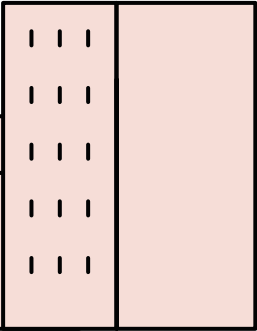
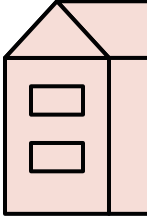
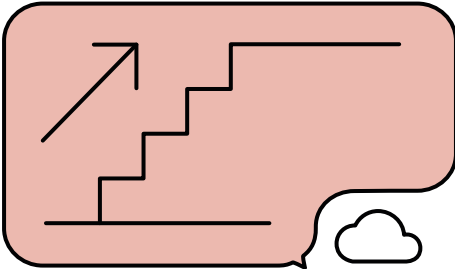
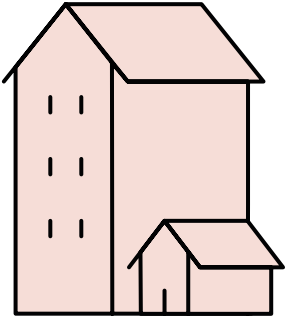
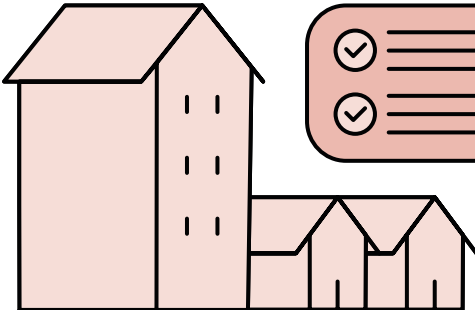


HOUSING FUTURES NEXT STEPS



STAKEHOLDER RECOMMENDATIONS

DECEMBER
2018



Housing Futures

The Housing Futures research partnership¹ was formed with the aim of providing an in-depth, critical analysis of what community-led housing may have to offer low income urban neighbourhoods in the Greater Manchester city-region and the conditions under which such alternative models may be more or less effective. The research combined systematic desk-based review of the existing academic, policy and practice literatures on community-led housing with context-specific primary research into the landscape for housing and community-led approaches within the Greater Manchester city-region. To access the main report of findings please visit: www.gmhousingaction.com/housing-futures

This recommendations booklet was authored by Dr Richard Goulding who was commissioned as researcher by the Housing Futures Steering Group from November 2017 to December 2018. The content is fully endorsed by the Housing Futures Steering Group. To reference this booklet please use the following citation:

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Acknowledgements

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Toward homes not assets

Housing is increasingly treated as an asset, with the UK experiencing a chronic housing crisis characterised by overheated land values, displacement, and homelessness in many cities, including Manchester: a process known as “financialisation”.² The Housing Futures research partnership aimed to provide an in-depth, critical analysis of what community-led housing may have to offer low income urban neighbourhoods within the Greater Manchester city-region amidst this wider context, and the conditions under which such alternative models may be more or less effective. In our main report, we evaluate the potential contribution of three forms of community-led housing: housing co-operatives, cohousing, and community land trusts. We find that community-led housing has the potential to generate a wealth of benefits amidst the housing crisis, including:

- **Retention of investment for the use of residential communities:** income is kept within community-led organisations and reinvested for community use, rather than extracted as shareholder profit.
- **Protection against gentrification-induced displacement:** key case studies such as that of Granby 4 Streets in Liverpool show how urban reinvestment can be combined with affordable housing that reduces displacement pressures.
- **Social, environmental, and economic benefits:** successful community-led projects generate positive neighbourhood outcomes for health and social wellbeing, environmental sustainability, and skills and employability.
- **Opens up the housing system:** community-led housing groups can play a vital role in bringing forward small sites for a lasting and valued legacy, so long as they receive adequate support for land access from key partners.

