

Land Trusts and the Protection and Stewardship of Land in Canada: Exploring Non-Governmental Land Trust Practices and the Role of Urban Community Land Trusts

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Abstract

This paper explores the mandates of non-government land trust organizations in Canada, the role of urban land in current land trust practices, and possibilities for the inclusion of land protection and stewardship in Canadian cities through a discussion of the community land trust (CLT) model. Through the creation of an inventory of Canadian non-governmental land trust organizations, we demonstrate that the majority of historical and contemporary land trust organizations focus on the protection and conservation of wilderness and rural lands, with limited focus on the protection and stewardship of existing urban lands. Additionally, we suggest that the CLT model, already in existence in several Canadian cities, offers a way to re-frame this emphasis and to encourage non-governmental and community-based urban land protection and stewardship in order to resist increasing land values and provide necessary community benefits that foster equitable access and affordability.

Keywords: land trusts, land protection, urban land, community land trusts, Canada

Résumé

Ce document explore les mandats des organismes non gouvernementaux de fiducie foncière au Canada, le rôle de l'espace urbain dans les pratiques des fiducies foncières actuelles, et les possibilités de nouvelles formes de protection des terres et de l'intendance dans les villes canadiennes, par une discussion de la fiducie foncière communautaire (CLT) modèle. Grâce à la création d'un inventaire des organisations de la fiducie foncière non gouvernementales canadiennes, nous démontrons que la majorité des organisations historiques et contemporaines fiducie foncière se concentrent sur la protection et la conservation de la nature sauvage et les terres rurales, avec un accent limité sur la protection et l'intendance de l'espace urbain existant. En outre, nous suggérons que le modèle CLT, qui existent déjà dans plusieurs villes canadiennes, offre un moyen de recadrer cet accent et d'encourager les organisations non gouvernementales et communautaires de protection de l'espace urbain et de l'intendance afin de résister à l'augmentation des valeurs foncières et de fournir communautaire nécessaire avantages qui favorisent un accès équitable et abordable.

Mots clés: fiducies foncières, la protection des terres, urbaine, les fiducies foncières de la communauté

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Introduction

Civil society practices of land protection and conservation in Canada, alongside the governmental ownership and management of lands, has galvanized the formation of non-governmental land trust organizations. The majority of Canadian land trust organizations working focus on the protection of land in agricultural or wilderness areas with emphasis on the role of local residents and communities in protecting the natural environment and advocating for land conservancy. While urbanization increases in Canada and with the most recent data indicating that 81% of Canadians now reside in areas categorized as urban (Statistics Canada, 2011), land trust organizations hold an important role in advocating for the mitigation of the encroachment characteristics of urbanization such as sprawl. However, increasing urbanization in Canada also creates a context for questioning how and to what extent urban land is currently factored into parameters of land conservation and preservation, and further, in the practices of land trust organizations. While resisting urban encroachment into non-urban land is crucial to ecosystem protection and the conservation of food growing areas, it is, at the same time, important that already existing urban land also be considered in land trust organizational and advocacy practices in Canada. This has particular relevance for the protection and maintenance of certain parcels of urban land in response to increasing challenges regarding affordability in large Canadian cities such as Toronto and Vancouver (Hulchanski, 2007, 2010), for the conservation of land for encouraging urban biodiversity (Goddard et al, 2010; Savard et al, 2000), and for fostering land stewardship for community-based uses and benefits in Canadian cities.

