies will follow, offering a pathway for people who can't afford full ownership to still build equity and community.

LILAC cooperative housing in Leeds, U.K., exemplifies a Mutual Home Ownership Society. Residents collectively financed these eco-friendly homes and pay based on income, earning equity shares pegged to local wages rather than market prices [9]. This ensures permanent affordability while giving members a stake in the community.

Australia is another place seeking innovative housing solutions and beginning to look toward these models. While Australia has not yet seen large-scale CLTs or co-ops in the way the U.S. or Europe have, interest is rising amid a severe housing affordability crisis in cities like Sydney and Melbourne. **Community land trusts** have been studied and piloted – for instance, a 2020s initiative in Sydney looked to create a CLT for

Network and the Housing Minister expressed support for CLTs as a new way to provide permanently affordable homes 80. There is also a history of housing co-operatives: Common Equity Housing Ltd (CEHL) in Victoria is a notable example, which acts as an umbrella for dozens of small co-ops (over 2,000 homes) where lower-income tenants manage their housing collectively with state support. Another private-sector innovation from Australia is Nightingale Housing, a social enterprise model in which apartments are developed and sold at-cost (eliminating developer profit and including cost-saving design). Nightingale units come with caveats – buyers must agree to owner-occupy and there's a resale process intended to keep them in the affordable range for subsequent purchasers 81 82. While Nightingale apartments are individually owned (not co-ops), the ethos is similar: homes built for people, not profit, with mechanisms to pass affordability to the next generation of residents 83. Nightingale has completed projects in Melbourne and is scaling up with support from impact investors 84, illustrating how the private sector can adapt principles of shared-equity (in this case, by front-loading the affordability in the initial sale and controlling resale gains).

In the public housing realm, **community empowerment is also making waves in Australia**. For instance, the state of Victoria has experimented with **housing co-design and co-management with tenants** in some renewal projects, and Indigenous communities have long practiced collective tenure on their lands (though colonial land law often clashes with those traditions). The intersection of Indigenous land rights and CLTs is an area of active exploration – for example, could CLTs support secure housing on Native title lands while respecting communal ownership? One pilot in Queensland with an Aboriginal community suggests yes, adapting the CLT to strengthen community control and individual security hand-in-hand (85).

Lastly, an interesting financial hybrid is emerging: community development real estate investment trusts (CD-REITs) or community investment trusts (CITs). These are vehicles that allow local residents to invest small amounts of money to collectively own properties in their neighborhood - a bit like a mini-REIT but with a social purpose and local base. A pioneering example is the East Portland Community Investment Trust in Oregon. There, a nonprofit helped residents of an underserved neighborhood purchase shares (from \$10 to \$100 a month) in a strip mall (commercial property) in their community 86. Over time, the resident-investors build equity and receive modest dividends from the property's rental income 87. The idea is to give low-income families a stake in rising real estate values that might otherwise lead to their displacement - essentially turning gentrification on its head by making them beneficiaries rather than victims. This CIT model has since been copied in Chicago and elsewhere for commercial assets. While not housing per se, one could envision a "community REIT" for housing where neighbors pool funds to buy apartment buildings, keeping them affordable while sharing in the ownership. In fact, the East Bay Permanent Real Estate Cooperative (EB PREC) in California is doing something along those lines: it's a multi-stakeholder cooperative that raises investment from community members (and larger impact investors) to acquire housing that will be cooperatively rented. EB PREC has different classes of members – including resident owners (who live in the co-op properties and gain equity via "rent" credits and vote on management) and community investors who accept a low financial return in exchange for the social return of stabilizing housing 88 89 . Patronage dividends are paid to resident members when possible, effectively sharing any surplus back with those who pay rent 88. This novel structure combines features of a REIT, a CLT, and a co-op, and is aimed at taking housing "off the speculative market for good" by placing it under community control 90. It's a truly **post-capitalist take on property**, requiring people to shift from a mindset of maximizing profit to one of collective gain and limited return - a challenging sell perhaps, but EB PREC's existence and growth show an appetite for ethical investing in one's own community.

