From Needs to Action:
Community Organizing at Heritage Common, Lawrence, Massachusetts

by

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the effect researchers and their methods have on the process of community organizing. It specifically focuses on Heritage Common, a subsidized housing development in Lawrence, Massachusetts with a population comprised of 81% Latino residents. A survey on the social service needs of the residents was conducted for the owner and management company, The Community Builders (TCB). During the survey process, the residents of Heritage Common voiced their desire to organize a Tenants' Committee that would be formally recognized by the management and have a say in the future of their community.

The project started as a social services needs assessment and became a community organizing case study with an interest in the role of the researcher and the research methods as catalysts in the process. The results of the survey were used to inform the residents about which groups within the community as well as which social services could be identified as targets for organizing efforts.

This project was begun in October 1999, and as of May 2000, Heritage Common has established a formal Tenants' Committee. The first meeting between management, the Tenants' Committee and the residents to address community concerns will be held on May 18, 2000.

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Chapter 1: A Brief History and Its Link to the Research

"Working together and helping one another is very important." – *resident, age 28*

This paper will cover research that was conducted at a subsidized housing development called Heritage Common in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Heritage Common is owned and managed by The Community Builders, Inc. (TCB) which is a non-profit affordable housing developer based in Boston. TCB has developed affordable housing all over the United States, and in New England alone, they own and operate more than 6,000 units of housing. The research project began as a social service needs assessment of the residents under the auspices of the Human Services department at TCB.

Although originally an examination of the social service needs of the residents at Heritage Common, the project evolved into a study of the process of community organizing and the effects that the researcher and the research tools had on this process. The reason for the change of focus is primarily due to the pressing need that the residents saw for an established Tenants' Committee. Organizing their community to address their main concerns became the overarching goal of the residents.

In order to understand the current situation at Heritage Common, it is important to review the financial history of the development. Since its inception, Heritage Common has had its share of financial woes. It was built in 1989-1990 and financed in part by the

Massachusetts S.H.A.R.P. loan program.[1] When funding for the S.H.A.R.P. loan program was scaled back in the early 1990's due to the real estate crash, a considerable amount of funds were withdrawn from the construction budget (ground was already broken at the site.)

The downscaling of the S.H.A.R.P. program in conjunction with the real estate market downturn caused Heritage Common to experience financial difficulties from the beginning. The value of the property was projected to rise over time, but instead, it declined because of the market downturn. The appreciation in the value of the property was supposed to breakeven with the operating expenses at the beginning and then exceed them with time, leaving a surplus. What happened instead was that the value of the property declined, the operating expenses remained constant, and the property experienced a deficit. Today, Heritage Common is still experiencing an operating deficit.

The financial situation is linked to the research project because of the residual effects it has had on the management/resident relationship. The biggest complaint from the residents has been about maintenance. They want the management to address repairs and replacements, but the financial situation is such that the management simply cannot pay for them.

Communication between management and the residents concerning the problems at Heritage Common has been virtually non-existent. As a result, the residents felt that in order to open these lines of communication, it was necessary to form a Tenants'

[1] The S.H.A.R.P. loan program, which is a program, financed by the state of Massachusetts has had a troubled history. Its troubles were augmented by the real estate crash in Massachusetts in the early 1990's. Today, it continues to by plagued by problems, including a lawsuit against the state brought by several borrowers. To learn more about the program and its history, you can contact the Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency. Documentation on the program will be difficult to obtain given the ongoing lawsuit. It

Committee that is formally recognized by the management. Their goal is to be able to share their concerns with the Heritage Common staff as well as get feedback on future plans for the property. In the course of conducting the survey on social services, it was clear that the residents had been looking for an opportunity to share their concerns with TCB and Heritage Common staff. The survey afforded them this opportunity, and the researcher was a link to not only community resources but also to TCB headquarters in Boston by virtue of an internship with them.

By the end of the research process, a group of residents had been successful in forming a Tenants' Committee. With it in place, the residents hope that they will have a place to go to voice their concerns about their community as well as rally around issues, such as social services, which are important to all who live there.

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was suggested that the best way to obtain information about it, is by using the Freedom of Information Act (FIMA).

Chapter 2: The Purpose

"Heritage Common could become a community with an excellent standard of living if there is the opportunity for the residents and the management to work together to improve the conditions." – *resident, age 46*

Meeting the social service needs of low-income residents has increasingly become a pressing issue in the affordable housing field, and funding these needs has always been an issue. Originally, the focus of this research was to gain insight into what social services are needed, offered and how they are used at subsidized housing developments. Towards this end, I created a survey to assess and catalog the social service needs of the residents of Heritage Common. After initial conversations with the pilot group of residents testing out the survey, it became apparent that there were more interesting questions to be researched in this particular community. Latent concerns of the residents and ideas about how to solve some of the communities' perceived problems surfaced and compelled an expansion of this research project.

As the research progressed, the purpose shifted to examining how the process of community organizing works in a low to moderate income and minority community such as Heritage Common.[2]

[2] Note that the study will reveal a lot about one specific site, which may or may not reflect the experience of other communities.

The research problem at this point became apparent:

> *The population at Heritage Common has needs for social services and has had difficulties in acquiring and accessing them. They have not had an organized tenants' group to help the management and resident services staff deal with these issues in six years.*

Out of this problem came one main research question with two subparts.

How can researchers and their research methods serve as catalysts for community action?

a) How do communities like Heritage react to and utilize the resources that outsiders such as researchers bring into the community
b) How do communities capitalize on these resources and mobilize their own resources to effect community change.

With these research questions and the main problem to solve being the lack of community organization and participation, the ultimate goal of the research[3] is to establish a framework by which residents can organize to deal with the many issues that they face in their housing community. Specifically, this framework is one in which research methods serve as a catalyst to identifying and addressing social service needs.

I strongly believe that the importance of these questions lies in the possibility that this research process will open channels of communication between people at the site and between residents and management, that will be beneficial to both parties in the long run. In addition, the community itself can meet these needs in a way that does not rely as heavily on external funding sources and cuts back on the time it takes to deliver these services. The residents benefit because instead of TCB's services being based on needs as perceived by the TCB management, the services will be based on needs that the residents themselves have articulated. TCB benefits because it meets its objective of providing the

[3] This research is referred to in the literature as participatory action research (PAR.) PAR is a research model which is culturally sensitive and "aims to contribute both to the practical concerns of people in an immediate problematic situation and to the goals of social science by joint collaboration within a mutually

services that are most needed by the residents, and builds the trust between the staff and the residents that it has lacked for so long.

Although this is a case study, the findings can be generalized to a certain extent. That having been said, this research will give TCB information on the social service needs of the residents at Heritage Common which it can in turn use to better provide these services at other properties which have similar residents with similar needs. The same can be said for any group that is interested in the results of this research.

In a broader context, the policy implications of this research are that it can add to the best practices of effective and efficient service delivery by property owners/operators. Given the increasing importance of human services in affordable housing, this is a worthwhile contribution. In addition, this case study shows the importance of open communication between management and residents, and the benefits of these two groups working together to address the concerns of the development.

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acceptable ethical framework." (Hopkins, 1985). See for example, Brown (1983), Cancian and Armstead (1992), Freire (1982), and Patai (1991.)

Chapter 3: The Methodology

"I feel good. The system [here] is good." – *resident, age 43*

Background for the Research:

For the last year, I have been interning with The Community Builders (TCB), a non-profit housing developer based in Boston but owning and operating properties all over the country. With them, I have focused on various aspects of affordable housing including management and human service delivery. Through my internship, I have had the opportunity to get involved with a social service needs assessment of one of their properties, Heritage Common, in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Heritage Common's residents are primarily Puerto Rican and Dominican, and a majority of them are receiving some type of assistance from government sources.

I began working at Heritage Common in October 1999. My assignment was to create a survey to administer to the residents that would give TCB a better idea of the demographics of Heritage Common as well as illustrate the social service needs of the residents. The first staff members that I was introduced to were Joyce Rinaldi, the Portfolio Manager and Rafael Morales, the Residential Services Coordinator for the property. At that point, Heritage Common was going through a staffing change in the management office. I subsequently was introduced to Tony Decearse, the new Site

Manager. Since my first meetings with staff, I have worked most closely with Mr. Morales given that the results of the survey directly affect his work. Mr. Morales is the only Spanish speaker other than the receptionist on staff at Heritage Common. He has the most tenure of any of the staff, has a close relationship with most residents, and knows where all residents live in the property. These facts together have lead to his leadership position among the community at Heritage Common. He is well respected and trusted by the residents. The respect that he earned from the residents has been invaluable in helping me conduct the survey and begin organizing the community.

Steps in the Research Process - A Mixed Method Approach:

The goal of my research instruments was to gauge what the residents'needs are at Heritage Common. The research consisted of a survey of residents, as well as focus groups with the newly-formed Tenants' Committee. Using the results of the survey, I performed a quantitative analysis of the data. Given the relatively small sample size and the purpose of the results, I found obtaining the frequencies of the variables and running cross-tabs with chi-square tests to be the most appropriate statistical tools for the analysis. The focus groups as well as the three open-ended questions at the end of the survey served as the qualitative piece of the research.

I formulated the questions by taking questions from sample surveys that have been done in the past on related topics and adapting them to my specific areas of interest. The most useful were samples from HUD and public health community surveys. In addition to the more general questions, I have included questions that are specific to Heritage Common, for example, tenure in Lawrence and at Heritage Common.

In order to help me refine the questions before taking the survey to the residents, I tested the survey instrument by using a pilot group of respondents. This group consisted of people with the same basic demographics as the Heritage Common population at large (i.e. similar income, educational attainment, ethnic background, etc.) The pilot survey was administered to a group of eight people, five women and three men. After they had taken the survey, feedback was encouraged to gain insight to which questions were confusing or poorly worded. The responses of the pilot group proved to be an invaluable tool for improving the survey. In hindsight, the survey would have been much improved had I had the opportunity to test the questions again before administering it to the residents. A limitation to the effectiveness of the survey was that one of the important questions was misread by some of the respondents, and therefore, its usefulness as an analytical tool was hampered.

The final survey consisted of 31 questions, 28 of which were multiple choice and 3 that were open-ended. The questions covered demographics, social service needs, federal/state assistance[4], and general opinions about Heritage Common. The survey was designed for descriptive purposes as well as association purposes (e.g. which groups need which services.)

The target population was all the adult heads of household at Heritage Common (one adult per household.) This revised survey was given to 89 residents to find out what their needs are and whether they are satisfied with the services that they have received at Heritage Common. This sample encompasses 64% of the households at Heritage Common. It was analyzed statistically to:

[4] Assistance refers to income assistance, medical coverage, and fuel and rental assistance.

- Describe the background of the respondents
- Describe the responses to significant questions[5]
- Determine if there is a connection between needs for services and tenure
- Compare preferences of residents by parenting status, if their spouses live with them, and age (determine if these differences are statistically significant using chi-square tests.)

The survey was administered at the Heritage Common community room. Starting in mid-January, Mr. Morales and I distributed a leaflet to all the residents informing them that there would be a survey conducted at Heritage within the next month. We then went door-to-door to invite the residents to participate in what I termed a "survey dinner." To encourage residents to come to the dinners, we had one of the residents, Miriam Baez, cook a full dinner for the participants. Childcare was also provided. The residents had their choice of 8 dates. We tried to limit the attendance to 10-12 people at each dinner, but in reality the turnout ranged between 7 and 22 people. In all, we held 8 survey dinners. All the activities occurred in the evenings between Wednesday and Friday to allow people enough time to return home from work, while at the same time not being obtrusive on their weekend schedules with family.

The survey was self-administered. Both Mr. Morales and I were available at the respondent's request for clarification of the questions. In addition, if they chose, they had me read the survey to them and/or help them fill it out. The major reason for asking for assistance with the survey was low literacy of the respondent. The majority of the people filled out their own surveys; only six people asked for assistance. In all of the six cases, they asked for assistance due to their low level of literacy. There were some situations where people were ill or had other responsibilities at home, so in those cases, they filled the survey out at home and returned them to me at a later date. There is the limitation

here that all of the surveys were not administered equally, but I felt at the time that gathering as much of the data as was possible was paramount.

In addition to the survey, I conducted a focus group with the Tenants' Committee. In March, we held three meetings to discuss some of the issues pertinent to the work of the Tenants' Committee. Among the items discussed were which services would be most valuable to all the tenants at Heritage. These discussions helped to better inform my research and delve deeper into some of the issues brought up by residents in the survey. Another topic of conversation at these meetings was to begin to strategize about which concerns were most important to discuss with the management and how to build a relationship with management that ensures cooperation between the two groups and is sustainable into the future. We specifically tried to address the resident's presentation to the TCB staff.

These meetings were an integral part of the research. Community organizing was taking place, and many of the steps that I have talked about being crucial to organizing were being taken. Leadership and membership development was taking place, deciding on organizing issues by way of open discussion, strategizing on the best ways to achieve goals, and taking stock of the group assets was all happening at these meetings. There are still many steps that the organizing needs to go through at Heritage Common, but the initial building blocks of a strong community group are in place.

Once all of the surveys were completed, the data were entered in an Excel spreadsheet. I then ran some pivot tables on the data that gave me a preliminary look at the findings. With some of the trends becoming evident, I was able to move on to

[5] Significance was determined through informal conversations with the residents and the focus group.

statistical analysis. Using the statistical software, SPSS, I formulated frequency tables and carried out the cross-tabs with chi-squares to determine the relationship among the variables. With the data parsed into meaningful tables, I was able to begin drawing some conclusions about community concerns, which groups are more likely to need what social services, and which issues have potential to be rallying points for community organizing.

For the purposes of helping the Tenants' Committee organize the data and develop an approach to organizing the residents, the respondents of the survey were split into three easily identifiable groups: single persons, parents of teenagers, and people residing at Heritage Common more than 5 years. The single persons included all those that answered the question about whether or not their spouse lived with them as no. The variable used for this group was SP_LIVE. Parents of teenagers include parents of all children between the ages of 13-18. The variable used in this grouping was CHILD_AGE. Finally, the variable used for the amount of time at Heritage Common was HC_YRS. These groups were split out because traditionally organizing efforts around the country have used these groups as starting points for community organizing. Groups that cater to the concerns of single persons and teens are common, and generally speaking, people that have lived together for an extended period of time can often share similar experiences have common perspectives on issues.

These groups were analyzed according to which services they found to be most useful to them. Specifically, the responses to the multiple-choice questions were analyzed using quantitative measures, and the open-ended responses were treated as qualitative data. Out of these open-ended questions came many of the resident quotes. These quotes identified what issues were on the resident's minds but not necessarily

covered by the survey. The focus groups served also served as a vehicle to gather qualitative data. To round out the data collection participant observation data was used from the informal interactions with residents throughout the last 8 months.

Chapter 4: The Theories Behind the Action

"I want the staff to have a meeting with all of the residents." – *resident, age 61*

Historical and Theoretical Background of Community Organizing:

Organizing theory has grounding in many different disciplines. It has been influenced by political science, sociology, and education theory. Saul Alinsky and Paulo Freire are often referred to when considering the origins of modern organizing theory.

Alinsky's organizing style stresses the importance of the group recognizing their inherent power, as well as emphasizing the importance of challenging the fear of standing up to those in positions of power. Alinsky is not the only one to note the effect of fear on a communities action/non-action. John Gaventa, a political scientist writing on power noted that "apathy can be attributed to fear and vulnerability [felt by community] to power elites." One of the major roadblocks to organizing is the idea that "there is nothing we can do about it." Often, Alisky's theories are thought to be conflict-based, but in actuality they are much more than that; they are based in using your power effectively in order to be able to avoid conflict. Putting it succinctly, he said, "Power is not only what you have but what the enemy thinks you have."[6] By using the perception of power to a group's advantage, Alinsky felt that conversations and negotiations could

[6] Saul Alinsky, Alinsky quotes, http://www.bemorecreative.com/one/1521.htm

much more readily be planned, and therefore, conflict avoided, than if one side perceived itself to be more powerful than the other.

However, Alinsky did feel that conflict was a part of bringing about change. In fact, he recognized that, "Change means movement. Movement means friction. Only in the frictionless vacuum of a nonexistent abstract world can movement or change occur without that abrasive friction of conflict."[7] Breaking his theories down to the most essential pieces means understanding his positions on power and how to obtain it, as well as realizing that although conflict is not inherent to all organizing efforts, it is a major part of being able to affect change. Another important aspect of Alinsky's theories is that they also emphasize the role of the individual in moving their community towards change. The voluntary community organizations that Alinsky organized "provided a connection between the individual and the larger society." [8] Each member of these organizations became involved in a movement towards a greater good. With the commitment of many individuals, Alinsky saw the potential for power-sharing between those that were traditionally in power and those that were discovering their powerbase.

Paulo Freire also emphasized the importance of power sharing. His theory came out of the work that he did as an educator in Brazil and Chile. He strongly believed that empowerment is not individual. Especially for the poor and dispossessed, empowerment can be found in the strength of numbers. Liberation achieved by an individual at the expense of others is an act of oppression.[9] Empowerment is the means as well as the outcome of his philosophy. Freire's pedagogy, the how to and general guidelines of his

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[7] ibid.
[8] Horwit Sanford, "Alinsky: More Important Now Than Ever", L.A. Times, July 20, 1997.
[9] Tom Heaney, "Issues of Freirean Pedagogy",http://nlu.nl.edu/ace/Resources/Documents/FreireIssues.html

educational approach, has come to be known as *liberatory education.* Liberatory education is "mutually supported learning for empowerment." It sees the student and the teacher as equals in the learning process. It rejects the idea of 'banking education' where the student is an 'empty vessel' for the thought and theories deemed acceptable and passed on by the power elite. Empowerment is achieved by obtaining critical consciousness and the necessary skills related to liberatory praxis[10] which in turn help the individual gain a voice in order to move towards social action; a necessary element to achieve change.

