

Resident Engagement at Community Land Trusts: Care, Community, and Control at Worcester Common Ground

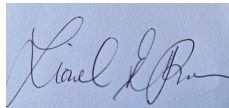
**Praxis Project Thesis: Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts — as part of the Community, Youth,
and Education Studies Major at Clark University**

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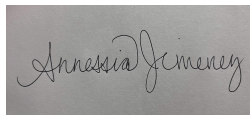
Committee Signatures:

Jie Park

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A handwritten signature in blue ink on a light blue background, reading "Lionel Romain".

Lionel Romain

A handwritten signature in black ink on a grey background, reading "Annessia Jimenez".

Annessia Jimenez

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Worcester, MA

Abstract

This project examines resident engagement in Community Land Trusts, focusing on conceptions and experiences of care, community, and community control. The site of study is Worcester Common Ground, a Community Land Trust in Worcester, MA, provisioning affordable housing and serving the Greater Piedmont Area since 1988. I frame Worcester Common Ground as an infrastructure of care, and look to see how residents experience engagement, how they wish to engage with Worcester Common Ground, and how they conceptualize and experience living in a Community Land Trust. This project was done collaboratively with research partners who are staff members at Worcester Common Ground. Through discussion with staff and surveying residents, I identify barriers to engagement, as well as conceptions of community, community control, and care. I proceed to address these findings through recommendations and areas of future research.

Acknowledgements

My Praxis Project serves to represent my journey through Clark University. When I first came to Clark, I accidentally did *not* sign up for any classes. Upon arriving I realized my mistake, and had to talk to the incredibly kind and helpful Evette Walters in admissions to help me. I had no idea what I wanted to study (I think I said environmental science hesitantly when she asked me to pick something), and she sat down with me and talked me through the course grid. Through our conversation (and what happened to have open slots), I ended up registering for the *Difficult Dialogues* course and the First Year Intensive *Social Justice and Community Engagement*, which is where I first met Jie Park and Eric DeMeulenaere. Although I still felt a little aimless at the time, I knew that I had found my people, and that these mentors would provide a unique framing for whatever work I chose to do at Clark. Jie and Eric both continue to inspire me, not just with their intelligence, but with seemingly endless kindness, compassion, and care for all of their students. They also introduced me to the Difficult Dialogue fellows, a wonderful community that I cherish being a part of.

Continuing through my journey at Clark, I went on to bounce around multiple focuses, leaning towards education, then urban studies, until I started studying affordable housing development. Throughout this process, I knew that I wanted to maintain a focus on community, and the importance and power it has in all fields. Learning about affordable housing and how the field actually works opened up a new world to me, one that allowed me to combine my interests in urban studies, racial equity, and community. While I was initially hesitant to start studying finance, my wonderful teacher Lionel Romain helped make it less intimidating and demonstrated

the critical importance of finance. I am forever grateful for all of the help and mentoring he has provided me and continues to provide me, and I credit him greatly for introducing me to this incredible field that I am now so passionate about. I consider him a friend, and I am lucky to have a mentor who is so kind, caring, and deeply knowledgeable about all things affordable housing.

My Praxis project took a similar route as my journey through Clark, starting out a little aimlessly. I knew that I wanted to focus on affordable housing in some way, and chose to focus on Worcester Common Ground because of my relationship with the organization and my positive perception of their work that I had developed through my studies. When I started, I had a broad range of focuses, looking at how Worcester Common Ground works towards racial equity, countering displacement, and providing affordable housing at the same time. I was especially interested in looking at their process of dealing with eviction and foreclosure, and how they navigate those complex and vulnerable interactions. Through initial discussions with Worcester Common Ground staff and my advisors, I began to prioritize aspects of resident engagement as a key focus. I knew that I wanted to maintain a focus on the Community Land Trust model and its implications for residents, and I started to see how engagement is informed heavily by the model, and is central to resident experience. As the project evolved, I incorporated a focus on care and specifically infrastructures of care, in large part due to the class *Designing Just Cities* taught by Asha Best. This class deeply altered the way I think about the world and design, and will continue to guide my thinking and reflection as I move through life (similarly to the other class I took with professor Best, a brilliant, thoughtful, and caring professor who, in a unique and incredible way, challenges and pushes her students to think critically).

I am truly happy and proud with how this project has turned out, and if I went through listing everyone who had a significant impact on my process or journey through Clark and how they have helped me, it would add another 50 pages onto this already too long paper. I will try to be succinct with my following thank yous.

Thank you to all of my incredible professors at Clark, for giving me guidance and grace, and helping me grow into the person I am today. I have yet to encounter a bad teacher along my journey here at Clark; everyone has been incredibly kind and caring, providing more than enough support. A special thank you to the following teachers, whom I will never forget: Asha Best, Cara Berg-Powers, David Bell, Deborah Martin, Eric DeMeulenaere, Jie Park, Laurie Ross, Lionel Romain, and Ramon Borges-Mendez.

A special thank you as well to my partners at Worcester Common Ground for allowing me to work with you, giving me your time and energy, and supporting me through this intense research process. I firmly believe that you are doing incredible and important work, and I cannot imagine an organization that cares more about what they do. Thank you specifically to my research partners who have helped me so much with this project – none of this would be possible without you: Annessia Jimenez (Community Organizer), Giovanni Ayala (Asset Manager), and Jeshenia Luyando (Resident Service Coordinator). Thank you as well to Worcester Common Ground's Executive Director Yvette Dyson, for introducing me to your world and making this project possible. Also, thank you to all of the Worcester Common Ground staff for the wonderful work you do supporting this community.

Thank you to all of my Praxis classmates, for all of the support while working through this three-semester process together. We have built such a wonderful community together, lifting each other up and helping each other achieve incredible things.

Finally, thank you to all of my friends and my family. I could not have made it through college or this project without all of their support and love, and for that I am eternally grateful. A special thank you to my dad Arthur, my mom Beth, my uncle Steve, my brother Zach, and my partner Saorla. You all are the reason that I am here in the first place, and why I am still here today. Your love and support means everything to me, and I thank you deeply.

Sincerely,

Noah

Introduction

Growing up in New York City, in a 2-story single family house across the street from a large city housing project, I was exposed to some of the extremes of housing inequality from a young age. Inequality in housing is far from unique to New York City, but the scale, visibility, and extreme variability in quality and perception (sometimes from one end of a block to another) left a lasting impression on me. I also found a lot of community in the location of my housing, and with how central community is to my life, it further cemented the importance of quality housing in a meaningful place. I will always view access to quality housing as a fundamental human right, and once I learned more about the past and present of how intentional housing segregation and racialization is in our housing system, I knew that I wanted to devote myself to learning about how to develop quality affordable housing in ways that advance racial equity and prevent displacement. Upon learning about Community Land Trusts and the concept of community control over land, the model struck me as having enormous potential to create necessary change in our housing market, and in the lives of people living in affordable housing.

Problem Statement

Community Land Trusts (CLTs) are a relatively new and rapidly expanding model of affordable housing creation and preservation. The history and structuring of CLTs are closely tied to what can be considered controversial and transformative ideas about the power of community, de-commodifying land, actively preventing displacement, and countering the economic disenfranchisement of marginalized people. With the proliferation of the CLT model, the

structure and form of CLTs are starting to diverge from their roots, with modern iterations often looking very different from one to the next.

While no two CLTs should look identical, as they are inherently place-based, it is concerning that they are straying from their original intentions, with the model often reduced to only being the limited equity ownership model and the tripartite board structure (a structure where a third of board seats are reserved for tenants, a third for neighborhood residents, and a third for local stakeholders). Through this divergence, the concept of community control over land is being diluted and losing the significance and power of the initial concept. Similarly, the prioritization of engaging residents and actively fostering community is disappearing from some CLTs' operations. This dilution presents dangerous implications because it may remove the potential of the model to create effective change. Additionally, the CLT model can present downsides such as limiting the ability of resident homeowners to build equity in their homes. If CLTs are not staying true to the ideas behind the model, residents will bear the burden of the downsides without receiving the full benefits, and the CLTs themselves can masquerade as place-based, cutting-edge advocacy organizations while functioning more as a traditional developer with an investment in a specific location and a complex financial structure.

CLTs also center fostering increased community control over the neighborhood, a sense of community, and care within that community as core tenants. I aim to investigate how Worcester Common Ground achieves these goals, and see whether they are straying from or staying true to the origins of the CLT model. Alternatively, I may find that residents do not identify with these crucial elements of the model, or that they feel their control over the

community comes exclusively from the organizational and financial structure of Worcester Common Ground as a CLT.

Action Plan

I am implementing at least two primary phases in my action plan, the first being conducting and analyzing research as an action, and the second being a more conventional action plan in terms of recommendations to Worcester Common Ground. In my discussions with Worcester Common Ground staff members, we worked collaboratively to develop research goals and determine our focus based on what information would be helpful to them. They want to know how residents wish to interact with them, how residents feel about their current interactions with staff, how residents conceptualize and experience living in a CLT, and more. However, Worcester Common Ground has a relatively small staff for an organization of their scope, and they are all very busy ensuring smooth operations. I believe providing capacity to this organization in order to further the research focuses that we have developed collectively is a form of action, as hopefully they can use this information directly to further understand and improve the quality of life for residents. Finally, I believe that the research will reveal the next steps for us to take as part of this project, in order to help foster community, build caring relationships, and increase resident control of land in their neighborhood.

Research Questions

Initial research questions

I developed these questions at the start of the research process, based on my interests in the field, my knowledge of the organization, and concepts that emerged from my initial readings. These questions also shaped what literature I examined next, and guided my initial survey development.

- How do residents experience and conceptualize living in Worcester Common Ground housing?
- What are barriers for residents when trying to engage with Worcester Common Ground as an organization and provide feedback, and how can they be reduced?
- How do residents perceive their current engagement with Worcester Common Ground, and how would they like to see this relationship change?
- Do residents feel that they have increased control over land in their community since residing in Worcester Common Ground housing?
- How aware are residents of the limited equity ownership model, and do they believe in it as a way to create and preserve affordable housing?
- Do Worcester Common Ground residents feel a sense of community amongst themselves, and between themselves and staff?
- Do residents feel a connection between a sense of community and control over land?
- Do residents' perception of care within their community relate to a sense of control over the community's land?
- Do Worcester Common Ground residents feel that they belong to a caring community?
- How does care shape the residents' experiences?

- Do residents feel that Worcester Common Ground arranges their housing in a way that fosters caring relationships, interdependence, and community control?
- When CLT housing is arranged correctly, can it act as a relational infrastructure of care, and how does this directly affect residents?

Consolidated research questions

After reading more literature on CLTs, sending out an initial survey to residents, and having a discussion with my research partners at Worcester Common Ground, I consolidated my initial research questions. The goal of consolidation was to focus my research, identifying what is most important to focus on, and trying to connect my initial research questions together. My consolidated research questions are the following:

How does the way CLTs structure care and relationship building into their communities impact their success? What specific strategies does Worcester Common Ground use to foster a sense of community and promote care among their residents? How do they impact how residents feel community control over land? How do CLTs function as an infrastructure of care? What ideas and values get coded into this infrastructure, and how does it impact residents' daily lives? How do CLTs increase the decommodification of housing and alter the perception of housing for residents through aspects outside of their financial structure, and is doing so dependent on fostering a strong sense of community and care amongst residents?

Primary research questions

After sending out my second survey and transcribing our discussion with my research partners, I decided to refine my research questions further to focus my data analysis process. While these questions have lost some of the meaning from my consolidated research questions, a lot of what was eliminated, such as the focus on care, became ingrained in my framing of the project through my theoretical and conceptual frameworks, so I am confident that the eliminated meaning in the questions won't be lost in the data analysis. These questions are the overall focus of my research, closely guiding my analysis and recommendations. My primary research questions are the following:

Why is Worcester Common Ground struggling with engagement? How can they improve engagement for their residents? How do residents experience a sense of community and community control within Worcester Common Ground's housing, and how can Worcester Common Ground strengthen both?

Theoretical Framework

Two theories that closely inform my work are Relationality and Sense of Community Theory. Before discussing them, however, I feel it is necessary to contextualize my work. A key part of my research question and my drive to do this project is the idea that housing should not be a financial tool but rather a right. While the financial structure of CLTs is designed to create the decommodification of housing, I believe that radically changing financial structures alone is not enough to cause the shift in our conceptualization of housing—an instrumental step towards addressing the housing crisis in a new and effective way—which is the impetus behind my

project. I am investigating what within CLTs, outside of the financial structure that they primarily all share, impacts how residents experience and conceptualize housing (looking at how community functions and is felt as the primary factor). While I have experience in the housing finance and economic development field, I am certainly not an expert in that area or economics in general, and I feel a certain level of expertise is needed in those areas in order to have a very nuanced critique of current housing financial structures and to design new structures while being able to somewhat accurately predict their impacts. Because of the driving force behind my project combined with my belief that creating a project focusing solely on financial structures requires knowledge I do not have, my project is intentionally trying to remove housing finance from my area of study as much as possible, tying resident experience to their sense of belonging and perceptions of community rather than financial structure.

I am also operating on the assumption that resident experience of housing has a primary role to play in their conceptualization of housing, outside of other factors such as privilege or oppression. It is important to consider how residents conceptualize housing, as these conceptualizations impact future experiences and come from past and current experiences. All CLTs inherently have a similar financial structure, yet often look extremely different and have different outcomes for residents and as an organization. My project aims to look at what differentiates these outcomes outside of place, and sense of community theory and relationality have informed what I am looking into the most. Additionally I believe that thinking of housing as an infrastructure of care can explain why there are differences in outcomes, as the system of housing and its material conditions structure how care is conceptualized and performed in daily life, and act to either reinforce social inequity or restructure and challenge it.

Finally, it is important to note that my theoretical framework overall, and the importance that I give to relationality and sense of community explain how I believe community functions and the central role that community plays in housing, rather than being about how residents experience or conceptualize their housing. These framings inform how I am approaching this project and looking at my data, and do not necessarily represent how residents of Worcester Common Ground think about or experience community and living in Worcester Common Ground housing. The reason these two theories are about community is because of the central role I see community playing in housing. It is definitely possible that some or all residents of Worcester Common Ground either do not see community as being an essential aspect of housing, or that they conceptualize community in a completely different way as there are many different definitions and ways of understanding community as a concept.

Foundational to my project and theory of change, relationality describes how people interact with each other, and how all people in a community are connected to each other and their physical environment, and that the way these connections and relationships are shaped and arranged have drastic effects on the community and individuals within (Kan & Lejano, 2023). Relationality views these connections as extremely powerful, having the potential to radically change and eliminate systems of violence and harm, and foster transformative and radical collective action, through creating infrastructures of care and employing empathetic decision making (Kan & Lejano, 2023). However, it also recognizes that connections and relationships can be harmful and perpetuate or increase vulnerability and violence, if the relationships are not based in care or are not structured well. It sees that everyone is not only interconnected but also interdependent, with the need to rely on others seen as natural and positive, as everyone is seen

as being vulnerable and needing help at some point (van der Waal, 2025). Additionally, it recognizes that communities experience events not only as individuals, but also as a collective and produce collective knowledge and power through how their members relate to one another.

In thinking about housing as an infrastructure of care I am looking at how the arrangement of housing impacts relationality in a community, as I believe it has significant implications on how people in that community connect with each other, directly impacting their quality of life, provision and reception of care, capacity for collective action, and how they feel and exercise control over their surroundings. When I am talking about the arrangement of housing, it is about all aspects of the housing itself, including location, design, implementation, ownership, material conditions, etc. Thinking about how relationality intertwines with housing as an infrastructure of care leads me to look at how Worcester Common Ground scaffolds and shapes connection in their community of residents through both the housing they develop and their operations/interactions with residents.

According to a foundational text on Sense of Community Theory, a sense of community is “a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together” (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 9). Sense of Community frames how individuals conceive of and experience being in community with one another, and that there are specific aspects that can improve or take away from a sense of community. It sees a Sense of Community as having four distinct but occasionally overlapping aspects: Membership, Influence, Integration and Fulfillment of Needs, and Emotional Connection. Membership is about identity and boundaries, having a sense of belonging, as well as the idea that being a member requires some

form of personal investment (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Influence is about how members of a community can influence each other as individuals, can influence the community as a whole, how the overall community itself can influence individuals, and how feeling the power to influence and being influenced increases Sense of Community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Integration and fulfillment of needs asserts that fulfilling each other's needs is a crucial part of a successful community, and that feeling supported and supporting others strengthens Sense of Community greatly, with this fulfillment of needs being completed through acts of care (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Shared emotional connection is about identifying with a shared history, even if it is not the individuals' lived history, and that when people have routine and positive interactions with each other it creates a Sense of Community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). The definition and use of Sense of Community theory has expanded greatly over the years, becoming highly dependent on the contexts of place and the discipline through which you are approaching community work or research (Talò et al., 2014). However, most uses and definitions agree that Sense of Community is key in determining levels of engagement and organizing, community longevity and success in achieving shared goals, and health outcomes for individual members (Talò et al., 2014). The positive correlation between having a strong Sense of Community and improving engagement and community development outcomes is determined by the specific local context of the community, which I assert has to do with Relationality and how communities design/facilitate connections and relationships between their members.

I am looking into how Relationality intertwines with Sense of Community, and how cultivating a strong Sense of Community is based on how relationships and connections are structured. I want to see how residents feel about their experiences with the systems in place for

communicating and interacting with each other and with Worcester Common Ground staff, seeing how that impacts their quality of life and Sense of Community. Additionally, I want to see how strongly residents feel a Sense of Community, and how much that correlates with feeling like their community has control over the land in their neighborhood. I am looking to see if CLT housing, when acting as an infrastructure of care, can foster a strong sense of community where residents feel control over land, seeing how the arrangement serves to reproduce or counter inequity.

Conceptual Framework

The terms I am defining for my project are Community, Care, Community Land Trusts, and Infrastructure. Many of these terms have myriad definitions that are all specific to the context in which they are used, none of which are an objectively correct definition. I am defining these terms as I understand them within the context of my project, and in ways that align with my theoretical frameworks.

Because every community is unique and there are countless numbers of communities, it can be difficult to lay out a clear definition that fits every community. However, I believe that the definition of community used by Sense of Community theory is a good starting place. According to the foundational Sense of Community text, there are two types of communities. The first is relational, which is about how a group of people relate and interact with one another, while the second is territorial, which is about only geography (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). This definition of community being split into two types expanded as Sense of Community theory developed, to

people in a community sharing a common location, identity, interests, and mutual participation (McCann, 2002). This definition suits my needs better, as I am working with CLTs which are inherently place-based. This definition lacks a few aspects that I consider essential to community in this context, which are mutual vulnerability, support, and care. While not all communities have extensive support or care networks, the ones that do are more connected, coherent, and have a stronger sense of community.

I am looking at care both as an essential part of communities, and as a key aspect of housing as infrastructure for communities. For my purposes, care is not limited to only being about health or social reproductive labor (such as childcare or eldercare). Care is rooted in connections and relationships between people, and encompasses the daily activities that help people live, work, and survive (Muñoz et al., 2023). It involves helping those you care for when they are in need, while knowing that they will assist you when you are in need, overall guiding decision making (Kwan, 2023). This give and take is not purely transactional, but more like mutual support that requires a degree of trust. Care highlights the interdependence of everyone, and is crucial for meeting needs, reducing harm, and ensuring survival (Muñoz et al., 2023).

Infrastructure, as I understand it, consists of essential systems and facilities needed for the day-to-day functioning of communal life. Infrastructure can take many different physical forms (roads, transportation, sewage and electricity, libraries, schools, parks, etc.), is typically/primarily public, and involves relationships or interactions between people. It organizes people, building the structure for how people will interact with each other and form relationships, enabling people to do certain things and preventing them from doing others. Not only does infrastructure organize how interactions happen it also facilitates them, promoting specific types

of interaction in specific spaces over others. Seeing as infrastructure is inherently relational, housing is an essential infrastructure based heavily on relationality. How your housing is arranged has immense, direct impacts on quality of public life, and helps determine how people relate to those they are close with. Housing specifically is an infrastructure of care, as it facilitates and organizes care from an individual scale to a community scale, helping determine what care practices look like and how they manifest (Power & Mee, 2019). Infrastructures of care (specifically in urban contexts) are “a system of social and physical relationships that forms the background conditions for, and thus patterns, care work” (Binet et al., 2022, 283). The care that is arranged and patterned is not limited to formal social reproductive labor, taking various forms and permeating many aspects of everyday life. Metaphorically speaking, infrastructure is the scaffolding of the massive building that is public life, the structure of which determines what the interpersonal relationships and experiences of the people the infrastructure is for look like.

Finally, an understanding of both the structure and a brief history of CLTs is instrumental to my project. The first CLT was started by Black farmers in the South in 1969, called New Communities (*The First*, n.d.). New Communities grew out of the Civil Rights Movement, aiming to decommodify land, allow the community to develop its own affordable housing, and gain control of their own economic development and participation (Cahen et al., 2020). A key part of the new model they developed was the importance of community control over the land in the trust, and overall, the model was received well by the community it served (*The First*, n.d.). In 1972 shortly after New Communities opened, the Institute for Community Economics published a book on the CLT model based on their experience working with New Communities, attempting to spread the model as much as they could ("From Model," n.d.). It started to work

and CLTs began to expand and evolve. By 1985, the same year that New Communities shut down due to explicit and systemic racism from lenders (New Communities would eventually be awarded a large settlement which they used to reopen), CLTs began to shift towards being focused on urban places, some partnering with their municipalities ("From Model," n.d.). In 1992 the Federal government formally recognized CLTs, allowing them to compete for Federal funds and leading to their further proliferation (Cahen et al., 2020).

It is important to note that while New Communities was the first official CLT and pioneered the model, they did not develop this model from out of nowhere. They were inspired by a long history of collective ownership communities, and transformative ideas about land ownership and communal living. A concept that is influential to this pre-model history is the idea of a single-tax developed by Henry George in 1879, which is eliminating all taxes except for a tax on the appreciating value of land (and not on the improvements on top of the land) (Davis, 2014). Many single-tax communities started to appear, with community ownership of land and individual ownership of the improvements on the land, very similar to the CLT structure where individuals pay a low annual lease fee on 100 year land leases. (Davis, 2014) Many of these initial single-tax communities were also farming oriented and located in the south. (Davis, 2014) In 1936 Ralph Borsodi, the first person to refer to long term land leasing communities as land trusts, started the School of Living in New York focused on adult education, farming, and communal living and land ownership (Davis, 2014). There are other instances of planned communities that employ long term land leases and collective living practices, such as Celo in 1938, however while these did effectively hold land in a trust, they were not full CLTs. (Davis,

2014). It took New Communities transformative goals, deep focus on community control over land, and making community more of a central and key element for the first true CLT to develop.

The structure of CLTs, while varying based on context and purpose, generally looks as follows. CLTs are place-based, non-profit organizations, which buy and develop land to hold ownership in a trust. This land is not a speculative investment, as CLTs do not intend to ever sell the land; rather they lease it out to the owners of the buildings on top of that land for an extremely low amount of money and with a long-term ground lease (*Key Features*, 2006). The CLT also maintains the right to buy the building on the land if it is ever sold, and limits the amount that the building can sell for, in order to ensure that it maintains its affordability perpetually (*Key Features*, 2006). The ground lease has other limiting terms, such as sometimes requiring owner occupancy and responsible use, as well as the right to force repairs if hazardous conditions are present, and the right to cure a defaulted mortgage, ensuring residential safety and security (*Key Features*, 2006). Anyone deemed to live in the CLT targeted area, as well as all residents, are eligible to become voting members who elect board members (*Key Features*, 2006). The Tripartite board structure is also very important, with one third of seats on the board belonging to residents of the CLT, the next third belonging to surrounding community residents who don't live in the CLT, and the last third belonging to stakeholders representing the public interest (*Key Features*, 2006). All board members except for the public interest stakeholders are elected by the voting members. Finally, a CLT tends to constantly try to expand and increase the amount of land they hold in the trust, spreading out around the neighborhood and building different types of housing, whatever matches the area and is in demand from the community. It is important to note that in order to achieve their goals and create new developments, all CLTs tend

to partner with Community Development Corporations (CDCs, place-based developers that focus on supporting and revitalizing under-supported communities).