This paper offers an exploratory discussion of the mandates of existing non-governmental land trust organizations in Canada as well as the role of the urban community land trust (CLT) model (Davis, 2007, 2010; Davis and Jacobus, 2008; Greenstein and Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2005; Sungu-Eryilmaz and Greenstein, 2007) and its potential use in the Canadian urban context. Our guiding research questions centre on what non-governmental land trust organizations currently exist in Canada and how their mandates guide their work, and secondly, how might urban land trust practices such as the community land trust model complement existing Canadian land trust practices? We first examined the mandates of existing non-governmental land trust organizations in Canada through the creation of an inventory intended to demarcate the focus of each land trust organization. This was important for understanding the different emphases of land trust organizations in Canada and to what extent the protection and stewardship of urban land connected with existing land trust practices. Our research identified and categorized non-governmental Canadian land trust organizations based upon their emphasis on the protection of wilderness, rural, or urban land. While realizing that these are not exclusive nor static categories, and that crossover exists between land definitions, we suggest that the categories provide a basis by which to organize and understand the mandates of Canadian non-governmental land trust organizations. As such, wilderness land trusts are defined as those protecting land that is largely undisturbed by human activity and built form while agricultural land trusts focus on protecting areas that are designated for farmland use, with a lower density of population and built form than urban areas. Urban land trusts are identified as those organizations based in areas demarcated as census metropolitan areas and which have a mandate that focuses on the preservation and conservation of urban land through community identified practices. Through a review of literature on CLTs and interviews with members and staff in different Canadian urban CLT organizations we then examined the community land trust model as a method for building upon existing land trust organizational practices in Canada through its application in cities for the conservation and protection of urban land. While CLTs have their modern origins in rural locations of the United States and were used as a method for securing permanent land access for tenant agricultural labourers, CLTs became prevalent in American cities during the 1980s as a response to neighbourhood-based concerns about property disinvestment practices by land owners, as well as gentrification and social displacement (Medoff and Sklar, 1994). CLTs are non-profit, non-governmental organizations that own title to land and make decisions about its uses, through membership-based representation, for the purpose of long-term land stewardship (Abromowitz, 1991; Angotti, 2007; Bunce, 2016; Davis, 1994, 2010, 2014; Gray, 2008; Greenstein and Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2005; Sungu-Eryilmaz and Greenstein, 2007). Most commonly, urban CLTs focus on the development of affordable housing as way to increase equitable housing access at the urban neighbourhood scale, however other uses can include community gardens and social enterprises for localized economic development (Rosenberg and Yuen, 2012; Yuen, 2014; Yuen and Rosenberg, 2013).

We posit two assertions based upon this research with the intention of furthering a discussion about the role of urban land in Canadian land trust practices as well as to explore possibilities for future land protection

and stewardship in Canadian cities. Firstly, that the majority of non-governmental land trust organizations in Canada focus on the protection and conservation of wilderness and rural lands, with limited focus on existing urban lands. Secondly, that the community land trust model offers a new way to re-frame this emphasis and to encourage non-governmental and community-based land protection and stewardship in Canadian cities. We suggest that CLTs are both an understudied and underutilized land trust practice in the Canadian urban context and that a more comprehensive understanding of land protection and stewardship that includes urban land is important for future land preservation and conservation initiatives in Canada, particularly within the context of land development pressures, gentrification, and concerns regarding affordability in major Canadian cities (cf. August and Walks, 2011; Bunting, Walks and Filion, 2004; Hackworth and Moriah, 2006; Hulchanski, 2007; Walks and Maaranen, 2008).

Non-Governmental Land Trust Organizations in Canada

Through the development of an inventory of Canadian non-governmental land trust organizations, we identified land trust categories based upon the criteria of: i) land trust organizations with mandates to work in census metropolitan areas and for the protection and stewardship of urban land; ii) land trust organizations that specifically organize to protect and conserve productive agricultural land; iii) land trust organizations that work to protect rural and/or wilderness locations, but with mandates to protect and conserve ecologically sensitive wilderness terrain such as forest, lake, and coastal regions. This research was conducted through an internet search of provincial Land Trust Alliance member organizations as well as through a search for additional, unaffiliated land trust organizations, with land trust in their organizational title. We observe over 70 land trust organizations with mandates focusing on what we have categorized as rural and wilderness areas, 7 land trust organizations with mandates specifically focusing on agricultural/farmland land preservation, and 9 land trust organizations focusing on urban land—seven of these urban land trusts are based upon the community land trust model and most are newly emergent (see Table 1). This table is not intended to be static and is open to interpretation, as some organizations may have closed and others may have started during the research process, but it is meant to serve as a guide to the majority of non-governmental land trust organizations currently in existence. The following review of the mandates of particular non-governmental land trusts discusses their historical development and the evolution of their emphases on the protection and conservation of agricultural and wilderness lands. We suggest that the formation of land trust organizations have developed in response to rural and wilderness protection and conservation concerns, urban encroachment on agricultural land, the connection of non-urban land with notions of ‘heritage conservation’, and the more recent formation of land trust alliance organizations that serve as umbrella organizations for individual land trusts and do not include urban community land trusts.

