Fifth City: A Case Study in Community Development

by

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In 1963 a group of white familes moved into a black, inner-city slum on Chicago's notorious West Side to begin an experiment in community development. Under the auspices of the Ecumenical Institute the Fifth City Project was begun. The following monograph is directed toward a detailed history and analysis of this project.

Fifth City, a sixteen square block community, is a most unique case in community development, especially considering that it continues to work and has indications of future viability. This is important in that so many projects, loosely referred to as community development, have failed. Regarding applied social scientists, then, Fifth City has important methodological implications and practical consequences.

To what does Fifth City owe its success? First and foremost, is resident participation. When the Institute moved into Fifth City the staff possessed no preconceived plan for reformulating the ghetto. They solicited the aid of the resident population in defining the problems of their community and in

creating a model. This on-going interaction was critical in that it gradually brought the "recipient" population into the innovating impetus of the project, resulting in their full control of the model. The project is now entirely managed by local people. No less significant is the role of the change agent. The staff set up primary residence in Fifth City, subjecting themselves totally to the same negative environment as the target population. This created tremendous rapport with the community. Further, the staff saw themselves as transitory, working themselves out of a job with local people taking control of the project; they have since moved on to other slums. Finally, the Fifth City experiment is comprehensive. Problems in the inner city are interrelated and mutually-reinforcing. In the final analysis, to correct one problem on a long-term basis the change agent must initiate steps to correct them all. The comprehensive approach is essential.

It was not my intention to write a cookbook on the correct way of going about community development, although I do believe that the model can be replicated elsewhere. In part, this monograph is a critique of the all too familiar and recurrent approaches to redeveloping the inner city. Little or no attention has been given to the residents and the role they must play if the project is to continue after the departure

of the "innovators." Too often preconceived plans are imported into the ghetto, an imposition of observed needs on the community. This is reflected in the role of the change agent who is himself an important item; he does not become a resident of the target area. Finally, most projects are piecemeal; they focus on a particular problem instead of a comprehensive attack on the total environment. We are all too preoccupied with symptoms of poverty rather than causes. Are we afraid to admit that slums are a function of national priorities predicated on institutionalized racism?

I sometimes wonder which is the greater problem: the fact that slums exist or the programs initiated to redevelop the inner city. Although Fifth City is yet another solution to the crisis, it is an atypical attempt to ameliorate inequities in the slum community in that the project is self-generating. My account of its history is based on my personal, long-standing affiliation with the Institute, research conducted in 1974 and a review of relevant literature. It is my contention that Fifth City is working and that the underlying strategy has the potential for replication in other communities. As an applied anthropologist, I have, for a long time, felt an obligation to tell this story.

This abstract is approved as to form and content.

Signed _____
Waldemar R. Smith

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge here the tremendous amounts of energy expended on the part of many people which not only have made possible this monograph but the reality called Fifth City. I owe a large debt of gratitude to the staff of the Ecumenical Institute whose perseverence in the midst of great personal danger and seemingly insurmountable obstacles made possible the model. The same debt is extended to the residents of the target community who, once having overcome their suspicions of this group of whites infiltrating their community, picked up the innovating impetus and began for the first time to determine their own destiny. It is to this collective body of people that this monograph is respectfully dedicated.

I would also like to thank Richard Smith and Paul Shankman for their critical evaluation of this manuscript in its various stages of development. They not only answered my many questions, but helped me to formulate intelligent inquiries.

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SECTION ONE

A COMMUNITY IS BORN

CHAPTER I

I AM YOU AS YOU ARE ME AS WE ARE ALL TOGETHER

As an anthropologist, I have become increasingly concerned with the application of my training to the process of change. Specifically, my attention has been directed to structural situations of exploitation and oppression not only in the underdeveloped countries but right here in our inner-city slums. The rhetoric of class conflict and revolution aside, are we to allow the destruction of human beings in a nation of unprecedented power and prosperity? Our good intentions tell us no, but the issue of strategy comes to surface. How can we actualize a program to rehabilitate the inner city? One possible solution is embodied in the following monograph on Fifth City, a small community located in a black slum of Chicago's West Side.