This ‘next steps’ booklet contains tailored stakeholder-specific recommendations for putting community-led housing into practice

in Greater Manchester, drawing on our main report of findings. Stakeholders seeking to engage with these recommendations will find it helpful to read these in conjunction with the main report. Our key messages are as follows:

- Community-led housing is more likely to generate positive social welfare and democratic gains when communities take a leadership role from the earliest point of design and are substantively involved throughout implementation and onwards into governance over time.
- These kinds of processes are necessarily more time-consuming than consultative processes led ultimately by professionals. But to ignore the lessons of the past, where community-led housing experiments have suffered from co-optation, mission drift, or have ultimately been subsumed into the private market, risks repeating historical mistakes.
- The best possible outcomes of community-led housing are therefore only achievable for low income communities in Greater Manchester with appropriate forms of investment, support, and popular mobilisation which provide for long-term processes of collaboration and development.
- Access to land, finance and technical development support are critical. There is an urgent need to stall the large-scale privatisation of public land across the city-region and make more land available for community control.
- Establishing a new Greater Manchester enabling hub³ for community-led housing with strong collaborative relationships with the Combined Authority and the ten local authorities of the city-region will be critical for the promotion of a strong effective community-led housing sector.
- In a deindustrialised city-region with some of the highest national poverty rates, the new enabling hub should have an explicit focus on promoting access to affordable community-led housing for people on low incomes.
- To be a credible and accountable voice for the sector, an enabling hub should be independent of government.

Central government



The UK faces multiple challenges of stagnant productivity, inequality, low wages and rising housing costs that put pressure on quality of life. Co-operative and community-led housing can contribute toward revitalising democracy and increasing community control over local development and services. Central government has a vital role to play in creating an environment where housing provision is focused on the achievement of human wellbeing rather than on the accumulation of profits. Policymakers should be bold in tackling systemic issues of concentrated ownership and value-capture within the housing market, helping residential communities to put forward their own solutions for overcoming precariousness and insecurity and reshaping their cities and neighbourhoods.

Above all, this requires central government to address the challenge of access to and ownership of land. Researchers, practitioners and progressive think tanks all agree on the urgent need to secure sites for public and community use as an alternative to the mass sale of public land to for-profit developers.⁴ Government must urgently engage with planning and legislative reform to address the land question, and provide backing for public and community-led housing investment to resolve the housing crisis.

Our detailed recommendations are as follows.

R Recommendation 1: Establish an English land commission.⁵

Its remit would cover designing a strategy for the fairer use of land resources and halting the current large-scale privatisation of public land. This should include a review of the social impacts of treating housing as a financialised asset, the scope for a land value tax, and exploration of what local and central government statutory powers are needed for land assembly for the purposes of affordable and community-led housing.

R Recommendation 2: Guarantee the continuation of the Community Housing Fund beyond 2020. In addition, organisations over a certain financial turnover should only be able to access this fund as partners of independent resident-led groups, to ensure the money reaches the community-based organisations who need it the most.

R Recommendation 3: Foster a co-operative economy to enable community-led housing:⁶

- i) Introduce legislation to ensure that all forms of community-led housing have asset locks comparable to those for community land trusts (CLTs) that retain assets under community ownership over the long term.
- ii) Create a national investment bank which specifically incorporates the promotion of co-operative and community enterprise and mutual guarantee societies that support lending to community groups.
- iii) Pass a Co-operative and Community-led Housing Act that provides a statutory definition for the community-led housing sector,⁷ defines a secure tenancy, and overcomes loopholes such as the stamp duty tax levied on co-operatives.

R Recommendation 4: Reform national planning legislation:

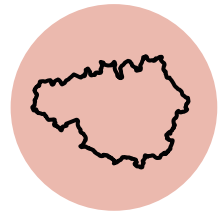
- i) Provide for communities to have first refusal on disposals of public land and for suitable procedures that take account of the longer time required for communities to mobilise and make collective decisions.
- ii) Close existing loopholes that are exploited by developers within viability assessments to over-inflate the value of land.
- iii) Increase transparency through mandating open-book accounting in viability assessments.
- iv) Provide national support for a new generation of local authority construction companies, with a presumption these will collaborate with community-led housing groups in supporting innovative design.⁸

R Recommendation 5: Build the long-term capacity of the community-led housing sector:

- i) Invest in programmes of awareness-raising and capacity-building so that low income communities can begin to consider different housing options.
- ii) Ensure early stages funding for established groups who are new to community-led housing, building on existing forms of provision by organisations such as the National Community Land Trust Network and North West Housing Services.
- iii) Provide low-interest government loans and lending guarantees for the development stage, including bringing back Empty Homes Community Grants Programme funding.

R Recommendation 6: Invest in support infrastructure. The extension of the Community Housing Fund should explicitly include as one of its central objectives ongoing fiscal support for the growth and development of a network of enabling hubs to ensure their long-term viability.