Table 1. Land Trusts in Canada

Urban	Agricultural	Rural/Wilderness
Calgary Community Land Trust, Alberta	Genesis Land Conservancy, SK	
Central Edmonton Community Land Trust, Alberta	LM Montgomery Land Trust, PEI	Bruce Trail Conservancy, Ontario
Edmonton and Area Land Trust	Niagara Land Trust, ON	Bowen Island Conservancy, BC
Hamilton CLT, Ontario	Northumberland Land Trust, ON	Blue Mountain Watershed Trust Foundation, Ontario
Nanaimo and Area Land Trust, BC	Oak Ridges Moraine Land Trust, Ontario	Appalachian Corridor Appalachian, Quebec
Parkdale Land Trust, Ontario	Ontario Farmland Trust	Alberta Land Trust Alliance
Vancouver Community Land Trust	South Knowlesville Community Land Trust, New Brunswick	Canada South Land Trust, Ontario
Vernon and District CLT		Comox Valley Land Trust, British Columbia
Vivacite (CLT), Montreal, Quebec		Couchiching Conservancy, ON
		Cowichan Community Land Trust, British Columbia
		Crooked Creek Conservancy, AB
		D.I.A.M.O.N.D.S Conservation Land Trust, Ontario

	Denman Conservancy Association, BC
	Escarpment Biosphere Conservancy, ON
	Foothills Land Trust, Alberta
	Fraser Valley Conservancy, British Columbia
	Gabriola Island and Trails Trust, BC
	Galiano Conservancy, BC
	Gambier Island Conservancy, BC
	Georgian Bay Land Trust, Ontario
	Gerry Oak Meadow Preservation Society, BC
	Greenways Land Trust, British Columbia
	Habitat Acquisition Trust, BC
	Hailburton Highlands Land Trust, Ontario
	Hastings Prince Edward County Land Trust, ON
	Head of the Lake Land Trust, a program of Hamilton Naturalists Club, Ontario
	Huron Tract Land Trust, ON
	Huronian Land Trust, ON
	Island Nature Trust, Prince Edward Island
	Islands Trust Fund, BC
	Juan de Fuca Community Land Trust, BC
	Kawartha Heritage Conservancy, Ontario
	Kingsburg Coastal Conservancy, Nova Scotia
	Lake Clear Conservancy, ON
	Lake of Bays Heritage Foundation, Ontario
	Lake Superior Conservancy and Watershed Council—Land Protection, Ontario
	Lambton Wildlife Inc. ON
	Land Conservancy for Kingston, Frontenac ON
	Land Trust Alliance of B.C.
	Lone Pine Marsh Conservancy, ON
	Long Point Basin Land Trust, ON
	Lower Grand River Land Trust, Ontario
	Magnetewan Land Trust, ON
	Malaspina Island Conservancy, BC
	Mayne Island Conservancy, BC
	Mississippi Madawaska Land Trust Conservancy, Ontario
	Mount Pinnacle Land Trust, Quebec
	Muskoka Heritage Trust, Ontario
	Nature Trust of B.C.
	Federation of Naturalists, NB
	New Brunswick Community Land Trust
	Nova Scotia Land Trust
	Oak Ridges Moraine Land Trust, Ontario
	Ontario Land Trust Alliance
	Ontario Nature
	Orono Crown Lands Trust, Ontario