All these variations – mutual ownership societies, community land trusts with government backing, community investment trusts – reveal a fertile field of experimentation. They often arise from the cracks of the failing mainstream market, pioneered by those in need or those with vision (or both). Governments play a catalytic role when they choose to, by **providing seed capital, favorable regulations, or simply legitimizing these alternative tenures.** Increasingly, as the conventional housing market leaves more and more people behind, these "alternative" models are being seen as necessary components of a **new housing ecosystem**.

# Comparing Resident-Owned Models to Traditional REITs and Landlords

It's illuminating to contrast these resident-owned and shared-equity housing models with the conventional vehicles of real estate investment – in particular, the ubiquitous REIT and its private-market counterparts. Traditional **Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs)** are financial entities that own income-producing real estate (apartments, shopping centers, etc.) and are required by law to distribute most of their income to shareholders. They exist purely to generate returns for investors. Tenants in REIT-owned properties typically have no more say in management than in any other corporate landlord situation, and the **sole measure of success for a REIT is its financial performance** (funds from operations, dividends per share, and stock price). While REITs can provide efficient capital for development and can be well-managed, they are fundamentally instruments of extracting value *from* communities (in the form of rent) to reward investors. In recent years, large REITs and private equity firms have even moved into single-family homes and manufactured home parks, accelerating trends of housing financialization.

By contrast, **resident-owned models invert the priorities**. Success is measured in terms of *affordability, stability, and community well-being*. If a ROC or co-op has a surplus, it might lower next year's rent increase or invest in better maintenance, rather than distribute profits (most such entities are nonprofit or not-for-profit by design). A side-by-side comparison highlights key differences:

- Ownership and Governance: In resident-owned housing, the tenants are the owners (or are members of the owning entity). Governance is democratic, with decisions made by those living there. In a REIT or investor-owned housing, ownership is in the hands of shareholders or private owners who may live far away and whose decisions prioritize investor interests. Residents have little to no voice.
- **Profit Distribution:** A REIT is obligated to return profits to shareholders (e.g., 90% of taxable income must be paid as dividends for U.S. REITs). A community land trust or limited-equity co-op **reinvests any "profit" into the property or mission**, and individual residents gain at most limited equity if they leave. Essentially, **REITs extract wealth; resident-owners recirculate wealth locally**. The wealth that does accumulate (like rising land values) benefits either the whole community (in a CLT) or stays in the nonprofit domain, instead of becoming someone's speculative windfall.
- Rent Levels and Affordability: Because their goal is maximizing returns, investor-owned properties will tend to charge the highest rents the market can bear, and aggressively raise rents over time (recall the 7% annual increase figure for investor-owned mobile home parks vs <1% in ROCs 27). In community-owned housing, affordability is a baked-in goal. Rents or carrying charges are set to cover costs, not to yield profit. Many co-ops and CLTs use income-based formulas or peg housing

**costs to median incomes**, ensuring residents aren't rent-burdened. Over decades, the difference in cost to a family is enormous – it can mean the difference between barely scraping by and actually saving money or pursuing other opportunities. For society, these lower costs can translate to less need for rent assistance or eviction prevention programs, as communities are self-stabilizing.