The Greater Manchester Combined Authority and the ten local authorities of Greater Manchester



Devolution gives local government the ability to begin putting the co-operative and community-led housing agenda set out above into practice, ahead of national reform, including via working in close collaboration with enabling hub networks. Austerity policies have caused intense fiscal pressure. However, reviews such as that conducted by the Co-operative Councils Innovation Network⁹ demonstrate creative ways in which urban and rural local authorities are directly fostering the growth of the sector without investing significant amounts of their own scarce financial resources. It is critical that local policymakers trust in residential

community groups to understand their own needs best. At the same time, alliances between authorities and communities are key to enabling the sector to reach its full potential.¹⁰

Examples of innovative support include Leeds City Council's use of the planning system and s106 requirements to support community-led housing groups, the small sites framework developed by the Greater London Authority to help identify sites and standardise contracts, and dedicated officer time and training. Within Greater Manchester, the £300m Housing Investment Fund offers an opportunity to specifically tailor financial support, while the Greater Manchester Pension Fund's partnership with Manchester City Council holds lessons for housing investment that can be extended to the community-led sector. Detailed recommendations follow below.

- R Recommendation 1: Work with community-led housing groups, but respect their autonomy.** Local government has a vital role to play in connecting residents to strategic opportunities, including in working with enabling hubs. To ensure resident groups take full ownership, however, it is vital they are able to participate from the beginning of any process, rather than after all important decisions are made.

- R Recommendation 2: Make community-led housing a core component of local authority and city-regional housing strategy.** This can be embedded into formal documents such as the Greater Manchester Housing Strategy.

- R Recommendation 3: Provide for dedicated officer time through explicit posts.** This should include a lead community-led housing officer as part of the housing teams of local authorities, and specific training for housing and planning officers. This involves:
 - i) Learning about community-led housing, including how and why other local authorities have supported these initiatives around the UK to date.

- i) Accompanying teams of resident groups on investigative visits to community-led housing initiatives in other cities such as Liverpool, London and Leeds, to learn from good practice examples.
- ii) Working with community-led housing groups to identify and bring forward development opportunities and comply with planning policy.
- iv) Acting as specialist advisors to community-led housing hubs, enabling them to assist in technical matters and site identification.

R Recommendation 4: Assist community-led housing groups in identifying and acquiring land:

- i) Use the One Public Estate programme to identify surplus land sites across the public sector, including the NHS, police, and Network Rail, and make these transparent and available for affordable and community-led housing, rather than being sold into the private sector.
- ii) Build partnerships with other potentially philanthropic land owners in the city, such as faith organisations, to identify empty or disused land and property that could be brought back into use for the common good by resident-led groups.
- iii) Make full use of legal powers to discount the “best consideration” of sites for disposal when this is for the use of community-led groups, including taking account of the local policy context such as affordable housing requirements in the valuation of sites.¹¹
- iv) Tailor land disposals to the specific needs of community-led groups, including exploration of leasehold arrangements at low or nominal cost, and staggering expected payments to account for the cash flows of small organisations.
- v) Give communities first refusal on disposals of public land, and make this feasible through providing for suitable timeframes for collective decision-making.

R Recommendation 5: Make full use of existing planning and land assembly powers to promote affordable and community-led housing at a local level:

- i) Learn from the financial innovations implemented by other local authorities such as Leeds City Council, including use of s106 powers and pooling of Right to Buy receipts to fund 30% of the capital costs of new developments.
- ii) Close down viability assessment loopholes. Local plans should set out clear procedures for assessments, and s106 policies should include additional affordable housing contributions where developers make additional profits over and above expected levels set out in outline planning applications.
- iii) Increase transparency over s106 contributions through the use of open book accounting.
- iv) Stop developers overpaying for land to bypass affordable housing contributions through use of land valuation criteria. This can be informed by the recent High Court case won by Islington Council in September 2018.