Literature Review

Search process and inclusion criteria

I began looking at the literature by searching broadly for articles discussing CLTs, in order to get a general idea of the research landscape for this topic. Having started in the 1970s, CLTs are a relatively recent housing model, which began to proliferate in the 80s and 90s with research on them starting to pop up around the same time. At first this growth in the number of CLTs was slow, but once the model was federally recognized in 1992 this growth accelerated rapidly. By 2006 there were around 150 CLTs in the United States of America, by 2018 the number reached over 200 and it is currently at over 300 (Schneid, 2025). Similarly, the research on CLTs continues to grow alongside the model. On all databases I searched, there were more results in the last decade than there were in all the time before 2015. The two databases that showcased this most clearly were Engineering Village's GEOBASE, and ProQuest One Academic, which have clear charts and numbers for results by year. For example, on ProQuest there have been 183 articles mentioning CLTs since 2020, while there have been 153 total between 1992 and 2019. Engineering Village has a more comprehensive selection of articles, with 547 articles mentioning CLTs since 2015, and 406 between 1979 and 2014. This expansion of the research is most likely due to the proliferation of the model, and could point to a growing interest in collective ownership models.

Engineering Village's GEOBASE was the database I searched most, followed closely by JSTOR. The other databases I employed in order of most to least used were ProQuest (One Academic, Ebook Central), EBSCO Host (EconLit, SocIndex, General/News Databases), Google Scholar, Sage Journals, Gale Academic Onefile Select, Wiley Online Library, Oxford Academic Journals, and Talyor & Francis. I tried to keep the search terms I used common between the different databases, and I primarily searched for sources from the last decade. The search terms I used were "Community Land Trust" as a whole phrase, Housing, Care, Engagement, Community Control, Control, Residents, and Community. I tried multiple combinations of each search term on each database, always including Community Land Trust as the primary search term and interchanging the rest.

For my inclusion criteria, I had to dismiss a lot of sources that were focused on environmental conservation-centered CLTs rather than housing. Additionally, any article before 2015 I flagged and then made sure that either it was a foundational text in the field, or that a more recent article that focused on the same ideas didn't exist. There were also many articles about the financial structure of CLTs and the impacts and implications of this limited equity cooperative structure. While the financial structure of CLTs is a key aspect of the model, I wanted to avoid articles that reduce the entirety of the model to just the financial structure, focusing instead on how resident experience and perception is shaped by operations and organization within this financial structure. I made sure to include articles focusing on how community is felt within CLTs, and how community control is generated outside of the financial structure.

Financial structure and moving beyond

Because most of the literature I saw initially focused on the limited equity structure of the CLT model, I wanted to look deeper into the implications of this financial structure. *Ownership is a Habit of Mind: How Community Land Trusts Expose Key Consensual Fictions of Urban Property* (2021) by Deborah G. Martin et al., proved to be a critical article in my research. The article examines how the financial structure of CLTs challenges our conventional conception of property ownership, and it talks about how CLTs can have their transformative potential limited by conceptions of the financial structure and property ownership at large. While this article focuses its reflections on CLTs and their specific financial strategies, it showed me how the ownership model has more significance than just financial feasibility. The article showcases how there are many organizational factors centered around resident experience and perception that impact the success of the financial model and CLT as a whole. These themes, and more about specifically how residents experience the limited equity model, were explored by two other important articles, *Community Land Trusts: Releasing Possible Selves Through Stable Affordable Housing* (2018), by Kristen A. Hackett et al., and *Meanings of Limited Equity Homeownership in Community Land Trusts* (2019) by Deborah G. Martin et al. These articles together served to guide me away from looking solely at the financial structure of CLTs, instead highlighting the importance of looking at how residents perceive this financial structure and how it impacts their overall experience.

Two articles helped in starting to move beyond the financial structure of CLTs, looking more towards the role relationality and care play in CLTs. First, *Ethical Action in the Age of*

Austerity: Cases of Care in Two Community Land Trusts (2020), by Claire Cahen, Erin Lilli, and Susan Saegert. This article looks at CLTs through the dual lenses of austerity measures and care, while also providing a detailed history of CLTs. Austerity measures in this context refers to public services and spending being cut back in response to economic downturns or fear of economic downturns, such as after the Great Recession or in response to the Covid pandemic (Cahen et al., 2020, p. 393). It focuses on two main types of care, care of place and care of people, and how this care can help prevent displacement and combat place-based crises. Overall, it looks to challenge the assertion that the success of CLTs is tied exclusively to their financial structure, arguing that it is determined by the care they facilitate and directly enact. The other article, *On the Transformative Potential of Community Land Trusts in the United States* (2019) by James DeFilippis et al. looks to see if the financial model of CLTs is inherently transformative. The article concludes that in order for CLTs to act as pathways towards structural transformative change, they must intentionally integrate transformative practices into their financial structures and operations. This article was key for me in justifying the importance of looking past financial structures towards more transformative aspects of CLTs, such as how they facilitate connection and can act as relational infrastructures of care.

Similarly, another key article in looking past the financial aspect is *W(h)ither the Community in Community Land Trusts?* (2017) by James DeFilippis, Brian Stromberg, and Olivia R. Williams. The article speaks to how viewing CLTs as exclusively a financial model to create affordable housing may lead to a loss in both a sense of community and the community control of land, and how this negatively impacts the success of the CLT. This article helped point me towards looking specifically at how residents feel a sense of community as one of the aspects

contributing to the success of a CLT, and further justified for me the importance of that concept in this context.

Engagement with residents and the greater community

In trying to look at other aspects of CLTs that contribute to their success, I found several areas of study that related to community, care, and connection. One that I consider especially significant is how CLTs engage with residents. *Deepening Stewardship: Resident Engagement in Community Land Trusts* (2015) by Jeffrey S. Lowe and Emily Thaden, is a key article on this subject. They present deep resident engagement as crucial to the success of CLTs, in order for them to be effective tools for creating change. They also discuss the significance of residents' awareness and belief in the decommodification of land, which matches my focus on the resident perception of the financial structure rather than the structure itself.

One significant aspect in determining the success and positive impact of CLTs operations is their relationship with local community organizers, as this can be indicative of the relationship the CLT facilitates with the greater community that hosts it. *Victories from Insurgency: Re-Negotiating Housing, Community Control, and Citizenship from the Margins* (2019) by Claire Cahen, Jakob Schneider, and Susan Saegert looks at how relationships with both the Municipality and local Community Organizers impact the creation and success of new CLTs. It also looks at unofficial parts of the relationships, examining the differences between invited and invented spaces for participation. Importantly, the article *Community Land Trusts, Affordable Housing and Community Organising in Low-Income Neighbourhoods* (2016) by Udi Engelsman, Mike Rowe, and Alan Southern speaks to different models of CLTs that can either be radical or

reformist responses to the housing crisis. It also emphasizes the significance of community organizing in securing land and beginning a CLT.

Internal community

Focusing on the concept of community within CLTs, there are many articles with various approaches. *Keeping “Community” in a Community Land Trust* (2011) by Karen A. Gray and Mugdha Galande presents community organizing as essential for creating and growing a CLT, but also looks at how the concept of community in general works to serve CLTs. Some ways that surfaced in the article include how community makes tenants comfortable in approaching staff for assistance when they are having trouble paying their mortgage or rent, increasing comfortability in advocating for neighborhood needs such as fixing street lights, and fostering a sense of pride and ownership in the neighborhood. It presents having a full-time community organizer on staff as a solution for keeping CLTs focused on fostering community. However, while this is an important step to doing so it is not enough by itself. The article also calls out that a large part of the original model is fostering community control over land, with many modern CLTs being reduced to only being a model of creating and preserving affordable housing.

Another article looking at community within CLTs is *The Production of Community in Community Land Trusts* (2020) by Richard Kruger et al. which focuses specifically on how community is created and experienced by residents of CLTs. It does not look just at the community between residents, but also between staff and residents. Interestingly, it does not see residents’ experience of community as being mainly about fostering community control or relationships between residents, instead seeing community as being goal oriented and based in

reciprocity. The focus on reciprocity is primarily about achieving mutual goals, but also relates to community being based in mutual care. They see community as being heavily contextual, shaped by the geographic context and the desires of the people who constitute the community.

Additionally, they discuss how many CLTs have expanded their geographic scale greatly, contributing to community change and a lack of experiencing community control. It also centers resident experience by looking at what community means to those actually involved, and how they experience the community aspect of CLTs.

While the prior article impacted how I perceive community and its relationship to experiencing community control, an article that shaped my understanding of these concepts considerably is *Community Control as a Relationship Between a Place-Based Population and Institution: The Case of a Community Land Trust* (2018) by Olivia R. Williams. As the title states, Williams conceptualizes community control as a relationship and interactions between a place-based population (neighborhood residents) and an institution with authority over a shared resource or capital. It also sees community control as something that can have different levels, with the relationship being more or less participatory for residents, and the type of community control residents experience is contextual and changing over time informed by many different factors. Two findings struck me as extremely significant. The first is that community control requires residents to be organized and motivated to participate while the institution needs to be open to genuine participation, with the structure and operations of the institution deeply informing this relationship. The second is that it is important to look at who within the community experiences community control the most, because it is experienced in different ways at different levels even within the same community, and certain people can have much stronger

and more tangible community control through increased decision making power such as board members or local elites.

Another factor that greatly impacts what community looks like within CLTs is their scales, and how changing various types of scale within CLT alters their impacts and goals. The article *“I Don't Think Anybody's Ever Been to Scale:” The Imperative for Growth and the Implications of Scale for Community Land Trusts in Minnesota, USA* (2024) by Deborah G. Martin et al. greatly informs my conception of scale and how scale impacts CLTs. They recognize scale as being more of a way of understanding relationships between systems, rather than being exclusively about physical size. An important concept is that scalability, the ability to grow and become more efficient as an institution without compromising essential ideals and logics, is both necessary and carries tension between this need for growth and the focus on fostering community control within a specific geographical community. It also identifies many different types of scalar growth, such as organizational growth (either horizontal through expanding their portfolio or vertical through hiring more staff), locational growth through expanding the geographic service area, and jurisdictional growth through changing the level and territory of the government it interacts with. It posits that for a CLT to be scalable without compromising their mission or having adverse effects on their community, they need to consider all types of scalar growth and how they interact with each other, warning against locational growth as a way to secure funding due to how drastically it changes the community of residents.

Overall, I collectively gleaned from the literature that CLTs are growing in popularity both as a model and a subject of study; however I also discovered a gap in the literature. None of the articles mentioned previously focus on the perception of the financial structure, how a sense

of community is felt and manufactured, how CLTs facilitate and shape interpersonal relationships, and what role care plays in their relationships and sense of community, explicitly by *both residents who rent and residents who own*. Additionally, no articles that I could find name CLTs as having the potential to be relational infrastructures of care. This gap is where I am focusing my research and brought me to my current research question and focus.

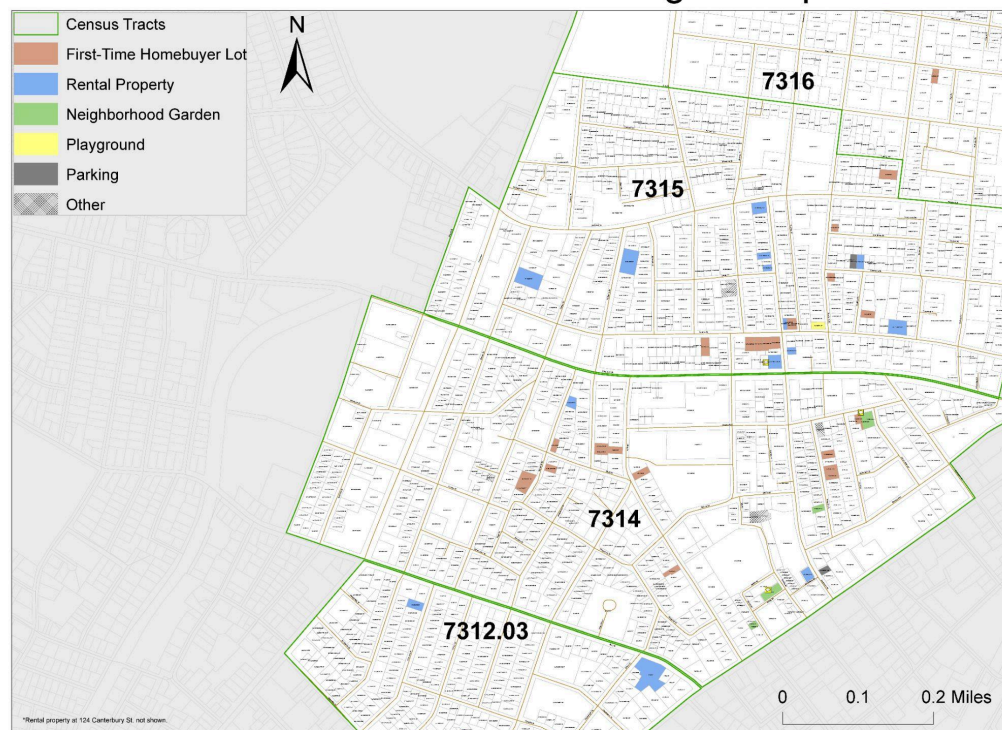
Context

I believe it is important to discuss the history and context of Worcester Common Ground as a CLT in Worcester first and foremost. Here is their mission statement:

Worcester Common Ground (WCG) is a community development corporation in the Piedmont neighborhood of Worcester that promotes and develops permanent and sustainable improvement in the community through affordable housing, resident activism, and economic development. WCG rehabilitates abandoned housing and by acquiring parcels of vacant land for new construction to provide area residents with affordable rental units, the opportunity to own their own home, and an avenue to contribute to an increased level of neighborhood stability, investment, and pride (*About Us*, n.d.).

They are dedicated to working in the Piedmont neighborhood, specifically the Greater Piedmont Area with multiple neighborhoods in it, from Salisbury Street on the north, to Main Street on the east, May Street on the south, and Park Avenue on the west (*About Us*, n.d.). They also specify that the change they make is intended to be permanent and sustainable, and prioritize fostering affordable housing and resident activism. Additionally, their mission shows that their goal is not only neighborhood stability and increased development, but also a sense of pride for neighborhood residents.

Worcester Common Ground Managed Properties



Worcester Common Ground is a CDC in addition to a CLT, founded in 1988 in response to concerns over housing cost, displacement, and vacancies (*About Us*, n.d.). Since then, they have developed 174 rental units of housing, four commercial spaces, and 29 first time homeownership units (some of which have turned into additional rental opportunities for the homeowners, with rents being capped) (*Housing*, n.d.). They manage only 77 of those units, with the rest of them being managed by a contracted property management company, Maloney Properties (*Housing*, n.d.). They have also built 4 community gardens, a playground for children, a Bioshelter (self-sustaining community garden), a rooftop greenhouse, and two basement community centers (*Community*, n.d.). In 2024 they gained ownership of a local basketball court known as “The Cage,” “Fatty” Jenkins Memorial Court, named after a former firefighter who

worked extensively in youth and sports programming in the neighborhood (Jimenez, 2024).

Additionally, Worcester Common Ground partners with community groups such as the Pleasant Area Community Team (PACT), a neighborhood network/alliance, the Trinity Lutheran Basketball League for neighborhood children, and Dismas Family Farm providing vegetables and recipes to Worcester Common Ground residents (*Community*, n.d.). They have a relatively traditional CLT board structure, with a board of up to 12 people being composed of at least 70% neighborhood residents (*About Us*, n.d.). They currently have 7 board members, including the board president, treasurer, and clerk (*Worcester Common*, n.d.).

The fact that Worcester Common Ground is both a CLT and a CDC is relatively unique amongst CLTs, and has important implications. One practical implication of this is that some of the rental buildings they have developed are not held in the trust, specifically some of their larger rental properties managed by Maloney Properties such as 126 Chandler Street or 9 May st. Another implication is that because the land under those buildings is not held in the trust, theoretically Worcester Common Ground could sell the land and buildings, and it would not be deed restricted as affordable housing. However, it is highly unlikely that Worcester Common Ground would sell these buildings and not keep them as affordable rental housing, as it would go against their mission and goals as both a CLT and a CDC. Worcester Common Ground would almost certainly never elect to sell their rental properties, however worst case scenario if Worcester Common Ground were to close down and be forced to sell the properties, there would be no restrictions preventing the sale to a developer and conversion to market rate housing. In terms of resident experience and how this dynamic could show up in the data, there are residents who although they live in Worcester Common Ground property and are part of the CLT, they do

not live on a property held in the trust. If residents are aware of this dynamic, it could cause them to worry about the future of their housing specifically, as well as the future of affordable housing in the neighborhood in general. Additionally it could mean that some rental residents do not know what a CLT is or what it means for land to be held in the trust, as there housing is not part of the trust even though they still live in Worcester Common Ground housing and are members of the CLT, which could also mean that they do not know they are part of the CLT and have input and decision making power in Worcester Common Ground's operations. Because most of these properties not held in the trust are managed by Maloney Properties, it could contribute to a disconnect between Maloney Properties tenants and Worcester Common Ground staff. These dynamics are important to keep in mind when looking at the data.

In terms of the actual partners I am working with, I have been in consistent contact with three of their staff members, including their Asset Manager Giovanni Ayala, Resident Services Coordinator Jeshenia Luyando, and Community Organizer Annessia Jimenez. I have met with Worcester Common Ground staff a few times in person and have maintained routine communication via email. My hope is that as the project continues to progress and we need to determine next directions and an action together, we will be able to meet more in person or virtually. However, while staff members have been extremely gracious and kind to me, I understand that partnering on this project is doing me an incredible favor, and I do not want to overstep or impose on this kindness. While these staff members have expressed direct interest in the projects and the results of the research, I know how little excess capacity they have to share and I do not want to overburden them with longer in person meetings if email is preferred.

Positionality

I am a white, Jewish, middle-class, queer, cis man from Brooklyn, New York. My identities shape and inform my experiences of and assumptions about housing, community, care, and more. Growing up I felt a strong sense of geographic community in my neighborhood, though not specifically through my housing, as I grew up in a single family home while the neighborhood was largely defined by a sizable affordable housing project built in 1949. Feeling belonging in the neighborhood and getting to know my local community demonstrated the importance of community to me in terms of mutual care, however because I am white and middle-class in a neighborhood largely populated by people of color who are low income, within my community I felt some amount of outsider status. With that being said, it also taught me the importance and benefits of being in community with people across identities, and how community is not defined by identity. Additionally, an extremely important and formative community for me was that of my secular Jewish after-school. This community was rooted deeply in care for each other and the world as a central part of being in community with one another, further reinforcing the importance of mutual care and support.

Considering my outsider status, it is crucial that I center resident experiences in my research, analysis, and reflection. Much of this project specifically hinges on how residents experience living in Worcester Common Ground housing, which I believe to be positive from an outsider perspective. I need to center what the residents say about their own insider experience in Worcester Common Ground housing, and use this to guide the rest of my analysis and data gathering. It will be important for me to closely consider barriers to resident engagement, and try

to include compensation for their time if at all possible. Additionally, because I am White, Middle-Class, and attend a private university I must do a lot of self-reflection, unlearning, and creating and holding space for people with different identities. I must not approach this project with a White-Savior mindset and will actively work to not cause harm to the communities I am working with. I must be careful to not fall into a traditional positivist research paradigm, and I must try to center the community I am attempting to help in all aspects of my work. I believe that community-based activism is absolutely necessary for creating social change for the most marginalized in society, and that often social change efforts can end up doing harm to the communities that they are trying to aid. This accidental harm is something I need to constantly try to avoid, and it will require a lot of reflection, planning, and unlearning to avoid inflicting as much accidental harm as possible.

While I have touched on my positionality as I see it and how it informs my general approach to change work, I believe that it is important for me to specify that as a researcher in this case I am very clearly an outsider. I attend a local and large private institution (Clark), which I assume most participants in the area are aware of and most likely hold an opinion of, with those at the institution being outsiders. Another aspect of my identity that contributes to my outsider status is that I only speak English. Many of Worcester Common Grounds residents speak other languages with some not speaking much English. Not only does this contribute to my outsider status, but it is also important to consider that some of the meaning in either my survey questions or resident's survey answers might be lost in translation. Additionally, to the residents I also may represent Worcester Common Ground staff to a degree. As I cannot contact residents directly, all my contact with them is through Worcester Common Ground staff, who I say I am partnering

with. Although it is clear that I am not a staff member, I could see myself being loosely associated with them. Being associated with both the staff and the institution of Clark has marked me clearly as an outsider, and I believe that I have a lot of trust to build with residents before they feel comfortable sharing information with me. Building this trust as an outsider is both very important and very difficult, and my success in doing so will determine how successful my data gathering is, and overall how effective and needed my intervention will be.

Finally, I believe it is important for me to reflect on how I have been introduced to the affordable housing industry, and Worcester Common Ground specifically. I was introduced to both by my professor, Lionel Romain, whom I respect immensely and who has taught me much of what I know about affordable housing, and who holds a positive view of Worcester Common Ground as an organization. He introduced me to their executive director Yvette Dyson and we visited their properties multiple times with classes, allowing me to start to form a relationship with them as an organization, and causing me to see the organization in a very positive light. My experiences with them as an organization only improved, learning more about their operations from their executive director and collaborating with them through my work with the Worcester Together Affordable Housing Coalition, where they provided me with generous support and expertise. All of this history greatly shapes my conception, judgement, and assumptions about the organization, which I have to keep in mind while working on this project as it is still an outsider perception that has been shaped by people with power. My experiences with the organization as an outsider likely differ greatly from residents and staff experiences and understanding of Worcester Common Ground as an organization.

Methodology

I determined through discussions with Worcester Common Ground that an electronic Qualtrics survey would be the best initial data collecting tool. This determination grew from discussions with staff regarding residents' preferred methods of engagement. They indicated that while they are interested in seeing what ways of engaging with staff the residents prefer, they did not have any data on the matter. In our discussions they offered some valuable insights on data collection – for example, they had used surveys in the past but struggled with getting consistent responses as some of their residents do not have email addresses, and surveys can take a lot of time for respondents. I considered trying to plan some kind of event for residents to get together and discuss their experiences; however, I felt that it would be unwise to plan an in-person event without some sort of initial data to see if there would be interest in an event and what aspects of experience were worth focusing on the most. Additionally, as I am an uncontracted third party I cannot have resident information provided to me, do door knocking, or recruit people and gauge interest myself. This restriction also factored into the difficulty of providing compensation to survey respondents, as it was challenging to figure out how to maintain the anonymity requirement I needed for IRB approval while providing compensation. Because of all these factors, we collectively decided that a survey would be a good initial step into this research as long as we factor these concerns into its development, with our next steps planned based on the results of the survey. I designed the survey questions myself, trying to limit the length of the survey while still covering as much pertinent information as possible. The finalized survey is 23 questions, and is intended to be completed in 10-15 minutes (some questions only show up

depending on other answers, and there are many multiple-choice questions that are intended to be easy to answer). The survey is predominantly multiple-choice questions with some that require small amounts of text entry. This decision was made strategically, though I would have preferred to include many more open-ended text entry questions such as “What does community look like in your everyday life?” We discussed that those types of questions can be very difficult for survey takers to answer and could lead to fewer responses. I then presented the survey questions to my partners at Worcester Common Ground, confirming their interest in what I am asking and providing me feedback to help me refine the questions. Once this process was finished, I presented the surveys to my partners and got final approval, and we were ready to begin distribution.

Due to the previously mentioned constraints, the burden of survey distribution regrettably fell entirely on my partners at Worcester Common Ground. I am extremely grateful for their assistance in taking the lead on distribution, not only because it required capacity exclusively from them, but also because they hold a lot of expertise in the area of engaging with their residents. For our initial distribution, I developed a flyer with a QR code, and the staff sent it to the residents they have email addresses for and put the flyers on building doors. After not receiving any responses, we decided to alter our distribution strategy, moving to flyering throughout the buildings and reaching out to residents directly. After still not receiving any responses, we continued to alter our distribution strategy, this time trying to have residents scan the QR code when they come in to pay rent. We still did not receive any responses, severely limiting the data we had to work with.