Critical consciousness[11] has three major stages. The first is the "semi-intransitive" stage where the individual is completely centered on his/her own world and does little beyond ensuring his/her own survival. The second stage is "naïve transitivity." This is where the person oversimplifies problems surrounding them, prefers "fanciful explanations of reality", practices polemics rather than dialogue, and among other things, has a disinterest in investigation.[12] In the final stage, "critical transitivity", the individual understands their connection with the world outside their own sphere of existence. They reject polemics and opt for dialogue, they are open to testing their own findings, they try to avoid distortions in their analysis, they reject passivity, and in short, they are ready to act on carefully thought out issues. An important point to note is that these stages are not mutually exclusive, and that they all link learning with action; a basic element for

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[10] *liberatory praxis:* "a complex activity by which individuals create culture and society, and become critically conscious human beings." (Heaney, 1999)

[11] The process by which people are able to formulate their own interpretations of their situation in the world and are able to analyze them free of preconceived notions. They are receptive to new without necessarily rejecting the old simply because it is old. (Heaney, 1999)

[12] ibid.

transformation to occur.[13] In the case of Heritage Common critical consciousness was seen in the interest of some of the residents to form a Tenants' Committee, and in their realization that the survey process and the presence of an outside researcher was their opportunity to raise issues that were important to them.

Both Alinsky and Freire placed importance on power and how it relates to movement politics and organizing. A central question to organizing theory then is: What is power? In addition to Alinsky's and Freire's theories on power, there are multitudes of writings on power theory that have come out of the political science sphere. There are several useful definitions of "power over." One is that A has the power over B to the extent that A can get B to do something that B would otherwise not do.[14] Adding to that definition is the idea that A exercises power over B to the extent that A influences, shapes or determines B's needs and wants.[15] Power can be placed in the community context by seeing "who participates, who gains and loses, and who prevails in decision-making"...in addition, "power serves for the development and maintenance of the quiescence of the non-elite."[16] This, says Gaventa, is the second face of power. According to Bachrach and Baranz, power can be thought of as follows:

> Power is exercised not just upon participants within the decision-making process but also towards the exclusion of certain participants and issues altogether...Power pre-determines the agenda of the struggle to determine whether certain questions ever reach the competition stage.[17]

This definition of power and how it works is particularly applicable to the power struggles that low-income and dispossessed communities face when trying to organize.

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[13] ibid.
[14] Robert Dahl, "The Concept of Power", in Political Power: A Reader in Theory and Research, 1969, p.80.
[15] Nelson Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory. 1963, p.55.
[16] John Gaventa, Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley, p.4-5.
[17] Ibid, p.10.

Those who possess power often become so out of touch with the real issues facing their "constituents" that they at times become oblivious to the inequities. There is also the internalization of the roles of the individual and their perceptions of their positions in the group, and as a result, the acceptance of the status quo. With people on both sides of the power debate upholding the status quo, there is no conflict and, according to Alinsky, no change. As Gaventa states in his writings on power, the "most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent such conflict from arising in the first place."

Table 1: The Dimensions of Power

1st Dimension (Dahl and Polsby)	♦ Emphasis on observable conflict and decision-making ♦ Power is determined by who prevails in bargaining for resolution of key issues
2nd Dimension (Bachrach and Baranz)	♦ Mobilization of bias and "rules of the game" work systematically for certain groups at the expense of others ♦ Those who benefit are in a preferred position to promote their vested interests ♦ Suppress challenges, suffocate them before they are voiced ♦ Institutional inaction, non-event
3rd Dimension (Luke and Gaventa)	♦ Specifies the means through which power influences, shapes or determines conceptions of the necessities, possibilities and strategies of challenge in situations of the latent conflict

Another important point when considering power is the distinction between *power over* and *power to*. *Power over* is the traditional or widespread definition of power, meaning dependency or domination. *Power to* is the type of power that low-income and dispossessed communities should strive to obtain. This type of power "is the basis of the benefits of social cooperation and our capacity to accomplish together what we cannot accomplish alone."[18]

One of the basic tenets of community organizing is getting groups of people to mobilize for change. A key starting point is identifying who is in power and empowering those that are perceived not to have power. There are many ways to do this and many

[18] Marshall Ganz, Organizing Notes, "Mapping the Social World: Actors Resources and Power", Spring 2000.

steps to make it happen. It is a difficult undertaking that when done properly, can have many fruitful results. Careful attention to details along the way to organizing and making sure that all participants in the process are heard is essential. A case in point is the mobilization of parents at the Zavala Elementary School in Austin, Texas. This school was one of the poorest in terms of academic achievement and attendance in the Austin school system. The parents, in conjunction with a community organizing group, rallied around these issues, approached the school system and the teachers at the school, and eventually came up with an action plan aimed at improving academics and attendance. With parents and teachers working together, Zavala Elementary improved dramatically.[19]

Basic Principles of Community Organizing:

Organizing groups of people successfully is a challenging undertaking for a great number of reasons. First, there is the organic nature of the group. People are constantly flowing in and out of the matrices which define the landscape under which a community or group functions. This is especially true in a community such as Heritage Common. People move in and leave according to the circumstances of their lives. For example, they may have a homeownership opportunity or a job opportunity which requires them to move. New people bring with them new opinions and perspectives on the situations in their community. The relationships change with every new person that enters or leaves the process. These changing relationships have a direct effect on the motivations that drive the group towards their goals. Even within the most tight-knit group, there will be differences that need to be recognized if not reconciled before the group can move forward.

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[19] Richard Murnane and Frank Levy, *Teaching the New Basic Skills,* New York: The Free Press, p. 80-107.

Second, every group needs a reason to be organizing, and choosing a particular issue or set of issues can be a difficult process. A part of identifying the issue is strategy selection. There will be different strategies that are better suited to deal with certain issues. For example, at Heritage Common, targeting specific groups such as parents of young children for participation in a daycare service may be one strategy and targeting the community as whole for participation in monthly meetings with management may be another strategy. In addition, deciding on the one strategy that is best suited to achieve results can often cause strain on the inter-personal relationships within a group. Some may be strongly in favor of targeting the parents of young children, while others feel the approach of targeting the community as a whole is more important, and therefore a more appropriate strategy in order to achieve results.

Third, there is the question of the resources and assets that are at the disposal of the group struggling to organize. This is closely tied to the strategy that is chosen. If the group has limited funds, much like the Tenants' Committee at Heritage Common, then there are certain approaches that they cannot take at this time. As the organization grows and becomes more established, the resources and assets will also be more plentiful.

Fourth, there is the underlying goal of developing leadership. In other words, being able to define what makes effective leaders and followers, and identifying whom within the group will fall under each category. This is especially important since it is the ability of the leader to lead and the members to follow that defines the relationships within the group. If the president of the Tenants' Committee, for example, is not effective in vocalizing the ideas of the group and translating them to management, then the group as a whole will not be effective in achieving their stated goals. At the same

time, if the members are not willing to trust the president in his representation of them, then there will be friction within the group, which can endanger its long-term sustainability.

Finally, there is the role of the organizer. Key questions include: what assets does he/she bring to the table, and how does their participation fit into the goals of the community organizing effort? This is especially pertinent to the Heritage Common case since there are several people playing the role of "organizer." Each of these people brings different resources and assets to the table.

Often, when we think of community organizing, we think of empowering communities to act for themselves in order to achieve a certain aim. Thus, we can think of empowerment of a community as equivalent to its responsibility to act.[20] Commitment to the organization that is being formed is the first step to taking this responsibility. Without commitment, there are crucial steps that the organization cannot take in order to move forward. For example, identifying the key issues for the group, deciding on strategy to pursue their aims, and choosing the leadership to move the group forward is virtually impossible without the firm commitment of individuals to the organizing cause.

Strong relationships are the foundation of a successful organizing effort. Relationships between people imply that there has been a past exchange between them and that there will be future interaction.[21] The idea of past/future interaction between members of the group being organized is directly related to commitment because without a core group that is willing to attend meetings regularly, gather information, volunteer to

[20] Michael Ganz, Organizing Notes, "What is Organizing?", Spring 2000.
[21] Michael Ganz, Organizing Notes, "Relationships", Spring 2000.

disseminate that information, etc. trusting relationships of interdependence cannot be established, and therefore, common interests cannot be achieved.

In terms of the relationship between the group being organized and those on the other side of the issues, it may be that establishing a new relationship may pave the way to highlighting new interests and new solutions to problems. The management and the residents at Heritage Common have a long-established relationship that has not always been a positive one. At this point in time it is in the best interest of both groups to re-establish a positive relationship so that in turn, they can communicate with each other and seek viable solutions to the problems that Heritage Common faces.

These new relationships grounded in common interests are the starting point for getting people motivated to move their cause forward. The passive attitudes that people may have felt before finding common interests can be moved to action by motivation. A starting point to motivating groups is helping them become conscious of the problems, see their roles in fixing the problem, and formulating and vocalizing their opinions on the issues. In short, in the spirit of Freire, reaching "critical consciousness" is the first step to becoming motivated.[22] Motivation is deeply rooted in emotion. If there are no strong feelings for the issue, motivation to act on it is less likely. For example, at Heritage Common, people have strong feelings about the quality of the maintenance at the property. They are more likely to be involved in a process that tries to deal with this issue rather than one where the focus is job placement and training, an issue that the majority of the respondents to the survey felt was not very important.

[22] Michael Ganz, Organizing Notes, "Interpretation I: Motivation, Narrative, Celebration", Spring 2000.

Choosing the issues and defining the strategy that the group being organized will use are foundations for an organizing effort. In terms of selecting the issues that will lead the organizing effort, they have to be salient to the majority of the group. Having a vested interest in and being passionate about an issue makes motivation much easier to achieve. At the same time, it is important to choose issues that will generate enough interest while also being reasonable 'winnables' for the group. This is especially critical for a group that is undertaking their first organizing effort. A failed attempt at 'winning' an issue can mean low morale or lack of interest at the next issue that is confronted. Issues should, therefore, be chosen while keeping the resources and assets at the disposal of the community in mind.

For every issue that a community rallies around, there are many strategies for achieving their goals. When beginning an organizing project, the group being organized must first consider the membership's strengths and weaknesses, what their skills and abilities are, the financial position of the group, and who their allies are. See which strategies build the organization's skills, membership and credibility.[23] This will be valuable for future campaigns.

Several strategies should be chosen in case there are any unforeseen circumstances that should arise preventing one strategy from being followed through to completion. Then, consider the time and difficulty of the chosen strategies. Keeping the group energized and interested throughout the process is important for future organizing efforts. The strategies that are picked should be planned and carried out by both the leadership and the membership. They both need to be aware of he long-term and broad

[23] Si Kahn, Organizing, 1982.

picture and how all the individual parts fit in. It is crucial to avoid the "let's cross the bridge when we get there" mentality because doing this invests a lot of emotional energy in *one* outcome. If the outcome is not favorable, morale suffers.

The following are useful pointers to follow for good organizing strategy:

1. Ask questions in order to encourage wide-open thinking.
2. Make sure the strategy is well thought out.
3. The strategy should build on the experiences and skills of the group.
4. Involve members: "People learn just as much from the process as from the product."[24]
5. Be flexible and choose several strategies.
6. Have depth; strive for good ideas but have steps to carry them out as well.
7. Root the strategy in reality – what can the group realistically do?
8. Base the strategy on culture and togetherness.
9. It should be educational. In the process of carrying out the strategy, people should be learning about themselves, the organization, politics, and power.

As outlined above, part of choosing a strategy involves outlining the resources and assets of the community group. Typically, when we think of resources and assets we think in financial terms. When mapping resources and assets, we should think outside the financial box. Resources can be split up in several ways. There are moral resources and economic resources, as well as natural resources and acquired resources. The latter two refer to how resources "behave", the former two refer to how they relate to individuals. Moral resources grow with use. These include but are not limited to relationships, commitment, and understanding. Economic resources are those that do diminish with use such as money and materials. Natural resources are what people are born with; spirit, charisma, time, talents. Acquired resources include skills, money, information, and equipment.[25]

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[24] ibid, p.158.
[25] Marshall Ganz, Organizing Notes, "Mapping the Social World: Actors Resources and Power", Spring 2000.

Once the strategy has been chosen, and the resources identified, there needs to be a person or group of people that are willing and able to lead the group. Identifying what makes an effective leader is the next step in the process. The main job of a leader is to "facilitate the interdependence and collaboration that can create more *power to* – based on the interests of all parties."[26] A leader needs to not only to bring a group of people with common interests together, and garner their respect and support, but also be willing to listen carefully, discuss openly, and take new ideas from the membership.

Table 2: Key Components of an Effective Leader[27]

"A leader turns....."	"...into..."
...division...	...solidarity by building, maintaining, and developing relationships
...confusion...	...understanding by facilitating interpretation
...reaction...	...initiative by strategizing
...passivity...	...participation by motivation – inspiring people
...inaction...	...action by mobilizing
...drift...	...purpose by accepting responsibility for doing leadership work, and challenging others to accept responsibility

If a group has an effective leader, then what becomes of the role of the organizer? An organizer has different roles depending on the situation of the community they are organizing. In the case of Heritage Common, the organizer was a connection between the inside (in this case the residents at Heritage Common) and the outside (which includes the owners/management company and resources in Lawrence and the academic community.) The organizer in this case also ensured that different variables came together in such a way that the wheels of community organization were set in motion.

In the case of Heritage Common, these variables included the survey that was done of the needs of the community, the surveyor/organizer, and the identification of

[26] Marshall Ganz, Organizing Notes, "Leadership", Spring 2000.
[27] ibid.

inside leadership which enabled trusting relationships to be built. The act of surveying the community brought to light issues that were on resident's minds, but not out in the open. The survey afforded them the opportunity to vocalize their thoughts and opinions. The surveyor/organizer had the added advantage of crossing the line of institutional boundaries by being both a graduate student and responsible for a survey mandated by the owners/managers and crossing cultural boundaries by being bilingual and bicultural. The organizer in this case brought to the organizing effort resources from both institutional worlds as well as garnered trust more readily because of the cultural links to the community.

The relationship between the organizer and the community also benefited from what Granovetter termed "the strength of weak ties." That is to say that while the residents had their own, micro-level, networks with each other, their link with the organizer offered them an opportunity to connect to macro-level networks. Often, micro-level networks while demonstrating strong ties between the individuals in the network, tend to close the group off from larger networks with more resources. The weaker ties that define the connection between the micro and macro levels can often be advantageous in that they give the community access to more influence and information.[28] The organizer's role in this case, then, was to be the weak link between different institutional boundaries and cultural realities. This strengthened the position of the residents in the organizing efforts.

[28] Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 78, Number 6.

Theoretical Models for Group Building:

There are many theoretical models for group building. Some models focus on the individual and others focus on the group. Despite having different focuses, the main components of these models can explain motivations for action, styles of group interaction, and stages in the organizing process. These models are applicable to the processes in which the residents of Heritage Common are involved.

A useful model to think about how individuals become involved in community organizing is the Transtheoretical Model of Social Change as put forth by James Prochaska.[29] Although this particular model is regularly applied to changes in health behavior, it can be applicable to the stages individuals go through in the process of becoming active participants in community change. In the case of Heritage Common, the stages of individual change are related to the realization that their participation in the community organizing process is a valuable asset; that community change begins with individual's commitment. The centerpiece of this model is individual empowerment which begins with understanding their roles as members of the community, and the responsibilities that they can assume in the community affect positive change.

Table 2: Transtheoretical Model Constructs[30]

Constructs*	Description	Heritage Common Relevance
Stages of Change		
Precontemplation	Has no intention to take action within 6 months	No thought of participating in group
Contemplation	Intends to take action within 6 months	Intends to participate
Preparation	Intends to take action within the next 30 days and has taken some behavioral steps in this direction	Has shown interest in group activities and will attend next meeting
Action	Has changed overt behavior for less than	Has gone to monthly meetings

[29] Prochaska et al. "The Transtheoretical Model and Stages of Change", Health Behavior and Health Education: Theory Research and Practice, ed. Glanz, Lewis and Rimer, 1997, p. 60.
[30] Ibid., p.62.

	6 months	
Maintenance	Has changed overt behavior for more than 6 months	Has attended for 6 months
Decisional Balance		
Pros	The benefits of changing	Benefits to residents of participation
Cons	The costs of changing	Costs in terms of private time
Process of Change		
consciousness raising	Finding and learning new facts, ideas, and tips that support the healthy behavioral change	Seeing that participation matters by way of new facts, ideas, tips
dramatic relief	Experiencing negative emotions (fear, anxiety, worry) that go along with unhealthy behavioral risks	Experiencing stagnant community relationships and no positive change
self-reevaluation	Realizing that the behavioral change is an important part of one's identity as a person	Realizing that one's opinion counts in the community process
environmental reevaluation	Realizing the negative impact of unhealthy behavior or the positive impact of healthy behavior on one's proximal social and physical environment	Realizing that individual action contributes to positive community change
self-liberation	Making a firm commitment to change	Making a firm commitment to change the community for the better
helping relationships	Seeking and using social support for healthy behavioral change	Constructing new support networks for the community as a whole
social liberation	Realizing that the social norms are changing in the direction of supporting the healthy behavioral change	Realizing that atmosphere of the community is changing in a positive direction due to action

* Some parts of the theory less applicable to individual participation in community organizing. These include self-efficacy, counterconditioning, contingency management, and stimulus control.

For the sake of this analysis, "healthy behavioral change" as applied to community organizing can refer to an individual resident's decisions to become involved. Whereas unhealthy change is the process by which that individual does not feel that community participation is important, and therefore, insulates themselves from community action. In the case of Heritage Common, there are several people that can be thought of as having already gone through these stages. They see the importance of their participation in the activities benefiting the community as a whole. This is not to say that only those individuals active in the monthly meetings are exhibiting "healthy behavior." There are many people who know the importance of community action yet cannot participate due to

familial and time constraints. They have, however, volunteered their time should the need arise.

In light of the research at Heritage Common, however, it is safe to say that the majority of the residents are somewhere in the process of realizing the value of community action. The reasons for lack of participation are many. They can range from not identifying with the issues that are being promoted by the organized group, not feeling a part of the community due to tenure or class/racial/ethnic differences, feeling that their privacy will be invaded, and lack of time. For some, participation in community action will never be a part of who they are. For others, it is a question of time and gaining access to information through the efforts of others in the community that will start them on the process of being a part of community organizing efforts.