- Stability and Tenure: Residents in co-ops, CLTs, etc., generally enjoy much stronger security of tenure than those in investor-owned rentals. Evictions in co-ops are rare and typically only for serious cause, decided by one's peers on the board (who are often very reluctant to evict a neighbor except as a last resort). In a CLT homeownership, as long as the mortgage is paid, the family has a 99-year renewable lease on the land effectively inheritable and secure. In a REIT-owned apartment, if the rent outpaces your income or the owner decides to sell, you could be out. The community ownership models decouple your housing security from the whims of the market and increasingly from your employment stability a critical advantage in a post-labor economy of gig work and frequent job shifts.
- Economic Agency: Perhaps the most subtle difference is in the sense of agency and participation. In a resident-owned community, people gain direct experience in governance they vote on budgets, decide on capital improvements, set policies (like pet rules or energy upgrades), and approve new members or residents. They are stakeholders shaping their environment, not passive consumers of housing. This can build social capital and local leadership capacity. In contrast, traditional rental situations leave tenants feeling powerless; major decisions are made by landlords or distant corporate asset managers. The community's fate is at someone else's mercy. The empowerment that comes from collective ownership can have ripple effects: studies have found residents of co-ops and CLTs often engage more in civic life beyond their housing perhaps because they've seen that collective action works.
- Community Impact: Traditional real estate investment often views community as a backdrop, not a priority unless it affects value. A community REIT might tout how many units it owns, but not necessarily whether those units foster community interaction or support local businesses. Resident-owned models inherently embed the housing in the community. For example, CLTs often undertake community development projects beyond housing (like gardens, markets, community centers) because they are mission-driven to improve the neighborhood, not just the housing. Cooperatives can become support networks neighbors in a co-op might set up childcare swaps or elder care committees, something unlikely in a corporate rental where neighbors barely know each other. In essence, the housing is not an island it's part of a broader community fabric when residents have ownership. That can yield safer, more cohesive neighborhoods. Indeed, during the COVID-19 pandemic, some co-ops and CLTs mobilized mutual aid among residents (like grocery delivery for seniors) much more quickly than conventional properties, precisely because the structure for collective action was there.

None of this is to say that REITs or private rental models have zero community benefit. Some REITs specialize in affordable housing or senior housing and do maintain good practices (and certainly they bring capital to build needed housing). However, even a well-meaning REIT is constrained by its fiduciary duty to investors and the imperative of growth. It can't easily decide to take lower returns to keep rents affordable without facing shareholder backlash or market pressure. Resident-owned entities, being either cooperative, nonprofit, or otherwise mission-locked, **bake in a different set of incentives** – people over profits.

To put it succinctly, a resident-owned housing model treats housing **primarily as a home and a community**, whereas a REIT treats it as an **investment vehicle**. This difference in fundamental purpose leads to divergent outcomes in affordability and agency. Over decades, these differences compound: a neighborhood of REIT-owned housing will see wealth extracted and likely higher turnover of residents; a neighborhood of co-ops or CLTs will see wealth retained locally (perhaps in the form of better-maintained buildings or community funds) and a more rooted population. In post-labor economic terms, the latter is a form of **economic democratization** – giving people a direct share in productive assets (land and housing) so that even if their labor income is modest, they are not purely at the mercy of market rents or distant capital.

### **Community Impact and Outcomes**

Do these lofty ideals of resident ownership translate into measurable outcomes for families and communities? The evidence, while still emerging, largely says **yes** – though not without challenges. We've already touched on many specific outcomes: lower housing payments, higher stability, increased civic engagement, etc. Let's summarize a few key impacts:

- Affordability Maintained: By design, shared-equity models keep housing costs below market. Over time, the gap can widen. For instance, a study of one CLT showed that their homes remained affordable to essentially the same income level over multiple resales spanning 30 years, whereas if those homes had been market-sold, they would have long since priced out the original target group. Co-ops often have rents 10-20% below market for comparable units because they remove the profit margin. In Zurich, cooperative flats have rents roughly 25-30% lower than private rentals of similar size due to cost-based pricing and nonprofit operation <sup>91</sup>. This means families have more disposable income for other needs (or savings), improving overall economic security. At a macro level, if a substantial portion of housing is decommodified, it can even help cool the broader housing market, as seen in Vienna, by offering a permanent affordable sector that relieves demand pressure on the private sector.
- Stability and Reduced Displacement: Resident-owned housing acts as a bulwark against displacement. We saw how in D.C., 4,400 households are securely housed that might otherwise have been pushed out of the city. In Liverpool's Granby, local residents who would have been scattered by demolition instead stayed and led the renewal of their street. After hurricanes or disasters, CLT homeowners have had more support rebuilding (since the CLT organization can marshal resources) and fewer foreclosures. Neighborhoods with strong co-op or CLT presence often resist gentrification better not in the sense of stopping neighborhood improvement, but in preventing the involuntary exodus of lower-income residents. In New York's East Harlem, for example, several limited-equity co-ops formed in the 1980s still house the same families even as surrounding rents have tripled, allowing the maintenance of a stable cultural community (Latino in that case) that would otherwise have been eroded.
- Wealth Building but Broad-Based: Critics sometimes ask, doesn't limiting equity rob people of the chance to build wealth through homeownership? It's true that an individual in a CLT or limited-equity co-op will not get rich off their home. However, they will typically still accumulate some savings (forced savings from paying down mortgages or earning a small resale gain). More importantly, what they sacrifice in personal speculative gain is converted into collective wealth. The community or trust retains the appreciation to keep housing affordable. Think of it this way: rather than one