Fifth City is a project in comprehensive community development which was initiated by the Ecumenical Institute (E.I.). In 1963 the E.I. staff, comprised of a body of self-conscious clergymen, moved into this slum to create anew, a viable community in the midst of structured poverty. From the combined efforts of the Institute and local residents a model or strategy emerged which is withstanding the test of time.

I have been affiliated with E.I. in various capa-

cities for over thirteen years. In fact, for all practical purposes, I grew up with this group of people. Furthermore, I participated in the Fifth City experiment. I was present in the beginning before the model was developed and lived in this slum during the initial stages of reformulation (1963-1969). Therefore, in relating the story of this community in transition, I rely in part on my subjective experience as a member of the E.I. staff, a Fifth City resident and a change agent cum anthropologist.

My personal relationship with the Institute and the project coupled with my profession as anthropologist have made it difficult to separate persuasive oratory from objective analysis. I do believe in the significance and viability of Fifth City but I do not want to give the impression that I am engaging in a polemic against other possible solutions to the problem of poverty. To be sure, I compare Fifth City to other development projects, for such is the nature of posing an alternative. I also found it hard to write an ethnography of sorts on a facet of my own culture. The equivalent of ethnocentrism in the context of this project is empathy for the slum-dweller. I have a tendency to analyze the national superstructures of exploitation from the perspective of the oppressed. Such is my bias, although I do seek to offer an objective explanation of the dynamics involved. Finally, I am a pro-

duct of my exposure to the Institute (beyond my immediate enthusiasm for the model). E.I. is a very complex phenomenon, complete with its unique social and political organization, and its "corporate memory" in the form of common cultural metaphors couched in an elusive, internal dialect. This dialect is essential for the coordination of activities and cohesion of the staff. However, I want to get beyond the jargon in order that this account be understood and appreciated by those who are totally unfamiliar with the Institute.

Also, it must be understood from the beginning that the Fifth City experiment is not a product of applied anthropology; far from it. I am astounded that anthropologists, who stress sociocultural systems as the sum of interrelated parts, "apply" their knowledge on a piecemeal basis in community development. In fact, community development is a misnomer, a loosely applied term in anthropology referring to the simultaneous occurrence of two or more projects in the same defined area. That is hardly comprehensive. To understand this point, one need only consult the Table of Contents in a book of case studies. On the one hand, we find isolated projects focused on a particular aspect of development, e.g., the introduction of hybrid corn seed (Apodaca 1952). On the other hand, there is "community development" which includes several projects, such as health, education and family planning (Junod

1966). The point is, the community is a whole consisting of mutually-dependent parts and not disjointed parts comprising a whole. This distinction is crucial. By not viewing the community as an interrelated whole, the change agent runs the risk of serious dislocation in structures other than his point of attack (see Heer 1968, for the devastating economic consequences of a decreased mortality rate without commensurate family planning). Also, he may find that his well-intended innovation will be rejected (op. cit. Apodaca).

Yet the problem runs much deeper. In development projects the target community cannot be treated as an isolated entity. If we are serious about altering the destiny of a group of people we must take into account their relationship with external forces. As Battala warns,

> focus on the community as the unit of study has led...to underrating the importance of relations maintained by a community with external forces (1970:250).

What this means practically is the relationship between subordinate and dominant:

> ...it is generally agreed that community development programs are not as successful as they should be (or they turn out to be outright failures).... deriving from inadequate theoretical orientations about the social structure of rural villages and their links to the wider society. Specifically, they ignore or play down the patterns of dominance, power structures and conflict potential between differentially located social groups (i.e., social classes).... (Stavenhagen 1971:336).

With the exception of the Cornell Peru Project in Vicos (see Chapter III) I know of no project in applied anthropology that has seriously taken into account the underdeveloped community as a function of national superstructures, or treated it comprehensively as a whole. This relationship is so obvious that I do not think it need be belabored. Suffice it to say, the self-evident truth in development (no matter the magnitude) is the cultivation of the power elite. This is fundamental to sanctioned change.