In terms of theoretical models for groups, the best known typology is Rothman's categorization of community change.[31] Within this framework, there are three models of practice: locality development, social planning and social action. Locality development is very process oriented. The group moves forward by concentrating on "consensus and cooperation" as well as "building group identity and a sense of community."[32] Heritage Common fares well in the regard because it is a relatively stable community. There is not a frequent turn-over of residents. Most stay long enough to be invested in activities that promote improvement for the community. On the other hand, social planning is very task oriented and is usually carried forth by an "outside expert." This type of organizing would not be very successful at Heritage Common because there is a core group of

[31] Ibid, p. 60.

residents that have taken the task of action for change very seriously. Finally, the social action model is a combination of both locality development and social planning models. It is both task and process driven. Specifically, "it is concerned with increasing the community's problem-solving ability and with achieving concrete changes to redress imbalances of power and privilege between an oppressed or disadvantaged group and the larger society."[33]

It is important to note that while these models of community organizing have been practiced for over twenty years, they have their limitations. The most glaring is that it is problem based and organizer centered. The models put forth in Rothman's typology have become building blocks to other models that include a focus on building communities' strengths and leadership. As a result, newer models have included effective ways to "identify shared values and nurture the development of shared goals" from within the community context rather than garnering them from an outside source (i.e. a community organizer that is not a member of the community.) The result of mixing methods are models such as Himmelman's collaborative empowerment model.[34] It includes traditional approaches such as "clarifying the community's purpose and vision, examining what others have done, and building on a community's power base" but also includes allowing the community to play the lead role in change so that 'empowerment' can be achieved.[35] Heritage Common exemplifies this model in that the organizing effort was a result of an outside force clarifying the purpose and vision. At

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[32]Minkler and Wallerstein, "Improving Health Through Community Organization and Community Building", Health Behavior and Health Education: Theory Research and Practice, ed. Glanz, Lewis and Rimer, 1997, p. 246.

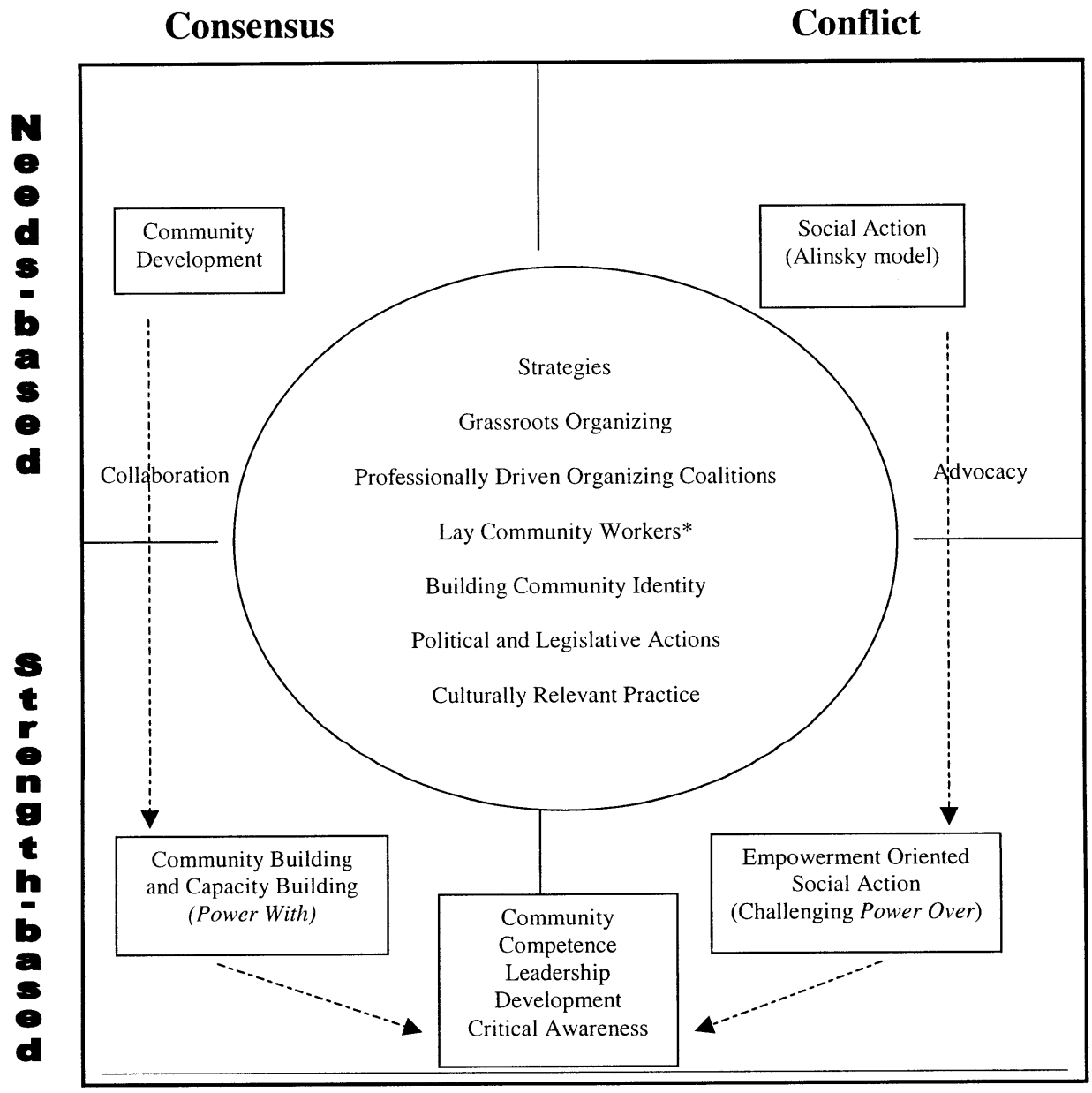
[33] Ibid.

[34] Himmelman, A.T. "Communities Working Collaboratively for a Change." Unpublished manuscript. July 1992.

the same time, inside forces, namely the resident's desire to participate in a group whose goals is to mobilize change, played the lead role in the changes taking place.

A useful way of visualizing the intersections of older organizing approaches with newer approaches appears in the following chart:

Figure 1: Community Organization and Community Building Typology[36]



[35] Minkler and Wallerstein, p 247.
[36] Ibid., p. 248.

This chart suggests that both organizing approaches can be carried out simultaneously. Ganz suggests that the group needs to gain the knowledge of challenging *power over* before it can begin the process of demanding the *power with*. In the case of Heritage Common this is especially pertinent because the residents are establishing their roles as players in the power structure of the community. Their role as a part of the formal process and the responsibilities of management to the residents needs to be explicitly stated. In other words, the Committee must demand formal recognition from the management and demand a position in the decision making process.

As cited in various examples above, the theories on organizing and the theoretical models of group building are directly applicable to the research conducted at Heritage Common. In this case study, the theory informs the practical.

Chapter 5: The Results

"Heritage Common has a high percentage Hispanics and should be supervised by someone who is biligual and bicultural that can identify the needs of the majority of the residents. In order for the conditions between residents and management to improve, the management should make decisions that show that they cared about resident opinions when important decisions are made. We could have other benefits from federal funds that could possibly be obtained for our good." – *resident, age 49*

I have come about the results of this research in a somewhat unorthodox way. Traditionally, the survey results answer the primary research question, but in this particular research project the objectives of the survey are slightly different. The main purpose of the survey in answering the research question was to see if this research method did indeed contribute to a mobilization of the residents of Heritage Common into community action. This is not to say that the survey did not play a more traditional role in this project. In fact, the frequencies of the variables informed questions I had about general demographics of the resident population there as well as helped shed light on the social services that are most needed and wanted by the residents. In this section, I will report on the results of both "roles" of the survey in the following manner: 1.0 demographics of the survey sample, 2.) how the can contribute to mobilizing the Heritage Common residents, and 3.) themes generated from the survey that are potential organizing rallying points. It is important to note that the respondents to the survey

represented 64% of the total heads of household at Heritage Common. The assumption will be made throughout the analysis that this majority is representative of the Heritage Common population as a whole.

Demographics of Heritage Common:

The population of Heritage Common generally reflects the population of Lawrence as a whole in terms of ethnicity. The majority of the residents are of Latino origin, with 48% being of Dominican background and 33% being of Puerto Rican background.

They are generally much more proficient in Spanish than in English, with 50% of the residents saying that they use Spanish more than English outside the home. The data show that the population at Heritage Common is generally fairly well educated, although a 53% majority expressed interest in continuing their education through General Education Diploma (GED) classes and/or English as a Second Language (ESL) classes.

Table 7.1 : Educational Levels at Heritage Common

Less than High School	20%
High School	36%
Some College	21%
College	17%

Source: Heritage Common Survey, 2000

Heritage Common is comprised of fairly young families. Fifty-three percent of the respondents surveyed were under the age of 45, and 60% of the households have either one or two children living in them. Seventy-five percent of the respondents were women, and of the 60% of respondents that are married, a full 72% reported living with their spouse. The majority of the respondents are employed in the service sector (43%), and there is 6.7% unemployment, higher than the national average of 4.1%. (Source:

Bureau of Labor Statistics) Of the people who were willing to disclose their income (n=69), 73% of them earned under $20,000 per year, 23% earned between $20,000 and $30,000 per year, and only 4% earned above $30,000 per year.

Results of the Research - The Process of Moving People to Action:

In order to answer the main research question, it is necessary to gauge the effect that the act of conducting a survey of this community had on the efforts for community organizing. The chronology of the community organizing coincided with the advent of the research. In the first meeting with residents for the pilot survey, it was evident that there was more on their minds than simple taking an opinion poll on the services that were most needed. It can be noted that there are two explanations for the conversations with residents to sway from social services to the need for a residents' group. First, many of the residents who agreed to do the pilot survey were involved in the previous tenants' group, and had not been in a room together discussing the needs at Heritage Common since the last group broke up. Talking about a new residents' group was a natural continuation of some of the conversations that were held six years before. The fact that this pilot survey was bringing this group of people together re-started those conversations. The second reason is that Mr. Morales, as the Resident Services Coordinator, was seeing that there was a need to re-start tenant involvement in the concerns of the community. In identifying this need with residents, he found that the process of conducting a survey and getting outside input from a researcher was the perfect opportunity to bring the community organizing issues to the forefront of tenants' minds once again. In any case, the initial pilot survey meeting was the first time in years

that people seriously began thinking of organizing again, and this time they saw the capacity to do so with outside resources available to them.

From that initial group of people at the pilot survey meeting and the conversations that that meeting generated, an official Tenants' Committee was formed. So far, there have been three meetings where the agenda was filled with deciding on which issues are most important to Heritage Common. One of the main topics of discussion was how to organize the rest of the residents to support community improvement. Out of the many concerns of the residents, the group chose four they feel are the most pressing. They are: 1.) enforcement of the curfew especially during the summer months, 2.) the lack of lighting in various sectors of the property and the security concerns that come with it, 3.) improved maintenance of the apartments (specifically starting with smaller expenses such as painting and replacing the carpeting), and 4.) residential services. In terms of services, they also chose four that they felt would be most beneficial to all the residents. They are: 1.) homeownership workshops, 2.) workshops that deal with family and youth issues such as substance abuse, domestic abuse and crime prevention, 3.) recreational activities for parents, children and elderly residents (including field trips off the property to various outdoor recreational areas) and 4.) GED and ESL classes.

Besides the issues that were identified, the group has begun to strategize on how to approach management about the concerns that they have about the various administrations that have been in charge at Heritage Common in the last few years. The members of the Committee generated a list of questions that they plan to bring before the management at the next resident/management meeting scheduled for May 18, 2000.

These questions include:

1. What is the future if Heritage Common? Will Heritage be in the hands of another company or the city? Will it become a project?
2. Management has not shown it cares much about maintenance. When are they going to take responsibility for emergencies?
3. What do they plan to do with the "new administration"? They always start well and then begin to falter.
4. What are the protections/benefits that residents have in case of emergencies (i.e. floods, water pipes breaking, ceilings falling in, etc.)
5. How much time does it take to make changes inside the apartments? Can management please give us concrete policies on these changes?
6. When will they insulate the apartments? (insulate meaning storm windows and insulation be installed in each apartment)
7. Is the management sure that they will live up to the promises they have made to residents about plans for changes? Management needs to do things when they say they will.
8. Why are things not working, for example street lights around the property, like they promised in the beginning? Promises have not been kept.
9. Why are the rules constantly changing and nothing gets done?
10. Will this administration agree to work with the Tenants' Committee?
11. Why have some parts of the lease agreements been ignored by the administration?
12. Where are the statements for the shares? We should get a statement every month without having to ask for one.

The Tenants' Committee sees these questions as concrete starting points for conversations with the management about issues that have concerned the residents there for many years but have never been addressed in a group setting. The group is serious about beginning a positive, open relationship with the management in which difficult issues can be talked about and addressed in a timely manner.

This research effort has brought a group of residents together and started them thinking about the benefits of community action. They have begun to think strategically about what their roles can be in the processes to improve their community. While many residents including many who now are on the Tenants' Committee were very disappointed by the results of some of past interactions between management and

resident groups[36], they have begun to change their attitudes about what it means to be involved in the community. Although some are not completely convinced yet about the influence a strong tenants group can exert on the administration, they are more and more encouraged by the strong attendance at the meetings and the conversations that are taking place.

Themes - Possibilities for Community Organizing:

The survey process resulted in people beginning conversations and moving to action, but the actual data from the survey process has yielded several themes that can serve as starting points for further organizing. These themes were revealed by the answers given to the multiple-choice questions, the open-ended questions, and the focus groups. Their recurrence in many parts of the research process led to the conclusion that these issues were of particular importance to the residents. They are especially salient in the organizing process because identifying the important issues is one of the first steps in planning strategy for the organizing effort.[37]

1.) Security

Security at Heritage Common was a concern for many residents, and it was often a topic of conversation among them. Although in both the qualitative as well as the quantitative results, the majority of the residents reacted positively to security, there were still areas of concern. Twenty-two percent of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the question "Is Heritage Common safe?" In addition, out of the 30 people who brought up the security issue in the open-ended portion of the survey, 34%

[36] Since the dissolution of the last tenants' group, there have been very few interactions between residents and management. The few times that tenants have met with management they have felt that management

felt that security was not good. Out of the same 30 people, 13% felt that the lack of lighting was a problem on the property. The large number of respondents who have concerns about security suggests that there is the potential to organized around this issue.

The focus groups revealed that there are specific ideas for improving the security at Heritage Common. Among them were shifting the hours of the security guards in order for them to be available all through the night and into the early hours of the morning and looking at different models of community policing. The latter idea was especially salient in light of a community organizing focus.

Table 7.2: Perceptions of Safety by Selected Groups

Variable	Indicator of Variable	Feel Safe	Do Not Feel Safe	P-value
SP_LIVE	# of single heads of household	73.6%	26.3%	p=.563
CHILD_AGE	# of parents with teenage children	70.3%	29.6%	p=.660
HC_YRS**	# of people living at Heritage Common for more than 5 years	76.2%	23.8%	(p-value unavailable)
ALL RESIDENTS**	# of people that responded to the survey	78%	22%	(p-value unavailable)

Source: Heritage Common Survey, 2000

** Note: Chi-squares were not performed on these variables. Percentages come from frequency tables.

When the security question was looked at by sub-groups of residents (i.e. spouse not present, parents of teenagers, and people with 5 or more years of tenure), there was no significant differences between these identified groups. This suggests that none of these three groups stand out as being more amenable than the overall population to organizing around security.

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did not listen to their complaints. Residents say that evidence for this is that management did not follow through with the plans and agreements they made with the residents.

[37] See, for example, Murnane and Levy, 1996.

2.) Maintenance and Property Management

A major concern for many of the residents was maintenance and property management. Although this issue was not explicitly mentioned in the survey, many of the residents took the opportunity in the open-ended questions to state their frustrations with the quality of maintenance and property management at Heritage Common. This theme is the one with the most potential for becoming an issue that the community organizes around. People are very passionate about management's seemingly lax attitude towards residents' complaints about this issue. The residents want a resolution to this problem. In fact, several were explicit about stating their dislike for the way things are being managed at this time. Some of their comments include:

- "What I least like about H.C. are the many promises that are made each time a new management comes in and they never live up to them." (8 years at Heritage Common)
- "I want the management to have a meeting with all of the residents. They don't pay attention, they don't clean the stairways, where I live there is a light that is burned out. I have spoken with the office, and they haven't done anything. The service is bad." (8 years at Heritage Common)
- "I have many complaints about the maintenance of the apartments. I have been asking for a long time to have the doorbell and kitchen light fixed, and the windows fixed because it is too cold. The heat has cost me a lot because I have to keep it on high to heat up my room." (9 years at Heritage Common)
- There is a "lack of communication between the residents and the management." (5 years at Heritage Common)
- "Heritage Common has a high percentage of Hispanics and should be supervised by someone who is biligual and bicultural that can identify the needs of the majority of the residents. In order for the conditions between residents and management to improve, the management should make decisions that show that they cared about resident opinions when important decisions are made." (5 years at Heritage Common)

Of the 42% of people who raised maintenance and property management as an issue, 81% had a negative opinion of maintenance and property management at the property.

In all fairness to the management, there were some who expressed gratitude for the efforts that management has made on behalf of the residents. Some of the positive feedback included:

- "They clean and fix up the area and provide activities for the children." (5 years at Heritage Common)
- "They keep the grounds clean. Right now I am satisfied with all that they do in the community." (2 years at Heritage Common)
- "Now when you call for them to come fix something in the apartment, if they don't come the same day, they will come the following day. I think that they have improved a lot in this respect." (4 years at Heritage Common)
- "I like everything so far...They do good work." (1/2 year at Heritage Common)
- "They are available at all times and never complain about helping out." (1 year at Heritage Common)

Fifty-two percent of the respondents expressed satisfaction with the living conditions at Heritage Common. In addition, 72% of the respondents expressed a desire to remain living at Heritage Common.