R Recommendation 6: Tailor the £300m Greater Manchester Housing Investment Fund to Community Groups. This should include exploration of how to assist the sector in overcoming funding gaps identified in studies such as Archer, Kear, and Harrington (2018), for example bridging loans in the development process.¹²

R Recommendation 7: Support community-led housing to foster a social economy. Local policymakers should explore ways to work with community-led housing groups to promote the “social economy”. Examples might be supporting the inclusion of workspaces for social enterprises, and the embedding of groups into wider co-operative supply chains along lines such as the “Preston Model” of community wealth building.¹³

Housing associations and other registered providers



Housing associations have been major partners in helping community-led housing groups put their ideas into practice.¹⁴ As shown in our report, community-led housing groups can create benefits in terms of social welfare outcomes, employment and skills development, and reconnecting housing with grassroots democratic participation, helping providers meet their social aims. Innovative associations willing to work closely with residential groups will be key allies in realising the benefits of community-led housing. They are able to offer invaluable expertise and resources in relation to identifying and acquiring land for development, and offering housing management expertise for groups aiming to provide homes for social rent.

Community-led housing groups can create strategic ripple effects which revitalise urban neighbourhoods and generate social welfare and quality of life for the whole community, including housing associations' own tenants. Associations can raise awareness about community-led housing, and help low income community groups develop the capacity and skills to take on projects. This is likely to generate mutual respect and learning on both sides, but beyond this, it promises even greater rewards in helping to build a new housing future in the city, including through partnership work with enabling hubs.

- R Recommendation 1: Form a learning coalition to work together with local communities.** This would entail providers working jointly with community groups to identify pilot sites and test out different approaches. Academic partnership could assist this by providing for facilitated processes of documentation, reflection, and learning.

R Recommendation 2: Associations can dedicate staff time through distinct posts or secondments. This should involve:

- i) Learning about community-led housing, including how and why other associations have supported these initiatives around the UK to date and with what results.
- ii) Accompanying teams of residents groups on investigative visits to community-led housing initiatives in other cities to learn from good practice examples.
- iii) Working with community-led housing groups to identify and bring forward development opportunities and comply with planning policy.
- iv) Acting as specialist advisors to community-led housing hubs, enabling them to assist in technical matters and site identification.

R Recommendation 3: Organise community-based briefing sessions on community-led housing:

- i) Invest in training and capacity building for residents groups who are interested in developing an initiative.
- ii) Work with enabling hubs to identify volunteer groups interested in taking forward initiatives.

R Recommendation 4: Embed the co-design of estates into mainstream practice.¹⁵ This should focus on uses of physical space that foster interaction and communal living, and encourage environmentally sustainable designs.

R Recommendation 5: Identify land and property held by housing associations that could be offered for community use. For example, small scale self-renovation projects that could act as catalysts for a wider engagement with the possibilities of community-led housing in a particular community.

R Recommendation 6: Work with hubs to guarantee sites. Housing associations in collaboration with enabling hubs (see below) can back land acquisition by acting as a guarantor for

community-led groups who wish to identify sites. This de-risks the development process for landowners, giving community-led groups the time to assemble finance and purchase a site without money automatically changing hands.

Lenders and grant-making organisations



Funders such as the Nationwide Foundation and the Tudor Trust have been integral to recent positive action in the sector. A growing social finance movement, including organisations such as Ecology Building Society, Charity Bank, Triodos, Big Society Capital and CAF Venturesome, have been vital in enabling the gains made by the sector in recent years.¹⁶ With more and more projects established in cities over the past decade, it is an opportune time for funders to work in partnership with the community-led housing sector, and community-based organisations, to improve cross-cutting understanding about how best to support residents living in low income areas to engage with the sector's possibilities. Further support for the development of an effective network of enabling hubs will be critical here. Enabling hubs can partner with grant-making bodies and community-based organisations to advise on tailored funding streams which respond appropriately to locally defined needs and interests.

R Recommendation 1: Devise funding streams specifically accessible for community-led housing initiatives in low income areas:

- i) This should include funders and the social finance movement working with regional enabling hubs and national infrastructure bodies to improve their understanding of the requirements of community groups in low-income areas.

ii) It could include guarantor schemes, in concert with enabling hubs, that would stand behind community-led groups attempting to acquire land.

R Recommendation 2: Explore means of incentivising schemes that combine affordability with ecological sustainability. This can be combined with lobbying of local and central government to work in concert with programmes such as the Community Housing Fund, and other funding such as community share issues.

R Recommendation 3: Work with the sector to better tailor risk assessments.¹⁷ Lenders can have difficulty assessing the risk of community-led groups, due to their small size and distinct characteristics. Commercial and social finance investors should work in partnership with national infrastructure bodies to develop a better understanding of risk and avoid the disproportionate inflation of loan costs.