		Rainy Lake Conservancy, Ontario
		Rideau Waterway Land Trust, Ontario
		Ruiter Valley Land Trust, Quebec
		Salt Spring Island Conservancy, BC
		Savary Island Land Trust Society, BC
		Southern Alberta Land Trust Society
		Tallgrass Ontario
		Thames Talbot Land Trust, Ontario
		The Archaeological Land Trust of Nova Scotia
		The Land Conservancy of B.C.
		Thickson's Wood Land Trust, Ontario
		Thousand Islands Watershed Land Trust, Ontario
		Trees in Trust, Prince Edward Island
		Western Sky Land Trust, Alberta

The history of non-governmental land trust formation in Canada spans nearly one hundred years, with the first non-governmental land trust organization, The Hamilton (Ontario) Naturalists' Club, forming in 1919. Of note in the following description of land trust organizations in Canada is a large gap in land trust formation between 1931 and 1971. This gap may be attributed to the increase of federal and provincial government interest and intervention in land preservation and conservation issues, the implementation of the Canada National Parks Act in 1930, and dedicated federal and provincial interest in and funding for conservation efforts. Likewise, our research identifies a renewed phase of land trust development across Canada through the efforts of non-profit, non-governmental organizations particularly in the 1980s which marked the beginning of a period of government cutbacks to national and provincial parks and conservation initiatives—a trajectory that is still readily apparent with the recent Conservative federal government's funding reduction to Parks Canada (Boutiller, 2014; Galloway, 2012).

In 1931, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists, now called Ontario Nature, was formed to protect natural areas and indigenous species by raising awareness about conservation and engaging the public. Forty years later, in 1971, the Nature Trust of British Columbia was formed to conserve British Columbia's "biological diversity through securement and management of ecologically significant lands" (Nature Trust of British Columbia, 2012). Founded in 1972 as the "New Brunswick Federation of Naturalists," Nature New Brunswick focuses on environmental education building a stronger understanding of the natural environment and maintaining natural heritage. Prince Edward Island's first land trust, founded in 1979, the Island Nature Trust, is a non-governmental organization with a mandate of land conservation and stewardship. During the mid-to-late 1980s, many land trusts came into existence with similar emphasis on the preservation and maintenance of wilderness areas and ecological sensitive land in areas that are more rural. For example, we categorize Thickson's Woods Land Trust, an organization formed in Whitby, Ontario, in 1983 to save old-growth white pines from logging through the purchase of woodlands by organization members, as a rural and wilderness land trust due to its geographical presence in a more rural area but its role in protecting forested spaces. Other rural land trusts have emphasized the preservation of cultural heritage through the protection of land. Founded by residents in 1985, the Lake of Bays Heritage Foundation in Ontario formed as a community-based non-profit organization to protect the natural, built and cultural heritage of the Lake of Bays area, focusing on the long-term preservation of heritage and the development of connections with other conservation groups. In 1987, the Nature Trust of New Brunswick was established and has since acquired 2,000 hectares of ecologically sensitive land areas in both wilderness and rural locations through donations by private owners. The organization's mandate also includes cultural heritage preservation through land protection and emphasize a connection between human appreciation of nature and natural terrain (Nature Trust of New Brunswick, 2015). In western Canada, the Galiano Conservancy Association was formed in 1989 as one of British Columbia's first community-based nature land trusts. The mandate of the conservancy is "to preserve, protect and enhance the quality of the human and natural environment" through the acquisition by donation or finding funds to purchase land on Galiano

Island (Galiano Conservancy Association, 2015).

Other land trust organizations have formed to resist urban and development encroachment. In 1991, the Mount Pinacle Land Trust was formed in the town of Frelighsburg, in Quebec's Eastern Townships, with a mandate to purchase approximately 150 acres of land, through the philanthropic donation of funds, on a part of the mountain to protect the land against an impending development plan for a ski facility and residences (Mont Pinacle, 2015). In 1994, Prince Edward Island's L.M. Montgomery Land Trust was founded to preserve coastal agricultural lands on the island. The land trust works with landowners to identify alternatives to selling agricultural land with the intent of preserving coastal agricultural land from development (LM Montgomery Land Trust, 2015). The New Brunswick Community Land Trust (NBCLT) was also formed, in 1995, with a mandate to use conservation easements, a legal contract between the land trust and land owner that entrenches a long-standing care and maintenance of natural features on privately owned farmland (NBCLT, 2015). British Columbia's Cowichan Land Trust, created to protect wilderness in the Cowichan Valley, and the Nanaimo and Area Land Trust, both formed in 1995, also use conservation easement agreements with local land owners to engage in the conservation and ecological restoration of natural areas on privately owned land (Cowichan Land Trust, 2015; NALT – Nanaimo and Area Land Trust, 2015).