It is important to note that those residents quoted as unsatisfied with maintenance and management had lived at Heritage Common for an average of 5 years, and those who were satisfied averaged 2.5 years at Heritage Common. Out of these responses chosen at random and based solely on levels of satisfaction, length of tenure played a role.

A specific issue related to property management that came up in the survey responses, the focus groups and in the empirical data was parking. There is a concern over the lack of enforcement of parking rules at the property. In the open-ended section of the survey, 10% of the responses commented negatively on this issue. It was also an issue discussed in the focus groups and in various informal conversations held with the

residents. Although this may not be major theme to organize around in and of itself[38], it is an important subsection of the maintenance and property management theme. It is currently being addressed by the Heritage Common staff. They are now requiring that all cars have a parking sticker, and those cars not parked in their assigned spaces are subject to towing.

Responses to the open-ended questions and focus group discussions show that there is potential for organizing residents around improving maintenance and property management at Heritage Common. Specific issues in these areas that could be primary focal points are: 1.) improving communication between the residents and management (i.e. meetings between management and the Tenants' Committee), 2.) improving maintenance and the speed of response to residents' requests, and 3.) enforcing parking rules and regulations.

3.) Resident Services

Of the many social services that the respondents could voice their opinions on in the survey, there were several that they found to be most relevant to their needs. They were the after school and summer programs for the children, recreational activities for all residents, GED and ESL classes, homeownership workshops, and community health and safety workshops.

It should be noted that the respondents highly approved of having all of the social services that were on the survey available at Heritage Common. Seventy-six percent of the residents and 70% of the respondents approved of increased educational activities and recreational activities, respectively. Twenty percent of the respondents in the open-ended

[38] The reasons for this could be that 1.) not everyone owns and car and 2.) some residents may be

section of the survey mentioned the after school and summer programs and Rafael Morales (the person in charge of the programs) specifically, and said that they were pleased with the programs and their coordinator.

The GED and ESL classes were also highly approved of, with 53% of the residents saying that would like to see these classes offered at Heritage Common. In addition, the focus groups strongly support holding these classes in the community room at Heritage. The case for GED and ESL classes was made repeatedly at the Tenants' Committee meetings, and in conversation with residents, many expressed the desire to take these classes but found it difficult to go to them if they were off site and at night.

The idea of having homeownership workshops at Heritage Common was also very popular among respondents. Young families especially expressed their interest in the opportunity of owning their own home. Over all, 71% of the respondents said they would be interested in these workshops.

The Tenants' Committee proposed grouping a number of services together as "community health and safety workshops." The services included in this group are substance abuse prevention, preventative health education, domestic abuse prevention, and crime prevention education. The Tenants' Committee felt very strongly that if these were presented as stand-alone workshops, people would not come to them. The stigma of drug, alcohol and domestic abuse would be too great. Also, it is worthy to note that they added domestic abuse to the list. There have been several cases of domestic abuse at Heritage Common in the last few years that have been quite severe.

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contributing to the problem.

Taken individually, however, the support for these services were as follows:

Social Service	Approve (%)
Crime Prevention Education	76%
Preventative Health Education	64%
Substance Abuse Prevention	61%

Source: Heritage Common Survey, 2000 (Note: n=89)

Raising funding for and implementing the community health and safety workshops as well as GED/ ESL classes and homeownership workshops are issues in which residents are very interested. For that reason, these are good issues around which to organize.

Themes - Possibilities for Organizing Targeted Sub-Groups of Residents:

When running chi-square tests on the resident services theme by sub-groups of residents, there are several tests that indicate that certain sub-groups are more amenable to be organized around a particular issue than the Heritage Common population as a whole. The following are tables of sub-groups and the social service topics in which significant differences were found that point to a targeted organizing strategy ($p < .10$) above and beyond organizing all residents around community health and safety workshops.

Table 7.3: Support for Recreational Activities

Variable	Indicator of Variable	Support*	Do Not Support*	P-value
CHILD_AGE	# of parents with children under 13	24/39 (61.5%)	6/17 (35.3%)	**p=.070**
	# of parents with teenage children	15/39 (38.5%)	11/17 (64.7%)	

Source: Heritage Common Survey, 2000

*Not all respondents answered this question, so the number answering yes/no is in the numerator and the total number that answered is in the denominator.

Table 7.5: Support for Educational Activities

Variable	Indicator of Variable	Support*	Do Not Support*	P-value
CHILD_AGE	# of parents with children under 13	26/43 (60.5%)	4/13 (30.8%)	**p=.060**
	# of parents with teenage children	17/43 (39.5%)	9/13 (69.2%)	

Source: Heritage Common Survey, 2000
*Not all respondents answered this question, so the number answering yes/no is in the numerator and the total number that answered is in the denominator.

The two preceding tables show that parents with younger children are significantly more likely (at the p=.10 level) to support recreational and educational activities. This suggests that this sub-group of parents may be more amenable to being organized to advocate for these services from TCB.

Table 7.6: Support for Homeownership Workshops

Variable	Indicator of Variable	Support*	Do Not Support*	P-value
CHILD_AGE	# of parents with children under 13	27/40 (67.5%)	3/16 (18.7%)	**p=.001**
	# of parents with teenage children	13/40 (32.5%)	13/16 (81.3%)	

Source: Heritage Common Survey, 2000
*Not all respondents answered this question, so the number answering yes/no is in the numerator and the total number that answered is in the denominator.

In this particular case, it was evident that parents with teenaged children are less likely to be interested in a homeownership workshop. When looking at the results of parents with younger children, they are significantly more likely to want to participate in a homeownership workshop (see Table 7.6). The results show that young parents are more interested than other groups in this service. Therefore, the Tenants' Committee may want to consider targeting these residents to be involved in an organizing effort to get homeownership workshops offered at Heritage Common.

Table7.7: Support for GED and ESL Classes

Variable	Indicator of Variable	Support*	Do Not Support*	P-value
SP_LIVE	# of heads of household living *without* a spouse present or singles (with and without children)	4/26 (15.4%)	8/22 (36.4%)	**p=.094**
	# of heads of household living *with* spouse (with and without children)	22/26 (84.6%)	14/22 (63.6%)	

Source: Heritage Common Survey, 2000

* Not all respondents answered this question, so the number answering yes/no is in the numerator and the total number that answered is in the denominator.

This data show that people who have been at Heritage Common longer feel that GED and ESL classes are more important than single persons or parents of teenage children. Based on participant observation, those who have been at Heritage Common tend to be older than the recent arrivals, and they tend to have lower levels of English proficiency. Given the interest in community participation among this group, they seem to be a good target for organizing efforts.

This chapter highlights three types of results that align with this paper's attempt to use research methods to organize housing communities: 1) demographics from the survey, 2) ways in which the survey process can mobilize the Heritage Common residents, and 3) running statistical tests on the survey to identify key issues and needs around which to organize the community.

The survey respondents represented 64% of the total Heritage Common population. The demographics show that respondents were mostly women, with children, and fairly well educated. The majority was low-income, and the respondents reflected a higher unemployment rate than the national average.

The survey was proven to be an effective way to mobilize community members; especially in the pilot stage. It allowed people the opportunity to discuss concerns where

they did not have a chance before. Out of the discussions about the services at Heritage Common came concerns about issues such as maintenance that were important to the residents. In turn, out of these discussions sprung the idea of forming a Tenants' Committee which is now officially recognized by the management.

Statistical tests show three major areas around which to organize: security, maintenance and management, and resident services. These tests also suggest subgroups to target for more effective organizing. Specifically, where it was originally the intention to analyze the opinions of parents with teenagers, a more significant group to examine was parents of children under 13.

Chapter 6: Discussion

"I want to live at Heritage Common because it is the best place."- *resident, age 42*

Role of the Researcher and Lessons Learned:

This case study has focused on research taking place in a low-income, minority community context and is a commentary on the roles and responsibilities of researchers in their interactions with communities. Specifically, it explores the process of community organizing and the impact that researchers and their tools have on it. The research process has brought to light several important issues.

This study has shown that there are certain variables that need to come together in order for community and organizational change to occur: 1.) There needs to be a community that has "latent" issues hiding just under the surface of general consciousness that the "researcher/research tool" can bring to the surface. In other words, people in the community may want change and be thinking that there should be change but do not have the support networks, the knowledge or infrastructure to begin the process of change. 2.) As in most research cases, the researcher needs to establish trust with the community, and *in addition*, be committed to being a resource person for the interests of the community.[39]

[39] This model is known as the participatory action research model (PAR.) See Brown (1983), Cancian and Armstead (1992), and Freire (1982). For an alternative view of using PAR for consciousness raising, see Patai (1991).

That is to say that if the community is interested in mobilizing around housing issues when the research is on health issues, the researcher needs to use his/her position as a contact point to a larger network of academic as well as community sources to help the community achieve their goals for change. A researcher may not be an expert in the area that the community needs assistance with, but he/she is in a position to help by virtue of the ties he/she has to larger networks (i.e. academic institutions, community organizations and funders.)

This does not necessarily mean that the focus of the researcher or research needs to change, but that he/she is willing to refer the community to the people and organizations that can help. This not only helps the community, but also keeps the researcher in good standing and helps with trust-building between him/her and the community. Being willing to be this type of resource for the community also reciprocates that *favor* that the community is doing for the researcher in helping him/her conduct their study. Too often, the act of conducting research is seen as a service to the community because the research could ultimately have some positive impact on the community in some way. But, in the short run, the community is offering their time, personal information, and access to their social networks in order for the researcher's project to be successful.

The research at Heritage Common is a concrete example of the potential impact that a person with weak ties in the community can have on a community voicing their opinions.[40] People in these communities often place high expectations on the results of the research. They expect change to happen whether or not it was implied or expressed.

This impact reinforces the idea of conducting responsible research, and has implications for researchers going into these communities in the future. There have been many cases in communities around the country and the world where researchers promise positive change when in fact they are unsure as to whether they will be able to deliver on these promises. In explaining the purpose of the research, it is often easier to establish confidence in the project if the community feels that their contribution will somehow benefit them in the long run. As a result, it is tempting for a researcher to promise things that may or may not be possible to follow through on.

Unkept promises have made many communities jaded to the research efforts of new researchers. If it is the case, as I have hypothesized, that researchers and their activities can bring about community action, then there is even more reason to encourage trust between communities and academics. Fostering a positive perception of the research process and its links to the betterment of the communities that are the participants will benefit research in the future, and encourage communities to see research more as a mutually beneficial exercise.

At Heritage Common, people saw me as an outsider who offered to them an opportunity to change the status quo. The terms of successful research in this community relied upon a reciprocal relationship between the respondents and me.[41] I originally entered the community to conduct a survey. I saw that the residents needed assistance in organizing, they had hinted at whether I would be interested in helping them organize, so

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[40] Weak ties refers to a relationship between people or groups of people that has not been tested by time nor experiences. See Granovetter (1973).

[41] It has been argued that the mere act of listening to the participants stories affirms them and validates them in the process, and that this is intrinsically valuable. However, this research process is often still unequal in the exchange between researcher and participant. (Patai, 1991) This is where trying to return

particular case, the research shifted focus to the process of community organizing, but it could have easily stayed focused on social services. I could have simply continued with the original purpose while helping the residents get leads on where to go to get help in the organizing process. The important point here is that the researcher needs to realize that he/she is often the only link to outside resources. If the community's future wellbeing is indeed at the heart of research, then this is a responsibility that a conscientious researcher is willing to take.

A point that is particular to my research at Heritage Common is the idea of my place as a "borderlands person."[43] During the course of my research, I spoke with community organizer Marshall Ganz, and he suggested that my role in this process exemplified the idea of the "cultural borderlands." Cultural borderlands refers to people who straddle various cultural lines. They can bring new assets and resources to the community they are working in as well as take new assets and resources into the other networks in which they operate. Generally, this concept applies to people who live their lives crossing between two different ethnic groups. In the Heritage Common case, I went in as a student from MIT, an intern with TCB, and a Latina who was familiar with the language and culture of the majority of the residents. The different roles that I assumed (e.g. intern, researcher and organizer) made a difference in the way that I was perceived by the community and the types of relationships I was able to forge with them. I came in as an intern and organizer, but as a result of the research process, the role of organizer was pressed upon me. This helped transform the research from simply a needs

[43] For a thorough examination of "Borderland Theory" see Michaelsen and Johnson, 1997.

assessment to a study of the process of organizing and the researcher's role in this process.

The Tenants' Committee Using the Results of the Survey:

The results of the survey were useful in that they helped inform the Tenants' Committee members which issues the majority of their neighbors felt were important. From its inception, the committee was adamant about being responsive to the needs of their community. This was especially important since the lack of response to needs on the part of management was one of the community's biggest complaints. At the committee's meetings, I shared the results of the survey with them. They in turn, chose the four most pressing needs (homeownership workshops, GED/ESL classes, family recreational activities, and community health and safety workshops.) The rationale for choosing these being that they would not only reflect the needs of their neighbors but also be deliverable to them in a reasonable amount of time. With the support of the majority of the community's opinion behind them, the committee feels that the success in acquiring these services and getting community participation will be high.

The Tenants' Committee feels that getting word out into the community about the possibility of bringing these services will get people interested in the activities being offered. By inciting people to begin taking part in activities offered at the community room, they feel that it increases the chances that people will begin to take notice and talk to each other about other issues affecting the community as a whole on a daily basis. They feel that by using individuals' interests in particular social services, the Tenants' Committee can further their efforts to organize people around certain issues.

Because I was interested in potential differences between groups (e.g. people living without a spouse, parents of teenagers, and people with the longest tenure at Heritage Common), I compared sub-group responses to the survey questions. Where the literature and my experience suggested that there might be a difference, I used chi-square analysis to compare responses of two different groups.[44] The data analysis hinted that there seems to be consensus on most of the issues brought out by the survey. For example, people living without their spouse tended to feel similarly to the rest of the community on educational activities; parents of teens and the rest of the community both felt that crime education was not necessarily a priority; and people living at Heritage more than 5 years tended to feel that job training programs were just as important as those who have lived there less than 5 years. For the most part, it can be said that the community is in agreement about which services are important. However, the survey showed that there are specific issues that are particularly relevant to certain segments of the community, and are therefore, issues that these specific groups can rally around.

The survey results identified issues that were significant to the three sub-groups, namely GED/ESL classes, homeownership workshops, and interest in community social service needs in general.

Length of Tenure/GED and ESL:

Approaching this group about pushing for this service at Heritage Common could serve as an organizing starting point. People with a longer length of tenure were particularly interested in GED/ESL classes. Participant observation data suggest that this group tends to be older than the other groups and tends to have the least proficiency in

[44] The purpose of chi-square analysis is to show if there is a statistically significant difference between the

English. This is due primarily to the fact that they are generally the first generation in the U.S. from their native country.

Apart from the GED/ESL classes specifically, people with the longest length of tenure at Heritage Common tended to be more interested in supporting the social services in general. This group would be a good target of community organizing at Heritage. Their longer tenure points to two possibilities: 1.) their general satisfaction with living at Heritage Common, and that they have a vested interest in improving the community, and 2.) that they are the people with the least ability to move due to their financial situation. In this case, the participant observation points to the former explanation. Throughout the course of informal conversations, many residents voiced the opinion that Heritage Common is one of the best places to live in Lawrence, and that many of their friends and acquaintances would want the opportunity to move to Heritage Common. This is also supported by the fact that there is a waiting list of 1,000 people waiting for an opening for an apartment in Heritage Common.

All this is not to say that those who have not been there as long are not as interested in seeing the community move forward. What it does suggest is that those who have been there longer know what works and what does not work at Heritage Common, and therefore, their opinions can be counted as based on experience and reliable.

Parents of Children Under 13/ Homeownership Workshops:

In the statistical tests, there was a significant difference between parents of children under 13 and parents of teenaged children in terms of their interest in homeownership. The parents of younger children were more interested in the

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responses of two groups.

homeownership workshops and were also less likely to want to stay at Heritage Common in the long run than were the parents of teenagers. This particular service was of interest to the majority of the residents, but it was of particular interest to this sub-group.

A possible explanation for this is that younger parents still would like to raise their children in a single family home rather than an apartment development, while parents with teenagers may feel that their children will be moving on to their own homes in a matter of a few years. Parents of teenagers may see the homeownership option as something that may not fit their lifestyles in the near future. The numbers show that there is no significant difference in terms of educational level or income between parents with younger children and parents of teenagers.

Given the interest in homeownership by parents of young children, a strategy for organizing to offer this service could be to target as many of these parents as possible, and enlist them in getting their friends and neighbors regardless of the age of their children to participate. It may be that participation in the workshops could change the point of view of people that did not show an interest in this service in the survey.

People Living without Their Spouse (with and without children) or Single People:

As a rule in the results, this group did not show very strong support for any of the services. Their support for the services were out numbered by the support that people with longer tenure and parents of teenagers showed in all of the cases. People living without their spouse/single people also showed less support for services than the rest of the respondents in general.

This difference is interesting in and of itself in that the Tenants' Committee can target these people as a group to try to get more involved in the community. This may

mean that the committee has to strategize about which issues that most directly affect this sub-group, or finding intersections between their interests and the interests of the rest of the respondents. The survey was useful in this case to the extent that it showed that people living without their spouse or who are single are the group that tends to participate the least in the community. This is useful information in the organizing context. This group is a potential target for organizing campaigns. Outreach to this group can be conducted in order to try to increase their participation in the community.[45]

The information obtained from the survey is useful not only for examining the differences between sub-groups and leading to organizing strategies for these groups, but also in seeing what benefits the survey process in general has for both the researcher and the community.

Benefits for the Researcher and the Community:

Below are rationales for viewing the survey process and its results as beneficial for both the researcher and the community.

⇒ Researcher
- achieves the purpose of gathering the information
- is both quantitative and qualitative – allows for testing variables in a variety of ways while examining the issues at a deeper level
- forges strong ties if the trust is developed and fostered which in turn can benefit future research

⇒ Community
- gets dialogue flowing
- facilitates brainstorming on issues affecting the community
- involves residents in implementation of ideas
- shows the importance of "strength in numbers" - having a common voice

[45] See Chapter 7 for specific results for this group.