R Recommendation 4: Explore the co-op cluster model.¹⁸ Commercial and social finance investors should work in partnership with co-operative freehold societies to develop financial products that take into account the sharing of risk between different mutual groups, enabling these to develop more affordable housing.

R Recommendation 5: Lobby for social finance reforms that support co-operative and community-led housing initiatives. This can include legislative support for guarantee schemes that support loans for co-operative enterprises.¹⁹

National infrastructure support bodies



The community-led housing sector has made important gains in the past decade. From a situation where new housing had been effectively constrained since the co-operative heyday of the 1970s and 1980s, we now see plans by more than 200 groups to develop over 5,000 new homes in the next three years.²⁰ National organisations such as the Confederation of Co-operative Housing, the National Community Land Trust Network, and the UK Cohousing Network have been crucial to this achievement, building recognition among policymakers and expanding support for the sector. With appropriate support, the growing network of enabling hubs across the UK will be vital in offering advice, access to expertise, land, and funding opportunities, and a collective voice with policymakers.

To avoid issues such as the failure of co-operatives and Tenant Management Organisations to expand in the 1990s, the sector's support bodies are currently in the process of rolling out training programmes for specialist advisors within enabling hubs. While these will provide essential training in business and housing management, it is vital they also support an overarching agenda of enabling community control. This should include a focus on making the benefits of community-led housing projects open to disadvantaged groups, while also fostering values of democratic collective governance throughout the sector.

- Ⓜ **Recommendation 1: Review strategy and practice to ensure adequate support is being provided to enable disadvantaged groups, including those in areas facing gentrification, to engage with community-led housing.**

R Recommendation 2: Ensure training programmes foreground skills development for collective and co-operative participation.

This can draw on existing knowledge within the co-operative sector, and incorporate strategies such as conflict mediation and the need to build and sustain participation over the long term.

R Recommendation 3: Promote peer-to-peer learning to ensure community control remains a core value.²¹

This should include community exchange and networking between community groups in low income areas of cities around the UK, including where there are no community-led housing initiatives at present.

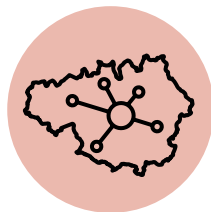
R Recommendation 4: Actively encourage a wider social economy. Building on the recommendations for local and national government set out above, this includes:

- i) Work with regional enabling hubs to develop good practice approaches for supporting stronger links between community-led housing groups and wider mutual and co-operative sectors of the economy.
- ii) Assist hubs to develop supply chains between co-operative enterprises, for example co-operatives specialising in environmental refits and environmentally-sustainable energy sources.

R Recommendation 5: Work with enabling hubs on joint advocacy for some of the other stakeholder recommendations contained in the report. This includes:

- i) Funding streams for awareness-raising about land use and ownership, spatial planning, and the possibilities of community-led housing.
- ii) Early stages funding for community groups who have decided they want to initiate a community-led development.
- iii) Reforms to national and local planning frameworks as set out above.

A Greater Manchester regional “enabling hub”



A city-regional enabling hub is the major next step for community-led housing in Greater Manchester, acting as a collective voice for the sector and a much-needed peer support network.

An enabling hub can identify land, offer start up advice to groups, provide technical support and training and importantly facilitate peer learning and collaboration. Working in concert with CLTs acting as a communal land banks, a hub could act as a guarantor for land deals to de-risk projects.

It is beyond the remit of the Housing Futures project to set out the hub’s values but we feel a core task should be an explicit focus on promoting access to affordable community-led housing for people on low incomes. While governance structures of existing hubs vary,²² a critical function should be to offer an independent voice for the sector.

R Recommendation 1: Protect the sector’s independence and grassroots accountability:

- i) The hub should be independent. For example, Leeds Community Homes is an independent support hub that has developed a progressive and symbiotic relationship with local government while maintaining autonomy.
- ii) The hub should have a democratic, accountable governance structure actively involving community-led housing members, drawing on the expertise and knowledge of practitioners and groups.

R Recommendation 2: Ensure long-term transparency and good governance.²³

- i) Set out formal governance roles that articulate the relationship between community-led housing organisations, board members, and practitioners.
- ii) Set out a clear and transparent business plan with financing and income generation that offers long-term viability.