A significant interest in heritage conservation entwined with land protection remains prevalent from the 2000s onwards. The Archaeological Land Trust of Nova Scotia was established in 2004 to focus on the preservation of sites of geological interest in wilderness areas through the purchase or donation of land and through conservation easements with landowners (Archaeological Land Trust of Nova Scotia, 2015). Founded in 2005, Haliburton Highlands Land Trust in Ontario was formed with a mission to focus on community engagement with land protection 'in perpetuity', for the sustainable human enjoyment of natural areas (Haliburton Highlands Land Trust, 2015). The Haliburton Land Trust acquires and purchases land lots and has restored abandoned agricultural land lots into woodlands as a community sustainability project. With the emergence of the Nanaimo and Area Land Trust (in 1995) and the Edmonton and Area Land Trust in 2006, we also observe the formation of a land trust organization into an urban area with an explicit mandate to address the preservation of natural spaces in relation to urban population growth and infrastructure development. The Edmonton and Area Land Trust acquires land through purchase or private donation, conservation easements with landowners, and community-based environmental education about the impact of urbanization on ecosystems in cities (Edmonton and Area Land Trust, 2015).

From the late 1990s onwards, we also note an emergence of land trust alliances to consolidate the activities of individual land trusts and galvanize pan-provincial and pan-national advocacy for wilderness, agricultural, and heritage land preservation. In 1997, the Ontario Land Trust Alliance was formed to encourage a province wide land trust movement by providing educational and connectivity support to individual land trusts. Also in 1997, the Land Trust Alliance of British Columbia was formed to 'foster the land trust community' in B.C. by providing support to individual land trusts and conservancies (Land Trust Alliance of British Columbia, 2015). The Alberta Land Trust Alliance was formed in 2006 as a similar umbrella land trust organization for land trusts and conservancies in Alberta (Government of Alberta, 2014). Lastly, the Canadian Land Trust Alliance was formed in the mid-2000s to "promote private land conservation and to strengthen the land trust movement nationally through communication, education and the development of partnerships" (Canadian Land Trust Alliance, 2012). The organization has membership constituted by land trusts across Canada and holds annual conferences on land trust practices. The provincial and national alliance organizations represent land trust organizations with mandates for agricultural and wilderness land protection and conservation, rather than urban land trusts.

Urban Community Land Trusts: Establishing Land Protection and Conservation in Cities

The aforementioned non-governmental land trusts indicate a dominant emphasis on the preservation and conservation of agricultural and wilderness lands in Canada. We seek to build on this emphasis by including the role of urban land trust organizations in land trust advocacy. In this sense, however, a preservation and conservation emphasis is not placed on fringe and peri-urban land that is located at the urban-rural interface, to be protected from urban encroachment, but instead focuses on the protection of already existing city land from pressures such as land inflation and rising housing prices and promotes land stewardship for community-based purposes. Drawing on the community land trust model, we emphasize that CLT organizations, designed for