lucky family getting a \$200,000 windfall when selling an appreciated house, ten families can each get a \$20,000 affordable price reduction on their homes. Shared-equity housing socializes the wealth that accrues from property. It's a different wealth-building model – one aimed at **asset-building for communities and successive generations**, rather than maximum extraction for individuals. And because it helps people buy with smaller mortgages, those individuals often have less debt and more manageable finances. Many CLT homeowners still eventually move into market housing (if their incomes rise or family grows) and they often credit the CLT for giving them the stepping stone without drowning in debt.

- Community Health and Well-being: Housing stability and quality have profound effects on health, education, and social outcomes. Families in resident-owned housing are less likely to experience the toxic stress of eviction or overcrowding. Children who aren't forced to move schools due to housing instability generally do better academically. Senior citizens in co-ops can age in place in a supportive community rather than face the isolation or risk of being priced out. In one survey, community land trust homeowners reported significantly better overall quality of life and sense of security than similar renters 92. It stands to reason: when you know you won't be arbitrarily displaced and you have a say in your living conditions, mental and physical health indicators improve. Some CLTs explicitly track these metrics; for example, the Dudley Street CLT in Boston reduced vacant lots (which were havens for crime) and built gardens and homes, contributing to lower crime rates and higher community satisfaction in that area.
- Environmental and Long-Term Outlook: Because these models focus on long-term stewardship (who cares more about the 50-year condition of a building a REIT that might sell in 5 years, or a coop resident who wants to give it to their children?), they often incorporate sustainable practices. Coops and CLTs have been early adopters of green building, solar panels, community gardens, etc. LILAC in Leeds showcases eco-housing with its strawbale construction and communal laundry (to reduce each family's need for appliances) 93 94. In the U.S., some mobile home co-ops are exploring replacing older inefficient homes with high-performance manufactured homes, knowing the savings will accrue to members over decades. This stewardship mindset aligns well with environmental sustainability thinking in generations, not quarterly returns.

Of course, not every outcome is rosy. **Challenges** include: maintaining the financial viability of these models (co-ops can struggle if they underestimate maintenance costs, CLTs need constant fundraising to expand their portfolios, etc.), **scaling up to meet demand** (most CLTs have long waiting lists; co-ops receive far more applicants than openings), and **ensuring inclusion and good governance** (some co-ops might become insular or not adequately include renters of different backgrounds if not attentive). There are also cases where a co-op fails due to poor management or a CLT home faces owners who chafe at resale restrictions – it requires continuous education and support to keep everyone aligned on the mission.

Additionally, these models often rely on **initial subsidies or favorable policies** that can be hard to secure politically. For example, if a city doesn't have a TOPA law, tenants may simply never get the chance to buy their building. If a state doesn't allow community investment via cooperatives easily, raising capital like EB PREC did can run into securities regulations barriers. In some places, real estate interests have resisted CLTs or co-ops, fearing they set a precedent that challenges the for-profit status quo.

Yet, even with modest adoption, the models have proven resilient. The **zero foreclosure track record of ROC USA-assisted communities** <sup>23</sup> and the longevity of co-ops from New York to Nairobi (Kenya has large

housing co-ops too) speak to an underlying robustness: when people have a real stake and support, they tend to do whatever it takes to keep their housing secure.