R Recommendation 3: Adopt an explicit focus on housing justice and affordability:

- i) This should be achieved through proactive engagement with residents and community-based organisations within low-income areas of the city region (following the recommendations set out above for national support agencies and grant-making bodies).
- ii) Ensure appropriate training and capacity-building support so that people who are participating with different levels of skills and experience can engage on a level playing field.
- iii) Facilitate peer-learning through exchanges between resident groups in low income areas and other existing housing initiatives in deprived areas.

R Recommendation 4: foster relationships with philanthropic landowners, housing associations, universities and other major institutions with access to land and property:

- i) In particular, this should include a focus on sites in areas facing gentrification pressures, where early access to land can assist community-led organisations in becoming recognised stakeholders.

R Recommendation 5: encourage environmental design:

- i) The hub should seek to promote access to design and retrofit solutions that are ecologically sustainable as assessed on a whole life cycle basis.

Community-led housing groups



Our report includes case studies of several urban community-led housing groups, including Bolton’s Sensible housing co-op, Liverpool’s Granby 4 Streets, East London CLT, the Lilac eco-project in Leeds and Barnet’s Older Women’s Cohousing (OWCH). These pioneering initiatives show how people can take control of their housing circumstances, revitalise neighbourhoods, combat isolation and achieve social and environmental benefits. While different from community-controlled grassroots projects, Preston’s Community Gateway Association is an example of the social programmes and engagement that can be provided through mainstream social housing. The support infrastructure being developed by the sector, including networks of enabling hubs and training programmes in business and housing management, can build on this by providing invaluable advice and support to new groups who wish to come forward and start their own projects.

Community-led housing groups are likely to constitute a diversity of projects from different parts of society. From the perspective of Housing Futures, it is important to ensure that fresh expansion is widely accessible, including to those on low incomes. While organisations such as CLTs in other countries such as the US have been successful at delivering many homes, there can be a risk of projects drifting from community control as they come to focus on housing management.²⁴ Avoiding this is inevitably a long-term task, but one that should be foregrounded as the sector expands. We would therefore make the following recommendations:

- Ⓡ **Recommendation 1: Ensure that governance models are inclusive and accountable.** For example, new CLTs should consider the adoption of the traditional tripartite accountability structure that divides governance equally between CLT residents, residents of the host community, and independent advisors.

- Ⓜ **Recommendation 2: Training should actively accommodate people with different levels of skills and experience.** This should focus on enabling people to engage on a level playing field, to avoid participation becoming tokenistic.
 - Ⓜ **Recommendation 3: Protect the principle of community leadership within governance mechanisms.** Particularly for larger projects such as city-wide CLTs, it is important to ensure accountability to avoid long-term capture of projects by professionals and technical experts at the expense of community control.
 - Ⓜ **Recommendation 4: Community-led housing groups should explicitly consider diversity and equal access.** This includes both the process of formation and ongoing recruitment and governance.
 - Ⓜ **Recommendation 5: Groups should seek to incorporate design, operation, and construction technologies that are ecologically sustainable.**
 - Ⓜ **Recommendation 6: Groups should consider ways to directly link with other social enterprises that share a co-operative and community-led ethos.**
-

Academics

In-depth and engaged research has a critical role to play for community-led housing in the years ahead. To the extent that alternative housing models have an opportunity for expansion not seen since the 1970s, there is a need to make research available and accessible for activists, practitioners and policymakers. While academia has no monopoly on knowledge, its ability to act as a resource for independent, well-grounded and context-aware research has much to offer in evaluating the benefits, challenges and opportunities community control of housing can provide.



Many pioneering groups and figures within community-led housing have made the long term case for the sector, often drawing on international comparisons.²⁵ As often acknowledged by researchers, there remain important quantitative and comparative gaps in our understanding of the long-term benefits of the sector and the mechanisms by which it relates to the rest of the housing system.²⁶ There is also a need to explore the nuances and debates surrounding the transformative potential of community-led housing, particularly for people most affected by the inequalities of the housing market.²⁷ Given the wealth of knowledge and experience held by people within initiatives and movements for housing alternatives, it is crucial that researchers participate and collaborate with others so that the resources universities can provide are put at the service of creating a better future for housing.