the capture of land value, the provision of affordable housing and other community identified uses, provide a prototype for how urban land might be further protected and conserved in Canada. As previously noted, the majority of Canadians now live in census metropolitan areas that are classified as urban, with major population and built form growth occurring in the four largest urban municipalities of Calgary, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (Statistics Canada, 2011). At the same time, there has been an increase in the complexity of socio-spatial disparities in Canadian cities (Walks, 2001, 2013, 2014). The provision of affordable housing in cities has been particularly negatively impacted by co-constitutive processes of multi-level government funding reductions for affordable housing policy development and program implementation (Hulchanski 2001, 2007; Leone and Carole, 2010; Moore and Skaburskis, 2004; Wolfe, 1998) as well as government interest in supporting private sector investment in residential development in Canadian cities (Hackworth and Moriah, 2006; Keil and Kipfer, 2002; Rosen and Walks, 2013). A paucity of affordable housing has increased shifts towards socio-spatial polarization in Canadian cities that largely takes shape at the neighbourhood level (Hulchanski, 2007; Walks and Maaranen, 2008) and has created contexts where the protection of land against increasing speculation and valuation is becoming increasingly necessary in order to preserve affordable urban land. It is this socio-spatial context that opens space for the consideration of a further use of community land trusts in Canadian cities.

The focus on equitable access, ownership, and stewardship of land has been suggested by Davis (2010) to be core characteristics of community land trusts that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s in the United States. He notes four key aspects of CLTs that make it a unique method for land ownership and stewardship; i) land is understood as common socio-cultural and ecological heritage not in terms of individual rights to land. Land stewardship is the primary focus of CLTs—Davis defines this as “(L) and other socially created assets (that) are removed from the market, placed in common ownership, and held in trust for future generations” (2010, 38); ii) land is permanently removed from the land speculation market through restrictions placed on the re-sale of the land; iii) title to the land is held by the non-profit, non-governmental CLT organization and buildings on the land are either owner or leased by CLT residents; and iv) ground leases are central components of CLT formation and act as legal contracts between a homeowner or tenant and the CLT organization and provide the terms of building ownership and rental tenure. The ground leases also control the resale of housing so as to reduce or prohibit profit making (Davis, 2010, 4). As the CLT organization owns title to the land (land can be donated to or purchased by the CLT organization), the CLT acts as a land value capture mechanism; land value is intended to remain at the value it is when first obtained by the CLT and land value is separated from the cost of CLT housing, therefore making housing more affordable for homeowners and renters in the long term (Sungu-Eryilmaz and Greenstein, 2007). This aspect has particular relevance for cities with high land values that greatly increase the cost of housing. Community land trust organizations emphasize collective decision-making through membership and a board of directors constituted by CLT residents as well as individuals living within a larger defined community area (Davis, 2010). While the organizational size and geographic scope of CLTs vary, the common emphasis is on an approach to community-based land protection and stewardship where an attempt to equitably negotiate the interests of CLT members is made and the objectives of the CLT are collectively shared (Caton, Campbell and Salus, 2003; Sungu-Eryilmaz and Greenstein, 2007). The use of community land trusts became increasingly prevalent in American cities in the 1980s, with the first urban CLT organization located in a low-income neighbourhood of largely African-American residents in Cincinnati for the purpose of protecting land against rising land values and providing affordable housing. A 2007 study for the Lincoln Land Institute approximated the existence of 250 CLT organizations located in urban municipalities across the United States (Sungu-Eryilmaz and Greenstein, 2007). CLT organizations are evident in cities with exclusive and expensive property markets, such as New York City and Chicago, as well as in cities with economic disinvestment and high levels of residential foreclosure, such as Cleveland (Misak et al. 2009), as a method for community development and providing affordable housing. The increasing number of CLTs in the United States led to the creation of the National CLT Network in 2006, an organizational alliance that lends educational and funding support to individual CLT organizations.