Following this round of survey distribution, I decided that it was time for an in-depth discussion with my partners at Worcester Common Ground. This discussion served multiple purposes, foremost of which was to reflect on and determine how to proceed with data collection as we were clearly having issues reaching people with the survey. This discussion also served as an opportunity to learn more about Worcester Common Ground's operations and workplace culture, and how they structure and frame their interactions with residents. Additionally, it allowed me to ask my partners about how they conceptualize and operationalize concepts we are looking at such as community and care. The discussion took place at Worcester Common Ground's office, and lasted around an hour and a half. I was fortunate that two out of my three main partners, the Asset Manager and the Community Organizer, were available for long enough to have this discussion. The discussion ended up being extremely insightful, however it also raised many questions for me. I consider this discussion to be data because of the insight the responses of my partners gave into Worcester Common Ground's operations, and because I believe that how staff members conceptualize their work and the purpose of their work has important implications for how that work is experienced by residents.

The discussion ran similarly to an interview, with me primarily asking questions while they discussed the answers. The first question asked if, how, and why they aim to foster a sense of community through their operations. This question surfaced the topic of the Tenants Board and the Tenants Association (with the Tenants Board being for homeowners and the Tenants Association being for renters), which I followed up on to get more details as I was unfamiliar with both. Next I asked about how they conceptualize care, how it informs their work, and if they discuss it. After that, I asked if we wanted to inquire about how residents conceptualize their

housing, if Worcester Common Ground talks to residents about how they conceptualize their housing, and if how people perceive housing has important implications. Subsequently, we discussed whether CLTs in general and Worcester Common Ground specifically can accomplish their missions without care, if care is essential to their operations. I also asked them how often and in what ways they interact with residents. This question led to discussions about the roles and culture at Worcester Common Ground, and if Worcester Common Ground has an especially unique culture or if their approach to the work is common amongst other CDCs and CLTs. I also had the opportunity to discuss an initial conclusion that I drew from our survey attempts, which was that a reason I struggled to get any responses was due to a lack of trust. I asked them if they thought a lack of trust between myself and residents played a role in our survey results, and if they experienced a lack of trust between themselves and residents in their personal experiences. We then discussed whether it would still be valuable to look at how residents want to interact with staff. Moving on from that, I asked if they would be interested in trying to think through a way to incentivize the research monetarily while maintaining anonymity. Following that, we discussed whether we should continue with the survey, or if there may be another research method that would work more effectively. Coming from that question, I asked if they would be interested in me trying to coordinate an event for residents at which I could distribute the survey.

The discussion concluded with us collectively deciding that we should continue with the survey, making a few edits to the questions and figuring out a way to raffle monetary incentives while maintaining anonymity. As part of the requirements for distributing money through Clark University as research incentives, we need to record the full name of everyone we distribute money to. The solution we arrived at was to create a secondary survey only accessible through

finishing the primary survey. This secondary survey explained at the start that by continuing the survey they are agreeing to compromise their anonymity, and that there is no way for us to associate their responses in the primary survey with their name and contact information in the secondary survey. The secondary survey only asked about tenants' full name as well as primary and alternate contact information in order to get in contact with the raffle winners when the survey was concluded. We obtained four \$25 dollar Amazon gift cards for a total of \$100 dollars to raffle away to survey takers. With this raffle system set up, we decided to start to distribute the survey again. Additionally, Worcester Common Ground invited me to a community event they hosted, a movie night in the King Community Center at one of their rental properties, 126 Chandler Street. I attended the event and brought a flyer with a QR code to scan linking to the survey, hoping people would see the raffle information and be more incentivized to fill out the survey. Unfortunately, the event was not well attended by residents, with roughly six residents attending. While this attendance at the event was disheartening, it further demonstrated the need for Worcester Common Ground to look at how residents want to engage with them and be involved in community events. The event took place on February 28th, and marked the start of this last phase of survey distribution. The raffle prizes were distributed on March 28th, and the survey was open with incentives for almost a month.

Following are the survey questions, with the answer options listed after for multiple choice questions. It is important to note that all questions with “Please select all of the reasons why you selected false or unsure for the following statement” only appeared if you selected “false” or “unsure” on a prior question. Also, the survey is available in over 15 languages using Qualtrics’ translation tools, including Arabic, Bengali, Chinese (simplified, also known as

Mandarin), French, German, Greek, Hindi, Japanese, Korean, Nepali, Punjabi, Russian, Spanish, Turkish, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese. Below are screenshots of each question in the survey in the order they appear (aside from the initial consent form, the “Final thoughts?” text entry box, and the question asking if they want to participate in the raffle).

*How long have you lived in Worcester Common Ground (WCG) housing?

☐ Less than a year

☐ 1-3 years

☐ 3-5 years

☐ 5+ years

*Do you rent or own your home?

☐ Rent

☐ Own

*Is your residence managed by Worcester Common Ground or Maloney Properties?

- ☐ Worcester Common Ground
- ☐ Maloney Properties
- ☐ Not sure

*How many times in the last year did you speak to a Worcester Common Ground staff member or someone employed by Maloney Properties?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2-4
- ☐ 5+
- ☐ I'm not sure

*How do you want Worcester Common Ground or Maloney Property staff to contact you? Please select all that apply.

- ☐ Anonymous survey
- ☐ Email
- ☐ Social media
- ☐ Individual interviews/conversations
- ☐ Group interviews/conversations
- ☐ Text messaging
- ☐ Phone calls
- ☐ Physical flyers
- ☐ Other:

*Please say how you feel about the following statement: I believe Worcester Common Ground cares about my input or feedback.

☐ True

☐ False

☐ Unsure

*Please say how you feel about the following statement: I have a close relationship with Worcester Common Ground staff.

☐ True

☐ False

☐ Unsure

*Please say how you feel about the following statement: I attend community events and activities organized by Worcester Common Ground.

☐ True

☐ False

☐ Unsure

Please select all of the reasons why you selected false or unsure for the following statement: I have a close relationship with Worcester Common Ground staff.

- ☐ Staff do not speak my preferred language
- ☐ Engaging with staff takes too long
- ☐ I have no incentive to engage with staff
- ☐ I worry about retaliation if I am honest when engaging with staff
- ☐ I am unaware of when Worcester Common Ground is seeking engagement
- ☐ Other:

Please select all of the reasons why you selected false or unsure for the following statement: I attend community events and activities.

- ☐ Staff and residents at community events do not speak my preferred language
- ☐ Engaging at community events takes too long
- ☐ I have no incentive to attend community events
- ☐ I worry about retaliation if I am honest when engaging with staff
- ☐ I am unaware of when community events are being organized
- ☐ Other:

Please select all of the reasons why you selected false or unsure for the following statement: I believe Worcester Common Ground cares about my input or feedback.

- ☐ Staff and residents at WCG do not speak my preferred language
- ☐ Engaging with staff takes too long
- ☐ I have no incentive to offer input or feedback
- ☐ I worry about retaliation if I am honest when offering input or feedback
- ☐ I am unaware of when WCG is seeking input or feedback
- ☐ Other:

*How often do you speak to your neighbors and other Worcester Common Ground Residents?

- ☐ Daily (at least once a day)
- ☐ Weekly (at least once a week)
- ☐ Monthly (at least once a month)
- ☐ Rarely (less than once a month)
- ☐ Never

*Where do you interact with your neighbors and other Worcester Common Ground Residents? Select all that apply.

- ☐ In passing/by chance around my house
- ☐ At my house
- ☐ Someone else's house
- ☐ At a local business
- ☐ At public neighborhood/community spaces
- ☐ At Worcester Common Ground related community spaces (King Community Center)
- ☐ Neighborhood/Community events (not coordinated by Worcester Common Ground)
- ☐ Worcester Common Ground coordinated events
- ☐ Other:

*Would you be interested in creating or joining a Worcester Common Ground Tenants' Association? A tenants' association is a group of residents working together to improve their housing and advocate for their rights as tenants.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Yes, if the Tenants' Association already existed
- ☐ Maybe/Unsure
- ☐ No
- ☐ I am already part of a Tenants' Association/Tenants' board

*Please answer yes or no to the following statement, and explain your answer:
Having community in where I live is important to me.

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Unsure

*Please answer yes or no to the following statement, and explain your answer: I
find community within Worcester Common Ground's housing.

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Unsure

*Please answer yes or no to the following statement, and explain your answer: I
have increased control over land in my neighborhood through my community (by
control we do not mean exclusively ownership, but influence over how land is
used to best serve your community for both new and existing developments).

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Unsure

*Do you know what a Community Land Trust is?

- ☐ Yes, I know what a Community Land Trust is
- ☐ No, I do not know what a Community Land Trust is
- ☐ I have heard of Community Land Trusts, but am not very familiar with them
- ☐ Other:

*Does your community have the capacity to enact control over land in your neighborhood (by control we do not mean exclusively ownership, but influence over how land is used to best serve your community for both new and existing developments)?

- ☐ Yes, I feel that my community has control over land in my neighborhood
- ☐ No, I feel that my community does not have the capacity to control land use in my neighborhood
- ☐ Other:

*As a resident of Worcester Common Ground, do you have more control over land in your neighborhood than you did before becoming a resident of Worcester Common Ground (by control we do not mean exclusively ownership, but influence over how land is used to best serve your community for both new and existing developments)?

- ☐ Yes, I feel like the amount of control I have over land in my community has greatly increased
- ☐ Yes, I feel like the amount of control I have over land in my community has somewhat increased
- ☐ Neutral/unsure about the amount of control I have over land in my community compared to as a non-resident
- ☐ No, I feel like the amount of control I have over land in my community has not increased at all or has decreased.
- ☐ Other:

*Please select the option that aligns most with how you feel about each statement.

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	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Unsure
I feel a sense of community between myself and other residents.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I <u>want</u> to feel a sense of community between myself and other residents.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel a sense of community between residents and Worcester Common Ground staff.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I <u>want</u> to feel a sense of community between myself Worcester Common Ground staff.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I have an issue or have feedback to offer, I know what to do.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*If you had the opportunity to move to a different part of Worcester 15 minutes away with a \$100 a month lower monthly housing payment (either rent or mortgage), would you move? Please explain why you selected your answer.

☐ Yes, I would move

☐ No, I would not move

☐ I am unsure

Data Analysis

Initially, the only data I had to analyze was that no one responded to the survey. This led me to two related courses of action, reflecting on the survey itself as a data collecting tool in this context and looking for a tool that fits our context better, and reflecting on why this survey specifically failed and what changes we can make to it or our distribution strategy to increase our response rate. This reflection, and cooperating with Worcester Common Ground in order to gain their perspective and insight, proved crucial to the overall success of this project and guided our next steps both in terms of research and action. This process led to our discussion and helped us proceed in a more productive manner.

In approaching the discussion as data, I decided to use entirely inductive coding, constructing themes and patterns more organically rather than imposing them onto the data. For my initial coding, I started by looking at what words and phrases were being repeated often, what ideas surfaced multiple times, and what patterns and concepts struck me as especially meaningful or significant based on my theoretical frameworks. With this approach I ended up getting around halfway through coding the discussion, when I realized that I needed to alter my approach to coding the data. I was already attempting to draw connections between different ideas my partners brought up, rather than coding to see what surfaced organically and reduce the data, making it easier to form connections and conclusions later. Realizing this, I switched my approach to try to more accurately reflect what was being discussed and allow connections to occur in due time more naturally. With my altered approach, I went back through the whole discussion, and ended up with around 130 different codes. After completing this initial round of coding with my refined approach, I analyzed my codes to see what I should focus on in my

second round of coding. This reflection led me to realize that some of my codes were too small, that I was missing important and insightful context with some of my codes. Additionally, I saw that I was still grouping some codes together into categories too early, and that some of my codes that showed up with a high frequency, such as the codes “Build, Want, and Fear,” needed to be broken up into multiple more useful codes. My reflection also pointed to another conclusion, as generally when one is coding too small segments of text as individual codes, you typically end up with too many codes. I had the opposite issue, I felt that I had too few codes for the length of my interview. Reflecting on this contradiction led me to see that even with my altered approach, I was still dictating too much what deserved to be coded rather than reflecting everything that had been discussed. Despite not using deductive codes, my codes were still being guided too much by my lens and framing for the project rather than what emerged naturally from the discussion.

With the prior dynamic in mind, I sat down for my second pass at coding with a new perspective and goal, to broaden my codes, code more inductively, and accurately portray all that was discussed, as I believe everything we discussed is significant and could provide important insights. I also went in with the specific goal of splitting up some of the codes that I felt should have been categories of codes rather than codes, into many larger codes that capture more meaning. After this second pass at coding, I ended up with around 400 codes, and around 25 code categories.

Reflecting on this second pass at coding, I am much more pleased with what insights emerged and I believe I did a better job of interpreting, and felt comfortable grouping those codes into categories. The data definitely felt much easier to work with and to start to draw

conclusions and findings from, however when looking at the discussion and my codebook, I saw that there were specific phrases that were hard to capture meaning from splitting into multiple codes, and either showed up only once or twice. Some of these phrases seemed exceptionally important, providing a lot of insight into Worcester Common Ground's operations and how my partners frame their work. I decided to do a third pass through, including these longer phrases as codes, despite most of them only appearing once. I made this decision because in the codes as I had them after the second pass, there were some ideas and statements that seemed highly significant whose meaning was being lost either mostly or completely. Many of these codes will be included as segments of quotes in my findings.

After my third and final pass through coding, I finished with almost 450 unique codes. I also decided to go back through and look at my code categories, and finished with around 30 total code categories. Going back through the categories also made it much easier to start connecting my categories into themes, which I will discuss more in the Survey Findings section. I think my approach to coding, with reflection between each round of coding, helped me accurately portray what surfaced in our discussion, and helped reduce the data making it much more manageable to analyze. While the survey data is very insightful, I believe that analyzing it first would have greatly informed my approach to coding and my end results, and it would be interesting to look at the difference between my current finalized codebook and what it would look like after a fourth pass through post survey analysis.

Originally I planned on coding the survey results as well as the discussion. However, once I received and started looking through the survey data, I decided that it did not make sense to code the survey results. I made this decision for two main reasons, the first of which is that the

survey was mostly multiple choice with little text entry. It does not make sense to me to code multiple choice selections. I was still considering coding because I had some space for text entry within the survey, and I believe that the words coming directly from the tenants provide more insight than multiple choice selections. However, this brings me to the second reason I decided not to code, which was the quantity of the responses. If there had been more responses, then it would have been useful to code specific text entry questions; however with the quantity and length of the responses we received it did not appear useful. Instead of coding, I am still close reading the text entry responses we did collect, and looking at the multiple choice selections to notice trends and patterns. I also brought the survey data to my Praxis class, and had my peers help me begin the initial data analysis process with the survey. I provided them with context about my project, as well as the categories I had determined through my coding of the discussion, so that they could get an idea of what my data analysis already looked like. This in-class conversation proved to be extremely helpful, not only with advice on how I should be looking at patterns and trends but also with specific patterns and trends that stuck out to them. Getting a perspective from people already somewhat familiar with the project, but who approach the data with different mindsets and positionalities from me proved extremely helpful. It was also helpful for me to explain the project again, how I was approaching the data analysis of the discussion, and how I was thinking about my survey data. Many of the findings that I discuss in the Survey Findings and Comparative Findings section were inspired by this in-class discussion with my peers, and overall this in-class discussion shaped how I think about the survey data in general, and how I am analyzing it.

For the survey data analysis, outside of noticing trends and close reading the text entry responses, I also decided to use Qualtrics' built-in data analysis tools. These tools helped me build tables from the survey data, looking at things like how people who responded a certain way to one question responded to another question. It was also helpful for noticing trends amongst single responses, for example if a respondent answered that they lived in their house for five plus years, I can use that response to help contextualize their other responses. Because the sample size of my survey is small, I cannot draw generalizable conclusions about the whole tenant population. Because of this small sample size, certain statistical tests may not be useful, and all statistical tests I do perform must be contextualized so that I am not misrepresenting my data as generalizable. However, I can point out trends, patterns, and ideas in the responses we did get, all of which can provide insight into the experiences of residents. I can also perform statistical tests if they have a clear purpose, and I clearly contextualize that I am only drawing conclusions about the tenants that filled out the survey and not all tenants. In total, we received ten survey responses, with nine being complete responses. Although this was half of my original goal of twenty responses, I see these ten responses as a good success, especially after distributing the survey multiple times with no real responses. Also, I find the data from these survey responses to be extremely insightful, and while more would obviously be helpful these responses were more than adequate to start analyzing. Although the raffle for the survey occurred at the end of March after the survey had been open for nearly a month, the survey will still be open for at least another month, with an added question at the start announcing that the raffle has already taken place.

Preliminary Reflections on the Data

Our only preliminary finding was that no one responded to the survey. In reflecting on why, there are two primary initial conclusions I have come to. The first is about the survey itself, that it was too long and broad, and that in order to make it worth residents' time we must figure out some method of compensation. This first conclusion is what my reflection initially was entirely focused on, until I took a closer look at the data. Saying that I received no responses is slightly disingenuous, as I did receive one response. In this response, the respondent answered “I consent” to the first question, but did not answer any others. I intentionally structured the survey so that the first question block after the consent form are easy to answer multiple-choice fact-based questions, such as “how long have you lived in Worcester Common Ground Housing,” so that respondents would not be discouraged up front by difficult to answer questions or a more taxing question format like text entry. I believe that if the structure or the questions themselves were more at fault for the lack of responses, the response I had gotten would have stopped after those initial easy questions, once they began to become more difficult and time consuming. It appears based on the Qualtrics data that either residents opened the survey and did not respond to the consent form, or simply did not open the survey at all. While this interpretation has driven me to my second initial conclusion, I do not intend it to clear my survey of fault. I believe that if the survey was more refined and better developed, I would have received more responses. However it directed my reflection on the survey and next steps towards our distribution strategy (specifically coming up with a way to provide compensation for taking

the survey) and towards thinking about other reasons the survey didn't get responses, rather than directing the majority of my focus on how the survey could be tweaked to get more responses.

My second initial conclusion that I derived from reflecting on the survey is that there is a lack of trust between myself and residents. This lack of trust is not unexpected, as I have already touched on my outsider status, and I have not done any work yet to build trust with these residents. Due to this lack of trust, I believe that residents are either untrusting in my stated purpose for the survey, or do not believe that this research will genuinely benefit them and is worth their time. In order to start building and earning trust with residents, I need to identify the source of this distrust. There are multiple possibilities for this source, which may overlap and not be exclusive, and will differ from resident to resident as they are not a monolithic group. The primary source I have identified is my positionality and status as an outsider, which itself has a lot of aspects. One aspect is me attending and representing Clark University. Clark University has a long history in the area as a major institution. This history has only been presented to me in the context of being a Clark student, and I am certain that residents who have lived with this institution have a vastly different experience of it than me as a student not from Worcester. There are also assumptions that can be made about me as a Clark student, possibly about my class, race, ideology, where I am from, and more. These assumptions may not necessarily be incorrect, however whether they are or not they come with their own set of ideas attached to them, and are very understandable reasons for a lack of trust (especially with someone you have never met). Another part of my outsider identity that may be responsible for the lack of trust is that I am partnering myself with Worcester Common Ground as an organization. Because I have not spoken with residents, I am unsure what their relationship with Worcester Common Ground as an

organization/institution is. It is possible that some residents may distrust Worcester Common Ground, despite or because they are Worcester Common Ground residents. In order to understand this relationship between residents and staff, I was initially trying to look at how residents experienced it in order to center them. However, it may be necessary, if it is not too much of a burden, to have in-depth conversations with staff members on how they experience this relationship, in order to develop a clearer understanding.

Overall, I determined that I needed to delve deeper into the lack of trust between myself, residents, and possibly Worcester Common Ground staff. Reflecting on this distrust is only the first step, as after I have developed a better understanding, I need to collaborate with Worcester Common Ground in order to find ways to start building trust. In this trust building process I need to be clear with residents and staff members about my timeline for this project and my plans for the future, as it would be irresponsible and exploitative to develop a trusting relationship in order to do this research and then leave suddenly. This trust I am seeking is not something that will appear magically or be handed to me. It is something that I must work hard to develop and earn. Additionally, I need to do my part in continuing to refine the survey, in order to ensure that I am not wasting residents' time and can make the process as accessible and beneficial for residents as possible.

This reflection process and the findings I derived from it led to our discussion with my partners at Worcester Common Ground, and shaped how we decided to proceed with the survey. It is important to note that during this discussion, my partners gave me feedback on these preliminary conclusions and gave me their insight into the dynamics I discussed in the prior paragraphs. I will delve deeper into specifics from our discussion, however it is significant that

my partners disagreed with my initial conclusion that a lack of trust was playing a major role in why we were not getting survey responses. However, they also agreed that the structure of the survey itself was also probably not a major reason why we were not getting survey responses, and thought that we should stick with the survey if we could incentivize it. These points raised in discussion are why we proceeded with our methods in the way that we did, rather than taking more time to try and build trust with residents or switching our research method, as I trust the professional knowledge and lived experience of my research partners.

Findings

My findings originate primarily from two sources, the discussion with my partners at Worcester Common Ground and the data from our survey. Because of this I am dividing my findings into two sections: findings from the discussion and findings from the survey data. I will still reference both sources when talking about one specifically, but the focus will be directed at one source at a time. The purpose of dividing up the findings is to separate what findings are coming from information from tenants and what findings are coming from the discussion with staff. Additionally, I am framing these findings as identifying how Worcester Common Ground as an institution acts as an infrastructure of care for their tenants, how they structure what care and community looks like for tenants in both positive and negative ways. It is also focusing on what engagement looks like for residents, including what barriers to engagement there are, and how residents feel a sense of community. This framing will support recommendations for specific actions Worcester Common Ground can take to restructure their operations to act as a

more positive infrastructure of care, improve engagement and the overall experience for tenants, and increase tenants' sense of community and community control over land.

Survey Findings

The survey contained a lot of useful and intriguing information, however because there are ten responses (eight fully complete, one around 90% complete and one around 60% complete) and Worcester Common Ground owns 174 rental units and 29 homeownership units, I will not speak to the statistical significance of answers between questions, looking instead at patterns and trends in the data that exists (*Housing*, n.d.). While Qualtrics does perform these statistical significance tests, I believe using them in this context would misrepresent the survey information and what conclusions we can draw from it. It is important to note that Worcester Common Ground manages 77 of their rental units while Maloney Properties manages the other 97, and most of the properties Worcester Common Ground manages are smaller with few units, while Maloney Properties tends to manage the larger buildings with many units.

First and foremost, what stood out immediately from the survey data were the answers to the question “Do you rent or own your home?” Everyone who answered the survey selected that they are renters. All of the responses coming from renters makes sense, as the survey was distributed primarily through flyering, with the flyers being put up mostly in public spaces within the rental buildings. These public spaces are primarily bulletin boards put up near the entrances of the buildings, however there were also flyers put up in community spaces such as the King Community Center (which is in the basement of a rental building). While this is not necessarily the case, it points towards the idea that there could be a disconnect between the community of

renters and the community of owners within Worcester Common Ground's properties. It is possible that homeowners do not spend time in the community spaces Worcester Common Ground has that are located inside rental properties; however it is also definitely possible that homeowners saw the flyers and elected not to fill out the survey. While I am unable to draw definitive conclusions from this data, it certainly points to the possibility of a disconnect between owners and renters as an area for future research to focus on. If there is a disconnect between owners and renters it is important for Worcester Common Ground to try and address it, as this disconnect would run counter to Worcester Common Ground's goal of cultivating a community between all residents in their target area. Another conclusion that can be drawn from this data is that Worcester Common Ground has better engagement with or a closer connection to rental tenants than homeownership tenants, or that rental tenants are more motivated to engage with Worcester Common Ground. This difference in connection between homeownership and rental tenants could be due to rental tenants paying rent directly to Worcester Common Ground staff in person every month, while homeownership tenants pay Worcester Common Ground once a year and primarily by mail.