Recommendations:

As a researcher, I learned several important lessons about conducting participatory research in a community such as Heritage Common. The first lesson was to be aware of my position as a researcher. Although residents were friendly, welcoming and accepting of me, I was never wholly a part of their group; I was always an outsider. This may seem a trivial point, or one which is obvious, but it is important to always keep this is mind as a researcher because after many interactions with a group of people it is easy to begin to think that one is a natural part of the group. I had to be attentive to their perceptions of me as an outsider and of their expectations of me as someone who has links to networks outside their community that may serve as resources.

The work that I did also reinforced the importance of not being patronizing in my approach to the residents. I was learning from their experiences; they are the best resources for learning about their community and their needs. Once again, they were helping me as much as I was helping them.

This brings me to lesson number two: listen to the participants in your research. Are they trying to use you as a resource with something that may not be a part of the research? I learned that to encourage positive relationships, I had to make the effort to help them with their community organizing goals. Had I been reticent to get involved with their move to organize a committee, then they may have seen me as a self-serving researcher that did not have the best interests of the community at heart.

Along these lines, I learned that I had to be open and willing to contact people that may be able to further help achieve the goals that the community was vocalizing. This points to the reciprocal relationship between the researcher and his/her subjects in

the community. I did this by identifying resources in Lawrence that would be willing to give the Tenants' Committee technical assistance in order to ensure the sustainability and success of the group after my research is finished. I feel that this is one of the most important lessons. If a group that is new to the organizing process is left without support from "experts", it can leave them vulnerable to the frustrations of having to discover for themselves the steps to take in order to achieve their goals. These frustrations can be avoided if there is a guiding hand there for them.

The fourth point is to be transparent (to the extent that your research allows) about the ultimate goals of your research, and do not make promises that are ambiguous or hard to keep. Often, the goals of research are to provide information so that steps can then be taken to try to solve some of the issues that are found significant in the research. There often will not be immediate/obvious results from a research effort. Translating to the community the timeframe of the process from study through to action is important. Dealing with the expectations that both the community and the researcher have of the results of the research can also be difficult. There are certain things that a researcher sees as essential to the improvement of the community that others outside the community may not see as essential. A researcher may say something will take place when in fact in depth discussions about that issue may not have taken place, or circumstances along the way may have eliminated that possibility. An example of this would be that a community researcher may see a daycare program as an important service to a community with many single parents, but the funders or people that make the program feasible may not feel that that is the best use of their funds and time. Although this may be the case, it is important

to note that a researcher is not always in the position to be an expert in resource allocation.

Yet another lesson learned was to be encouraging when community members make strides, even if they are small, towards "empowerment". Many of the people in these types of communities have seen their shares of disappointments. Those may have been personal or caused by outside forces. Whatever the roots of the disappointments, they often have led to cynicism about the possibility for positive change in the community. In the case of Heritage Common, there had been a Tenants' Committee in the past that did good work, but then became splintered and was eventually disbanded. This was a disappointment to many residents and they were cynical about the possibilities for organizing a new group. Given this history, when interest in restarting a committee was voiced, it was important to give as much support to this effort in order to regain a sense of community that had been lost with the breakup of the last committee. People are slowly starting to regain that sense of community that they had once had.

These lessons learned in the course of the research at Heritage Common are not new in the literature on participatory research and roles and responsibilities of researchers.[46] Although they are not new, these lessons reiterate, and therefore, validate what has been discovered in the past and further inform researchers going into communities to gather information for their studies in the future.

[46] Involving the participants in the research and using their participation in the study as an agent for social change has been written about extensively. The settings for these studies range from elderly communities in Harlem to low-income communities in Brazil and from theoretical writings to writings on the application of these theories. For further reading see (Freidenberg, 1991), (Patai, 1991), (Freire, 1982) and (Stull and Schensul, 1988).

Limitations of the Research at Heritage Common:

There are a few things, that had they been done differently, may have improved the study. First, the validity and reliability of the data may have been enhanced if the question on social services was clearer. As it is now, it is evident that some of the respondents may have misread the question. Although this may be the case, it is impossible to say definitively since the surveys were anonymous, and therefore, eliminate the possibility of follow-up with individuals. An example of a potential misreading is that several young people responded to that question saying that they would use elderly services while several elderly residents answered saying that they would use pre-natal care. In this case, another pilot group of respondents would have been useful. The first pilot group tested the language of the survey. It helped clarify some of the confusing questions. Their results could have pointed to the misreading of the question. The second pilot group could have tested a revised version of the question to see if it was still being misread.

In terms of the more technical aspect of the study, the research method may have been more sound had the survey been administered uniformly. As it was, some people were given the survey to fill out and others had someone else read them the questions, get the responses and fill out the survey. Finally, in terms of bringing more closure to the project, it would have helped to have the meeting between residents and TCB a lot earlier. It was originally scheduled for mid-March, but due to scheduling difficulties with participants in the meeting, it has been scheduled for the end of May.

Although there were these limitations, I feel that this research project was a success. The community was helpful in helping me get the information that I needed,

and I hope that I was able to help in getting them organized enough to achieve the goals that they have set for themselves. The interpersonal relationships that I have forged with some members of the community have been wonderful and will continue despite the "official" end to my responsibilities both as an intern for TCB and as a student at MIT.

Chapter 7: Afterword

"This place was built in order to beautify the center of Lawrence. We should maintain it the best we can." – *resident, age 58*

Next Steps and Final Thoughts:

According to the Highlander Center for Research and Education,[47] "social concerns are best addressed when solutions come from the people who are experiencing the problem." This is the hope for Heritage Common. With the new Tenants' Committee and the burgeoning interest of the residents in community action, the goal of an organized community with a voice is becoming more of a reality. In order to keep working towards the goal, there are a series of next steps that are in place.

The first of those is a community meeting scheduled for the evening of May 18, 2000. The agenda for the meeting includes items that address the concerns of all parties involved. The agenda with the people presenting each item is as follows:

1. Introduce TCB staff and their roles – *Tom Stokes, Director of Human Services for the New England Region, TCB*
2. Introduce Tenants' Committee – *Rafael Morales, Resident Services Coordinator, Heritage Common*
3. Presentation of Survey Results – *Madeline Fraser, MIT graduate student, TCB intern*
    - Demographics of Heritage Common residents

[47] The main focus of the Highlander Center for Research and Education is to work with grassroots leaders and community groups to help bring about social change through collective action. They are located in New Market, TN.

- Social Services Needed
- ESL and GED classes
- Homeownership workshops
- Family recreational activities
- Community Health and Safety workshops

4. TCB's Long Term Commitment to Heritage Common – *Joyce Rinaldi, Portfolio Manager, TCB*
5. TCB's Goals at Heritage Common – *Tony Decearse, Site Manager, Heritage Common*
6. Property Update, Progress on Maintenance Projects, Lighting - *Tony Decearse*
7. Commitment to Meet with Tenants' Committee Bi-monthly - *Tony Decearse*
8. Recommendation of a Team Building Project on Site for TCB and Residents to Work On – *Tom Stokes, Rafael Morales*
9. List of questions from the Residents to be Addressed by TCB Next Meeting – *Rafael Morales*
10. Date for the Next Meeting – *Joyce Rinaldi*

This agenda was agreed upon by all of the parties involved. The residents at Heritage Common are beginning to sense that TCB is serious about improving communications between the staff and the residents. The agenda touches on many issues that have been on the minds of residents for quite a while. It also gives TCB staff the opportunity to clarify issues that have been a source of confusion for many residents (e.g. TCB's long-term commitment to Heritage Common; some residents were concerned that it might be sold to the city of Lawrence and become a housing "project.") The item that inspires the most hope for starting a positive relationship is the "team building project between TCB and the residents." This is meant to be a small project somewhere on the property that is not terribly expensive to carry out, but that the residents really feel would improve Heritage Common. Some of the ideas for this project have included a new playground, a basketball court, and making sure all the lighting on the property is working.

This meeting is an important step in the process of organizing. It was originally meant as a forum to discuss the survey results, but because of resident input, it has evolved into a meeting where conversations that have been long overdue can take place. This is a small winnable for the residents. They have guarded optimism this is the beginning of positive change. The question now is how to get involvement in the meeting from the majority of the residents. The Tenants' Committee is planning to pass out pamphlets and go door to door to invite their neighbors. The turnout at the meeting will be an indicator of whether there organizing efforts are working.

Until then, the question on resident's minds is whether or not TCB will live up to the commitments that they make at the meeting. The concept of "cumplir con sus palabras" has often been repeated at the Tenants' Committee meetings. To "cumplir" translates to English as "to fulfill, honor, follow through, or to live up to." Residents have repeated that there have been many promises for change in the past that have not been lived up to. At the last meeting on person asked: "What makes this time different? Are they really going to follow through this time?" Another replied: "We'll just have to wait and see." So far, there have been steps taken by all parties to repair a long fractured relationship.

It will take persistence on the part of the Tenants' Committee to make participation in community activities grow, and it will take the best of communication skills on the part of TCB to keep the residents informed and happy. The Tenants' Committee is still at a very fragile stage and will need to use all of the resources it has inside and outside their networks to grow and become sustainable. Everyone will be convinced of the success of this effort when the bi-monthly meetings are a part of the

natural schedule of things at Heritage Common. Until then, the residents can celebrate small winnables, TCB can be happy that they are dealing with a community of residents that have a vested interest in the development, and everyone can look forward to continuing the process that has already begun.

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Appendix A: Survey for Social Services Needs Assessment

1. Are you male or female?

2. How old are you? _____

3. Where are you from?
- ❑ Dominican Republic
- ❑ Puerto Rico
- ❑ United States
- ❑ Other _____

4. What language do you speak at home? _____

5. What language do you use most often *outside* the home?
- ❑ Only native language
- ❑ Native language more than English
- ❑ English more than native language
- ❑ Both equally

6. Are you married?
- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

7. If yes, does your spouse live with you?
- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

8. What is the highest grade you attended in school? _____

9. How many adults live in your apartment with you? _____

10. How many children live in your apartment with you? And what are their ages?
_____

11. How long have you lived in Lawrence? _____

12. How long have you lived at Heritage Common? _____

13. Are you interested in pursuing the possibility of owning a home?
- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

14. Would you be interested in attending a homeownership workshop?
- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

15. Do you or any family members participate in any activities in the community (both at Heritage Common and in Lawrence)?

- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

16. If so, what are they? _____

17. Do you want to remain at Heritage Common? Why? _____

_____

17. If so, do you want to be a part of community planning committees?

- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

18. Does any household member have a home-based job?

- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

19. What is your occupation? _____

20. How many hours a week do you work? _____

21. "Heritage Common is a safe community." Please check which one describes your opinion.

- ❑ Agree
- ❑ Somewhat agree
- ❑ Somewhat disagree
- ❑ Disagree

22. If the following services were available, would you be interested in using them?

Food bank	Yes	No
ESL/GED classes	Yes	No
Job placement/training	Yes	No
Crime prevention education	Yes	No
Educational activities	Yes	No
Recreational activities	Yes	No
Youth mentoring programs	Yes	No

Child care	Yes	No
Parenting classes	Yes	No
Health care coverage	Yes	No
Preventative health education	Yes	No
Basic health treatment	Yes	No
Substance abuse/counseling	Yes	No
Pre-natal care	Yes	No
Child immunization	Yes	No
Dental care	Yes	No
Elderly services	Yes	No

Other (please specify) _____

23. Other than the medical services, should the other services listed above be made available at Heritage Common?

- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No
- ❑ Both (please identify which services are important to have at Heritage Common)_____

24. What is your income? _____per week
_____per 2 weeks
_____per month
_____per year

25. Are you familiar with the Earned Income Tax Credit?

- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

26. Do you receive any federal or state assistance?

- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

27. If so, please check all that apply:

- ❑ TANF (How many months/years of eligibility are remaining? _____)

- ❑ Mass Health/ Medicaid
- ❑ Medicare
- ❑ SSI
- ❑ Common Health
- ❑ Children's Medical Security Plan (CMSP)
- ❑ Senior pharmacy
- ❑ Fuel assistance
- ❑ Mass voucher
- ❑ Section 8
- ❑ Food stamps
- ❑ Unemployment Insurance
- ❑ Other: _____

29. Is there anything about Heritage Common that you feel is important but has not been identified in this list of questions?

_____
_____
_____
_____

30. What is being done well by the staff at Heritage Common?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

30. What do you like the best or like the least about living at Heritage Common?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix B: Encuesta de la Necesidad de Servicios Sociales en Heritage Common

1. ¿Es Usted hombre o mujer?

2. ¿Cuántos años tiene Usted? _____

3. ¿De qué pais es Usted?
- ❑ República Dominicana
- ❑ Puerto Rico
- ❑ Estados Unidos
- ❑ Otro _____

4. ¿Cuál idioma habla en su hogar? _____

5. ¿Cuál idioma usa Usted *fuera* del hogar con más frequencia?
- ❑ Solamente español
- ❑ Español más que inglés
- ❑ Inglés más que español
- ❑ Ambos igualmente

6. ¿Es Usted casado/a?
- ❑ Sí
- ❑ No

7. ¿Si es casado/a, su esposo/a vive con Usted?
- ❑ Sí
- ❑ No

8. ¿En su pais o en los estados unidos, cuántos años de estudio ha completado?
_____

9. ¿Cuántos adultos viven en su apartamento? _____

10. ¿Cuántos niños viven en su apartamento? ¿Cuáles son sus edades?
_____

11. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo vive en los Estados Unidos? Y en Lawrence?_____
_____

12. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo vive en Heritage Common? _____

13. ¿Le interesa la possibilidad de tener su propia vivienda?
- ❑ Sí
- ❑ No

14. ¿Le interesa atender un taller para ser dueños de vivienda?

- ❑ Sí
- ❑ No

14. ¿Usted o su familia participa en actividades comunitarias (en Heritage Common y/o en Lawrence)?

- ❑ Sí
- ❑ No

15. ¿Si respondió "sí", cuáles son? _____

16. ¿Le interesa quedarse en la communidad? ¿Por qué o por qué no? _____
_____

17. ¿ Le interesa participar en grupos que ayudan planear el futuro de la comunidad?

- ❑ Sí
- ❑ No

18. ¿Alguna persona en su hogar tiene su propio negocio?

- ❑ Sí
- ❑ No

19. ¿En qué trabaja Usted? _____

20. ¿Cuántas horas por semana trabaja? _____

21. "Heritage Common es una comunidad segura." Por favor marque lo que sea similar a su opinión.

- ❑ Estoy de acuerdo
- ❑ Estoy más que menos de acuerdo
- ❑ Estoy menos qué más de acuerdo
- ❑ **No** estoy de acuerdo

22. Si los siguentes servicios serían disponibles, ¿los usarían?

Banco de alimentos	Sí	No
Clases de ESL/GED	Sí	No
Ayuda para encontrar o entrenamiento de trabajo	Sí	No
Taller para ser dueños de vivienda	Sí	No
Educación para prevenir crimenes	Sí	No

Actividades educativas	Sí	No
Actividades recreacionales	Sí	No
Programas para mentores juveniles	Sí	No
Guarderias infantiles	Sí	No
Clases para educar a los padres de familia	Sí	No
Cuidado de seguro de salud	Sí	No
Educación para mantener una buena salud	Sí	No
Tratmiento de cuidados básicos	Sí	No
Concejeria/tratamiento para abuso de drogas	Sí	No
Cuidados prenatales	Sí	No
Vacunación infantil	Sí	No
Cuidado dental	Sí	No
Servicios para ancianos	Sí	No

Otro _____

23. ¿Excluyendo los servicios médicos, cree Ud. que estos servicios deben ser disponibles en Heritage Common?

- ❑ Sí
- ❑ No
- ❑ Ambos (por favor diga cuál servicio desea en Heritage Common)

_____

24. ¿Cuál es su ingreso? _____ por semana / 2 semanas/ mes/ año

- ❑ menos que $10,000
- ❑ $10,000-$20,000
- ❑ $20,000-$30,000
- ❑ $30,000-$50,000
- ❑ más que $50,000

25. ¿Sabe del programa que se llama "Earned Income Tax Credit"?

- ❑ Sí
- ❑ No

26. ¿Usted recibe algun tipo de asistencia del gobierno?

- ❑ Sí
- ❑ No

27. Si contestó "sí", por favor marque cual:

- ❑ TANF (¿Cuántos meses/años le falta elegibilidad? _____)
- ❑ Mass Health/ Medicaid
- ❑ Medicare
- ❑ SSI
- ❑ Common Health
- ❑ Children's Medical Security Plan (CMSP)
- ❑ Senior pharmacy
- ❑ Fuel assistance
- ❑ Mass voucher
- ❑ Section 8
- ❑ Food stamps
- ❑ Unemployment Insurance
- ❑ Otro: _____

28. ¿Hay algo sobre Heritage Common que Usted piensa es importante pero que ésta incuesta no ha preguntado? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

29. ¿Qué es algo que hacen bien los administradores y empleados de Heritage Common?