Regarding the general trend in applied anthropology, Fifth City is an atypical project. In terms of methodology it is totally comprehensive both in its addressing the community and the problems as a whole, and its emphasis on the manipulation of national power structures. Of further importance is the incorporation of residents into the innovating impetus or local power structures of the project. The model is not an "imported item" (op. cit. Batalla). The final distinguishing characteristic concerns the role of the change agent; that is, he becomes a long-term community resident with a vested interest in his clients' environment--I am you as you are me as we are all together.

In the broadest sense, this monograph is a description of a particular community undergoing change. But it is also an analysis of a strategy with important

implications for the process of directed change. We, as anthropologists, must understand the methodological import of Fifth City, for it is working where other projects have failed. However, I must caution the reader that although I devote considerable space to discussions on the structure and function of the model, and to the possibility for duplicating the project in other communities, this is not to be construed as a field manual in community development. My goal is not that pretentious. I merely attempt to offer the fullest possible account of Fifth City using my personal experience and objective analysis. I have taken great effort to make explicit which of the two perspectives is being employed at any given point. For reasons alluded to above this has been a difficult task. Therefore, I give my apologies beforehand for any deviations which might have escaped my attention.

Fifth City is a most unique experiment in the reformulation of the inner city. Unlike many other projects it had no connections with the federal government, although in time heavy funding was petitioned and acquired. Thus policy and specific guidelines were flexible and open to constant criticism which is extremely difficult at best under official governmental supervision. Unnecessary red tape was avoided and there was no painful adjustment to federal administra-

tors who are generally "good-natured but ethnocentric folks getting highly overpaid by being do gooders" (Schaedel 1970:185). (I think Schaedel's characterization is truly beautiful and much to the point.) The Fifth City project is further distinguished in that it was in no way a "pet" of an academic institution. There was no testing of social hypotheses nor was there any pressure to produce results prematurely. The primary objective of the project was to develop and actualize a model for reformulation as there was no preconceived plan. In fact, it was not until four years after E.I. entered the community that the model emerged. Fifth City's uniqueness, however, is most attributable to the nature of the Institute itself. E.I. was its primary, distinguishing characteristic which deserves our particular attention, for it was the Ecumenical Institute that gave birth to the project.

Mention the word ecumenical to somebody and he generally will conjure up images of pious religiosity. Add to this the word institute and people tune you out. Such has been my dilemma for many years in trying to explain the nature of the Ecumenical Institute. It is true that E.I. is a church-affiliated organization, but it is important to note that had it not been for this "religious" orientation Fifth City would not exist today. That is what needs explanation and not

the imputed religiosity. Fifth City residents are not a flock of God's children to be cared for by the church in perpetuity. The religious nature of E.I. is primarily a mechanism for the internal cohesion and accountability of the Institute personnel to the awesome task of reformulation.

The Ecumenical Institute was officially chartered in 1954 by the Church Federation of Greater Chicago. In the beginning it was no more than a bourgeois operation, the purpose being to improve communication between the diverse religious sects ordering man's universe. In 1962 my father was appointed dean of the Institute, thus beginning the metamorphic transformation culminating in Fifth City. It began with a number of families (mostly from the staff of the Christian Faith and Life Community in Austin, Texas) who moved to Chicago to assume the duties of E.I. I was out of the country at the time and did not participate in this initial activity.

At the outset E.I. was located in Evanston, a northern suburb of Chicago. The suburban setting was well in keeping with the contemporary position of the church, but it posed a perplexing problem. The staff began to question the suburban roots of the Institute. This was brought about by the issue of the church's role in the totality of human experience or how to serve <u>all</u> mankind. Historically, the role of the

church has been bifurcated. It has either served the elite power structures, thus perpetuating its own form, or it has served the "underdog" with missionary zeal. Elkins' comparative study of slavery provides a classic example of this role dichotomy (1963). In Brazil the Catholic church supported the basic human rights and civil liberties of the slave by exerting tremendous pressure on the exploiting power forces. On the other hand, in the antebellum south the Protestant sects were manipulated by the power elite resulting in religious justification and sactions for slavery, thus establishing an historical precedent: racism is pleasing to God. Although the E.I. staff did not experience revelation by reading Elkins' book, they reached the same conclusion by virtue of their concern for serving the needs of man.