Another question which almost all respondents answered similarly was question 8.1, "Do you know what a Community Land Trust is?" The answer options are: Yes, I know what a Community Land Trust is; No, I do not know what a Community Land Trust is; I have heard of Community Land Trusts, but are not very familiar with them; and Other with a space for text entry. Eight respondents answered No, while one answered that they had heard of CLTs but weren't very familiar with them, and one respondent did not answer. I consider this to be one of the most important findings of this whole project, as it appears from these answers that tenants

do not know what CLTs are, and if they do, they are not familiar with them. One possible reason for this is that every respondent is a renter, and renters in CLTs do not have to interact with the financial structure of the CLT model in the same way that homeowners do. I would theorize that homeowners are more familiar in general with the CLT model than renters, as the equity they build in their home is limited, and through the trust some of their property rights are given to the CLT and considered buried (Pierce et al., 2021, p. 1200). Additionally, Worcester Common Ground provides new homeowners with an overview of what a CLT is and what the practical implications are of purchasing a home held in trust. However, with that being said I believe it is absolutely crucial that all CLT tenants, as well as surrounding residents, are aware of the CLT model and its implications. I believe that this would not only significantly strengthen the sense of community tenants feel with each other and neighborhood residents, but would greatly increase community control and make it a much more tangible concept for tenants and surrounding residents. Residents knowing what CLTs are is crucial to differentiate CLTs from more traditional forms of affordable housing provision, and to ensure that residents are aware of the decision making power and influence they have. Even though the land Worcester Common Ground owns is held in trust for perpetuity, residents may not be aware of this, working counter to the goal of fostering community control over land. Also tenants not being aware that they are part of a CLT presents a significant barrier to becoming a board member, as they may not even be aware that there is a board for them to try and join. Additionally, it presents a barrier for residents engaging with staff, as the reason for engagement may not be clear. While residents may be interested in engaging with each other and staff in order to strengthen a sense of community, without knowing what a CLT is and what their purpose is, it is not evident that engaging with staff can allow them

to have a direct impact on both their housing specifically and over how land is used in the neighborhood in general. Overall, making sure residents are aware that they live in or nearby a CLT, and all of the implications that presents, is a crucial step for Worcester Common Ground to achieve their goals.

There are three questions on the survey that ask directly about community control over land, all phrased slightly differently to ask about specific aspects of community control. We also decided collectively to include a description of what we mean by community control, as community control can have many different definitions and respondents may or may not already be familiar with the term. The definition we chose to include with every question that mentioned it is "by control we do not mean exclusively ownership, but influence over how land is used to best serve your community for both new and existing developments." The three questions are 7.3, "Please answer yes or no to the following statement, and explain your answer: I have increased control over land in my neighborhood through my community," 8.2, "Does your community have the capacity to enact control over land in your neighborhood," and 8.3, "As a resident of Worcester Common Ground, do you have more control over land in your neighborhood than you did before becoming a resident of Worcester Common Ground?"

Looking at question 7.3 alone, six respondents answered "unsure," three respondents answered "no," while one did not respond. Out of the people who answered no, one of them explained their answer by saying "don't know," while another answered "can't respond," both of which I interpret as meaning that they are partially unsure but leaning towards no they do not have increased control over land through their community. One of them explained their answer by saying "don't have a green thumb." I am interpreting this answer to be about the multiple

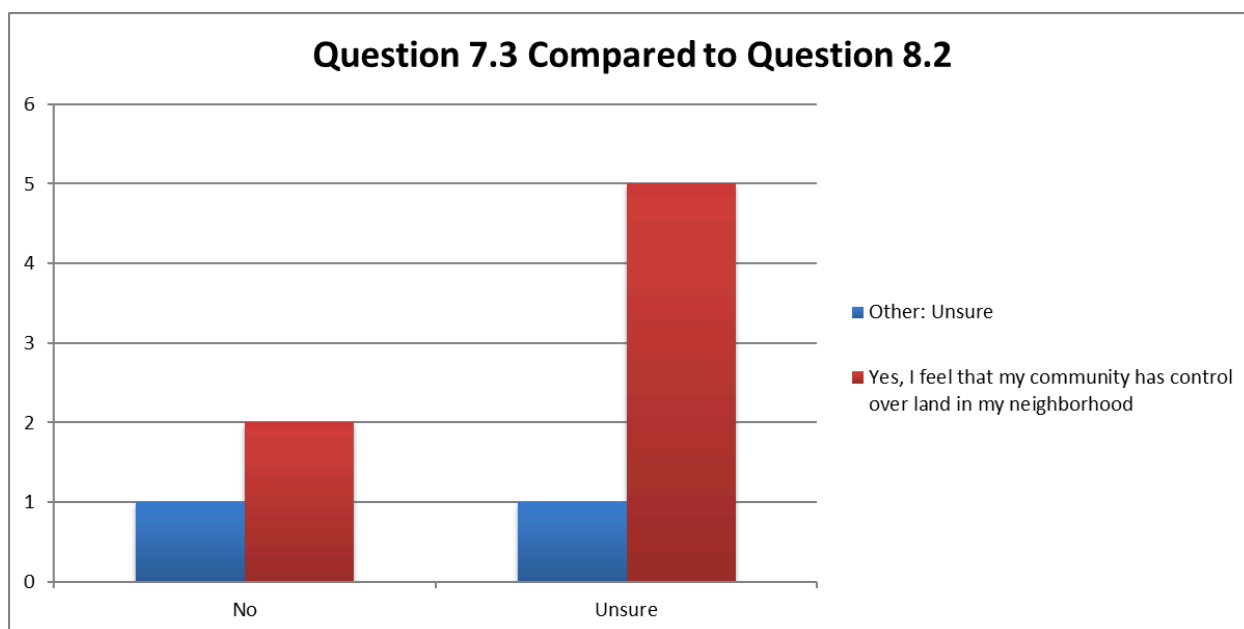
community gardens and green spaces that Worcester Common Ground maintains, with community control through their community at an individual level being closely tied to being able to use these spaces. It is possible that currently for some residents community control requires personal active utilization of the spaces, rather than being experienced through decision making power over whether those spaces should exist in the community. It could be helpful to look at how these green spaces are and can be used by community members outside of planting, as well as how they are discussed by Worcester Common Ground and how residents influenced the decision to hold these spaces in trust as green spaces, in order to increase engagement through them and expand residents' conceptions and experiences of community control. For those who answered unsure, most of the explanations were either "don't know" or "not sure." However, two stuck out specifically. One is "don't have ownership," which is especially interesting considering the definition we provided specifies that community control is not just about individual ownership. This answer shows that this tenant may already have a conception of what community control is, which is felt on an individual level through ownership. Considering that this respondent also replied that they do not know what a CLT is, it is interesting to consider how this conception of community control, and their overall answer to the question of whether they as an individual have control over land in their area through their community, would be complicated by learning about CLTs and specifically their financial structure. While they as renters still do not have ownership over the property they live in, they are part of an institution that has ownership over that land and more in the area, and they as tenants of Worcester Common Ground can have input into how that land is used. It appears based on these answers that residents may have widely varying conceptions of community control, but that it is

understood in a more embodied and physical way, rather than being about decision making power and influence, leading to the idea that residents are not experiencing their decision making power and influence in tangible or concrete ways. Having knowledge of what a CLT is and that they belong to one could definitely have effects on their perception of the concept of community control in general and how this concept manifests itself in their lives, with how tenants experience decision making power being an important area for future research.

Considering the answers to question 7.3, it is especially interesting to look at the answers to question 8.2, which asks if they feel their community has the capacity to enact control over land in the area. For 8.2, 7 respondents answered “yes,” that they do feel that their community has the capacity to enact control over land in the area, while only two answered that they are unsure. One of the people who answered that they are unsure for question 8.2 also answered that they are unsure for question 7.3, while the other answered no for question 7.3 because they don’t have a green thumb. I find the tension between everyone answering no or unsure to a question on whether they as an individual feel increased control over land through their community and everyone answering yes or unsure to whether their community has control over land in the area to be extremely interesting. One possible implication of this tension is that tenants feel their community has control abstractly, but cannot identify tangible ways that they as an individual can exert control over land through their community. Another possible implication is that tenants feel other people in their community have control over land (possibly homeowners or organizations like Worcester Common Ground), but that they themselves do not have control over land. This trend is furthered in the responses to question 8.3, which asks if they feel they have more control over land in the community as a tenant than they did before they became a

tenant. Six respondents answered that they were neutral or unsure about if their control over land has increased through becoming a tenant, while two answered that yes they feel their control over land has somewhat increased, with only one answering that yes they feel their control over land has greatly increased. It is also interesting that the person who answered that their control over land has greatly increased was one of the people who answered no to question 7.3, as they are reporting that they do not have control over land in the area through their community, but also that their control over land in the community has greatly increased as compared to before they became a Worcester Common Ground tenant. One possible implication of this is that community residents may not feel community control over land, but that once they become tenants this feeling of community control increases. If this is the case, it is good that tenants feel an increased feeling of community control through being part of Worcester Common Ground, however it is bad that community residents do not feel community control. This could possibly be addressed by hosting more events that are for all community residents and not just tenants, however in order to determine if this is the case we would have to conduct research on community residents who are not Worcester Common Ground tenants. Another possible implication of this is that they could feel that Worcester Common Ground has control over land in the area, but they as individuals do not, but because they are tenants they have some amount of impact on Worcester Common Ground as an organization. It could also be true that they feel their community control over land has increased since becoming a Worcester Common Ground resident, but not to the point that they feel it manifest in their personal everyday lives.

The chart below shows how many people who answered no to question 7.3 also answered yes or unsure to question 8.2. It also does the same for people who answered unsure to question 7.3 who also answered yes or unsure to question 8.2.



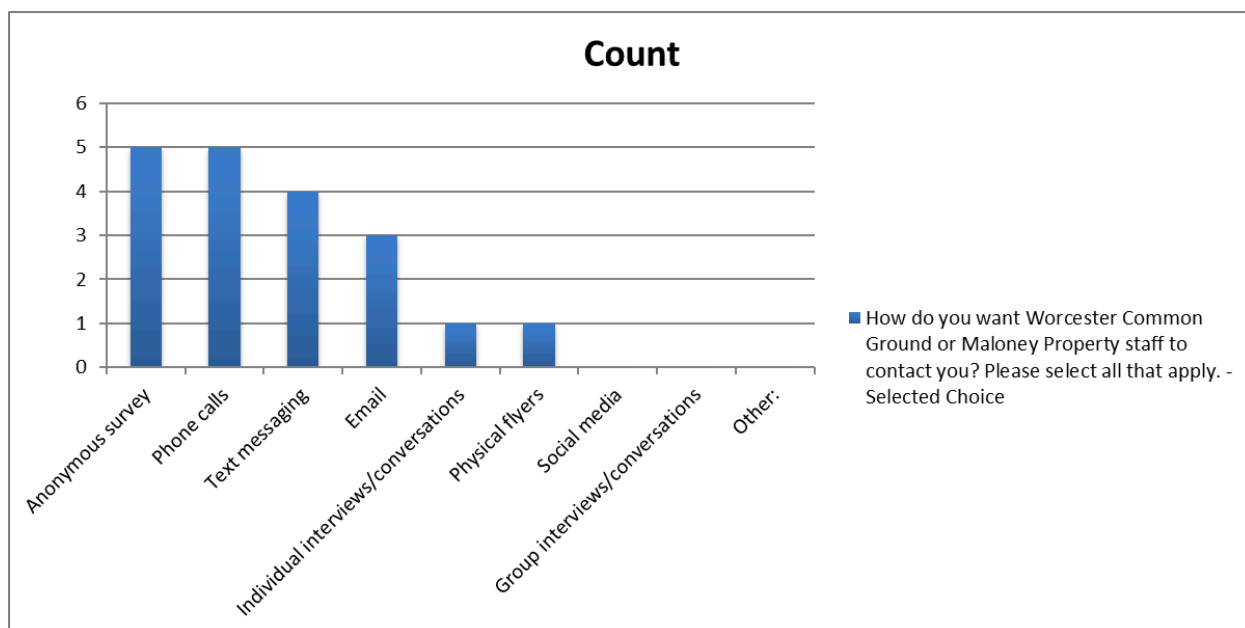
Another interesting finding from the survey is that out of the ten respondents, seven live in Worcester Common Ground managed properties, two live in Maloney Properties managed properties, and one is not sure. While again we cannot draw certain conclusions from this data, the fact that the survey reached more people in Worcester Common Ground properties than Maloney Properties properties shows that there could be a disconnect between Worcester Common Ground staff and Maloney Properties tenants. While this may not be the case, it appears that it is harder for staff to engage with Maloney Properties tenants, as there were far fewer Maloney Properties tenants that responded despite the fact that more of Worcester Common Ground's rental units are managed by Maloney Properties than Worcester Common

Ground. With that being said, the questions relating to whether tenants feel comfortable giving feedback to Worcester Common Ground and if they want to be in community with staff do not appear to have differences in their responses depending on if they are Maloney Properties managed tenants or Worcester Common Ground managed tenants, although it is hard to tell as there are so few responses from Maloney Properties tenants.

Another important question from the survey is question 3.1, about how residents want to interact with Worcester Common Ground staff. The two most common selections for how residents want to be contacted by staff are an anonymous survey, and phone calls. The least popular selections are social media and group conversations or interviews. The prevalence of phone calls in the answers is interesting as this is Worcester Common Ground's current primary method of contacting residents, so either residents are used to being contacted in this way and want to continue to do so, or Worcester Common Ground knows already that this is how residents wish to be reached which is why they do it. It is also significant that an anonymous survey was also a top answer, as we had great difficulty getting our survey responses until the survey was incentivized. A reason for this could be that we distributed the survey primarily through flyering, an option that only got one response. Contact through flyering appears to not be a preferred contact method, which could play into why we did not get any survey responses with our flyers until we incentivized the survey. If Worcester Common Ground wants to continue to gather large amounts of information from their tenants, it may be prudent to either do a phone survey or distribute a survey through a phone call (possibly by directing tenants to a link on their website). Staff did raise the idea of doing a phone survey during our discussion, however I was against the idea because it would make the survey no longer anonymous, and performing a large

number of phone surveys would heavily tax their already limited capacity. It is also interesting to note that while non-anonymous options such as phone calls, text messaging, and email were all relatively popular, in person interviews in either an individual or a group session were unpopular. This could be interpreted as showing that anonymity is not the primary concern for tenants when interacting with staff members, but that time may play a larger role in how popular a method is. This aligns with some points staff raised in the discussion, about residents having limited time and capacity as a primary barrier to engagement. However, with that being said, the only anonymous option being in the top two options selected could imply that anonymity is highly valued by respondents, and if this is the case this finding could speak to either fear or a power imbalance felt by tenants, which merits future research and discussion.

Below is a chart containing the count of responses to question 3.1

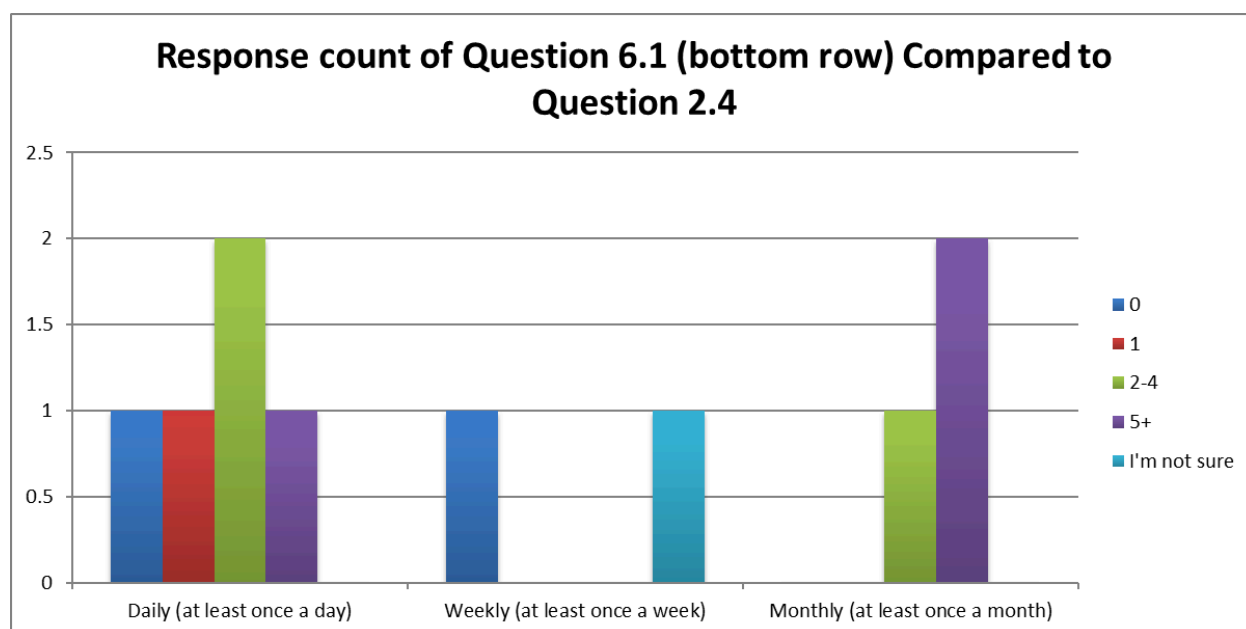


Questions 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 are all true-false questions in response to three different statements: “I have a close relationship with Worcester Common Ground staff, I attend community events and activities organized by Worcester Common Ground, and I believe Worcester Common Ground cares about my input or feedback.” These questions also prompted another question to appear on the next page if respondents answered false or unsure to the questions, asking them to select a reason or write their own as to why they picked false or unsure. Most respondents answered true to all of the statements, with three respondents answering false or unsure to one or more of the statements. A respondent who answered false to questions 4.1 and 4.2 and unsure to question 4.3 selected in their first two explanations the option “I worry about retaliation if I am honest when engaging with staff” and in their third the options “I worry about retaliation if I am honest when offering input or feedback, I am unaware of when WCG is seeking input or feedback.” These responses seem very significant, even though they only came from one respondent. It could speak to how tenants may experience the power dynamics between Worcester Common Ground and their tenants, and could point to them feeling a power imbalance. While various fears did surface in our discussion as barriers to engagement, the fear of retaliation was not one of them. These responses point to an important area of reflection and focus for future research, as looking into power dynamics and how they are felt by tenants can have significant implications on engagement, overall quality of life, feelings of autonomy and security, how care is structured by Worcester Common Ground for tenants in their lives, and overall achieving Worcester Common Ground’s goals. Other important explanations from these questions are “I am unaware of when community events are being organized, I am unaware of when WCG is seeking input or feedback, and When there is an event I am just

unavailable at that some of the times.” These responses speak to two barriers identified in our discussion, that of knowledge as a barrier to engagement as well as limited time and capacity to engage with staff.

There appears to be a large variation for the responses to two related questions, question 2.4 asking “How many times in the last year did you speak to a Worcester Common Ground staff member or someone employed by Maloney Properties,” and question 6.1 asking “How often do you speak to your neighbors and other Worcester Common Ground Residents?” All responses were relatively varied, suggesting that there is a great degree of variation in how strong a sense of community is felt amongst individual tenants, assuming that a higher number of interactions indicates a stronger sense of community. Additionally, because there does not appear to be a correlation between speaking to neighbors often and speaking to staff often, this suggests with the same assumption that there is not necessarily a correlation between feeling a sense of community with neighbors and feeling a sense of community with staff. However, again because I cannot claim statistical significance with a small sample size of ten residents, these are not certain conclusions but areas to look into further.

The chart below shows the relationship between question 2.4 and question 6.1



Continuing to look at residents feeling a sense of community, question 7.1 and 7.2 provide important insight. Both questions ask the respondent to answer yes, no, or unsure to a statement and ask them to explain the answer they select through text entry. The statement for 7.1 is “Having community in where I live is important to me,” while the statement for 7.2 is “I find community within Worcester Common Ground's housing.” Both questions were answered by nine respondents, with eight respondents answering yes to both questions and one respondent answering unsure to both questions. The person who answered unsure explained both of their answers by saying “I don’t know,” while the explanations for the “yes” responses were varied. Some of the explanations for 7.1 are as follows:

I need to know who lives in my neighborhood building.

Know everyone in the building.

Home.

It is important to maintain a good relationship with the community around me.

Meet new people.

It's help the over all renting experience.

Having a support outside of family.

These responses demonstrate that for a variety of reasons, the goal of having community structured into housing is one that is clearly shared and valued by residents. The response “Having a support outside of family” shows not just the importance of community, but also the importance of how Worcester Common Ground structures what expressions of care look like and how they are experienced within their housing. There are also multiple responses citing the importance of having knowledge of the people you live near, although interestingly here it appears as a reason community is important rather than something that facilitates community. Looking at the explanations for question 7.2 supports these same conclusions; some explanations are as follows:

Everyone knows everyone.

Get along well.

Good location.

Great communication.

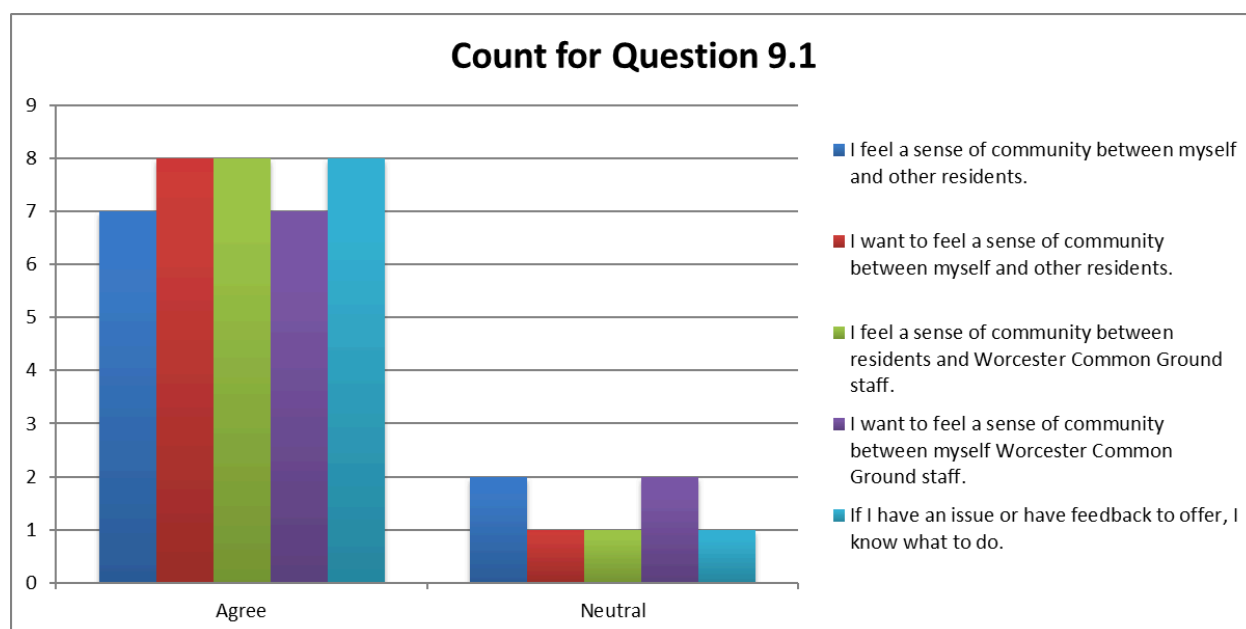
They help when asked.

Very supportive.

These responses reinforce the importance of community in housing for residents, and also demonstrate that residents do identify as being part of a community through Worcester Common Ground's housing. One interesting note on these explanations is that it is unclear whether residents are referring to feeling a sense of community with other residents, with staff, or both. The response "great communication" appears to imply that this respondent is talking about staff, but because of the ambiguous phrasing of the question this is not certain.

These findings of residents feeling a sense of community and wanting to feel a sense of community are also supported by the answers to question 9.1, a matrix table asking if residents want to feel a sense of community, if they do feel a sense of community, and if they know what to do when they have feedback to offer. Everyone answered either "agree" or "neutral" to the questions, with the majority being "agree." This supports the finding that residents do want to feel a sense of community, and do feel a sense of community. The question also asks specifically about community with other residents versus community with Worcester Common Ground staff, and both had very similar answers. This could demonstrate that community in housing is felt by residents both with staff and with other residents, although it is unclear if these are seen as separate relationships, or all part of the same larger community. However, there is a chance that these responses are influenced by survey fatigue, as matrix tables are easy to click through and this question is towards the end of the survey.