In Canada, we identify seven urban community land trust organizations that reflect the aforementioned CLT model, which are located in Vernon and Vancouver in British Columbia, Calgary and Edmonton in Alberta, Hamilton and Toronto in Ontario, and Montreal, Quebec. The three oldest Canadian urban CLTs, Vernon and District CLT, Central Edmonton CLT, and Calgary CLT, have assembled land and have established affordable housing on land either owned or leased by the CLT, whereas the more recently established urban CLTs in Hamilton, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver are in the process of organizational growth and/or just embarking on land development. The Vernon and District Community Land Trust Society (VDCLT) in the city of Vernon in the north Okanagan region of British Columbia formed to advocate for increased supply and access to affordable housing for individuals and families with low to moderate incomes. As a non-profit, non-governmental organization, the land trust solicits and manages public and private sector donations of land and its building stock for community identified uses, primarily the development and management of affordable housing (Vernon and District Community Land Trust Society, 2012). While a non-governmental organization, the land trust's first project in 2008 was a collaborative effort between the City of Vernon and the VDCLT. With advocacy effort from VDCLT, the City of Vernon purchased land near the downtown core of Vernon that was then leased to the VDCLT through a long-term arrangement and a small lease payment. The VDCLT, with Habitat for Humanity as a development partner, constructed an affordable housing project with rental units for low-income families and people with disabilities. Since this initial project, they have focused efforts on securing land lots and attaining multi-sector funding support for other affordable housing projects. The Calgary Community Land Trust (CCLT), in Calgary, Alberta, was created through the Calgary Homeless Foundation and was incorporated as a non-profit in 2003 (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2005). The focus of the land trust is to "receive and manage donations of land, land and buildings, or money to acquire land that will be dedicated in perpetuity for affordable housing in Calgary" (Calgary Community Land Trust, 2012). As land managers, the CCLT received a donation of surplus federal land arranged through a land swap between the federal government and the municipal government of Calgary. The City of Calgary directed the land to the CCLT in order to instigate the development of several affordable housing projects in order to address growing socio-economic polarization in the city and problem of increased homelessness. The first project of the CCLT was the Sun Court development, completed in 2007, which consisted of 27 units of affordable family housing developed through a partnership with Habitat for Humanity Calgary (Calgary Homeless Foundation, 2012). Founded before the CCLT in 1998, the Central Edmonton Community Land Trust (CECLT) in Edmonton, Alberta, is a non-profit corporation with a mandate of community-based development and neighbourhood revitalization through land management, also for the purpose of affordable housing provision. The CECLT receives funding from philanthropic foundations and development loans from the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation and Edmonton's Inner City Housing Society, as well as a single donation of publicly owned land from the City of Edmonton. Working in the inner-city neighbourhoods of Edmonton, the CECLT manages land and leverages funds to renovate and construct houses and offers housing units to low-income families and individuals on a 5-year 'rent-to-own' basis on three separate land lots in central Edmonton that are owned by the CECLT (Finley, 2011). Unfortunately, both the Calgary CLT and the Central Edmonton CLT have been subject to restructuring in relation to challenges of operating as non-governmental, non-profit organizations and problems such as acquiring sustainable funding. As a project of the Calgary Homeless Foundation, organizational efforts are now being placed into immediate priorities of delivering of programs and services for homeless citizens instead of towards the operation of the CLT. These contexts point to broader challenges in finding sources of long-term organizational support, such as sustainable funding, which create vulnerabilities for non-profit, non-governmental CLT organizations (Bunce, Khimani, et al, 2013).

More recently, however, a new movement of interest in urban CLT development has resulted from urban activist practices and in response to a lack of affordable housing and rising land and housing costs in Hamilton, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. The Parkdale Neighbourhood Land Trust started in 2010 and was incorporated as a non-profit, non-governmental organization in 2014. The organization identifies the land trust as a way of retaining affordable land and housing and maintaining social diversity in the historically working class and now rapidly gentrifying neighbourhood of Parkdale, Toronto. The organization states that, "through the community land trust model, PNLT will acquire land and use it to meet the needs of Parkdale by leasing it to non-profit partners who can provide affordable housing, furnish spaces for social enterprises and non-profit organizations, and offer urban agriculture and open space" (The Parkdale People's Economy Project, 2015). The Parkdale

CLT organization is now actively searching for philanthropic donations of land parcels in the neighbourhood and working to develop a strong organizational governance structure through a neighbourhood-focused board of directors and the establishment of different working group committees. The mandate for Hamilton's CLT, formed in 2014, is quite similar to the Parkdale Neighbourhood Land Trust and both organizations share active communication and engagement (Planners Network Toronto Forum, 2015). The Hamilton CLT states that, "Hamiltonians know that unless we act proactively, we will be forced to watch from the sidelines during our city's renewal as speculators and outside developers make important decision about our neighbourhoods. This is why now is the right time for a Community Land Trust in Hamilton" (Maxted, 2015). Both organizations demonstrate an activist oriented approach to community land trust development as a response to structural inequities at the urban community scale but also in terms of participation with community members in order to develop equitable engagement in CLT activities. The organizations have each received recent substantial funding for further organizational development from the Ontario Trillium Foundation, an agency of Ontario's provincial government (Hamilton Community Land Trust, 2015; The Parkdale People's Economy Project, 2015).