# Conclusion: From Commodification to Community – Housing in a Post-Labor Future

In a world where the ties between work and prosperity are fraying, resident-owned and community-controlled housing offers a beacon of possibility. These models show that **economic security can be built from the ground up – literally from the ground (land) up – by ordinary people pooling resources and acting in unison**. They represent a shift from seeing housing as a commodity or a personal investment to seeing it as a social good and a collective asset. In the larger context of post-labor economics, where technological change and globalization have undercut the old guarantees of stable jobs and rising wages, such a shift is not just idealistic but perhaps essential.

Imagine a future where a significant share of housing in each city is owned by residents through co-ops, land trusts, or mutual housing societies. In that future, a factory closing or a gig worker losing contracts wouldn't immediately translate into an eviction, because housing costs would be structured to be manageable and not for profit. Communities could weather economic storms with far less human toll. Additionally, the wealth created by development and urban growth would tend to **stay local**, funding more community improvements, instead of flowing to distant shareholders. **Economic agency** would be more evenly distributed: people might still earn modest incomes from their labor in a post-labor economy, but they would also earn "social dividends" from assets they collectively own – be it a dividend of reduced rent, or actual cash dividends in a community investment trust.

Crucially, these models foster a mindset of **cooperative problem-solving**. As residents manage their housing, they build skills and solidarity that can extend to other areas – like starting cooperative businesses, or managing local energy microgrids, etc. It's not utopian to say that **a network of cooperatives and trusts controlling significant assets is a form of grassroots economic democracy**. Historically, this is akin to what happened in some European social economies where cooperatives, unions, and municipalities created a counterweight to pure capitalism, resulting in better social outcomes.

For policymakers and advocates reading this, the success stories herein provide **blueprints** worth scaling. Support can take many forms: passing laws like tenant purchase rights and right-of-first-refusal for resident groups; directing public land and money to community-led housing; offering technical assistance and favorable financing (through public banks or credit enhancements) for co-ops and CLTs; and even adjusting tax codes to encourage long-term affordability over speculation (for instance, property tax breaks for limited-equity housing). On the private side, **impact investors and philanthropists** can treat these models as high-impact investments – the returns are not high financially, but the social return (stable families, preserved affordability) is enormous and lasting.

One must also acknowledge that resident-owned housing is not a silver bullet for all housing needs. It will work best for those who have some minimal resources or capacity to organize; the poorest of the poor may still need direct public housing or deep subsidies. Also, without supportive ecosystems (like federations or service organizations), isolated co-ops might struggle. The vision forward, then, is building an **ecosystem of community housing**: co-ops, land trusts, mutuals, supported by public policy and linked with social

services where needed. Such an ecosystem doesn't replace private housing or government housing entirely, but complements and balances them.

As we stand today, we see the early fruits of this approach: ROC residents sleeping easier knowing their rent won't double overnight; co-op members in D.C. toasting to 30 years in their once-threatened building; a single mother in Brussels getting the keys to a CLT condo she can afford, giving her children a stable home; neighbors in Melbourne moving into a Nightingale apartment block that they know was built with their interests at heart, not investors'. These are small wins in the grand scheme, but they point the way. They tell a narrative – a narrative nonfiction that we are writing collectively – where housing is wrested back from abstract markets and placed in the hands of those who make it a home.

In the larger fight against inequality and disempowerment, resident-owned housing models stand out as practical, proven interventions. They don't require waiting for a revolution; they use existing legal and financial tools but repurpose them toward equitable ends. Each story in this report, from a trailer park coop in rural America to a cooperative urban block in Europe, is a testament to **what people can do when they organize and reimagine ownership**. They offer a path to resilient communities that can thrive even when the traditional promise of secure jobs and endless growth no longer holds. By securing one of life's most basic needs—shelter—on their own terms, these residents are also securing their dignity and their future. And in doing so, they just might be **pioneering a new economy** where prosperity is shared, local, and lasting.

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