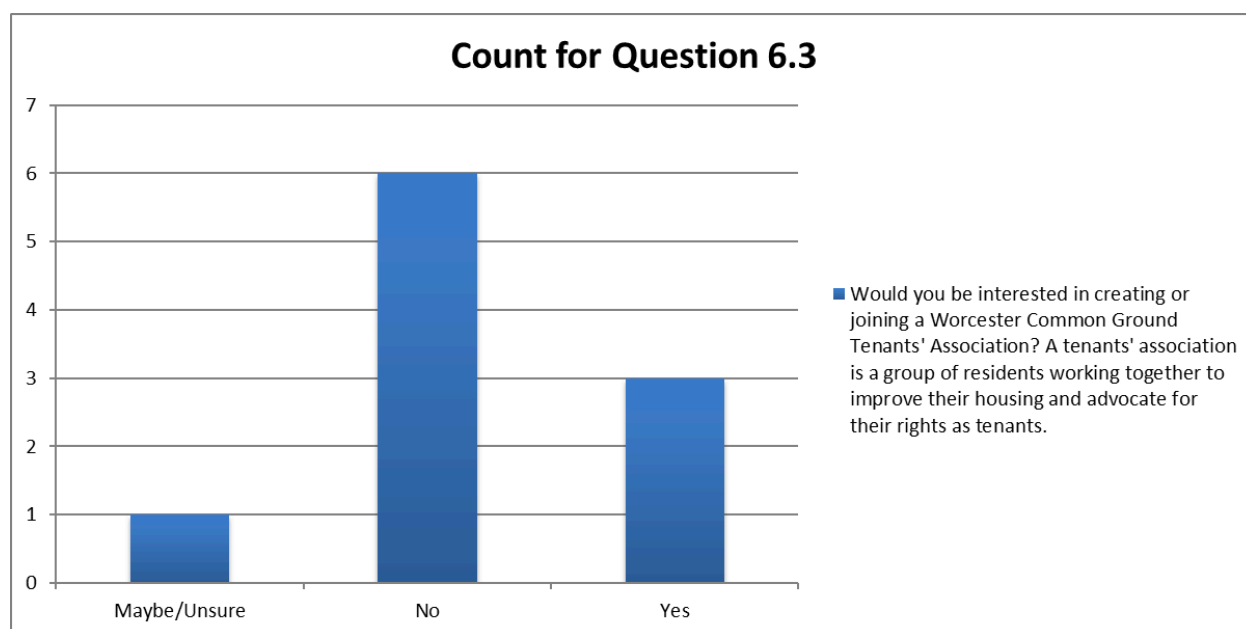
The below chart displays answers to question 9.1



Question 6.3, asking if tenants would be interested in joining a Worcester Common Ground Tenants' Association, had very mixed responses that lean towards "no." The question had an answer option for "yes," as well as an answer option for "yes, if the Tenants' Association already existed," and an option for "I am already part of a Tenants' Association/Tenants' board." Neither of the latter two options were selected at all, indicating not only that none of the respondents are part of the Tenants' Association or Tenants' Board, but also that the Tenants' Association already existing has no impact on whether or not tenants are interested in joining one. This could indicate that for those interested in joining the Tenants' Association, the difficulty or added capacity required to start a Tenants' Association rather than join an existing one is not a significant barrier to membership. However, the responses tending towards "no" indicates that a Tenants' Association may not be how most residents want to engage with staff or engage in advocacy, or that they are not interested in either at all. Again, this is not certain due to

the sample size, however it is definitely something to look into for future research as Worcester Common Ground is looking to expand and fully implement the Tenants' Association.

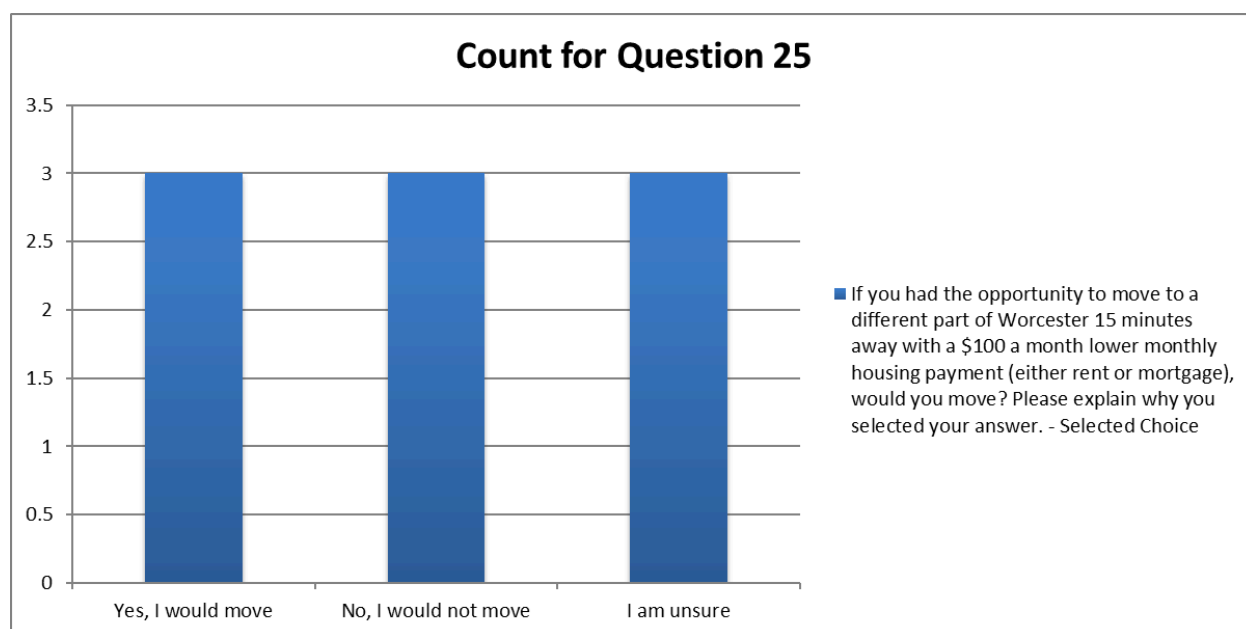
The below chart displays answers to question 6.3



The last question before the survey ends was the last question added to the survey, which we added after the discussion to see how residents conceptualize housing. We felt that a text entry question asking directly “how do you conceptualize housing” could be confusing, so we decided to try and ask a concrete question with yes and no responses and a space to explain their answer. The question we settled on is “If you had the opportunity to move to a different part of Worcester 15 minutes away with a \$100 a month lower monthly housing payment (either rent or mortgage), would you move?” However, having reflected on the question and the answers, I believe that this question is flawed and does not achieve its goal. Rather than speaking to conception of housing, it speaks more to either the financial status of individual tenants or what

aspects of housing they value the most. With that being said, the answers and their explanations still provide wealth of useful information. Two of the people who answered “yes, I would move,” cited financial reasons, saying “Would be economical, and Less rent would be great.” The other person who answered yes said “Change area” as their explanation, indicating that while they may or may not enjoy the housing and the community in the area, they aren’t satisfied with the area itself and would like to switch areas. This same person was the one who reported fear of retaliation as the explanation for their answers to question 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3, and also gave this answer to the final thoughts text entry question: “The moving process was very stressful as there was no communication between the company and movers, WCG, and tenants.” Not only does this highlight communication as an important barrier and area for improvement, but also shows that while a tenant may feel a sense of community in their housing, there can still be many issues with its provision that negatively affect their experience. Additionally, the lack of communication in the moving process can also speak to the power dynamic between tenants and Worcester Common Ground. With that being said, it is also important to note that some are very happy with the housing provision at Worcester Common Ground, with one tenant answering the final thoughts text entry with: “Love being a tenant improvements are being made and hoping all around improvements with neighbors and staff.” However, most of the reasons for people saying they would stay are not related directly to how Worcester Common Ground provides housing or a sense of community, but are also more location based: “Good place to be, School and everything is in Worcester, and Close to stores and doctors.” While it is interesting to see that tenants have mixed feelings about the location itself, this question needs to be reworked in order to achieve its original purpose of looking at how tenants perceive housing.

The below chart displays the answers to question 25



Discussion Findings

One of the most significant findings, in terms of how it relates to my theoretical approach to this project, is how Worcester Common Ground staff conceptualize care in relation to their work. An important theme I identified related to this is that the Worcester Common Ground workplace culture is rooted strongly in care for residents, and that care is a central reason behind many of the operational decisions in their organization. The first place that one can see this dynamic clearly is in the hiring practices at Worcester Common Ground. Throughout the discussion there were multiple mentions of hiring people who care, with that care being directed towards tenants, residents, and the neighborhood in general. Below is a quote from the Asset Manager describing this aspect of hiring:

Oh and a point also in the hiring, I guess, in both the hiring and the culture, is Yvette strategically hired not only people who care, but people from this area. This is my neighborhood, right? Walter, who's our Facilities Manager. This is his neighborhood, Jeshenia's neighborhood, you know what I mean?

Here the phrase "people who care" is primarily referring to caring for tenants. However, they are also drawing a connection between being from the neighborhood and having care in their work. This care within their work is also not limited to tenants only, but applies to all residents and the neighborhood in general. Being from the neighborhood is tied to having this type of care for the work and the neighborhood; they are not hiring people from the neighborhood just for familiarity with the area. And by prioritizing hiring people from the neighborhood they are asserting that the community they imagine is distinctly place-based and that membership to the community automatically comes with care for other community members.

Care here is also connected to the overall goal of Worcester Common Ground, as shown by them strategically hiring people who care in order to accomplish their mission. This is connected to their conceptualization of the relationship between care, community, and neighborhood, as their goal is one of a distinctly place-based CLT operating on a neighborhood scale. This point is especially significant when considering that many residents, especially rental residents which Worcester Common Ground has a large proportion of, may not be aware of what a CLT is or that they live in one. This specific point about knowing you are in a CLT is crucial to address; however it is important to note that even without knowing they are part of a CLT, tenants can still be in close community with other tenants and neighborhood residents because of the scale Worcester Common Ground operates on, and because for many CLT residents

community is experienced more in terms of reciprocity and working towards shared interests rather than being based in community control through belonging to the CLT. (Kruger et al., 2020)

Worcester Common Ground's conceptualization of the close relationship between care, community, and place, along with their explicitly neighborhood-oriented mission, shows that they are aware of these dynamics of scale and are using them to help achieve their goals.

Care here holds multiple meanings, signifying both performing acts of care for tenants through Worcester Common Ground's work (taking care of tenants, providing them with what they need to live and thrive), as well as an interest/investment/passion for the work. I discerned these meanings of care from our discussion, and it appears based on this that their primary definition of care is the latter of the two meanings, but that both are significant. When discussing what care looks like in their work, we came to discussing how we define care:

How are we defining caring? Because I could have even a staff I was gonna say a gardener, but like a community gardener that goes to our gardens, but even like a staff member who cares enough to just do their job really well for the sake of the tenants, and then you might have a staff member who cares and wants to go be an activist for the sake of our tenants and inspire care in others, right? Because so I feel like there's different levels to that too.

Based on these examples, we can see that there are multiple different levels and definitions of care and what it can look like in practice. The example of "a staff member who cares enough to just do their job really well for the sake of the tenants" shows the connection mentioned above, where Worcester Common Ground sees care as an integral part of their work and sees

performing their job as an explicit act of care from them to tenants. This is an example of the first meaning of care mentioned, where care is thought of as actions taken to support others in your community, and care appears for them in doing their job as best they can. We also see in this statement the other definition of care, in the section “a staff member who cares and wants to go be an activist for the sake of our tenants and inspire care in others.” This definition of care is more aligned with having passion and interest around bettering and helping the community, and instead of providing care from Worcester Common Ground to tenants they mention inspiring care in others (possibly tenants or neighborhood residents). I believe that the goal of inspiring care in tenants is a significant goal, especially because it speaks to the goal of fostering community amongst tenants and residents, and because it is about care amongst tenants and residents rather than care between them and Worcester Common Ground. Overall, it shows that Worcester Common Ground does think about how their operations affect what care looks like for their tenants in certain contexts.

Both definitions of care inherently include the other, as performing acts of care for the community denotes an interest and passion in bettering the community, and having an interest and passion in bettering the community implies performing acts of care that align with this interest. From now on, when I am referring to care I am referring to both meanings simultaneously, because the two meanings are so closely connected. These definitions of care are not the only definitions of care, an extremely complicated and multifaceted concept, but are the ones that surfaced during our discussion as being how Worcester Common Ground conceptualizes care within their work. The question immediately brought to mind by this definition of care: how do tenants and community residents define and experience care in their

everyday lives, and specifically in their interactions with Worcester Common Ground staff? It logically follows that tenants and community residents could have differing definitions of care, as this definition surfaced from talking to staff about how care manifested in their work. However, I believe that residents' and tenants' definitions of care are just as if not more significant, and this merits further research.

The context of these definitions and the discussion they emerged from is important to hold in mind, especially when considering this next point. In our discussion, care is framed as something that comes from Worcester Common Ground to/for their tenants, and care is notably not discussed as something that Worcester Common Ground patterns in residents' experiences independent of interactions with staff. While Worcester Common Ground staff see care within their work and see performing their jobs as an act of care, and think about how residents experience care in certain contexts, they are not overall conceptualizing the organization as an infrastructure of care. Because institutions can act as infrastructures of care knowingly or unknowingly, and can structure how care is performed and experienced by their community members in either a helpful or harmful way, it is extremely important for Worcester Common Ground to think about their organization comprehensively as an infrastructure of care, looking at how all aspects of their operations inform what care looks like for residents. Again pointing to the context of this discussion, this may be something that Worcester Common Ground discusses as an organization and simply didn't come up in the discussion, as I did not directly ask them if they consider themselves an infrastructure of care.

Associated with a lack of conceptualizing themselves comprehensively as an infrastructure of care (and within the same discussion context), there is an overall lack of

thinking about what care looks like between tenants independently of their interactions with staff members. However, this concept did surface one time in the discussion, when talking about challenges residents face that present a barrier to engaging with staff members. The concept came up when discussing what barriers/factors may have contributed to our initial lack of survey responses, as well as the previously mentioned goal of inspiring care amongst tenants. They identified tenants' need for childcare as a key possible barrier; Their thinking about this barrier and trying to address it can be seen clearly in how they structure their engagement events, as they are often oriented around being child friendly or having an area for someone to take care of multiple families' children while events are happening. For example, in events in the King Community Center, a community room with a kitchen and bathrooms in the basement of one of their larger rental housing properties, there is always a section of the room with toys and often a staff member or community volunteer dedicated to caring for children while the event is happening. Additionally, the movie night event I attended was catered to families, and there was a raffle specifically for children. This shows that they are thinking about tenants and community residents' need for childcare when interacting with Worcester Common Ground staff. However, it was not evident that they were thinking about how their organizational structure and operations impact how residents independently experience needing childcare and obtaining it outside of interactions with staff, specifically the implications of how they arrange and frame their housing. To elaborate on this point, it appears that they are not considering how all aspects of their organizational structure and operations, ranging from what land is held in the trust and how that land is used to the decision to employ an outside property management group for over half of their rental properties, impacts how residents experience needing and obtaining childcare and

other types of care. Also, there was no mention of other types of care that residents need or perform beside childcare, such as elder care or sharing food. We know these types of care exist within this community, and that Worcester Common Ground impacts how it manifests. For example, at the movie night event staff purchased a lot of food for residents. With the low attendance numbers the residents who attended started to worry that the food there would go to waste. Because the staff members brought many to-go boxes for residents to take food home, residents were able to take food home not only for themselves, but for other residents who could not attend the event, and one resident was able to take a lot of food to distribute to local unhoused people in the area. This is a concrete example of the sometimes seemingly abstract concept of how institutions function as infrastructures of care, and the staff bringing to-go boxes shows that they are thinking about this concept to a certain degree. However, this idea extends to structures and places beyond engagement events, in equally or more important ways. This point could be better illustrated by describing an example of residents performing acts of care for each other without Worcester Common Ground staff present; however this would require asking residents about this directly to get their stories. Again, I want to clarify that Worcester Common Ground may think about these concepts or discuss them, but it was largely absent from our discussion either because they don't do so or because of how I framed the questions.

Another concrete way that Worcester Common Ground acts as an infrastructure of care even without explicitly conceptualizing themselves as one is in relation to their culture and hiring practices. This example came up in discussion about communication and language:

For a very long time, Jeshenia, the only person here who was bilingual, in Spanish, in English and Spanish. And, you know, that's something that, like, was really that Yvette,

you know, noticed was needed. And so in hiring practices, like, for the most part, it's yeah, looking to like, who can relate to our residents, who can communicate with them the best. And, you know, now we're seven staff, and half of us speak Spanish.

Many of Worcester Common Ground's tenants speak Spanish and some do not speak much English, so having a staff where only one person can speak Spanish provides a large structural barrier to communication and engagement. Yvette as the leader recognized this barrier, and worked actively to change it, hiring three more staff members who speak Spanish for a total of four. Hiring people who speak the same language as their tenants changed the structure of Worcester Common Ground, which had profound implications on how many of their tenants experience, receive, and provide care and support to and from Worcester Common Ground. This action influenced how they pattern care for their tenants by allowing them to communicate effectively and comfortably with the provisioners of their housing, acting as an infrastructure of care.

Somewhat absent from the discussion about care was what care looks like coming from tenants and residents going to Worcester Common Ground staff. This idea was briefly mentioned when discussing reasons for a lack of responses to our initial survey, in that residents care about helping Worcester Common Ground with engagement and feedback when they can tell that the feedback directly affects them. This dynamic positions residents and tenants engaging with staff members as an act of care from the residents and tenants, however it also asserts that residents and tenants will only perform these acts of care when they know it will benefit themselves rather than the community as a whole. This assertion has multiple implications, including either that there is a weak sense of community between residents and tenants and Worcester Common

Ground staff (not necessarily speaking to the sense of community amongst residents and tenants within themselves), or that a willingness to sacrifice in order to care for your community is not an essential part of feeling a sense of community. In order to know which implication this idea actually implies in this context, further research is required.

Moving on from focusing on care specifically to looking at how community is conceptualized in their culture and operations, an important theme from the discussion is that the culture of Worcester Common Ground and their organizational structure is oriented to foster a sense of community not just amongst their tenants, but for residents of the neighborhood as a whole. One place that this theme can be seen clearly is in the role of the Resident Service Coordinator. The word choice in the title of specifically “resident” rather than “tenant” is telling, as the services Worcester Common Ground provides are framed through this title as being for all community residents rather than exclusively tenants. This idea also came up when discussing what interactions with residents and tenants look like in the staff members different roles:

And I say residents because it might not be just our tenants. It could be community residents. Could be gardeners who don't live at our properties. It could be with a bunch of little kids playing basketball. So it's a little yeah, so it's a little different. So I feel like she's more of the bridge between Worcester Common Ground and its residents and the rest of the world, okay? And I'm just more, I'm at home.

This quote comes from the Asset Manager at Worcester Common Ground directly after speaking on their own role, where they interact with tenants specifically multiple times daily in a one on one context, as compared to the Resident Service Coordinator who often hosts events where

there are multiple residents present. The significance of the gardeners is that they are not necessarily tenants, as being a gardener is a volunteer position open to the greater neighborhood community. Keeping a garden held in trust is a service for the greater community, as the green space (and gardening in it) is open to all, and the land is held in trust as a result of a community desire for green space. Similarly, the basketball events with children are a service for the greater community and not just Worcester Common Ground's tenants. They are typically held at a public basketball court known as 'The Cage', managed by Worcester Common Ground who are currently planning a renovation to the space. Maintaining/renovating this important community space, which was dedicated to a well-known figure in the community Allen E. "Fatty" Jenkins Jr. who was a firefighter deeply involved with youth sports in the neighborhood, is a service Worcester Common Ground provides for the neighborhood community overall. Worcester Common Ground also runs a basketball league for local elementary schools at Trinity Lutheran Church, another service that they provide to the greater community. Additionally, having a dedicated Community Organizer position is a significant and concrete step showing Worcester Common Grounds dedication to organizing in and serving the neighborhood community. (Gray & Galande, 2011)

Worcester Common Ground responding to the needs of the neighborhood rather than only the needs of their tenants shows their dedication to not only trying to stay true to their overall original goal and mission, but also specifically to fostering a sense of community amongst neighborhood residents. The services they provide to all neighborhood residents speak both to Worcester Common Ground's culture in general and more specific organizational decisions, all oriented around fostering a sense of community between staff, tenants, and neighborhood

residents. This point can also be seen specifically in the role of the Resident Service Coordinator in acting as “the bridge between Worcester Common Ground and its residents and the rest of the world,” as it frames the role as not only being about providing support but also facilitating connection. This metaphor of being a bridge and the goal of creating connection surfaced multiple times throughout the discussion, and is an idea that merits focus. However, I want to show first that this goal of fostering a sense of community amongst all neighborhood residents is not only the result of specific organizational decisions such as Worcester Common Ground’s mission statement or decisions to hold gardens in trust, but also distinctly results from Worcester Common Ground’s culture:

I know, our resident services coordinator, she shares the wealth, you know, if there's a resource or even just a name and number to call for something, she doesn't say, you know, the first thing that comes out of her mouth is not, are you one of our tenants? You live in one of our buildings? It's, what do you need?

Beyond holding events and making organizational decisions targeting all residents, not just specifically tenants, culture informs and shapes what individual employees' interactions look like. This approach of focusing on trying to meet needs first no matter who is needing help can create a sense of community with the people coming into the office, and helps show through action to community residents that Worcester Common Ground is an organization truly dedicated to serving the community rather than just their tenants. This attitude amongst staff is cultivated actively through their workplace culture, and is highlighted throughout the interview by the staff members.

Another example of Worcester Common Ground's culture and organizational decisions being oriented towards fostering a sense of community amongst all neighborhood residents is their open door policy and desire for an administrator/secretary to greet people coming into the office. They mention that they used to have someone in this "greeter" position before Covid, and that as an organization they have identified a need for someone to fill this position again, to help people entering who may not have knowledge on how to seek supportive help. Filling this position goes hand in hand with their open door policy: "But what I can say is we have our hours of operation on the door, and they don't match, because even when we lock up for lunch someone knocks, we open the door and they don't have to be a tenant." This quote came directly after I asked if Worcester Common Ground's culture was unique, or if aspects to their culture were similar to other CLTs or CDCs. While there are no other urban CLTs in Worcester, this statement was comparing Worcester Common Ground to another local CDC who has a buzzer at their front door where they have to buzz people into their office. Always opening the door and offering assistance to whoever is there contributes greatly to fostering a sense of community in the neighborhood. While it is clear that according to staff this policy distinctly originates from the culture of Worcester Common Ground, it is unclear whether that is because Worcester Common Ground is unique in many ways as a neighborhood-based CLT, or if it is because they are a neighborhood-based CLT and all neighborhood-based CLTs have cultures that lead to policies like this. It was also brought up in the discussion that this policy and culture could be a result of their organizational size, as they have a relatively small staff.

Additionally, it is significant that the support Worcester Common Ground provides extends to everyone who wants to access it in the area, not just specific groups. By doing so, they

ensure that the sense of community they are attempting to foster is inclusive, serving to bring people together rather than exclude people and possibly fragmentize the community ties that are already present: “We have an open door policy, basically, like we're technically closed on Fridays, and we still let people in, we let people in, we help them. Whether it's our one of our residents trying to pay rent, whether it's somebody, a community, person on the street, like, whatever.” They go on to specifically mention people who are unhoused, talking about providing them a place where they can speak to someone and meet some basic but absolutely essential needs, such as clean water and a place to use the bathroom. Excluding certain individuals and groups can weaken a sense of community greatly or fragmentize a locational community, while their explicit focus on inclusion and accessibility in their supportive services serves the opposite effect. This discourse shows how Worcester Common Ground thinks clearly about how they structure what care provision looks like from their organization to residents, in service of fostering a sense of community.