_____

_____

_____

_____

30. ¿Qué es lo que más le gusta o no le gusta de vivir Heritage Common?_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix C: Data Dictionary

Variable	Variable Name	Values All missing values = -1
Unique Identifier	ID	1 - 100
Gender	GENDER	Male 0 Female 1
Age	AGE	Numerical value
Place of Origin	COUNTRY	Dominican Republic 1 Puerto Rico 2 United States 3 Other 4
Language Spoken at Home	LANG_HOME	English 1 Spanish 2 Both 3 Other 4
Language Spoken Outside	LANG_OUT	Only native 1 Native more than English 2 English more than native 3 Both equally 4
Marital Status	MARRIED	Yes 1 No 0
Spouse Lives in Same Home	SP_LIVE	Yes 1 No 0
Educational Level	EDUC	Numerical Value
Number of Adults in Apt.	ADULT_APT	Numerical Value
Number of Children in Apt.	CHILD_APT	Numerical Value
Age of Children	CHILD_AGE	0-12 1 13-18 2

Years in Lawrence	LAWR_YRS	Numerical Value
Years at Heritage Common	HC_YRS	Numerical Value
Interest in Homeownership	HOMEOWN	Yes 1 No 0
Interest in Homeownership Workshop	HM_WKSP	Yes 1 No 0
Active in Community	COM_ACT	Yes 1 No 0
Specific Community Activity	SPEC_ACT	Church 1 Heritage Common 2 Other 3
Interest in Staying at Heritage Common	STAY_HC	Yes 1 No 0
Interest in Community Planning	COM_PLAN	Yes 1 No 0
Home-based Job	HOME_JOB	Yes 1 No 0
Occupation	OCCUP	Service 1 Industry 2 Retired 3 Unemployed 4 Other 5
Hours worked per week	HOUR_WK	Numerical Value
Heritage Common Safe	HC_SAFE	Agree 1 Somewhat Agree 2 Somewhat Disagree 3 Disagree 4
Food Bank	FOOD_BK	Yes 1 No 0

ESL/GED Classes	ESL	Yes	1
		No	0
Homeownership Workshop	HMOWN_WKS	Yes	1
		No	0
Job Placement/Training	JOB_PLCMT	Yes	1
		No	0
Crime Prevention Education	CRIME	Yes	1
		No	0
Educational Activities	EDUC_ACT	Yes	1
		No	0
Recreational Activities	REC_ACT	Yes	1
		No	0
Youth Mentoring Programs	MENTOR	Yes	1
		No	0
Child Care	CHILDCARE	Yes	1
		No	0
Parenting Classes	PARENT	Yes	1
		No	0
Health Care Coverage	HLTH_COV	Yes	1
		No	0
Preventative Health Education	PREV_EDU	Yes	1
		No	0
Basic Health Treatment	BASIC_TRT	Yes	1
		No	0
Substance Abuse and Counseling	SUBS_ABUSE	Yes	1
		No	0
Pre-natal Care	PRENATAL	Yes	1
		No	0

Child Immunization	IMMUN	Yes 1 No 0
Dental Care	DENTAL	Yes 1 No 0
Elderly Services	ELDER	Yes 1 No 0
Services at H.C.	SERV_HC	Yes 1 No 0
Annual Income	INCOME	under 10K 1 10K-20K 2 20K-30K 3 30K-50K 4 50K + 5
Knowledge of Earned Income Tax Credit	EITC	Yes 1 No 0
Receive Federal or State Assistance	ASSIST	Yes 1 No 0
TANF	TANF	Yes 1 No 0
Mass Health/ Medicaid	MASS_HLTH	Yes 1 No 0
Medicare	MEDICARE	Yes 1 No 0
SSI	SSI	Yes 1 No 0
Common Health	COMM_HLTH	Yes 1 No 0

Children's Medical Security Plan	CMSP	Yes	1
		No	0
Senior Pharmacy	SR_PHARM	Yes	1
		No	0
Fuel Assistance	FUEL	Yes	1
		No	0
Mass Voucher	MASS_VCHR	Yes	1
		No	0
Section 8	SEC_EIGHT	Yes	1
		No	0
Food Stamps	FOOD_STP	Yes	1
		No	0
Unemployment Insurance	UNEMPL_INS	Yes	1
		No	0

Appendix D: Survey Data

ID	GENDER	AGE	COUNTRY	LANG_HOME	LANG_OUT	MARRIED
1	1	60	1	2	1	1
2	0	75	2	2	2	1
3	1	34	1	3	4	1
4	1	35	1	3	4	0
5	1	46	1	2	1	0
6	1	39	2	2	2	1
7	0	33	1	2	1	1
8	1	41	2	3	2	1
9	1	25	2	2	2	1
10	0	28	2	3	3	1
11	1	32	2	3	3	0
12	1	-1	2	2	4	0
13	1	34	1	3	3	0
14	0	41	1	2	2	1
15	1	35	1	3	4	0
16	1	40	4	3	4	1
17	1	43	1	2	1	1
18	1	28	2	1	3	0
19	0	44	1	3	3	1
20	1	26	4	3	4	0
21	0	22	1	3	4	1
22	0	51	2	2	4	1
23	1	54	2	2	1	0
24	0	47	1	2	1	1
25	1	39	1	2	1	1
26	1	36	3	1	1	0
27	1	53	1	2	2	1
28	1	39	1	2	2	0
29	1	36	2	3	4	0
30	0	54	1	2	1	1
31	1	48	1	2	1	0
32	1	44	1	2	2	1
33	0	61	1	2	3	1
34	1	25	1	3	4	0
35	1	61	2	2	1	1
36	0	68	1	2	4	1
37	0	54	1	2	4	0
38	1	64	2	2	1	1
39	1	27	1	3	4	1
40	1	51	1	3	3	0

Appendix D: Survey Data

ID	GENDER	AGE	COUNTRY	LANG_HOME	LANG_OUT	MARRIED
1	1	60	1	2	1	1
2	0	75	2	2	2	1
3	1	34	1	3	4	1
4	1	35	1	3	4	0
5	1	46	1	2	1	0
6	1	39	2	2	2	1
7	0	33	1	2	1	1
8	1	41	2	3	2	1
9	1	25	2	2	2	1
10	0	28	2	3	3	1
11	1	32	2	3	3	0
12	1	-1	2	2	4	0
13	1	34	1	3	3	0
14	0	41	1	2	2	1
15	1	35	1	3	4	0
16	1	40	4	3	4	1
17	1	43	1	2	1	1
18	1	28	2	1	3	0
19	0	44	1	3	3	1
20	1	26	4	3	4	0
21	0	22	1	3	4	1
22	0	51	2	2	4	1
23	1	54	2	2	1	0
24	0	47	1	2	1	1
25	1	39	1	2	1	1
26	1	36	3	1	1	0
27	1	53	1	2	2	1
28	1	39	1	2	2	0
29	1	36	2	3	4	0
30	0	54	1	2	1	1
31	1	48	1	2	1	0
32	1	44	1	2	2	1
33	0	61	1	2	3	1
34	1	25	1	3	4	0
35	1	61	2	2	1	1
36	0	68	1	2	4	1
37	0	54	1	2	4	0
38	1	64	2	2	1	1
39	1	27	1	3	4	1
40	1	51	1	3	3	0

ID	GENDER	AGE	COUNTRY	LANG_HOME	LANG_OUT	MARRIED
41	0	51	2	2	2	0
42	1	42	4	4	4	1
43	1	43	1	2	1	1
44	0	57	1	2	2	1
45	0	60	1	2	3	1
46	1	30	3	3	4	1
47	1	27	2	2	3	0
48	0	60	1	3	2	1
49	1	28	2	2	2	0
50	1	-1	2	2	1	0
51	1	-1	2	1	4	1
52	1	-1	1	2	4	0
53	1	-1	1	2	2	1
54	1	-1	3	2	4	-1
55	1	51	1	2	1	1
56	1	34	2	3	3	1
57	1	32	1	3	4	1
58	0	51	1	3	2	1
59	1	46	4	2	4	1
60	0	58	4	2	4	1
61	1	34	1	2	4	1
62	1	43	1	2	2	1
63	1	50	1	2	1	1
64	1	49	2	2	4	1
65	1	53	2	2	4	0
66	0	49	4	2	4	0
67	1	60	2	2	2	0
68	1	42	2	1	3	0
69	1	51	2	2	2	0
70	0	65	3	1	3	1
71	1	60	3	1	3	1
72	0	41	4	1	1	1
73	1	49	1	2	2	0
74	1	32	3	3	4	0
75	1	22	3	3	4	0
76	1	63	1	2	1	1
77	1	40	2	2	2	1
78	1	39	2	2	3	1
79	1	40	2	2	1	1
80	1	32	2	2	-1	0
81	1	56	2	2	1	0
82	0	37	1	2	2	0

ID	GENDER	AGE	COUNTRY	LANG_HOME	LANG_OUT	MARRIED
83	1	27	3	1	1	1
84	1	45	1	2	1	0
85	1	23	1	3	3	0
86	1	32	1	2	1	1
87	1	36	4	2	4	0
88	1	40	1	2	4	1
89	1	56	4	2	1	1

ID	SP_LIVE	EDUC	ADULT_APT	CHILD_APT	CHILD_AGE
1	1	0	2	-1	-1
2	1	0	2	0	-1
3	1	12	2	3	1
4	-1	16	1	0	-1
5	-1	8	2	1	2
6	0	14	2	2	2
7	1	7	2	0	-1
8	0	4	1	2	2
9	1	13	2	2	1
10	1	13	2	2	1
11	-1	12	0	4	2
12	-1	15	1	1	1
13	-1	12	0	3	2
14	1	12	2	3	2
15	-1	12	2	4	1
16	1	11	2	2	2
17	0	-1	1	1	1
18	-1	14	1	2	1
19	1	16	1	1	1
20	-1	17	3	0	-1
21	1	16	1	0	22
22	1	6	3	0	-1
23	-1	12	2	0	-1
24	1	14	2	2	2
25	1	8	2	2	2
26	-1	14	0	0	-1
27	0	4	2	0	-1
28	-1	12	1	3	2
29	-1	16	1	1	1
30	0	14	2	1	1
31	-1	7	1	0	-1
32	1	16	3	2	2
33	1	12	3	2	2
34	-1	-1	1	0	-1
35	1	6	3	1	2
36	1	6	3	1	1
37	-1	12	3	0	-1
38	0	6	2	1	2
39	1	12	1	2	2
40	-1	12	2	1	2

ID	SP_LIVE	EDUC	ADULT_APT	CHILD_APT	CHILD_AGE
41	-1	7	2	1	1
42	1	12	1	2	2
43	1	12	4	2	1
44	1	12	2	1	1
45	1	12	4	2	1
46	0	12	1	2	1
47	-1	12	0	1	1
48	1	12	3	1	1
49	-1	14	1	0	-1
50	-1	-1	2	1	-1
51	0	13	0	4	-1
52	-1	10	1	3	1
53	0	14	2	0	-1
54	-1	16	2	1	1
55	1	10	4	1	-1
56	1	13	2	2	1
57	0	14	0	3	1
58	1	5	2	3	-1
59	1	16	3	2	2
60	1	15	3	2	2
61	1	14	2	2	1
62	1	16	2	2	2
63	1	10	4	1	2
64	1	15	4	1	1
65	-1	11	-1	2	2
66	-1	16	0	0	-1
67	-1	-1	-1	1	-1
68	-1	16	1	2	2
69	-1	7	2	0	-1
70	1	12	0	0	-1
71	1	11	1	0	-1
72	1	16	1	0	-1
73	-1	12	0	1	-1
74	-1	14	1	2	1
75	-1	16	2	0	-1
76	1	9	1	0	20
77	-1	12	2	1	2
78	1	6	1	0	-1
79	0	4	1	2	1
80	-1	9	1	2	1
81	-1	7	1	1	1
82	-1	16	1	0	-1

ID	SP_LIVE	EDUC	ADULT_APT	CHILD_APT	CHILD_AGE
83	-1	11	1	1	1
84	-1	9	1	1	2
85	-1	13	1	0	-1
86	0	-1	-1	2	1
87	-1	12	1	1	-1
88	1	16	2	3	2
89	-1	14	1	0	-1

ID	LAWR_YRS	HC_YRS	HOMEOWN	HM_WKSP	COM_ACT
1	10	0	0	0	1
2	22	4	1	-1	1
3	6	0	1	1	0
4	16	0	1	-1	1
5	12	0	1	1	0
6	9	5	0	0	1
7	2	1	1	1	0
8	17	2	1	0	0
9	14	3	1	1	0
10	10	0	1	1	0
11	32	3	1	1	0
12	9	0	1	1	0
13	23	2	1	1	0
14	10	3	1	1	1
15	4	4	1	1	1
16	25	4	1	0	1
17	10	0	1	-1	1
18	4	1	0	0	1
19	20	9	1	1	1
20	7	5	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	0
22	26	2	1	1	1
23	10	4	-1	-1	1
24	11	-1	1	1	0
25	16	7	1	0	0
26	14	8	0	0	0
27	17	8	0	0	0
28	17	2	1	1	0
29	8	3	1	1	0
30	16	10	1	0	1
31	12	8	1	1	0
32	13	5	1	1	0
33	29	5	1	1	1
34	3	3	0	0	0
35	19	10	1	1	0
36	25	3	1	1	1
37	25	4	1	1	1
38	29	2	0	0	0
39	16	4	0	0	0
40	16	6	1	1	0

ID	LAWR_YRS	HC_YRS	HOMEOWN	HM_WKSP	COM_ACT
41	0	0	0	0	1
42	9	8	1	0	0
43	20	1	1	1	1
44	21	7	1	-1	1
45	20	1	1	0	1
46	11	5	1	1	0
47	10	1	1	1	0
48	18	8	0	1	1
49	9	1	1	0	0
50	40	2	0	0	0
51	-1	2	1	1	0
52	11	6	1	1	0
53	21	8	1	1	1
54	-1	10	-1	-1	1
55	21	7	1	1	-1
56	6	3	1	1	1
57	26	10	1	1	0
58	18	5	1	1	1
59	19	8	0	0	0
60	36	8	1	0	1
61	14	7	1	1	0
62	14	9	1	1	0
63	9	9	0	0	0
64	32	9	1	1	0
65	5	5	1	-1	1
66	17	7	1	1	0
67	40	5	1	1	1
68	33	5	0	0	1
69	38	4	1	1	0
70	37	7	1	1	1
71	35	8	1	1	0
72	1	1	1	1	0
73	21	8	1	0	1
74	4	4	1	1	0
75	20	4	1	1	1
76	3	1	-1	-1	1
77	22	11	1	1	0
78	15	8	1	0	0
79	11	2	1	0	0
80	12	2	1	1	0
81	13	10	1	1	1
82	10	6	1	1	1

ID	LAWR_YRS	HC_YRS	HOMEOWN	HM_WKSP	COM_ACT
83	27	5	1	0	0
84	5	0	1	-1	0
85	23	2	1	0	0
86	12	8	1	1	0
87	20	5	1	1	0
88	9	4	1	1	1
89	19	10	1	0	0

ID	SPEC_ACT	STAY_HC	COM_PLAN	HOME_JOB	OCCUP
1	2	1	1	0	5
2	3	1	1	0	5
3	-1	1	1	0	1
4	2	1	1	-1	1
5	-1	1	1	0	5
6	1	0	0	0	-1
7	-1	1	1	0	2
8	-1	1	1	0	2
9	-1	0	1	0	1
10	-1	1	0	0	2
11	-1	0	0	1	1
12	-1	1	1	0	2
13	-1	0	0	0	1
14	3	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	1	0	4
16	0	0	1	0	1
17	3	1	0	0	-1
18	3	1	1	0	1
19	-1	1	1	0	-1
20	1	1	0	0	1
21	-1	1	1	0	1
22	1	1	1	0	2
23	-1	-1	-1	-1	1
24	-1	1	1	0	-1
25	-1	1	1	0	-1
26	-1	1	0	0	1
27	-1	1	0	0	1
28	-1	1	1	0	4
29	-1	0	0	0	1
30	3	1	0	0	2
31	-1	1	1	0	1
32	-1	1	1	0	2
33	3	1	1	0	1
34	-1	1	1	1	1
35	-1	1	1	0	5
36	3	-1	1	0	0
37	3	1	1	0	1
38	-1	1	0	0	-1
39	-1	1	0	0	-1
40	-1	1	1	0	1

ID	SPEC_ACT	STAY_HC	COM_PLAN	HOME_JOB	OCCUP
41	2	0	1	0	2
42	-1	-1	-1	-1	1
43	1	1	1	0	5
44	-1	1	1	0	-1
45	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1
46	-1	1	0	0	-1
47	-1	-1	1	0	-1
48	3	1	1	0	2
49	-1	1	0	0	1
50	-1	-1	0	0	5
51	-1	1	1	0	1
52	-1	-1	1	0	2
53	2	1	1	0	5
54	2	-1	-1	-1	-1
55	-1	1	1	0	1
56	3	1	1	0	1
57	-1	1	0	0	1
58	3	1	1	0	1
59	-1	-1	1	0	5
60	3	-1	0	0	1
61	-1	0	0	0	1
62	-1	1	1	0	2
63	-1	1	1	0	5
64	-1	-1	-1	0	1
65	3	1	-1	0	-1
66	-1	1	1	0	1
67	2	1	1	0	-1
68	3	1	0	0	1
69	-1	1	1	0	5
70	3	1	0	0	3
71	-1	1	1	0	-1
72	-1	1	1	0	1
73	3	1	0	5	4
74	-1	1	1	0	1
75	3	1	1	0	1
76	1	0	5	-1	2
77	-1	0	1	0	1
78	-1	1	1	1	5
79	-1	1	1	0	4
80	-1	1	-1	5	-1
81	-1	1	1	0	5
82	3	0	-1	0	2

ID	SPEC_ACT	STAY_HC	COM_PLAN	HOME_JOB	OCCUP
83	-1	1	0	0	5
84	-1	-1	1	0	4
85	-1	-1	1	0	1
86	-1	-1	0	0	-1
87	-1	1	1	0	1
88	-1	1	1	1	1
89	-1	1	0	0	4

ID	HOUR_WK	HC_SAFE	FOOD_BK	ESL	JOB_PLCMT
1	0	1	-1	-1	0
2	0	1	-1	-1	-1
3	40	1	1	1	1
4	40	1	0	0	0
5	-1	1	-1	-1	1
6	40	2	0	1	0
7	40	1	-1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1
9	35	2	1	1	1
10	40	1	1	1	1
11	39	1	1	0	0
12	40	2	1	1	1
13	8	2	0	0	0
14	60	3	1	0	0
15	-1	1	1	1	1
16	40	3	0	1	1
17	-1	1	-1	1	0
18	40	1	1	0	1
19	40	2	0	0	0
20	45	2	1	1	1
21	40	3	1	0	1
22	36	2	0	0	0
23	6	-1	0	0	0
24	-1	1	0	1	1
25	-1	1	0	1	0
26	15	2	1	1	0
27	40	2	0	1	1
28	-1	1	1	1	1
29	45	3	1	0	1
30	40	1	1	0	1
31	40	2	1	1	1
32	45	2	1	1	1
33	-1	4	1	1	1
34	40	2	0	0	0
35	-1	1	1	0	1
36	0	4	1	0	0
37	40	1	0	1	1
38	-1	2	0	0	0
39	-1	1	0	0	1
40	32	2	1	1	1