- R Recommendation 1: Develop longitudinal research studies which can generate systematic and comparative evidence of the social, economic and democratic benefits and value of community-led housing.**
- R Recommendation 2: Include quantitative data on the social and economic characteristics of people living in community-led provision in research studies to aid in-depth assessments of the measurable outcomes of projects.**
- R Recommendation 3: Develop partnerships with local authorities, housing associations and community-led housing groups to co-produce user-friendly toolkits to measure the benefits of community-led housing.**
- R Recommendation 4: Develop action research programmes that enable residents groups and community-led housing activists to analyse, understand and better engage with the practical and political dynamics of land use and spatial planning.**
- R Recommendation 5: Identify funding and networking opportunities for international exchange and learning to help create platforms and programmes for peer learning, mentoring and knowledge exchange with effective community-led housing initiatives and movements.**

Endnotes

- 1 The Housing Futures research process and findings were co-produced by a steering group comprising Hannah Berry (Greater Manchester Housing Action and Homes for Change, Manchester); Mick Davies (New Longsight Housing Cooperative, Manchester); Dr Richard Goulding (Research Consultant); Dr Sophie King (Urban Institute, University of Sheffield); Carl Makin (Greater Manchester Housing Action); Julie Ralph (Sensible Housing Cooperative, Bolton); and Isaac Rose (Greater Manchester Housing Action). The recommendations reported here were developed in partnership with a wider reference group of informed advisers comprising academics and community-led housing support professionals, practitioners, and activists, during a recommendations workshop held in Manchester on 18th October 2018.
- 2 Jon Silver (2018) 'From Homes to Assets: Housing Financialisation in Greater Manchester.' Working Paper.
- 3 Enabling hubs are organisations established with the support of the National Community Land Trust Network that provide technical support for community-led housing groups. A patchwork of up to 16 have now been established on a regional or sub-regional basis in rural and urban areas across the UK. One has yet to be formed in Greater Manchester at the time of writing.
- 4 Brett Christophers (2017) 'The State and Financialization of Public Land in the United Kingdom', *Antipode*, 49.1, 62–85; Stephen Hill (2014) 'Reconnecting the Citizen and State through Community Land Trusts and Land Reform' (Winston Churchill Memorial Trust); Helen Jarvis, Kath Scanlon, and Melissa Fernández Arrigoitia (2016) 'Cohousing: Shared Futures' (LSE); Sara Mahmoud and Joe Beswick (2018) 'What Lies Beneath: How to Fix the Broken Land System at the Heart of the Housing Crisis' (New Economics Foundation).
- 5 An example is the Scottish Land Commission. This is also recommended by New Economics Foundation and Stephen Hill of the National Community Land Trust Network. See Sara Mahmoud and Joe Beswick (2018) 'What Lies Beneath: How to Fix the Broken Land System at the Heart of the Housing Crisis' (New Economics Foundation), pg.3
- 6 This is also recommended in Mathew Lawrence, Andrew Pendleton, and Sara Mahmoud (2018) *Co-operatives Unleashed: Doubling the size of the co-operative sector* (New Economics Foundation).
- 7 An example is given by the proposed definition by Anthony Collins LLP in Heywood (2016). *Local Housing, Community Living: Prospects for scaling up and scaling out community-led housing* (Smith Institute).
- 8 This has been suggested by Unite the Union and advocated for by Owen Hatherley. (2018) 'What Should a 21st Century Socialist Housing Policy Look Like?', *New Socialist* <<https://newsocialist.org.uk/a-socialist-housing-policy/>> [accessed 25 October 2018].
- 9 Cooperative Councils Innovation Network (2018) 'Community-Led Housing: A Key Role for Local Authorities', (<http://www.councils.coop/publications/ccin-commission-report-community-led-housing-key-role-local-authorities/>).
- 10 Tom Moore (2014) 'Affordable Homes for Local Communities: The Effects and Prospects of Community Land Trusts in England' (St Andrews Centre for Housing Research, University of St Andrews).
- 11 We are grateful to Tom Chance of the National Community Land Trust Network for this insight.

- 12 Archer, T., Anna, K., and Harrington, C. (2018) 'Targeting Funding to Support Community-Led Housing'. Power to Change.
- 13 Matthew Jackson and Neil McInroy (2017) 'Community Wealth Building through Anchor Institutions' (Centre for Local Economic Strategies).
- 14 Tom Moore (2018) 'Replication through Partnership: The Evolution of Partnerships between Community Land Trusts and Housing Associations in England', *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 18.1, 82–102; Moore. (2014) 'Affordable Homes for Local Communities: The Effects and Prospects of Community Land Trusts in England' (St Andrews Centre for Housing Research, University of St Andrews).
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