The idea of connection and bridging people together surfaced again in the discussion, but not in the context of providing supportive services or fostering a sense of community with neighborhood residents. It emerged in discussing the mission of the Tenant’s Association and the Tenant’s Board. Before discussing this further, it is important to establish some context on the two groups, and discuss how I am conceptualizing the difference between fostering community and fostering a sense of community. In this context, I am thinking of fostering community and a sense of community as largely the same because I identify feeling a strong sense of community as one of the most important aspects of being in community with others, related strongly with caring and developing close relationships with others, and I believe that strengthening a sense of

community strengthens all other aspects of community. However, I don't believe that this applies universally to all communities, but in the context of CLTs and Worcester Common Ground I see the two as being so closely related that they are effectively the same. Moving on to the two groups, the Tenant's Association is for tenants of the rental properties that Worcester Common Ground manages (not Maloney Properties), and requires a small buy-in (not a monetary buy-in but a time related buy-in, in terms of time for volunteering and meeting). The Tenant's Board is for homeowners specifically, who are automatically granted membership to the Tenant's Board. It is also important context that the Tenant's Association was discussed as something that had been created a long time ago but was never fully implemented, and that staff are looking at implementing it further and expanding it to the properties managed by Maloney Properties as well. However, it was also described as something that they are not actively working on:

The thing is, is, like, that's not really like a lot, like it exists, but we don't, but it's not like, it's not something we work on, I guess, does that make sense? So, like, it is something that was established, and I'm, I'm, personally, I'm not really sure what happened to it, okay, but like, in the time that I've been here, I know of its existence, but it's not something that I've ever, like witnessed or have worked on since my in my time here.

Both staff members I spoke to in this discussion knew what the Tenant's Association was, and that it existed, but did not have a lot of specific details on how it functions. In the discussion it was not made clear what the difference is between it existing and it being implemented (this confusion is not necessarily indicative of any clear conclusions, as I did not ask a follow-up question specifically about explaining this difference). Also, although the distinction of the Tenant's Association being for renters and the Tenant's Board being for homeowners, it is

unclear what other differences between the two exist, however dividing the two groups is still important as owners and renters may have different needs. It is important that I follow up with staff members to learn more about the implementation and structure of the Tenants' Board and Tenants' Association.

What was made clear about both the Tenants' Association and the Tenants' Board is their purpose, which is that Worcester Common Ground sees them as a way for the organization to provide empowerment, engagement, and a space for advocacy to their tenants. They envision both groups as providing that bridge between tenants and Worcester Common Ground as an organization, with Worcester Common Ground constructing that bridge for tenants.

We've had things like our tenant association just to, you know, basically to give them a voice, give them a way of, kind of giving them equity, I guess, and getting them involved in what, what we do, how we do, when we do ...

... We're kind of working on a more like Tenant Association within our rental units, yeah. And that's kind of to yeah, try to give more of a voice to our residents, to speak directly with us and bring concerns that they have, and really, yeah, create more of a sense of, like, a bigger bridge to us and to the residents. And then I think ideally, if that works out, we'd want to do it with our residents of the properties we don't manage currently, but we would want to grow that program out to do that as well, because I think there's a huge disconnect there, because we don't manage those properties.

The framing of Worcester Common Ground doing the giving (voice, equity, getting them involved), shows that they are viewing the Tenants' Board and Association as a way for them to

provide these aspects of engagement to their community of tenants. This framing has multiple possible implications for how staff view tenants. The first is that these aspects of engagement are not naturally present in the current community of tenants they have outside of these two groups, and that tenants do not have other ways of making their voices heard or getting involved, which is why they feel the need to create this connecting bridge through the Tenant's Association and Board. Another possible implication is that tenants lack the agency to generate these aspects of engagement themselves, which is why Worcester Common Ground has to provide them to tenants as a service.

An alternative to this framing and approach would be to try to identify spaces where advocacy and engagement already exist amongst tenants, and to nurture and support these spaces to expand them. An implication that is certain with their current framing however, is that Worcester Common Ground wants their tenants to have a voice, feel comfortable advocating for themselves, and have more involvement and input over Worcester Common Ground's actions. It is also important to note that having a formal space for residents to directly voice concerns and interests does seem like a useful priority that will increase community control and an overall sense of community specifically amongst tenants and between tenants and staff.

The segment discussing the disconnect between the properties they manage and the properties Maloney Properties manages is also extremely significant. A lot of tenants' interactions with staff occur through aspects of property management, and it seems based on this stated disconnect that there may not be a lot of spaces of interaction for tenants living in Maloney Properties managed units. Because of this, it makes sense that Worcester Common Ground would want to create a space for these tenants to interact with Worcester Common

Ground managed tenants and for them to interact with and engage with staff. It is unclear why the Tenants' Association is currently only for the properties Worcester Common Ground manages, and connecting with tenants in Maloney Properties managed units seems like the most significant place for this bridge between staff and tenants to be constructed.

Staff also discussed why Worcester Common Ground sees a bridge to tenants as necessary, speaking more about the motivation of why the Tenants' Association and Board exist. They get slightly more specific about goals and how they will be achieved, as well as why they see the groups as necessary. First, focusing again on the goals of the groups, and how they will be achieved:

That's currently, like, what we're in the Tenant Association, like, what we're trying to do is like, I mean, we're like, kind of build leaders who are able to kind of advocate for themselves and for the people around them. And, you know, maybe they do become board members, or maybe they are, you know, we give them the support to advocate in the city, things like that. But like, it's we're in the very beginning stages of trying to map out, but basically what we want to do is have like a captain for each of our buildings or set of buildings or area, and then those captains will, like attend a meeting with Worcester Common Ground staff, where they're then able to kind of advocate for their building, their area, the residents who live in that building.

The goal of building up leaders for individual buildings or an area of buildings is again framed as Worcester Common Ground providing tenants the ability to advocate for their fellow tenants and their area overall. The structure of the Tenants' Association being made up of building or area

leaders who can communicate directly with Worcester Common Ground staff seems to be operating under the assumption that there is a sense of community amongst tenants, at least amongst tenants within the same building, to the point where building residents share their concerns with one another and all have the same common interests. If this assumption is true, it would make sense to try and identify what these intrabuilding communities look like, how they can be supported and fostered, and if or how they can be expanded to be amongst all tenants and amongst all residents of the community.

Moving on to the motivation behind these groups and why Worcester Common Ground staff see them as necessary, an important point arises around barriers to engagement.

So we're hoping like, I mean, we're always open to all the residents, like they're able to come with us to anything. They're able to come to us with anything. But we're hoping that this will kind of like building a stronger bridge of, like, really dedicated time, of like, we're here to listen to your concerns. Because I feel like, you know, there may be concerns that people have, but that they don't feel comfortable calling about or coming in the office and talking about, but like, by no means are we, like, ignoring people, you know, but, yeah, I think it takes, like a strength and comfortability to be able to come in and advocate.

The primary barrier to engagement identified in this statement is fear or discomfort, and the Tenants' Association and Board and overall concept of them acting as a bridge to tenants are seen as effective ways to reduce this barrier. The two groups are positioned as a way to make tenants feel like they are not being ignored, and to make them more comfortable advocating for

themselves and their communities. The goal of acting as a bridge is a way of prioritizing connecting with tenants, and strengthening this connection is a way of increasing a sense of community. Identifying these barriers to engagement of discomfort or fear and attempting to address them through the Tenants' Association and Board shows that Worcester Common Ground is interested in strengthening the sense of community between themselves as staff and their tenants. However, it also raises the questions of how they identified these barriers, and why they exist. Are there ways that Worcester Common Ground structures their organization that leads to these barriers (and are there ways Worcester Common Ground could change their structure besides adding these two groups to reduce these barriers), or are these barriers to engagement inherent in all CLTs or affordable housing provision in general?

Another question raised by Worcester Common Ground's goal of creating a bridge between themselves and residents and increasing connection, is who the bridge is for and what increasing connection will accomplish. The metaphor of being a bridge came up in two main contexts, that of creating a bridge between Worcester Common Ground staff and their tenants through the Tenants' Association and Tenants' Board, and that of the Resident Service Coordinator acting as "the bridge between Worcester Common Ground and its residents and the rest of the world." There are many implications from these focuses, the first of which is that Worcester Common Ground wants to improve connection between themselves and their tenants (specifically tenants living in property they manage) primarily, with increasing connection between their tenants and neighborhood residents as secondary. Within the primary desire of increasing connection with tenants, it is notable that expanding the bridge to include tenants living in Maloney Properties managed buildings is a priority for them, but not one that they are

currently actively working on. It is also evident that staff hold the goal of being a bridge between themselves and tenants and increasing connection as a way of strengthening engagement, reducing the barriers of fear and knowledge and making tenants feel more comfortable advocating for themselves and seeking support from staff. To me it appears that the motives behind the goal of being a bridge shows that Worcester Common Ground both sees community as being based closely on connections and relationships between people, and that strengthening community is a way of strengthening engagement. However, it is important to note that in the survey with tenants the only place increased connection with staff was mentioned was as something missing from the move-in process, and as a goal that most tenants hold as well. It is worth investigating if tenants conceptualize this bridge between themselves and Worcester Common Ground in the same way that staff do, and if staff and tenants both view this bridge as necessary for the same reasons.

Moving away from Worcester Common Ground acting as a bridge, fear surfaced in other ways as a barrier to engagement and to homeownership, specifically related to the large renovation and associated relocation Worcester Common Ground is undergoing throughout their properties as part of maintaining them and converting them into Low Income Housing Tax Credit projects. As part of this process, they also have to certify every tenants' income. This certification can be problematic, as it may cause tenants to lose their homes:

I think it's called the cliff effect, where like you do get a promotion at work, and you make a little bit more, and so it's enough that it prices you out of this but it's not enough that you can afford to live in a market rate unit or buy a house. And it's enough that it takes some of your benefits away and things like that, and so yeah it's something that is

like really tricky that I think yeah people don't want a promotion, don't want to make more money.

One of the primary benefits of being a tenant in CLT housing is security and the autonomy that this security provides. (Pierce et al., 2021) This benefit is well documented pertaining to homeownership within a CLT, however being a rental tenant also theoretically provides similar security as you have a promise that your rent will remain affordable. The cliff effect, another well documented phenomenon that many CDCs contend with, serves to counter these benefits of CLT tenancy. Fear of the cliff effect negates feelings of security as one can get priced out of their home and have their benefits taken away in part or fully. With the feelings of security negated, the fear of having to leave one's home also negates the autonomy that the security provided, making people not want to get promoted and make more money. This dynamic simultaneously prevents people from progressing financially and can cause someone to lose their current home, acting as a major barrier to homeownership and the benefits homeownership provides.

They go on to elaborate about how fear acts as a barrier to community, specifically identifying fears related to the relocation and renovation forcing people to move or be displaced. Before talking more about the renovation process, it is important to note that the renovations are not taking place across all Worcester Common Ground owned properties, but rather all of their self-managed properties except for one constructed recently in 2018. They also talk about how they are addressing relocation organizationally:

We have a, yeah, relocation specialist, and you're hearing the fear and the nervousness and the like, you know, we're not putting anybody out on the street. Like, if you know, we

have a relocation consultant, because yes, they're going to put them somewhere, but there are some folks who are over income who won't be able to return to our units, and like that is terrifying for them. And we have older residents who have been here for 20 plus years. Like this is their home.

Immediately striking about this passage is the contrast between referring to the relocation consultant and the promise of not putting anybody out on the street, while simultaneously recognizing the fear and nervousness coming from this relocation process. It is evident that the staff recognize why this fear is present, and that they understand that the fear residents are feeling is not a fear of becoming put out onto the street. The fear is about losing their home, being forced out of their neighborhood, and associated with both of those is the fear of losing their community. We did not discuss details of the relocation process, which can have major implications for how Worcester Common Ground is conceptualizing and dealing with this issue. However, it is clear that the fear of being displaced is being tied closely to the fear of losing community, and I assert that a fear of losing your community can act as a barrier to engaging and deepening ties with your community. This dynamic runs counter to the goal of CLTs and Worcester Common Ground as an organization, as while they are still providing affordable housing and maintaining land use, by having to relocate tenants who are over income it takes the benefits of security and autonomy away, weakens ties between themselves tenants and residents, and can change the composition of the neighborhood and harm a sense of community through displacement rather than acting to prevent displacement and strengthen a sense of community. Weakening a sense of community and displacing longtime residents actively counters the goal of

increased community control over land, even though the displacement is occurring to ensure that the land remains under the same use.

It is also clear that the renovation process acts as a barrier to engagement, even outside of relocation and the fear of displacement. This barrier is still related to the income certification process, which although it requires extensive interactions between staff and tenants, harms engagement and a sense of community much more than it fosters them:

What I do know is that is that a lot of our tenants even to get them to a free, fun, stress free thing is tough sometimes, yeah, and, well, that, and also timing, because for I don't know, four, four ish years, we've been prepping them for these renovations, which means that we've been visiting their units. We've been in and out of their units dozens of times over the last, well, I'll say the last couple years that I've been here. So they're, like, already exhausted as it is, when it comes to, like, just their, their, I don't know, dealing with their tenancy, and that sort of thing, like, right now, our property manager has to certify their income, and it's like a lot of paperwork, bring in your pay stubs, bring in your bank statements. Normally, that's done one once per year. But the nature of our refinance and renovation and us becoming what's called a Low Income Housing Tax Credit property requires multiple certifications, yeah, so it's a lot of hey, you know that very super annoying and intrusive thing we do once per year. We gotta, we're I just had to actually recently send a letter to let them all know, we're gonna be bugging you for this stuff like I have. I had to warn them. So hey, that one thing that we do that's very intrusive and annoying, we're gonna have to do that possibly 3, 4, 5, times just within the

next couple months. So they're just exhausted. We're exhausted of having to, you know, do it to them so, but it's because of just everything that's going on right now.

Staff mention difficulty getting tenants to fun and free events, speaking to the challenge of engaging with tenants and fostering a sense of community amongst them and between staff and tenants. They then proceed to discuss having to interact with each tenant many times over the course of around four years, in a way that they describe as intrusive and annoying. This section exemplifies the difference between engaging with residents and interacting with residents. All engagement implies interaction with residents, but not all interaction necessitates engagement. Engagement implies not just interaction, but can also imply involvement in a meaningful capacity, building community by creating and strengthening relationships, or providing support to one another. The effect they identify from this process of having to repeatedly interact with tenants in an intrusive and annoying way outside of the context of their typical engagement is that residents are exhausted when it comes to dealing with their tenancy. While it is clear that the staff are referring to tenants dealing with their tenancy as the bureaucratic process of income certification, we can see that staff view this process as starting to inform other interactions and attempts to engage for tenants. Because of the structure and framing of CLTs, it is understandable that a tenant's conception of interfacing with their tenancy is tied to engaging with staff in fun ways that are intended to foster community and increase community control. Dealing with tenancy in a CLT should be a process that increases support and empowerment of tenants, allowing community to flourish. It is unfortunate that because of the renovation income certification process, dealing with tenancy and interacting with staff is starting to be associated with being exhausting and annoying rather than rewarding. It is important that staff are

recognizing this dynamic and shift in conception, expressing their own exhaustion at having to do this process to their tenants, showing that clearly this is not how staff want interaction and engagement to look.

In thinking about power dynamics and how tenants experience dealing with their tenancy and engaging with staff, a tension is revealed. This tension is between Worcester Common Ground staff wanting to empower, deeply engage, and be in close community with their tenants, while simultaneously having to take actions that reinforce a power imbalance between the organization and the tenants. The place where this tension is most visible is in the renovation and income certification process, as tenants have to go through a “super annoying and intrusive” process that would normally happen once a year on multiple occasions in a short period, with the specter of possible relocation looming. However, through the way that staff discuss the process, and the fact that Worcester Common Ground hired a relocation specialist to assist tenants, it is clear that staff still want to provide security and autonomy to their tenants as much as possible. This tension is not just present in the renovation and income certification process however, it is always present because of the position Worcester Common Ground holds as the provisioner of their tenants’ housing. Supported by the survey data, it appears that tenants are aware of this tension, looking at the survey responses reporting a fear of retaliation while not being asked at all about the renovation process. It is possible that this tension is an extremely significant barrier to engagement, and it is important to investigate how Worcester Common Ground conceptualizes this tension, if they discuss it internally and with tenants, and how it can be addressed or improved in order to strengthen engagement and increase autonomy and empowerment.

Related to the fear tenants feel about displacement and relocation is the idea that knowledge is closely related to community, and conversely the fear of not knowing people and a place are connected to the fear of not having community. Staff provided an explicit example of this, directly following talking about relocation causing fear for tenants:

They know nothing else the building, the residents, the everything, and I think they're, I mean, obviously it's a scary thing to move period, and go somewhere where you don't know, but like, one resident I overheard, she said, like she works at night, and that's scary for her, but she feels safe in this building, and she knows all the people in the building, and like it feels okay for her to be able to come home at night, and it's not, like, worrisome for her, yeah, you know? And I feel like that's like, created with your sense of community. You know what? I mean, it's about, you know, one, it's sort of about where you are, where you're located, what neighborhood you're in, but it's also about, yeah, like the people, knowing the people.

The first fear staff identified tenants having in this segment is that it is scary to move in any context, if you are going somewhere that you don't know. Knowledge of neighbors and a neighborhood appears to play a large part in creating a sense of community, one that is based on common location and common interests. Having a strong sense of community creates comfort and can create a feeling of safety, which can be seen in not being scared to come home at night because you know the area and everyone in your building. As they clarify towards the end, part of these feelings may be due to the actual nature of the area that you know, but there is definitely significance to just having the knowledge of what the people and place are like, no matter if the neighborhood is generally seen as being safe or not. Being forced to move removes this

knowledge and the associated feelings that come with being in a strong community with your neighbors. In order to improve engagement Worcester Common Ground needs to find a way to address and if possible ameliorate these fears, strengthening their sense of community and recognizing its value for tenants.

Before proceeding on to the implications and conclusions of these findings, it is necessary to look at how the findings gathered from tenants differ from or align with the findings gathered from staff. First looking at barriers to engagement and community, tenants identified the primary barriers as being communication and a power imbalance, while staff identified them as being fear and a lack of knowledge. The barriers of fear and a power imbalance are similar, however they are not the same. The fear that came up in the discussion was largely related to security or a fear of not having necessary knowledge, while the barrier of a power imbalance came up in the context of being scared of retaliation when engaging with staff. Fear is definitely a key barrier as it was identified by both groups in different ways, but in order to address the barrier it is necessary to reconcile these two similar but different conceptions of the barrier. For example, staff see creating more of a metaphorical bridge to tenants as a way of addressing these barriers, by increasing connection and making tenants more comfortable communicating with them. While this strategy does seem effective as it addresses the barrier of communication, it will not address the power imbalance and fear that is caused by it unless staff recognize this barrier in the way that tenants actually experience it, and incorporate that recognition into their bridge building to explicitly address that dynamic. Additionally, although staff identified a lack of knowledge as a barrier, it was not explicitly a lack of knowledge of what a CLT is or that tenants belong to one. This specification is very important, as this barrier is definitely addressable in

concrete ways, and may act as an even larger barrier to engagement than staff realized. Overall it is important to consider the tension between these two sources, in order to gain a more accurate understanding of what the true experience at Worcester Common Ground is and how barriers can best be addressed.

There also are ways in which the findings from the survey and the findings from the discussion are more aligned. For example, from the survey I found that there may be a disconnect between the tenants in Maloney Properties managed buildings and Worcester Common Ground staff, a finding that was also supported by my discussion with staff members. This agreement leads me to believe that there definitely is a disconnect, and that this disconnect should be a high priority for Worcester Common Ground to address. Another important finding from the survey is that it appears that tenants do not currently experience their decision making power in a tangible way, and tend to think of community control as embodied and physical. Aligned with this findings is the finding that staff see the Tenants' Association and Tenants' Board as means to provide tenants with a space for advocacy and a tangible way for tenants to exercise their decision making power. This view of these two groups by staff shows they are aware that tenants don't currently experience their decision making power in a tangible way, with these groups as a way to make it much more concrete. However, within this alignment there is still some tension, as it shows that staff are conceptualizing community control as being more about decision making power rather than the embodied or physical way tenants conceptualize it. The tension present points to the idea that staff should try and identify ways in which tenants currently experience community control and try and expand on or strengthen these ways, while still using the two groups as a way to make decision making power more tangible, as doing so

could change tenants' understandings of community control. Considering how these sources are simultaneously aligned and in tension with one another has shaped both my recommendations for future research and actions, as well as my understanding of the data in general, with each finding contextualizing findings from the other source.

Implications and Conclusions

The implications and conclusions I am drawing from our findings primarily fall into two categories, the first being recommendations to Worcester Common Ground for how they can alter their operations to strengthen resident engagement, boost a sense of community and increase community control for residents, and encourage them to improve how care is structured in tenants' everyday lives. The second category is areas and strategies for future research for Worcester Common Ground to conduct either with me or independently. I believe that the emphasis on future research steps is especially important, because of the challenges we have seen with engagement throughout the course of this project, and because much of the findings are based on conversations with staff rather than hearing directly from residents.

Focusing initially on care, I recommend that Worcester Common Ground hold internal discussions on what care looks like for their residents in their everyday lives, and about how Worcester Common Ground's operations and organizational decisions structure those dynamics. This recommendation is in response to the finding from our discussion that while Worcester Common Ground does think about how they directly provide care to residents, they do not appear to think about how they act as an infrastructure of care, patterning and structuring what

care looks like for their residents outside of direct interactions with staff. The Idea-Arrangement-Effect (IAE) framework, developed by the Design Studio for Social Intervention, could be helpful for these discussions as not only have they written about infrastructures of care within this framework, but the process of reflecting on and identifying different arrangements, the ideas embedded within them, and the effects of these arrangements can make these abstract ideas more concrete and actionable. To briefly and reductively explain the framework, arrangements are structures that shape interactions and behavior, and are both hard (physical) and soft (social, based on routines, expectations and assumptions) (Lobenstine et al., 2020). While the IAE framework is multidirectional and does not only flow in this linear path, the central concept is that ideas are embedded within arrangements, and inform the effects those arrangements have on the people subject to them (Lobenstine et al., 2020). However, these discussions should be accompanied with further research both on how residents conceptualize and experience care in their everyday lives, and thinking about how tenants' definitions of care differ from staff's. This step could help form an accurate picture of how Worcester Common Ground is already acting as an infrastructure of care, and will help identify what they are doing well and what could use improvement. The motivation for this step is not only to center residents in research, but is directly motivated by the finding that Worcester Common Ground conceptualize care as being about both acts of care as well as an interest or passion, combined with the fact that we do not have any information on how residents conceptualize care. This research could be carried out using another anonymous survey, however I believe that because of the personal and complex nature of the questions we would have to ask, it would best be accomplished through direct conversations either over the phone or in person. Because capacity

at Worcester Common Ground is limited, it is best to do this research before having these internal discussions.

Following along with internal discussions, it could be useful for Worcester Common Ground to have a discussion specifically about their workplace culture. Throughout my discussion with staff they made clear that the culture at Worcester Common Ground informs their operations in a variety of positive ways, and that central to their culture is care for neighborhood residents and a distinctly place-based community. It could be helpful for staff to speak explicitly about this culture, in order to make sure it is relatively uniform across their employees, as well as to ensure that the next generation of employees carries that culture forward with them. Prior to having these discussions, asking residents about how they perceive the culture of Worcester Common Ground can inform staff on whether they perceive their own culture the same way residents do. Also, if residents' perceptions differ, this internal discussion can come up with ways to reconcile the two.

Moving on to focusing on the Tenants' Association and the Tenants' Board, I recommend that Worcester Common Ground does an assessment of how the two groups have functioned so far, including talking to tenants that are members and tenants who are not members. The groups should be reworked based on the results of the assessment, either in a major way or through slight modifications. It appears based on the survey and the discussion that the spaces can be helpful for tenants that are very interested in being actively engaged with Worcester Common Ground in a way that may be time consuming, while it may not be the ideal way for all of their tenants to engage. One possible option for changes to these groups is adding seats to Worcester Common Ground's board that are set aside specifically for elected or nominated members of

these two groups, as this could increase community control in a tangible way for tenants, make these groups more important, and provide an additional incentive for membership. Another is expanding these groups to include tenants in buildings managed by Maloney Properties, as this could help to bridge the disconnect between Worcester Common Ground and over half of their rental units. However, in order to determine whether these changes are good, we must first look at tenants' experiences in the groups. Along with this research, it is important to also look at spaces where residents already advocate and engage, in order to see how Worcester Common Ground can support resident advocacy and engagement in a more bottom-up approach.