ID	HOUR_WK	HC_SAFE	FOOD_BK	ESL	JOB_PLCMT
41	40	1	1	1	1
42	40	2	0	0	0
43	-1	1	1	1	0
44	-1	4	1	1	1
45	-1	1	1	0	0
46	40	1	0	0	0
47	-1	4	1	1	0
48	40	1	1	1	1
49	40	1	0	0	1
50	-1	1	0	1	0
51	40	1	0	0	0
52	40	3	1	1	1
53	-1	1	0	0	0
54	-1	4	0	1	1
55	40	2	1	1	1
56	40	1	1	1	1
57	40	2	0	0	1
58	40	2	0	1	1
59	-1	3	0	0	1
60	50	3	0	0	0
61	36	2	0	0	0
62	36	2	1	1	0
63	-1	1	0	1	1
64	37	3	0	0	0
65	-1	-1	0	0	0
66	36	2	1	1	1
67	-1	4	1	0	0
68	40	4	0	0	1
69	-1	3	0	0	1
70	-1	2	1	1	1
71	-1	2	0	1	1
72	40	1	1	0	1
73	-1	1	1	1	0
74	32	1	1	1	1
75	40	1	1	1	1
76	1	1	1	1	1
77	40	2	0	0	0
78	-1	1	1	1	1
79	-1	2	0	0	1
80	1	1	1	1	1
81	-1	1	0	1	1
82	36	1	0	1	1

ID	HOUR_WK	HC_SAFE	FOOD_BK	ESL	JOB_PLCMT
83	-1	2	0	0	1
84	-1	1	0	0	1
85	40	2	0	0	1
86	35	3	0	0	0
87	32	2	1	0	1
88	40	3	1	1	1
89	-1	1	1	1	0

ID	HMOWN_WKS	CRIME	EDUC_ACT	REC_ACT	MENTOR
1	0	0	0	0	0
2	-1	-1	0	0	0
3	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1
6	0	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	0	1	1	0
11	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	1	0	0	1
14	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	1	1	1
16	0	1	1	1	1
17	1	0	0	0	0
18	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	0	1
20	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	0	1
22	1	1	1	1	0
23	0	0	1	0	1
24	0	1	1	0	1
25	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	1	1	0	0
27	0	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1
30	0	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1
34	0	1	1	1	0
35	0	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	0	0	0
39	0	0	1	0	1
40	1	1	1	1	1

ID	HMOWN_WKS	CRIME	EDUC_ACT	REC_ACT	MENTOR
41	1	1	1	1	1
42	0	0	0	0	0
43	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	1	1
46	1	0	0	1	1
47	1	0	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1
49	0	0	0	0	0
50	0	1	0	0	1
51	1	1	0	0	1
52	1	1	1	1	0
53	1	1	1	1	1
54	1	1	1	0	1
55	1	1	1	1	1
56	1	1	1	1	1
57	1	1	1	1	1
58	1	1	1	1	1
59	0	0	0	0	0
60	0	0	0	0	0
61	1	1	1	1	0
62	1	1	1	1	0
63	0	1	0	0	1
64	1	0	0	0	0
65	1	1	0	0	0
66	1	1	1	1	1
67	1	1	0	1	0
68	0	1	1	1	1
69	1	0	0	1	1
70	1	1	1	1	1
71	1	0	1	0	1
72	1	1	1	1	1
73	0	1	1	1	1
74	1	1	1	1	1
75	1	1	1	1	1
76	1	1	1	1	1
77	1	0	1	1	0
78	1	1	1	1	1
79	0	0	1	1	1
80	1	1	1	1	1
81	1	1	1	1	1
82	1	1	1	1	0

ID	HMOWN_WKS	CRIME	EDUC_ACT	REC_ACT	MENTOR
83	0	1	1	0	1
84	0	0	0	0	0
85	1	1	1	1	1
86	1	0	0	0	0
87	1	1	1	1	1
88	1	1	1	1	1
89	0	0	0	0	0

ID	CHILDCARE	PARENT	HLTH_COV	PREV_EDU	BASIC_TRT
1	0	0	0	-1	-1
2	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1
3	1	1	1	1	1
4	0	1	1	1	0
5	-1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1
10	-1	1	0	1	0
11	0	0	0	0	0
12	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	0	0	1
16	1	1	1	1	0
17	0	0	1	1	0
18	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	0	0	0	0
20	1	1	1	1	1
21	0	1	0	0	0
22	0	0	1	1	1
23	0	0	1	0	0
24	0	1	1	1	1
25	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	1	0	1
27	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1
30	0	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1
34	0	0	0	1	1
35	0	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	0	1	0
37	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	0	0	0	0
39	1	1	0	0	0
40	1	1	1	1	1

ID	CHILDCARE	PARENT	HLTH_COV	PREV_EDU	BASIC_TRT
41	1	1	1	1	1
42	0	0	0	0	0
43	1	1	0	1	0
44	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	0	0	0
46	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	0	0	0	1
48	1	1	1	1	1
49	0	0	0	0	0
50	0	1	0	1	0
51	0	1	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0
53	0	1	1	1	1
54	1	1	1	0	0
55	1	1	1	1	1
56	1	1	1	1	1
57	0	0	0	1	0
58	1	0	1	1	1
59	0	0	0	0	0
60	0	0	0	0	0
61	1	1	1	1	1
62	1	0	0	1	0
63	0	1	1	1	1
64	0	0	0	0	0
65	1	1	0	0	0
66	1	1	1	1	1
67	0	0	1	0	1
68	0	0	1	1	0
69	0	0	0	0	0
70	1	1	1	1	1
71	0	0	0	0	0
72	1	1	1	1	1
73	1	1	1	1	1
74	1	1	0	0	0
75	1	1	1	1	1
76	1	1	1	1	1
77	0	0	0	1	0
78	1	1	1	1	1
79	1	1	1	1	1
80	1	1	1	1	1
81	1	1	1	1	1
82	0	0	0	0	1

ID	CHILDCARE	PARENT	HLTH_COV	PREV_EDU	BASIC_TRT
83	0	0	1	1	1
84	1	0	0	0	0
85	1	1	1	0	0
86	0	0	0	0	0
87	1	1	1	1	1
88	1	1	1	1	1
89	0	0	0	0	1

ID	SUBS_ABUSE	PRENATAL	IMMUN	DENTAL	ELDER	SERV_HC
1	-1	-1	-1	0	-1	-1
2	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	0	0	0	0	1	1
5	1	1	-1	-1	1	-1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	0
10	0	0	0	1	0	1
11	0	0	0	0	0	1
12	0	0	0	0	1	1
13	0	0	0	0	0	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	0	1	1	1	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	0	1	0	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	0	1
19	0	0	0	0	0	-1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	0	1	0	0	0	1
22	1	0	0	1	0	1
23	1	0	0	1	0	1
24	0	0	1	1	0	1
25	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	1	0	0	1	0	-1
27	0	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	0	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	0	-1
35	1	0	1	1	1	1
36	1	0	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	0	1	0	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1

ID	SUBS_ABUSE	PRENATAL	IMMUN	DENTAL	ELDER	SERV_HC
41	1	1	1	1	1	1
42	0	0	0	0	0	0
43	0	0	0	0	0	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	0	0	0	0	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	-1
47	0	0	0	0	0	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	0	1	0	0	0	-1
50	1	0	0	1	1	1
51	0	0	0	0	0	-1
52	0	0	0	0	0	1
53	1	0	0	1	1	1
54	1	0	1	0	1	1
55	1	1	1	1	1	1
56	1	1	1	1	1	0
57	0	0	0	1	0	-1
58	1	0	1	0	0	1
59	0	0	0	0	0	1
60	0	0	0	0	0	1
61	1	0	1	1	0	1
62	0	0	0	1	0	1
63	1	0	0	0	0	0
64	0	0	0	0	0	-1
65	1	0	0	1	1	1
66	1	1	1	1	1	1
67	0	0	0	1	1	1
68	1	1	0	1	1	1
69	1	0	0	1	1	1
70	1	1	1	1	1	1
71	0	0	0	0	1	1
72	1	0	0	0	0	0
73	1	1	1	1	1	1
74	1	1	1	0	1	1
75	1	1	1	1	1	1
76	1	1	1	1	1	1
77	0	0	0	0	0	1
78	1	1	1	0	1	0
79	1	1	1	1	1	1
80	1	1	1	1	1	1
81	1	1	1	1	1	1
82	1	0	0	1	0	-1

ID	SUBS_ABUSE	PRENATAL	IMMUN	DENTAL	ELDER	SERV_HC
83	0	0	0	1	0	1
84	0	0	0	0	1	1
85	0	0	0	0	0	1
86	0	0	0	0	0	0
87	1	1	1	1	1	1
88	1	1	1	0	1	0
89	0	0	0	0	0	1

ID	INCOME	EITC	ASSIST	TANF	MASS_HLTH	MEDICARE	SSI
1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
2	2	0	1	0	0	1	1
3	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
5	-1	0	1	0	1	0	1
6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
9	2	1	1	0	1	0	0
10	3	0	1	0	1	0	0
11	-1	0	1	0	0	0	0
12	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
13	2	1	1	0	0	0	1
14	5	1	0	0	0	0	0
15	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
16	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	-1	0	1	0	0	0	0
18	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
19	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
20	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
21	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	-1	1	1	0	1	0	0
24	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
26	-1	0	1	0	1	1	1
27	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
29	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
30	2	-1	0	0	0	0	0
31	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
34	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	-1	0	1	0	1	0	1
36	2	1	1	0	0	1	1
37	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
38	-1	0	1	0	0	1	0
39	-1	0	1	0	1	0	0
40	2	1	1	0	0	0	0

ID	INCOME	EITC	ASSIST	TANF	MASS_HLTH	MEDICARE	SSI
41	-1	1	0	0	0	0	0
42	-1	1	0	0	0	0	0
43	-1	0	1	0	1	0	1
44	1	-1	1	0	0	0	0
45	3	-1	0	0	0	0	0
46	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
47	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
48	3	0	1	0	0	0	1
49	2	1	1	0	1	0	0
50	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
51	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
52	3	1	1	0	1	0	0
53	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
54	-1	1	0	0	0	0	0
55	-1	-1	0	0	0	0	0
56	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
57	2	1	1	0	1	0	0
58	2	-1	1	0	0	0	0
59	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
60	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
61	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
62	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
63	2	0	1	0	1	0	1
64	-1	1	0	0	0	0	0
65	-1	-1	1	0	1	0	0
66	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
67	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
68	-1	1	0	0	0	0	0
69	2	0	1	0	1	1	1
70	1	-1	1	0	1	0	1
71	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
72	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
73	2	0	1	0	1	0	1
74	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
75	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
77	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
78	-1	1	1	0	0	1	0
79	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
80	2	0	1	0	1	0	1
81	2	0	1	0	1	0	1
82	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

ID	INCOME	EITC	ASSIST	TANF	MASS_HLTH	MEDICARE	SSI
83	1	0	1	-1	-1	-1	-1
84	-1	0	1	0	0	0	1
85	-1	1	0	0	0	0	0
86	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
87	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
88	1	5	0	0	0	0	0
89	1	0	1	0	1	0	1

ID	COMM_HLTH	CMSP	SR_PHARM	FUEL	MASS_VCHR
1	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	1	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	1	0
12	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	1	0
14	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0
18	0	0	0	1	0
19	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	1	0
24	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0
29	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	0	0	0	0

ID	COMM_HLTH	CMSP	SR_PHARM	FUEL	MASS_VCHR
41	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0
43	0	0	0	0	0
44	0	0	0	0	0
45	0	0	0	0	0
46	0	0	0	0	0
47	0	0	0	1	0
48	0	0	0	0	0
49	0	0	0	0	1
50	0	0	0	0	0
51	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	1	0
53	0	0	0	0	0
54	0	0	0	0	0
55	0	0	0	0	0
56	0	0	0	0	0
57	0	0	0	1	0
58	0	0	0	0	0
59	0	0	0	0	0
60	0	0	0	0	0
61	0	0	0	0	0
62	0	0	0	0	0
63	0	0	0	0	0
64	0	0	0	0	0
65	0	0	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	0
67	0	0	0	0	0
68	0	0	0	0	0
69	0	0	0	0	0
70	0	0	0	0	0
71	0	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0	0
73	0	0	0	0	0
74	0	0	0	0	0
75	0	0	0	0	0
76	1	0	0	0	0
77	0	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	0	0
79	0	0	0	1	0
80	0	0	0	1	0
81	0	0	0	1	0
82	0	0	0	0	0

ID	COMM_HLTH	CMSP	SR_PHARM	FUEL	MASS_VCHR
83	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1
84	0	0	0	1	0
85	0	0	0	0	0
86	0	0	0	0	0
87	0	0	0	1	0
88	0	0	0	0	0
89	0	0	0	0	0

ID	SEC_EIGHT	FOOD_STP	UNEMPL_INS
1	1	0	0
2	1	0	0
3	0	0	0
4	0	0	0
5	0	0	0
6	0	0	0
7	0	0	0
8	0	0	0
9	0	1	0
10	0	0	0
11	1	0	0
12	0	0	0
13	1	0	0
14	0	0	0
15	1	1	0
16	0	0	0
17	1	1	0
18	1	1	0
19	0	0	0
20	0	0	0
21	0	0	0
22	0	0	0
23	1	0	0
24	0	0	0
25	1	0	0
26	1	0	0
27	0	0	0
28	1	1	0
29	1	0	0
30	0	0	0
31	0	0	0
32	0	0	0
33	0	0	0
34	0	0	0
35	0	0	0
36	0	0	0
37	0	0	0
38	0	0	0
39	0	0	0
40	1	0	0

ID	SEC_EIGHT	FOOD_STP	UNEMPL_INS
41	0	0	0
42	0	0	0
43	0	0	0
44	0	0	0
45	0	0	0
46	0	0	0
47	0	1	0
48	0	0	0
49	0	0	0
50	1	0	0
51	0	0	0
52	0	0	0
53	1	0	0
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67	1	0	0
68	0	0	0
69	0	0	0
70	0	0	0
71	1	0	0
72	0	0	0
73	0	0	0
74	0	0	0
75	0	0	0
76	0	0	0
77	0	0	0
78	0	0	0
79	1	0	0
80	1	1	0
81	0	0	0
82	0	0	0

ID	SEC_EIGHT	FOOD_STP	UNEMPL_INS
83	-1	-1	-1
84	1	1	0
85	0	0	0
86	1	0	0
87	0	0	0
88	0	0	0
89	0	0	0

Appendix E: Quotes from the Open-ended Questions[1]

Question 29: *Is there anything about Heritage Common that you feel is important but has not been identified in this list of questions?*
Question 30: *What is being done well by the staff at Heritage Common?*
Question 31: *What do you like the best or like the least about living at Heritage Common?*

Respondent 2: (Question 29) "...they don't notify us [about the share payments]. I hope that they give us a reason for this. The bank gives notice of statements every 3 or 6 months."

Respondent 3: (Question 29) "Yes, it is about the waiting list. People have to wait too long."
(Question 30) "Any emergency, they come fast."
(Question 31) "What I like the most is that there are no thieves."

Respondent 4: (Question 30) "They are very organized."
(Question 31) "It's safe and calm."

Respondent 5: (Question 30) "Where are my dollars going monthly?" [share payments]

Respondent 6: (Question 29) "The management after having offered an apartment to an acquaintance, and after that person gave up her apartment, they called her 2 or 3 days after to tell her that she did not have the apartment."
(Question 30) "They clean and fix up the area and provide activities for the children."
(Question 31) "They don't have someone who can speak Spanish at all times. They don't take into account one's income when raising or lowering the rent. They are slow with maintenance. Too much wind comes in through the windows (they aren't good quality.) The street lights are burned out most of the time."

Respondent 8: (Question 30) "The safety and that they keep the grounds clean."
(Question 31) "Right now I am satisfied with all that they do in the community."

Respondent 9: (Question 29) "Yes, I think that this property is based on low income and because of that, they shouldn't raise rents too much."
(Question 30) "They take long to fix anything."
(Question 31) "I like it but the rent is too high, at least I heard that they are going to raise it."

Respondent 10: (Question 30) "The employees of Heritage Common like Rafael keep the residents informed of any problem, meetings, security, or maintenance of the complex."
(Question 31) "I like the security at night and that the complex has a gate and a program for children every afternoon. I don't like some things like the following: parents sometimes for example in the summer, don't pay attention to their children and when you put your car in reverse, you have to make sure that there are no children behind you; the system to pick up your

[1] Not all respondents answered of these questions, therefore, there are some respondents that are missing in the sequence. Also, some respondents did not answer all three of the questions.

mail, the doors aren't open on Saturday afternoons. I think that the swingsets that we have should be improved and it would be good to have a basketball court in the future."

Respondent 11: (Question 29) "There is a lot of confusion on payment of rent. They should first look into the problem, then advise the tenants."
(Question 30) "Rafael is a great help to the Heritage Common. His response to our needs are his main priority! You should be proud to have him, as we are."
(Question 31) "I like it here, but sometimes I get scared because I don't want this to be called a project! We have to stick together to achieve these goals."

Respondent 12: (Question 30) "They try to satisfy the needs of the tenants."
(Question 31) "I like the snow removal in order to keep the entries clean and minimize accidents. Maybe one suggestion....it would be ideal to have more maintenance personnel to provide these services since sometimes there are not enough employees for when problems occur."

Respondent 13: (Question 30) "Lately nothing. They are taking too long to fix anything in the home."
(Question 31) "The way the gate system is set up."

Respondent 14: (Question 29) "The most important thing is that there is not good maintenance in the apartments like painting when necessary, changing the carpeting, and others."
(Question 31) "The service of the gate is not at all safe, and the sidewalk gates are always open."