The mandate of Montreal's community land trust, Vivacite Montreal, formed in 2013, is to "contrer la spéculation immobilière et pour le maintien des amoureux de Montréal au cœur des quartiers centraux de la ville, [développer] un modèle de propriétés à capital partagé qui offre un soutien financier à l'achat d'une propriété"/ "combat property speculation and for maintaining the heart of central neighborhoods of the city... (to) develop a model of shared capital properties that provides financial support for the purchase of a property" (Vivacite Montreal, 2015). Interestingly, while acknowledging the American CLT model as a basis for their work, the literature of Vivacite Montreal focuses on affordable housing acquisition through practices such as co-housing rather than an emphasis on land stewardship (ibid, 2015). This may change, however, with further organizational development. Other, much older, Montreal-based organizations Communaute Milton Parc and Communaute Benny Farm reflect certain characteristics of CLTs such as affordable home ownership and de-commodified housing stock, and were defined in a research report by Housing Strategies Inc. for the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) as being examples of 'co-op housing CLTs' (Housing Strategies Inc., 2005), but they do not refer to themselves as community land trust organizations and do not have an legal or organizational structure that is similar to the CLT model (Interview with Communaute Milton Parc Member, 2013). The Vancouver Community Land Trust Foundation, established in 2014, shares a similar emphasis on affordable housing provision. The CLT was developed in response to rising housing prices and concerns about the lack of affordable housing in Vancouver as well as long-standing discussions about the role of CLTs in the provision of affordable housing dating back to 1993 with the establishment of the British Columbia Community Land Trust Foundation, a non-profit created to examine the provision of affordable housing through land trust development (Patten, 2015). The CLT was created by the Co-op Housing Federation of BC and leases land owned by the City of Vancouver at four locations in the city through 99-year leases at a below-market rate. The affordable housing units on the sites that are currently under construction will be maintained by different non-profit housing providers such as the Tikva Housing Society and Sanford Housing Society following development, with an anticipated 358 'non-market'/co-operative units to be available upon completion (ibid, 14). The Vancouver CLT demonstrates the use of the community land trust model in partnership with municipal government and other non-governmental agencies as well as the continued use of the co-operative housing model in the Canadian urban context. We note that both Montreal and Vancouver CLT organizations are intended for the provision of affordable housing first and rely on the CLT as a conduit through which to create affordable housing, rather than primarily emphasizing the role of the land stewardship. This approach, however, reflects community concerns about the rising cost of property in both cities and the creation of an alternative response that provides affordable spaces for residents. This demonstrates the current relevance of both organizations in offering new and progressive options for urban land and housing provision.

Conclusion

We identified main categories of non-governmental land trust organizations in Canada in order to more clearly understand the emphases of land trust practices. We note that the majority of land trusts focus on the protection and conservation of agricultural and wilderness lands. While this is an important and necessary emphasis of land protection and conservation in Canada, we suggest that a re-framing of land protection and conservation that includes the protection of urban land by non-governmental land trust organizations is increasingly relevant

given the growth of urban residents as well as rising property values and challenges of affordable access to space in Canadian cities. Within the context of austerity agendas and precarious government investment in urban land protection and conservation the role of non-governmental organizations in land protection and conservation practices for affordable housing and other community benefits becomes ever more critical. The use of the community land trust model in Canadian cities demonstrates various ways by which non-governmental urban land protection and conservancy practices can become more relevant. A new group of CLT organizations have emerged in Hamilton, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver that will allow for a re-imagining of urban land protection and conservation practices in Canadian cities.

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