Bridging the gap in connection between Worcester Common Ground staff and residents in buildings managed by Maloney Properties is an extremely important priority. Based on our discussion I have found that there is a significant disconnect between staff and Maloney Properties residents, in part due to most interactions with staff happening in the form of property maintenance or paying rent. Besides expanding the Tenants' Association and Board to include Maloney Properties tenants, Worcester Common Ground needs to take other deliberate and tangible steps to increase connection with this group specifically, as this disconnect not only serves to fragmentize their community of rental tenants, but could also be emblematic of Worcester Common Ground's connections with neighborhood residents as they are another group that they do not have direct interactions with through paying rent or property maintenance. A recommendation to address this is expanding their annual meetings, a seemingly successful engagement effort where tenants and neighborhood residents attend, to hold quarterly or semi annual meetings. These meetings would be different from the annual meeting, focusing less on the future of Worcester Common Ground and more on providing a space for tenants to directly

voice their thoughts, meet and connect with each other, and get to know the staff members. They should also be open to all neighborhood residents, providing more opportunity for community building and engagement. This could also serve to ensure that Maloney Properties residents know they are part of Worcester Common Ground, and that they can come to staff for support with their issues. Additionally, Worcester Common Ground should create a portal for tenants on their website, allowing them to login and submit feedback or requests anonymously. Creating this portal could allow for those who may be scared of retaliation to engage with Worcester Common Ground, as well as people who may not have the time to go to the Worcester Common Ground office or call to speak with staff.

An important barrier to engagement with actionable ways of addressing it identified in both the survey and the discussion was that of knowledge. This barrier manifests itself in many forms, from knowing your neighbors to knowing what a CLT is. While further research with tenants would undoubtedly improve our understanding of these barriers and how best to address them, I do have some recommendations based on our current findings. Foremost, Worcester Common Ground should examine their intake process with tenants. This includes many aspects of the process, such as communication between Worcester Common Ground, new tenants and movers. It should also include some kind of orientation process, where all new tenants or prospective tenants are educated about what a CLT is, what Worcester Common Ground does and what properties they own, information about the Tenants' Board and Tenants' Association, as well as communicating the specific and overall goals of Worcester Common Ground as an institution. Importantly, the orientation could serve as an opportunity to clearly lay out the concept of community control, and specific ways in which tenants can exercise decision making

power over Worcester Common Ground's operations. This orientation process could also provide a formal environment for tenants to talk with staff about what they want from their housing outside of being a place to live, start to establish a relationship with staff members, and ask any questions they may have. Worcester Common Ground already organizes events that can help tenants meet each other, and they could plan these introductory sessions in coordination with their other events so that once the introduction is done, new tenants can meet current tenants immediately if they wish to do so.

A future area for research that could be helpful for Worcester Common Ground is to look at how residents think of and experience community control. Doing this research would hopefully allow Worcester Common Ground to increase feelings of community control over land for all residents. This research could be done over an anonymous survey or through direct conversations, but because the topic is complex and can have many different meanings I believe direct conversations would be best, also because the topic is not particularly personal, residents may be more willing to speak openly about it with staff. A significant point of focus for this research would also be looking at in what ways residents currently feel they have decision making power, and how this power could be expanded or extended to other areas. It would also be interesting within this research to look at the differences between homeowners and renters, as it could speak to both dynamics of community and conceptions of control and how they differ. As part of this research, it would also be useful to ask residents and tenants how they feel a sense of community, and whom they feel it with. This information can provide valuable context to Worcester Common Ground, and is closely tied to the concept of community control.

Further research is also warranted on how Worcester Common Ground's tenants perceive housing, and what they desire from their housing. While this research may not lead directly to actionable changes within the organization, not only would it help inform the internal discussions that I have recommended Worcester Common Ground hold, it would also help Worcester Common Ground do an overall assessment of how they are doing as an organization, and see if their organizational goals align with the desires of their tenants. This research would be best done in person as perception of housing is a very nuanced topic, however I think that a group discussion may be the best place for this as you can work with the group of tenants to build out a shared definition of the concept, while still allowing everyone to share their own individual perceptions and experiences.

Finally, and perhaps most crucially, future research is needed on how tenants and residents experience power imbalances and dynamics between themselves and Worcester Common Ground as an institution. This research should be done first, as power dynamics undoubtedly inform all interactions, whether balanced or imbalanced, and improving power imbalances if they are present could help to get more accurate and greater amounts of data when performing the other research. While this research would undoubtedly provide more nuance into this complex topic as direct conversations, anonymity with such a personal and sensitive subject would serve to collect more accurate and greater amounts of data. One reason why this recommendation is so important is because of the finding that fear and discomfort are a prominent barrier to engagement, and that staff see increasing connection and creating a bridge between staff and tenants is a way to counter this barrier. Increasing and deepening connection will not be feasible without simultaneously or initially addressing power dynamics between

tenants and staff. Even if these connections are improved, I do not believe that it will lead to more engagement or a stronger sense of community without a dialogue between tenants and staff on power dynamics and how they can be changed. If there are power imbalances revealed by this research, addressing them should be a top priority of Worcester Common Ground.

In thinking about what I have learned from this project and considering future research, it is important to reflect on how I have analyzed the data in the research I have already done. Reflecting on the decision to use only inductive coding, while I think the data I have gathered from the discussion provided me with a lot of insight, if I analyze another discussion with my partners I will most likely use a mix of inductive and deductive coding. I believe deductive coding could be useful because there are some specific concepts and aspects of their operations that I want to delve deeply into, and I think that deductive coding could have been useful for that specific purpose. However, it may have stopped me from picking up on ideas and topics that I now see as crucial because of the extensive inductive coding I completed. I plan to attempt to strike a careful balance between the two, leaning more heavily towards inductive coding than deductive, if I continue to have these in-depth discussions with staff. However, if we were to proceed with the project by performing a focus group or interviews with residents, then I would definitely still employ entirely inductive coding. This decision is because I feel that I now have enough knowledge about CLT's in general and Worcester Common Ground specifically to have confidence that the concepts and aspects of their operations I deem significant actually are significant. I do not mean this to disregard the extensive professional and lived experience of my partners at Worcester Common Ground, as they are an extremely deep source of knowledge, and have been doing this work for a long time. That is why I would balance inductive with deductive

coding next time, still relying heavily on inductive coding while also asserting what I deem to be significant within the subject. With residents however, I do not know enough about their experiences to determine what aspects of their experiences are most important and deserve the most focus, and I would prefer to center residents entirely when looking at their experience by using only inductive coding.

In thinking about how this project and my findings have changed my understanding of community, my initial conception has been both affirmed and challenged. One aspect that has been affirmed is that community is still both place-based and based in mutual interest and participation, with relationships and connection being extremely central. With this, my findings have also confirmed for me that care, support, and vulnerability are key aspects in belonging to a community. However, this understanding has also been challenged, as although I believe these concepts are central to community, I now see that people can be in community with one another without experiencing or acknowledging these aspects in their everyday lives. People have many different understandings of what community is and what benefits it provides, even within a single community. While aspects like mutual care and vulnerability are still present in community, people experience these aspects to different degrees and in different ways, and they may not be central to their understanding or experience of community. Also, I have started to view community as more fluid and fractured, as within a larger community there can be many smaller communities that can range from insular to extremely interconnected. For example, within the larger community of neighborhood residents, there is the community of Worcester Common Ground staff, Worcester Common Ground tenants, tenants of rental properties and tenants of homeownership properties, tenants of properties managed by Worcester Common

Ground, people who are aware they are part of a CLT, etc. While membership to these communities is often informed by identities (such as staff, tenant, renter, owner), two people can hold the same identities and feel a sense of community within the larger community and within smaller communities very differently.

Similarly to community, my understanding of care has been shaped greatly by my findings and the process of conducting this research. Overall I believe my understanding of care has been largely affirmed, while also being expanded. I still believe that care is a key aspect of communities, see care as being about more than social reproductive labor, and see that care is rooted in connections and relationships. One way that my understanding of care has expanded comes from the discussion with staff and their definitions of care, as I now see care as not only being about acts of care and support but also being about a passion, interest, or dedication. Along with this dual understanding of care as being about acts of care based in mutual support and trust as well as being about passion or dedication, looking at how tenants and staff experience care has clarified for me how wide a range there is of what care looks like in practice. From Worcester Common Ground hiring more staff who speak Spanish to act as an infrastructure of care, to ensuring that the office door is always open, to tenants packing up food to distribute, this research has helped me understand practically both the importance and the pervasiveness of care.

Thinking about infrastructure, my findings have shown me that it is very difficult to assess the impacts that infrastructure has on the people who utilize it, and why the structure or arrangement of the infrastructure leads to these impacts. When breaking it down to specific organizational decisions, such as hiring more people who speak Spanish, it is definitely easier to analyze what the impact of those decisions are. However, it is very challenging to assess an

infrastructure and its structure as a whole, and to identify what specific structural decisions lead to specific outcomes. I now see infrastructure as being much more complex than I had prior, and I am interested in learning more about how to understand and assess different infrastructures. My findings have also affirmed my understanding of infrastructures of care specifically, as it is clear that Worcester Common Ground is acting as an infrastructure of care and patterning what care looks like in residents' lives, even without explicitly considering themselves one. This project presented an opportunity to see concrete examples of how infrastructures of care shape what care looks like for those involved in the infrastructure, helping make a concept that can seem abstract be much more tangible.

Finally, my findings have definitely developed my understanding of the CLT model. Reflecting on my problem statement and initial view of modern CLTs, I no longer believe that CLTs are straying from the origins of the model in a way that isn't transformative or doesn't prioritize fostering community and community control. This research has reframed this issue for me, as I now see that at least in the case of Worcester Common Ground the organization still has goals that align with the goals of the initial CLT model, but that achieving these transformational goals is exceptionally difficult. Worcester Common Ground definitely wants to foster community control and a sense of community, and radically change how residents of the neighborhood think about and experience the housing market. The model itself does help them work towards these goals, but actually achieving these goals requires additional work and intentionality outside of the base requirements of the model. Even with the motivation to achieve these goals, there is no easy way to accomplish them, and doing so requires many years of effort and iterations of the CLT as an institution.

This project has heavily shaped my conceptions of community, care, infrastructure, CLTs, and Worcester Common Ground. I believe that Worcester Common Ground cares deeply about their residents and has the right approach to their work, but that no approach is perfect and there should always be space for reflection and refinement. It has also led me to the conclusion that the CLT model overall still holds great potential, but that it is extremely difficult to operate a CLT in a way that actively fosters community control over land. This difficulty could be due to the model itself, but I believe that the original ideas behind the model are valid and that it is possible for CLTs to achieve some of the original radical goals of the model. I think that this difficulty is due to many factors, some of which could include our collective understanding of housing and our current system of housing provision, or how CLTs have to secure funding from outside sources and still focus on creating a profit in order to hold the land in trust in perpetuity. Another part of this difficulty could also originate from how we as a society think about community and what it means to be in community with others. I have also learned not only the importance of engagement, but how difficult it is for both staff and tenants. However, overall this project has brought up more questions for me than answers. I am eager to continue learning more and collaborating with my partners at Worcester Common Ground, continuing this research and hopefully encountering further ways to improve engagement.

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Appendix

Code book

Category	Code	Use	Count
Organization	WCG	Anytime Worcester Common Ground is mentioned	11
Organization	Beginning WCG	For speaking about the start of WCG	2
Organization, Culture	WCG Purpose	For speaking about the purpose of WCG	4
	Member	For the words member or membership	15
TB, tenants	Membership B	For membership to the TB	8
Residents	Resident	Anytime the word resident is used	30
Tenants	older residents who have been here for 20 plus years	Talking about older residents who have been at WCG a long time	1
Tenants	Tenant	Used for the word tenant	43
Homeownership	Homeowner	Anytime the word homeowner is used	9
Homeownership	Not homeowner	for not being a homeowner	1
	Property	For the word property	22
	Property Management	Talking about property management in general, either WCG or non WCg	14
	Our property	WCG talking about their properties specifically	8
	CLT property	Not WCG properties specifically, but for CLT properties in general	2

Engagement, TA, tenants	Already see involvement within our properties	Talking about the goal of the TA, seeing more involvement and support between tenants, already see it but want to see more	1
	Rental Property	Used for the word rental property	1
Tenants	Rental Resident	When they refer to specifically rental residents	1
	Rental Unit	Used for the phrase rental unit	1
Community	Community	Anytime the word community is used	23
Community, garden	Community gardener	Talking about their community gardeners	3
Community	Our Community	talking about the WCG community	2
Community	Outer Community	Talking about their roles, different spheres within WCG, outer community as opposed to inner community? Not clear what the difference is fully	1
Community, challenges	Our community struggles with	Talking about what the WCG community struggles with	1
Community	Community Development	Talking explicitly about Community development, including whenever CDCs are mentioned	3
Community, garden	Gardeners create their own community amongst each other	Talking about how their gardeners make their own community with each other	1
Community, feeling, homeownership	If I do have that community I'm confident	WCG staff talking about being inexperienced in personal homeownership, confident that the community they do have would make them comfortable owning a home	1

Community, culture	Community making WCG happen	WCG staff talking about community as a driving force/principal behind their operations	1
Community, residents	Community Partners	Talking about local community organizations and stakeholders they work with, specifically not tenants	2
Community	Become Part of Community	For talking about becoming part of a community	1
Community, culture	What community are we creating	Talking about how when they are building something they are thinking about what kind of community they are making by building it	1
Community, culture	Who can we add to our community	Came up in opposition of the framing of how many customers can we move in, instead how can they add to their community	1
Community	CDC	Used for talking about CDC's	11
Community, SOC	SOC	Used for talking about sense of community (explicitly, includes the word sense)	9
Community, SOC, knowledge	SOC about knowing the people	Talking about what makes SOC, is about knowing the people you live near	1
Community, SOC, knowledge	SOC about knowing where you are located	Talking about what makes SOC, is about knowing the area you are in well	1
Community, residents	Community Resident	Used to refer to people who live in the WCG area but aren't WCG residents	3
Residents	Local Resident	Used for the phrase local resident, people who live in	1

		the area but aren't necessarily part of the land trust	
	Local	Anytime the word local is used	1
Communication, TA, tenants	Speak for the building as a whole	Goal of TA and fostering leaders, leaders can speak for the building as a whole	1
Building	Build	For the word Build or Building	27
	Building	For talking about building something NOT a building	2
	Building building	For talking about building a building	4
	Building ps	for talking about a building, physical structure,	22
	We Build	For WCG building a building	3
	Our Building	For WCG mentioning their buildings specifically	13
Tenants	Their building	WCG talking about their buildings but referring to them as the tenants buildings	3
Culture	Not Just Building	concept of doing more than just building something when you build something	2
Organization	How your building is set up	WCG talking about what influences their culture and culture of CDC's in general, how your building is set up as important	1
	Develop	For talking about development	5

Different culture,	Disconnected Development	Used for talking about negative development, development not in touch with community needs/priorities, opposite of community development	1
Culture, tenants	Disconnect	Used to talk about a disconnection between WCG and their tenants	1
	Part of	For the phrase part of	5
	Automatic	Used for the word automatic or the phrase automatically, context of things happening automatically (without agency)	3
WCG vs Maloney	Maloney Resident	Talking about residents of WCG properties managed by Maloney Properties	1
	Home	Used anytime the word home(s) is used (outside of the word homeowner)	19
Tenants	Our Homes	WCG explicitly referring to their homes	1
Tenants	Their homes	WCG explicitly referring to their homes as in the homes of the tenants	2
Feel, Tenants	Able to come home at night	Tenants talking about how in their building they feel safe coming home at night	1
Tenants, TB, communication	able to advocate for themselves and the people around them	WCG talking about the goal of building up leaders, so residents are able to advocate for themselves and others	1
Move/displace, renovation, tenants	We're moving residents out of their homes	WCG talking about having to move residents out of their homes because of renovations	1
	Housing	Anytime the word housing is used	5

	Public Housing	for public housing	1
	House	For the word House/houses	6
	Household	For the world household	1
Engagement, tenants, community, knowledge	Yard sale the first time she really met most of the residents in the building	Talking about the yard sale, a tenant who had never met most of the other tenants, loved the yard sale	1
Communication, tenants, knowledge, community	She talks to all of them	Tenant now that she knows her neighbors talks to all of them	1
Community, tenants	They did a birthday cake for her	Tenant now that she knows her neighbors, neighbors are in community with her	1
Engagement	Yard Sale	Talking about events they have hosted	1
	Unit	Used for the word unit, referring to housing	11
	We have 77 units across 16 buildings	WCG talking about how many buildings and units they have	1
Relocation/renovation, challenges	We've been visiting their units	WCG talking about visiting residents units during the renovations	2
	Affordable unit	For talking about an affordable unit	4
	All 77 units	WCG talking about all of their units	1
Support, communication with tenants	10-12 out of 77 households said yes	Talking about their vegetable program, they went to every household, only 10-12 said yes	1
	Affordable home	For talking about an affordable home (homeownership not renting)	1

	Amount of Time	for referencing an amount of time, days, months, years, hours, minutes	32
	Time	For the word time	18
	Don't have time	For talking about how they don't have time (not at WCG, talking about other places)	1
SOC, tenants	The whole encompassing aspect of it	Similar to below, perception of housing, people come to WCG because of the encompassing aspect	1
Financial state, tenants	I can afford it	Similar to below, perception of housing, some people part of WCG because they can afford it	1
Tenants	I have a place to sleep	Talking about tenants perception of housing, some people part of WCG because it allows them to have a place to sleep	2
Culture, tenants, communication	I took the time	For talking about taking the time to talk to tenants, WCG	2
TA	TA	For talking about the tenants association	6
TB	TB	For talking about the tenants board	4
TB, organization	TB has been established for decades	Talking about how the tenants board has been established for decades	1
	Work at night	talking about working at night	1
Us to you, tenants	Work with you	WCG working with tenants	1
Tenants, challenges, financial state	tenant who works three jobs	Talking about one of their tenants who works three jobs	1
Organization,	Didn't have a work van until a couple years ago	Talking about themselves, the didn't have a work van	2

	this is the only CDC I've ever worked at	WCG staff talking about how this is the only CDC they've worked at	1
Repair	Working the facility and mechanical systems	Asset Manager describing his role	1
	they work with us for three months then disappear	Talking about hearing this from other community partners (not residents), talking about college students	1
Technology, communication	I've started doing surveys since I worked here	WCG staff talking about how they never did surveys before, but have started since working at WCG	1
Tenants	(Tenants) who don't work	Talking about their tenants, have some who don't work	1
	Work	For work, residents work or WCG work	24
TA, organization	Working on a TA	WCG talking about them working on a TA	2
Culture	Do extraordinary work	WCG staff talking about what kind of work they want to do	1
Care, culture	Everyone Cares and works based off of that	talking about ideal world they would like to live in, one where everyone cares and works based off of that	1
Different culture	I like working with them	WCG staff talking about the property management company where they live	1
	Now I work where I live	WCG staff (same as below) talking about how they now get to work where they live (not just in Worcester but the neighborhood)	1
	I've always worked outside of worcester	WCG staff talking about how they have always worked outside of worcester before this job	1

TB, organization	It (TB) exists but it's not something we work on	WCG talking about TB as not being actively worked on, but still existing	2
	Own	Used for the word Own	4
Want, residents, support	How can I get that	Talking about residents asking for service they didn't know about previously	1
Want	Want	For the word want, wanting,	36
Want, engagement, tenants	Want them to attend something	WCG talking about calling every single person when they want them to attend an event	1
Want, culture	want to create something like WCG	talking about CDC's in general, wanting to create something better	1
Want, different culture,	Want to create something that works on paper	Alternative to create something like WCG, context of talking about CDC's, more concerned with working on paper than building a thriving community	1
Want, homeownership	Want to buy a home	talking about people wanting to buy a home	2
Homeownership	Buy a home	Talking about buying a home	10
Knowledge, challenge, fear, homeownership, barrier to homeownership	Will I know what to do	Fear of the residents, if they buy a house and there are problems will they know what to do	1
	Home sold	for talking about selling a home	1
want, TA, engagement	You Want to be a part of it	WCG talking about tenants wanting to be a part of TA	1
want	We Want	WCG is the We, them wanting	7
want, culture	We want to care extraordinarily	WCG talking about how the want to put extraordinary care into their work	1

want, culture, different culture,	We want mediocre results (rhetorical)	WCG talking about the alternative to caring extraordinarily, was asked rhetorically if they want that (they don't)	1
want, TA, tenants	We want building leaders	WCG talking about how they want leaders for buildings or groups of buildings, represent their building in the TA	1
want, residents, WCG vs Maloney, TA	We want to expand to residents of properties we don't currently manage	WCG talking about the TA, currently only for their renters, they want to expand it to the Maloney properties	2
want, culture, organization	How we want the place run	For how WCG leadership wants the organization run	1
want, culture, organization	We Want to Work with us	Who WCG leadership wants to work for them	1
want, engagement, TA, tenants	We Want equity and involvement	WCG is the we, what they want for tenants through the TA	1
want	We Don't Want	WCG is the We, them not wanting	3
Culture, Community, want	We Don't Want to Just Place Something	WCG is the we, they don't want to just place a building want to think about the community they're creating	2
Communication, culture, tenants, support, want	We don't want to have to keep going after you for every little thing	WCG staff member talking about how they don't want to chase after people for everything when providing supportive services	1
Communication, technology	We don't have a newsletter	WCG talking about how they don't have a newsletter	1
Financial state, challenges, support,	I make just enough to barely pay my bills now but not qualify for any kind of help	Talking about the experiences of their residents, said they see this a lot, related to cliff effect	1

Generations, tenants, homeownership, knowledge	if your parent has always lived in WCG building	Talking about why people may not have knowledge about independent homeownership	1
Challenges, financial state, tenants,	Not enough that you can afford to live	Talking about getting a promotion, priced out of WCG housing but not making enough to afford a market place	1
Financial state, challenges, move/displace	Price you out	Talking about the cliff effect, getting priced out of their home	1
Neighborhood, generations, residents, financial state, move/displace	families are not priced out of this neighborhood	Talking about the goal of their homeownership, families don't get priced out	1
Financial state, challenges	The Cliff Effect	WCG talking about the cliff effect	1
Want, financial state, tenants, challenges	You don't want more money	WCG talking about residents not wanting more money because of the cliff effect	1
Want, financial state, tenants, challenges	You don't want to get a promotion	WCG talking about residents not wanting a promotion bc of the cliff effect	1
Want	You want	For WCG speaking about what residents want	2
Want, residents	You will want to tell your opinion	WCG staff talking about how if an issue directly affects residents they will want to provide feedback	1
Want	You don't want	What residents don't want	2
Want	I don't want anyone to know what my opinion is	WCG staff member talking about how they don't want to share their real opinions with people	1
Want	They want to create a land trust	Talking about a CDC that visited them, wants to be a LT	1

Culture, different culture	Hopefully better	WCG talking about as a CDC do you want to check off the boxes or act like WCG or Hopefully better	1
Different culture	those of the mindset where they're just trying to check off the boxes	Talking about other non-profit property management companies, not flexible	2
Different culture	Tunnel vision	Describing other non-profit property management companies	1
Different culture	no flexibility	Describing other non-profit property management companies	1
Engagement, want	We're Hopefully planning an event	WCG talking about they are hopefully planning an event	2
Feeling	Hope	For the word hope	3
Feeling	We Hope	WCG is the we	6
	We Own	WCG is the We, them owning	1
	We work	Used for the phrase we're working or similar (WCG as doing the work)	4
	We Create	Used for WCG creating	6
	We do	Used for the phrase we do (WCG as doing the doing)	18
	We have had	Used for the phrase we have had or similar (we have, we had), WCG is the we	33
Us to them, residents, support	We Connect you	WCG connecting residents to things/each other	1
WCG vs Maloney, different culture, organization	We Don't manage M	Used for talking about maloney properties, the property management that does half their buildings, for buildings/residents in them that they don't manage.	3

WCG vs Maloney, different culture, organization	Disconnect because we don't manage M	Talking about there being a disconnect because they don't manage those properties	1
Different culture	Don't Manage	For talking about other property management companies, not them or Maloney	2
Residents	Residents Have	for talking about what residents have	1
	We Try	For we try/attempt, WCG is the we	4
	Try	Used for the word try/attempt	12
TA, tenants, engagement	Not just say but do	Point of the tenants association, more than just clearer communication but allowing people to get involved and take action	1
Tenants, TB	You have a say	For residents having a say/influence	1
Give, tenants	Give them voice	For WCG giving residents a voice/say	2
Give, tenants	Give them equity	For WCG giving residents equity	3
Give, tenants, support	Give them support	For WCG giving residents support	3
Give	Give	For the word give or giving in any context, WCG doing the giving	14
Us to them, tenants, engagement	Get them involved	Used for the phrase get them involved or quite similar (can make a separate code for involved if used in another context)	5
Us to them, TA	Gets you access	Used for the phrase gets you access	1