Respondent 15: (Question 29) "The summer program has really helped parents who work and their children who are not in summer school. For example, it helped me a lot last year when I was working. It is very good to know that you will get free daycare without having to leave the neighborhood."
(Question 30) "Now when you call for them to come fix something in the apartment, if they don't come the same day, they will come the following day. I think that they have improved a lot in this respect."
(Question 31) "I don't like the play areas because in my opinion, they should have more games for the children. The current ones are all metal without much use and have sand which dirties the patios and homes that are nearby. There should be a play area for the summer."

Respondent 16: (Question 29) "I think that what I am putting in this paper is the truth and because of Rafael Morales who makes the children's activities in the vacations happen I think it is very beautiful and thank God that He is with Rafael in everything."
(Question 30) "I think that every year they raise the rents in case anything happens, and before taking an apartment here one has to have a steady income."
(Question 31) "In my opinion Heritage Common was very good and now it isn't so good because one has to know what type of person they let live here and one has to do this for the children that live here. One has to know who one is dealing with."

Respondent 17: (Question 29) "No. I like everything so far. Especially the doors when they are locked at certain times and no one can come in unless they call, etc. I think you guys are

improving, keep up the good work. For just the 7 months that I've lived here so far I like what I've seen."
(Question 30) "The security and how they take care of things. They do good work."
(Question 31) "I like that everything is comfortable except for the neighbors getting into everyone's business."

Respondent 18: (Question 29) "Working together and helping one another is very important. The staff at Heritage Common is very helpful and precise."
(Question 30) "Everything. They are available at all times and never complain about helping out."
(Question 31) "Sometimes things have been asked to be fixed and it has not been done, but nothing that is major. All the major jobs were done on time."

Respondent 20: (Question 30) "I truly believe that having the gate has been the best thing for our safety. May youngsters used to come in and disturb the peace, but that all changed when the gate was done."
(Question 31) "You should put a camera in the front gate for security purposes. We have been here for 5-6 years and you guys have never painted the apartment. Heritage Common should plant flowers and grass, in the summer it looks dull. By the entrance when a visitor comes by the list of tenants is not in order and there is no light so the visitor can't read the list of tenants. I have to pay $50 monthly to get an outside service to clean the rugs. It would be nice to have Heritage Common at least come by twice a year and clean the rugs. (Better than nothing.) The rent is high! We are all students paying loans up to $35,000 but we are willing to sacrifice and pay because it is a good community. BUT service is so poor and everything is a delay. There is a leak in the 2nd floor that we have reported 4 times and nothing has been done. Tenants would be more involved with Heritage Common if you guys gave better service and stopped by to introduce yourselves."

Respondent 21: (Question 29) "Safety from vandals on Oak St."
(Question 30) "Maintenance."
(Question 31) "I like the people that live here, and the attention to detail when it comes to maintenance. I don't like the fact that no one has done anything about the poor lighting on Oak St."

Respondent 24: (Question 29) "We live in 83 Oak and our cars are exposed to harm simply because they didn't give us parking inside the gated area. I think this is not good."
(Question 30) "They are good."
(Question 31) "What I like the best is the area for the children. What I don't like is that they closed the area so that we could park inside."

Respondent 25: (Question 30) "That they are willing to help resolve problems and their kindness."
(Question 31) "I like the cleanliness. I don't like the fact that they haven't given me one can of paint in the seven years that I have lived here."

Respondent 26: (Question 31) "I like the layout of the apartment, maintenance availability, shoveling and the dumpster."

Respondent 27: (Question 29) "Change the carpeting. It's been a long time since they cleaned it or changed it. The kitchen is ugly. They don't give you parking. The employees should tell people that shouldn't park there not to."
(Question 30) "I don't know them, but the service is good."
(Question 31) "The service is good. They come when you call. They are all respectful."

Respondent 28: (Question 29) "I would like a security guard all night until 8 in the morning in order to feel safer. Thank you."
(Question 30) "I like how now they are paying attention to the needs at Heritage Common."
(Question 31) "I like it because it is calmer than outside this neighborhood, but I don't like that the tow truck moves the cars from the driveways."

Respondent 29: (Question 30) "Charge the rent."
(Question 31) "I don't like the management and the security of minors in the community."

Respondent 30: (Question 29) "More control over who comes into the community especially people that sell drugs. The management should stop this since they know where this is taking place."
(Question 30) "They worry more about charging the rent, and forget to pay attention to the residents especially in regards to the condition of the apartments, which don't have insulation and in the winter, cold gets in. This can be fixed."
(Question 31) "What I like the most is the cleanliness of the apartments. What I don't like is that there is little control over some people who sell drugs, and that the management is negligent in evicting those who are involved in these activities. I don't like the raising of the rent now that annually it has been raised a lot."

Respondent 31: (Question 30) "Nothing. They promise things and don't live up to the promise."

Respondent 32: (Question 29) "The emergency telephones don't work. They don't understand our needs."
(Question 30) "Right now, the management of H.C. isn't doing anything. Because one has many complaints and they all end up in the archives."
(Question 31) "What I least like about H.C. are the many promises that are made each time a new management comes in and they never live up to them."

Respondent 33: (Question 29) "Lots of things. I want the staff to have a meeting with all of the residents."
(Question 30) "That they keep the rent up to date."
(Question 31) "They don't pay attention, they don't clean the stairways, where I live there is a light that is burned out. I have spoken with the office, and they haven't done anything. The service is bad."

Respondent 34: (Question 31) "I have many complaints about the maintenance of the apartments. I have been asking for a long time to have the doorbell and kitchen light fixed, and the windows fixed because it is too cold. The heat has cost me a lot because I have to keep it on high to heat up my room. Also, I have lost some jewelry."

Respondent 35: (Question 29) "See to the emergencies of the tenants, and the parking."
(Question 30) "They respond to the calls of the residents when there is an emergency."
(Question 31) "What I like the most is that one is comfortable and calm."

Respondent 36: (Question 29) "See to tenant parking and give better services to the community. Also have better emergency services."
(Question 31) "The lack of attention to emergencies and (like) the security."
Respondent 37: (Question 29) "The management should have a meeting with the residents. It is very important. There should be emergency services."
(Question 30) "The work well and are courteous to the residents."
(Question 31) "I like that there is security."

Respondent 38: (Question 30) "Need to fix things when asked. The stove needs to be fixed."
(Question 31) "I like the quietness and don't like the staff members."

Respondent 39: (Question 29) "There are lots of repairs that need to be addressed. For example, the doorbells. I think someone should be going around the buildings and talking to the people that rent the apartments for anything that needs to be fixed."
(Question 30) "When there is fixing to be made, they get there fast."
(Question 31) "The least that I like about Heritage Common is that the rent is too high because there is not even good insulation to keep the cold from coming in the house. The thing I like the best is the security guards on guard checking for any inconvenience. Also the quietness."

Respondent 40: (Question 29) "Yes, I think you have forgotten to mention the laundry services. I have lived here for 6 years, and have not been able to use a washer here. I have to go out to do laundry which takes me 3 hours. My daughter has tried to use them and has had to go to the office for help in opening the doors."
(Question 30) "When I have locked myself out, they have sent a person to let me back in."
(Question 31) "I like it because I am close to everyone and I am a single woman. It is very calm compared to other places, but sometimes the noise from the upstairs neighbor is difficult. What I don't like is that I have tried to change apartments to one where the laundry works, and they have not let me move. This makes me feel bad. I have always wanted a house to myself, but there is always some excuse that I don't understand. I think that they give them to preferred persons."

Respondent 41: (Question 31) "It is healthy and security."

Respondent 42: (Question 29) "I have a problem in the house and I called the office, but they didn't come to look at it."

(Question 30) "I would like Heritage Common improvement in the future."
(Question 31) "I want to live at Heritage Common because it is the best place."

Respondent 43: (Question 30) "Good maintenance, but they take a long time. The carpet needs changing."
(Question 31) "I feel good. The system is good. The apartments are pretty."

Respondent 44: (Question 31) "I don't like the management."

Respondent 45: (Question 29) "More security for the cars that park outside."
(Question 30) "The good maintenance."
(Question 31) "What I like the most is the security and the good service."

Respondent 46: (Question 30) "Raff is doing a wonderful job with his program. In addition he is well liked by the community."
(Question 31) "The best is the security, the worst is that there's no rent control."

Respondent 47: (Question 30) "One of the things that they do well is the activities for the residents and the children's program."
(Question 31) "I like it because they are comfortable apartments. What I don't like is that there are people that like vandalism and that they are not well organized for maintenance."

Respondent 48: (Question 31) "It has not been well managed and the maintenance is not good...personal interests dictate who receives the services. They want to seel everything to you....for example, paint, carpeting, screens, when something is stopped up, the resident has to pay to get it fixed."

Respondent 49: (Question 30) "They respond when there is something damaged in the apartment."
(Question 31) "I like the security and calmness at Heritage Common."

Respondent 50: (Question 29) "They should fix the stove, the bathroom and the junk that comes down along the walls from the second floor."
(Question 30) "The serve well especially Rafael."
(Question 31) "I like everything."

Respondent 51: (Question 29) "Maintenance, better flooring during winter time, fix screen doors, broken down stoves."
(Question 31) "My privacy!"

Respondent 52: (Question 30) "The cleanliness and the children's program."
(Question 31) "The 24 hour service is good. I don't like that they take too long to fix the carpeting in the kitchen. It has been six years and they haven't replaced it."

Respondent 53: (Question 30) "They are good until now, but I am getting annoyed with the lack of maintenance."
(Question 31) "I don't want security to be sitting there the whole time."

Respondent 54: (Question 29) "The selection of the tenants that come here and that the ones that live here abide by the basic rules..."
(Question 30) "Lately, nothing good has been done for the property. Since the former manager left, everyone does what they want."
(Question 31) "The apartments are very comfortable."

Respondent 55: (Question 30) "Organized."
(Question 31) "It is calm, but maintenance is lacking."

Respondent 56: (Question 29) "Apartments are very cold, I think they should be insulated."
(Question 30) "Rafael is always a great help to all the residents at Heritage Common. Keep up the good work Rafael!"

Respondent 57: (Question 29) "The summer program that is offered here is very good for working parents."
(Question 30) "I like the staff because they have been friendly. Sometimes complaints are taken care of immediately."
(Question 31) "I like living here because I feel somewhat secure, but I disagree with the fact that sometimes too many issues arise over parking and privacy of my own home. This winter I had several bad issues regarding calls to the office for things that were emergencies, but to the maintenance department apparently they were not!"

Respondent 58: (Question 29) "The community room shouldn't be rented to the public. Only to residents and the beneficiaries of classes and meetings."
(Question 30) "The comfort."

Respondent 59: (Question 29) "Lack of communication between the residents and the management. Parking. Damage to the property by irresponsible residents. Lack of cooperation in cleaning and maintenance. Lack of privacy in the mailboxes (federal offense). The insufficient security system. More precaution with the selection of residents. Can't access the mailboxes on the weekend. Sometimes the office is closed and the resident is locked out of their home."
(Question 30) "Unfortunately, in the last few years there has not been an improvement in the services offered to residents."
(Question 31) "The only good thing about Heritage Common is the comfort of the apartments. Heritage Common could become a community with an excellent standard of living if there is the opportunity for the residents and the management to work together to improve the conditions. The communication between the two is imperative for the conditions to improve."

Respondent 60: (Question 29) "The cooperation between residents so that assigned parking spaces are left open to residents and strangers don't take them. The survey should ask why residents don't attend the meetings that are made."
(Question 30) "In the last few years, absolutely nothing. One the other hand, abuse and lack of respect and consideration of the rules set by the corporation for the residents has been permitted."
(Question 31) "This place was built in order to beautify the center of Lawrence. We should maintain it the best we can. I wouldn't like it if this development's standards fell because of poor maintenance."

Respondent 61: (Question 29) "Yes, there should be more care taken in the selection of residents. Sometimes they chose residents that don't know how to respect other's privacy."
(Question 30) "When something electric breaks like the stove or the garbage disposal, they fix it immediately. Also problems with the toilets and things like that. Something that is very good is that they always fumigate the apartments. Congratulations."
(Question 31) "In reality, what I don't like is that they never paint the apartments, they don't change the carpets, in other words, they don't maintain the condition of the apartments while one is living in them."

Respondent 62: (Question 30) "The maintenance and the cleanliness."
(Question 31) "I like the security that it offers me."

Respondent 63: (Question 29) "I want them to fix the lock on the door and my oven."
(Question 30) "To answer this question, I'd have to wait a little more being that there is new management."
(Question 31) "What I don't like is the schedule of the laundry and this bothers me because it is right under my bedroom. Also, I get nervous when the block the entrance with snow and don't spread ice, anyone can fall."

Respondent 64: (Question 29) "Yes, it doesn't ask which things in your apartment you need changed or fixed, what the management can do to improve the heating system, and the stoves and the refrigerators should be changed."
(Question 31) "I think that the management of Heritage Common don't take into account the wellbeing of the residents when they make decisions. Heritage Common has a high percentage Hispanics and should be supervised by someone who is biligual and bicultural that can identify the needs of the majority of the residents. In order for the conditions between residents and management to improve, the management should make decisions that show that they cared about resident opinions when important decisions are made. We could have other benefits from federal funds that could possibly be obtained for our good."

Respondent 65: (Question 29) "More efficient employees that could help Mr. R. Morales."
(Question 30) "The only person that works and cares for the residents is Rafael Morales."
(Question 31) "Now there isn't cleanliness, and there is poor service."

Respondent 66: (Question 29) "What I think is important in this community is the control and vigilance over people who come into the area but do not live in this community."
(Question 30) "What I can say is that when a service is needed in the apartments, they try resolve it as soon as possible."
(Question 31) "What I like the most is the calmness and what I like the least is the way that the mail is received. I think that the mailboxes should be open 24 hours including weekends."

Respondent 67: (Question 29) "They should go by each home and find out which are the problems of each apartment. They should worry a little about the problems of Heritage. There are 112 families that are Hispanic, and they don't send the papers in Spanish. It's discrimination."
(Question 30) "They don't do anything well."
(Question 31) "The calmness."

Respondent 68: (Question 29) "The apartments are very cold. They need insulation. Parking system."
(Question 30) "They charge rent."
(Question 31) "It is calm, and I don't like the gangs. More security."

Respondent 69: (Question 29) "We need rent control. Lower rents for low income residents. Management that speaks Spanish."
(Question 31) "In summer, there are gangs drinking in the parking lots."

Respondent 70: (Question 31) "No storage space."

Respondent 72: (Question 29) "They should give more before towing cars."
(Question 30) "Responding timely."
(Question 31) "I like living here, it's quiet and reasonable."

Respondent 73: (Question 29) "When you call for something, they should have the personnel to respond quickly."
(Question 30) "I think they all try to do their jobs well, but the first years I was here it was better."
(Question 31) "I like the programs that they have with the kids."

Respondent 74: (Question 29) "Yes, there should be some help with rent for those with low incomes and they are singles parents!"
(Question 30) "They charge the rent! Try to have a security guard, so that they don't steal the cars!"
(Question 31) "The maintenance and the fact that many people have financial difficulties, and they raise the rent without knowing if you can pay it. My opinion is that there should be a way to manage the situation more clearly and give the resident of Heritage Common a chance!"

Respondent 75: (Question 29) "We need a better maintenance staff that gets stuff done."
(Question 30) "Trying to identify all that is being done wrong."

(Question 31) "I don't like the stereotype that goes around towards the kids (sample: a group of kids is a gang, that's wrong.) I really like the new staff."

Respondent 76: (Question 29) "Respect for other's parking space. People park where ever they want, and when one gets there, another car is in your space. Have to check that residents don't have drugs in their apartments."
(Question 30) "The maintenance of things that break. They come right away to fix it."
(Question 31) "They have not changed the carpet since I moved in. There is no hot water in the laundry."

Respondent 77: (Question 30) "They do everything possible to be up to date on everything."
(Question 31) "The apartment is in good condition."

Respondent 78: (Question 30) "Maintenance people are doing good."
(Question 31) "It's a safe place. The heat is on the wrong place."

Respondent 79: (Question 29) "The service is bad, they don't attend to anything."
(Question 31) "I like living here because there is a safe/sound environment."
Respondent 80: (Question 30) "The management has to be a bit forceful with some residents, but that's okay."
(Question 31) "What I don't like about living in Heritage Common is that some residents don't respect others. In the past month and a half, two cars have taken my parking space and they're not supposed to do that. First of all, the space is for handicap, and everyone that comes here parks there. This is something that I am really bothered by. The other thing is the music, and the cars come in. There is a sign that says 5 mph, and these guys come in like this were a speedway without caring that there are children playing in this development."

Respondent 81: (Question 31) "That this is a community that is clean and safe."

Respondent 82: (Question 29) "The security system is not good."
(Question 30) "They are trying to improve the facilities."
(Question 31) "I like the apartments are clean and very quiet. I don't like the rent is too high for it to be a common place for immigrant people and the security system outside of the apartment is poor."

Respondent 83: (Question 29) "Mail issues. Sometimes it's hard to get your mail."
(Question 30) "The grounds are being kept up."
(Question 31) "I like my friendly neighbors who live next to me. I don't like that sometimes people park or block parking spaces."

Respondent 84: (Question 30) "Respect and understanding."
(Question 31) "I like everything up to now."

Respondent 86: (Question 30) "Rafael is the one that works well."

(Question 31) "I don't like how the maintenance works, and that the secretary should be more courteous of the residents."

Respondent 87: (Question 29) "I would like for them to fix some key thing s in the apartment like the intercom and the window locks. Also, the birds spill all the trash outside of the trash bins."
(Question 31) "The apartments are pretty."

Respondent 88: (Question 29) "Are you happy with the maintenance?"
(Question 30) "I am happy with their work, although many times because of the amount of work, we have to wait to be attended to."
(Question 31) "The apartments are attractive and very pretty."

Respondent 89: (Question 29) "More maintenance staff. It is a little abandoned looking. Before, there never was trash on the property."
(Question 31) "The security, it is calm, the apartments are pretty, but they need more attention."