Us to them, residents, engagement	Get them interested	Talking about getting the residents interested (in getting involved)	1
Give	You get	Used for phrases containing you get, residents have to do the getting	3
Communication, residents	Talk to us	For residents talking to WCG	11
Give, residents	Give us	For phrases with give us, residents give to WCG	1
Us to them, tenants	Purchase homes from us	Used for the phrase purchase homes from us	2
	Purchase	Anytime the word purchase is used	4
Different culture	It's a corporation that needs to thrive in profit	Talking about why other property management companies operate in the way they do	1
Different culture, communication	They won't hold your hand	Talking about other property management companies, they will point you in the right direction but won't hold your hand	1
	Who Live	Used for the phrase who live, people who do or will live in a place	3
Neighborhood	Live next to	talking about people living next to WCG properties	2
Residents	don't live at our properties	Talking about people who don't live at WCG properties	1
	Live	Used for the word Live	22
	Official	Anytime the word official is used	2
	Establish	Used for the word establish/begin	4

	Become	For the word Become or becoming	3
	Why	Used for the word why	11
Move/displace	Move	Used for the words move or moving	6
	Move Forward	For phrase move forward, how WCG is proceeding	1
Financial state	Money	For Money	16
	Exist	For the word Exist	3
	Design	The word design or designed, showing intention in action	1
	Buy	Anytime the word buy is used	13
TA	Buy In	for the concept of a buy in	1
	Implement	For the word implement or implementation	3
	Access	For the word access or accessibility	1
Organization	Org	For the word organization	1
Challenges	Crisis	For the word Crisis	1
Neighborhood	This Area	For referring to the WCG target area	6
	Historical	For the word historical or history	2
	Foster	For the word foster, create/develop from something already there	2
Organization	WCG Head	Used for the head of WCG	11
	Placing	Used for the word place, in the context of placing something	1
Neighborhood	Place	Used for the word place, in the context of a place/area/building	6
Challenges, feeling	Concern	Used for the word concern or concerns or concerning	6

Feeling, challenges	Your Concern	For concerns of residents	4
Tenants, Us to them, culture	Bridge	Used for the word/concept of a bridge	3
	Process	Used for the word process or the concept of a process	4
Technology, communication	Phone	For the word phone	15
Culture, Organization, tenants,	Shut down and ignore my tenants	WCG staff talking about doing administrative tasks like setting up outreach software, shut down and ignore tenants, part of why things take so long because they don't want to do this	3
Technology, communication, tenants, engagement	Usually calling every resident when event happening	WCG talking about how they have to reach residents when having an event RSC calling	1
Technology, communication	Call	For calling someone on the phone	33
Technology, communication	Call Us	Talking about calling WCG	3
Support, SOC, communication	Call each other	Talking about residents calling each other and helping each other out	3
Support, SOC	Help each other	Talking about helping each other out, same context as "call each other" code	1
Support, us to them, tenants, challenges	what's happening? Can we talk about this? Can we work with you? Can we connect you to services?	Questions WCG asks when someone isn't making rent	1
Challenges, tenants, feeling, fear	concerns people have but that they don't feel comfortable calling about or coming in the office and talking	Talking about why they need a stronger bridge between themselves and tenants	1

Feeling, tenants, Communication	Takes strength and comfortability to be able to come in and advocate	Talking about why they need a stronger bridge between themselves and tenants	1
Communication, residents	They're able to come to us with anything	Talking about how they are always open to all residents for anything	1
	Able	For the word Able	11
	Not Able	For not being able	1
Move/displace, challenge, relocation/renovation, tenants	Can't return to our units	For tenants not being able to return to their units	1
	Meet	For the word meeting/meet	14
	Lead	For the word lead or leader or captain, something similar to leader	11
TB, tenants	Leader	For leaders, related to TB	7
Organization	Leadership	For leadership, WCG	2
Residents	Advocate	For the word advocate, residents doing the advocating	5
	People	For the word people or person	63
Us to them	Let People	For WCG letting people do something	4
Knowledge, organization, Tenants, TB	You know what projects they do	WCG talking about benefits of TB, tenants know what projects WCG is doing	1
Knowledge, residents, tenants, relocation/renovation, move/displace, feeling, fear	they know nothing else the building the residents the everything	Talking about long time residents being scared about relocation because of this	1
	City	For the word city or cities, Worcester	7
Organization	Staff	For the word staff, specifically WCG staff	16

Organization, culture	Open Door	For WCG door being open, them welcoming people in	9
Organization, culture	Always open	For WCG being always open	1
Communication	We Listen	For the word listen, WCG is the we	1
Communication	Hear	For the word hear or listen, or overheard, WCG hearing from residents	8
Feel, residents	They Don't Feel	For what residents don't feel	1
Feel	They feel	For the word feel when not staff saying I feel, they being residents	6
Organization	Office	For the word office, specifically the WCG office	5
Communication	Conversation	For the word conversation	5
Communication	Talk	For the words talk or talking, discussion	25
Communication	Chat	For the word chat	1
	Ignore	For the word ignore, idea of ignoring residents	2
Organization	We're a small team	WCG talking about their working environment	4
Tenants, culture	we put what we do for our tenants first	Talking about how WCG prioritizes their work	1
Culture	Culture	For talking about the culture of organizations, specifically WCG	4
Culture, support	We Coddle a lot	WCG told by consultants that they coddle a lot	1
Culture,	he's there he's available	Facilities manager helping facilitate surveys not because its his job but because he can	1
Culture, technology, tenants	So instead we say don't worry about it	WCG instead of asking why tenants don't have an email say don't worry about it	1

Culture, tenants, technology	We don't push back	WCG when tenants with smart phones say they don't have emails, they don't push back	1
Culture, tenants, residents, support, different culture,	If there's a resource or even just a name and number to call for something, the first thing that comes out of her mouth is not are you one of our tenants? It's what do you need?	Talking about the culture at WCG, she is RSC	1
Culture, different culture	Anywhere else they would have said I don't have the time	WCG talking about other organizations and how they are different, saying they don't have the time instead of talking to them for an hour	1
Culture, different culture, communication	Anyone else might have even said call the city	WCG talking about other organizations and how they are different, telling them to call the city instead of answering their questions	1
Culture	We're all like this here	WCG talking about their culture	1
Culture, tenants, support	Here it's like, what's going on?	talking about when people have trouble paying rent instead of kicking them out they try and work with them	1
Culture, organization	If anyone's creating that atmosphere that environment that culture it's leadership,	Talking about how WCG culture is fostered	1
Culture, Community, tenants	How the culture here has always been	WCG talking about thinking of their tenants not as customers to bring in but as adding people to a community	1
Culture	I feel like it's a culture thing	Talking about why they try and work with tenants who are struggling, show them care	2
Culture, organization	We have our hours of operation on the door and they don't match	WCG talking about how they always let people in if they're there	1

Challenge, financial state, tenants,	Why aren't you making rent	WCG asking their tenants about why they're not making rent	2
Different culture	Different Culture	For WCG talking about how their culture is different from other orgs	1
	Inclusive	For the word inclusive, phrase not inclusive, the concept of inclusivity	3
Tenants, residents, support, us to them	Not Exclusive to WCG tenant	for WCG talking about how their services aren't exclusive to their tenants, open to the community	3
	Street	For the word street or streets	6
	Neighbor	For the word/concept of a neighbor	3
Tenants, organization	Anyone here interacts with tenants at least a couple times	Talking about everyone in the WCG office, all interact with tenants	1
Organization	RSC	Resident Services Coordinator mentions	21
Tenants, organization	5+ tenants a day	Talking about RSC seeing 5+ tenants a day	1
Support	Service	For the word service or services, idea of services	3
Need	Hierarchy of needs	talking about the hierarchy of needs	1
Need	Need shelter	Talking about needing shelter	2
Need, support, residents	need resource	Talking about residents needing resources	1
Need	Need	For the word need (came up first in the context of tenants needs)	21
Need, challenge, fear, us as the same	Need to not sleep on the concrete tonight	Staff talking as someone who grew up in public housing, thinking about housing as this	1

Need, neighborhood, garden	neighborhood needs more green spaces	Talking about why they have gardens, trust not only for housing	3
Need, culture, organization	none of us have a problem doing that but it does detract a little bit from all the other things we need to do	Talking about greeting people at the door and helping them out	1
Need, residents	You don't need an incentive	Talking about how when decisions directly affect residents you don't need an incentive to get their opinion	1
Need, communication	The need for people to get answers to their surveys	Talking about in general how people need to get answers to their surveys	1
Need, technology, communication	we need the email	WCG talking about for some specific events they need their tenants emails	2
Need, communication, residents	we need to notify our residents	WCG talking about when they need to notify their residents of something	1
Need, organization	Need an admin kind of secretary person	WCG talking about how they need someone at the front to welcome people	2
Need, challenge, repair, homeownership	Need something painted	Talking about theoretical problems that come up in homeownership	1
Need, organization	Needed bilingual	WCG knowing the need bilingual staff	1
Need, residents	What do you need	WCG asking local residents who come in what they need	1
Organization	Facility Manager	For their facility manager	10
Organization , community	Community Organizer	For WCG's Community Organizer	5
Organization	Asset Manager	For WCG's Asset Manager	5
Different culture	even down to their daily operations is very black and white, this is how we do it, there	Talking about how other property management	1

	are rules, if you have a complaint mail it in	companies function and part of their success	
TA, Tenants, Communication	Not just for people to voice their concerns	What WCG wants from the TA, want this but not just this	1
Different culture	Get in line	Talking about other property management companies, how they handle issues	1
Different Culture	Not this immediate BW picture	WCG talking about themselves as opposed to other property management companies	1
Different Culture	BW	For the phrase Black and White	4
Financial state, tenants, challenges	Not making rent	For talking about tenants not making rent	2
	Rent	For the word rent	10
Residents, Organization	Residents attend our annual meeting	WCG talking about their annual meeting, residents attend it	1
Feel, Tenants, Knowledge	I don't know how they feel about trusting you	WCG staff talking about they are not sure about how tenants would feel if I was passing out flyers to get them to fill out the survey, if they would trust me	1
Organization	Hire	For the word hire/hiring, about WCG hiring	6
Organization	Strategy	For WCG strategy	4
Care	Care	For the word care or caring	26
Culture, Care, different culture	Never seen in this industry people care as much as WCG Head and RSC	Talking about the environment at WCG	1
Knowledge, tenants, care, us to them	Here's why you should care	Talking about tenants, have to tell them why they should care about the flyer/survey	1

Care, tenants	They won't care	talking about if we gave tenants a flyer with some stuff in a bag, they wouldn't care	2
Culture, tenants	I shouldn't care about you more than you do yourself	Staff member talking about their personal attitude, not having to chase people down for things constantly, people not reaching out for help ever	2
Culture, us to them	It's for you at the end of the day	WCG talking about how overall the work they are doing is for the tenants	2
Care, generations, tenants, challenges	Has to take care of the kids	Talking about tenants who may have to take care of their kids when they come home, being busy	1
Care, us to them, culture, tenants	be an activist for the sake of our tenants and inspire care in others	Talking about what care can look like, a staff member doing this	1
Care, culture	staff member who cares	Talking about what care can look like, just doing your job as well as possible for the tenants, wanting to be an activist for the tenants	2
Care, organization, culture	a mechanism in place because someone cares	Not clear what mechanism is in place, I think they mean the trust?	1
Care, culture	How are we defining care	WCG asking how we define care	1
Care, culture	You have to care	Talking about if you do this work, you have to care	2
Care, garden, SOC, culture	sense of care with the gardens	Talking about with the gardens there is a strong sense of care, seems related to sense of community	1
Care, organization, culture	LT happens because WCG cares	Sees the LT as existing because they care, LT as a way of caring for the community	1

Care, different culture	without care you'll do a mediocre job	Talking about CDC work, if you don't care you'll do a mediocre job, not extraordinary work	1
Care, culture, us to them, tenants	staff member who cares enough to do their job really well for the tenants	Talking about what care can look like, can look like a staff member doing their job really well for tenants	1
Care, different culture	they care enough to get the job done	Talking about another property management company, they care enough to get the work done but don't provide comprehensive support	3
Care, culture, different culture	how does anything get done if at least not one person cares	Talking about their operations and CDC operations in general	1
Care, organization, culture	Someone who cares	Talking about who is good for this type of job, hire someone who cares	1
Care, organization, culture	Hired people who care	WCG talking about hiring practices, only hired people who care	1
Care, organization, culture	get a sense of whether or not I cared	WCG in hiring practices trying to get a sense of whether they care	1
Financial state	Income	For talking about income	6
Financial state, move displace, tenants	Over Income	For talking about being over income	2
	Job	Different from the word work, for talking about a job	12
Neighborhood	Neighborhood	For the word Neighborhood	10
	Language	For speaking about language, used specifically for english and spanish and bilingual	6
Organization	half speak spanish	talking about half+ WCG staff speaking spanish	2

Communication, Culture, organization	Who can Communicate best	WCG talking about staff communicating best with residents	1
Communication	Communicate	WCG talking about how they communicate	3
Generations	Grow up in public housing	Talking about growing up in public housing	1
Generations	Grow	For grew/grow, in terms of growing up	5
	Survive	For surviving as opposed to thriving, or other kinds of living	2
Us as the same, feeling	A lot of us are just surviving	Talking about experience growing up in public housing	1
Homeownership, generations	Why do some of us end up buying houses	Similar to below, why do some people leave and buy market houses while others stay	1
Generations, support	Why do some of us get out	Asking why some people leave the land trust and buy market houses, why do some people leave supportive services (or their kids leave) and others stay	1
Generations, support,	why do some of us take their kids to the food stamp line	Similar to above, why do some people stay in the area and continue to access supportive services while others don't	1
Generations, support, us to them	why do some of us take their kids to the WCG office	Similar to above, why do some people try and keep their families in land trust housing while others try and get their kids to live in market rate housing	1
generations, support, us to them	What point does that end?	Asking when families can leave supportive services, what allows them to, how does the cycle of needing supportive services end?	1

Culture, relocation/renovation, move/displace	We're not putting anybody out on the street	WCG talking about their relocation process for renovations	2
	Shelter	For shelter as a base need, opposed to how they conceptualize housing	3
tenants, feeling, relocation/renovation, challenge	Stress	For the feeling of stress, context of stressful/stressors on residents, related to relocation/renovation	5
Tenants, feeling, challenge	Struggle	For struggles, specifically of residents	2
Generations	Kid	For talking about kids/children	4
Financial state, tenants	Afford	For something being affordable to tenants, being able to afford something	9
	Finance	For financing/refinancing, WCG doing the financing	3
relocation/renovation, repair	Renovate	For renovating/renovations,	4
Relocation/renovation, organization	Relocation Specialist	For talking about the relocation specialist, or things related to the relocation process.	5
Fear, feeling	Fear	For talking about fear, came up in context of residents feeling fear	14
Fear, feeling, knowledge, barrier to homeownership	Fear of not knowing	WCG staff talking about if they bought a house they would have a fear of not knowing what to do if something happened, but SOC helps them get over that fear	1
Fear, feeling, barrier to homeownership, move/displace, relocation/renovation	Fear of what will happen	tenants fear of what will happen if they are over income and have to leave (not that they will be homeless, but	1

		scared of being a homeowner and finding a new place)	
Fear, feeling, tenants, financial state, tenants, move/displace, relocation/renovation	Not worried about being homeless	Tenants who are scared of getting priced out, not scared that they will become homeless if that happens	1
Fear, feeling, repair, tenants, move/displace, relocation/renovation, barrier to homeownership	fear of can I maintain that house	What tenants are scared of when they get priced out, if they buy a house outside of the land trust can they take care of it	1
Fear, feeling, financial state, tenants,	scared of getting a promotion	Tenants scared of getting a promotion, don't want to get priced out	2
Fear, feeling, financial state, tenants,	their fear is they are behind on rent and can't find a job to catch up on rent	staff talking about tenants fear, behind on rent and can't get a job to catch up on rent	1
Fear, feeling, relocation/renovation, Financial state, tenants, move/displace, relocation/renovation	not being able to return to our units is terrifying for them	talking about fears of tenants when they are over income and have to leave for renovations, can't return	1
Fear, tenants, feeling	working at night is scary for her	talking about a specific tenant who works at night, is scared of walking home, but not in her current WCG building	1
Knowledge, Fear, relocation/renovation, feeling, move/displace	Scary to go somewhere you don't know	Talking about tenants being scared by the relocation process	1
Knowledge, SOC, feeling	you know all the people in the building	Talking about why a resident feels safe coming to their WCG building alone at night	1
Feeling, Fear, tenant	Not worrisome for her	Tenant who is scared of walking home at night, not in her current WCG building	1
Feeling, communication, Fear,	you're hearing the fear and the nervousness	WCG hearing fear from residents related to the relocation/renovation	1

relocation/renovation, move/displace			
Feeling, fear, move/displace, resident	Scary to move	Residents being scared to move, original context was talking about residents but said its scary to move period.	1
Feeling	Safe	Safety/security, a feeling	4
Repair	Maintenance	About housing maintenance	4
	Market	The word market, referring to the housing market or market rate	5
Organization	It doesn't just go to market	Talking about when a house is sold in the trust, staying in the trust	1
	Affordable housing	Talking about affordable housing	1
	Affordable housing market rate	Talking about the affordable housing market rate	1
	Market rate unit	Referring to a market rate unit	3
Organization, Culture	Just another thing I can't get involved in right now	Talking about WCG leadership, they are too busy with too small a staff to do everything they want to	1
	Pay	For paying (not paycheck)	7
Organization, technology	Don't have a tenant portal	WCG talking about how most of the people on their website aren't tenants, don't have a tenants portal	1
Organization, technology, challenge	Have to pay rent in person	Talking about how WCG website doesn't allow them to pay rent online, have to do it in person	2
Organization	LT	For Land Trusts, not specifically WCG, or the concept of putting land in a trust	9

Neighborhood	LT stabilizing	about the land trust acting to stabilize the neighborhood	1
Garden	Garden waitlist	Talking about the waitlist for their gardens, they have a long one	1
Garden	Garden	For talking about gardens, LT gardens	7
Garden	Gardening	Talking about gardening	1
Engagement	Event	Events, for residents, hosted by WCG	12
	Trust	The word trust outside of the context of land trust, concept of trusting	4
Technology	Website	WCG's website, not websites in general	6
Communication, us to them	Incentive	For incentives, offered by WCG	4
Communication, technology	Survey	For talking about the survey	17
Organization, WCG VS Maloney, TA	Grow Program	For WCG talking about growing/expanding a program	1
	dedicate	for dedicate	1
Feel	Comfortable	For comfortable	2
	Operation	For the words operation(s),	1
Communication, support, us to them, tenants	Handle the situation	For WCG staff talking about handling a situation, telling tenants how they would	2
Culture, tenants, support	Figure it out	WCG staff talking about figuring out how to help residents	1
Residents	Anyone off the street	for talking about non tenants	1
Support, us to them, residents	resource	for resources for residents, provided by WCG	2
Culture, us to them, support, residents	Share the Wealth	WCG sharing resources with non-tenants	1

Tenants	Speaking out	For residents speaking out	1
Us to them, tenants, support	Support	For the word support, tenants being supported	1
Us to them, tenants, support	Empower	For the word empower, tenants being empowered	2
SOC, Knowledge, SOC	Something that they had never considered before but are realizing now	Talking about residents feeling a SOC, thinking about housing as more than shelter, realizing now because of relocation process	1
SOC, repair, homeownership	don't have to wait for the maintenance guy, I'll show you how to do that	Talking about what SOC means	1
Knowledge, tenants	You Know	For talking about residents knowing things/people	7
Knowledge, tenants	You don't Know	For talking about residents not knowing things/people	6
Knowledge, Communication, Organization	You don't know where to go or who to talk to	People walking in to WCG office off the street and not knowing who to talk to	1
Knowledge, barrier to homeownership, fear, challenge	I don't know what the steps look like how to fix things	WCG staff talking about if they bought a home they don't know what the steps look like or how to fix things in their home	1
Knowledge, tenants	People don't know a land trust exists	Talking about the tenants, they think not many of them know a land trust exists	1
Knowledge	We don't know	WCG not knowing things/people	5
Knowledge	We Know	WCG knowing things/people	2
Knowledge, Us to them	Let them Know	WCG letting residents know things	4
Repair, challenge	Clog	Clogs, problem faced by tenants	3

SOC, tenants, knowledge	Show you how to do that	Tenants showing each other how to do things	1
engagement, residents	Having them more hands on	WCG having residents more hands on	1
Relocation/renovation, move/displace	you gotta go	talking about tenants having to leave	1
Culture	Who we are	WCG talking about who they are	1
Culture, support	technically closed and we still let people in	WCG talking about how they are closed but still let people in	1
Us to them, support, residents	We help them	WCG talking about residents approaching them and helping those residents	1
Culture, connection to tenants, organization	Who can relate	WCG talking about them being able to relate to tenants, hiring people who can relate to tenants	1
Generations	Family	For talking about family, mostly context of residents I think	3
Support	Food Stamps	Talking about food stamps	2
Financial state	Promotion	talking about getting promoted	3
Financial state	Great credit	talking about having good credit	1
Generations	Single parent	talking about single parents	3
Fear, repairs, barrier to homeownership, challenge	Something happens to my roof	WCG talking about residents if they bought a house and something happened to their roof	1
Fear, repairs, barrier to homeownership, challenge	Something happens	WCG talking about if they bought a house and something bad happened (something breaks)	2
Us to them, repairs	He fixes my stuff	WCG talking from the residents perspective, WCG fixes the residents stuff	1

Generations, homeownership	Generation aspect	Talking about generational aspect of homeownership	1
Culture	Culture always the fuel	Talking about how the culture is inherent and is the drive behind their work	1
Culture	Culture is inherently there	Talking about culture at WCG, is there on an inherent level	1
Culture	Culture not something that we discuss	Talking about culture at WCG, not something they discuss but is distinct	2
Culture, move/displace	from day one it was never how many customers can we move in	Talking about culture at WCG, Not thinking about residents as customers	1
Culture, Organization	RSC after WCG Head the leader here	Talking about culture at WCG, after the WCG head the RSC is like the leader	1
Culture, Generations	you learn a lot from your parents, you learn a lot from up	Talking about leadership in WCg where the culture comes from, comparing it to children and parents	1
Generations	Parent	For talking about parents	6
Relocation/renovation	Vacant unit	For talking about vacant units	1
Relocation/renovation, move/displace	Another Place	Talking about another place to move people, not one of their vacant units	1
Organization	Our roles	WCG staff talking about their roles	7
Organization	admin/secretary	Talking about admin/secretary person at CDCs, someone at the front door/desk	2
Culture, engagement	Come/walk in	For people coming in/walking in to CDC office	12
Different culture, barrier to community	have to be buzzed in	Talking about other CDC's (main south CDC), have to get buzzed in to walk in, can't just walk in	1

Organization	board (CDC)	Talking about the board of a CDC, board members, board meetings, WCG or other CDC's	4
Different culture	Just a board	Talking about a different CDC with no staff, just a board	1
Different Culture	No staff	Talking about a different CDC with no staff, just a board	1
Technology, Communication	Don't have email	For tenants who don't have email	4
Technology, communication	Email	For email (accounts and messages)	12
Feeling, relocation/renovation, challenge	Exhausted	For talking about how residents feel exhausted	3
communication	Flyer	Talking about flyers and flyering,	11
Technology, communication	Text	Talking about texting	2
	Collaboration	Talking about collaboration, between me and WCG	1
	Simple	For the word simple	5
	Fast	For the word fast	3
Communication	Ask	For asking	7
Communication, tenants	Ask You	WCG asking tenants something	3
Communication	Ask Us	For people asking WCG something	2
Wants, Communication, residents	Ask Us to use a bathroom	For Homeless people asking WCG to use the bathroom	1
Wants, Communication, residents	Ask us for water	For homeless people asking WCG for water	1
	Raffle	For the raffle	5