During the first year in Evanston concern rapidly gave way to preoccupation. The role of the church in the twentieth century came into acute focus by the staff's attempt to operationalize what it meant to be the church. As a result the initial thrust was geared to the creation of a core of weekend seminars or courses specifically addressed to the "renewal" of the church, that is, to bring the church up to date regarding the complexities of an urban world. These courses attracted laymen and clergy alike, all at first exploring and in time training for viable church participation

in the affairs of man.

As the year progressed and course attendance increased, it became clear that in order to serve all men the church would have to re-orient its approach, avoiding the historical bifurcation of role. How to serve the oppressed became a paramount issue and, thereby, an awareness of Chicago's slums surfaced. It was finally clear that the needs of the urban poor could not be ministered to from an institute in the suburbs, whereas the needs of suburbia could be externally ministered. A decision had to be made and in June of 1963 it was reached. The Institute moved into a black, inner-city ghetto on the west side of Chicago.

The move was not a response to an either/or situation, either suburbia or the ghetto, but was predicated on suburban participation. This is one of the more intriguing aspects of the Institute in that it constitutes the philosophy and strategy of change within the system. The reader must bear in mind that E.I. is primarily concerned with the renewal of the church, which includes both the suburbanite and the ghettoite by definition. Courses continue to be offered in suburbs throughout the nation and to individuals of power and prestige in many other countries in order to sensitize these people to human circumstances and the crisis of poverty, and to establish channels for elite participation in community development. Therefore,

E.I. seeks to create a symbiotic spiritualism between the affluent church and the deprived slum community. It is in this light that suburbia plays a crucial role. It gives fiscal support in the form of capital and resource donations, and contributions in the realm of professional expertise in market manipulation which run the occupational gamut.[1] (By the way, these contributions are all tax deductible as the Institute is a non-profit organization.) It is only through donations, both monetary and professional, of the more fortunate in our society that E.I. is able to support its programs.

The philosophy of transformation, then, is not revolutionary in the sense that the oppressed are organized at the bottom to overthrow the structures which are controlled at the top. Nor is it reformatory in that the corrupt, exploitative structures at the top are corrected and the benefits filtered down to the poor. It is a synthetic approach to effecting change. The urban poor are organized to ensure the collective power necessary to make fundamental demands on the

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[1]Another relationship, which is subtle, is the Emissary program in which ghetto youth are sent to live in suburban homes across the country to attend school. These "church" families who host these inner-city students provide an important subsidy in the form of room and board. This program not only broadens the experience of the ghetto youth, but those of the host family, school administrators, and peer groups as well. Finally, the target community benefits in that these youth return to the ghetto to relate their experiences.

system while at the same time the elite who control the strategic resources are cultivated so that they willingly participate in reformulation. One without the other precludes viable development within the constraints of the system.

The strategy of transformation is the renewal of the church, i.e., to create a new humanism whereby people of all stations in life may work together to establish a society in which every individual is accorded an equal opportunity in the pursuit of his goals. Thus, suburbanites and ghettoites work through the common denominator of the church. There is an obvious spiritual orientation to the foregoing, but there is also a subtle, objective function. Given the premise of change within the system, there is no other institution as prolific as the church that can be as easily tapped and that reaches as many people, rich and poor alike. Therefore, the church became the structural means and its renewal the functional instrument by which people with resources were contacted and cultivated.

When E.I. relocated to the ghetto the staff had no idea of what they were going to do. Up to this point, they had merely redefined the church's role in relation to the social and economic continuum of contemporary America. However, the move was not as arbitrary as it might seem. The choice of a black area

was prescribed in that blacks are the largest oppressed minority in Chicago. The West Side was ideal because this section of the city contains the poorest black communities. Finally, Fifth City (although not defined at the time) met the special needs of the staff. There was an old seminary with plenty of living quarters and office space for sale.

The importance of the old Bethany Biblical Seminary is not to be slighted, for it points to yet another crucial aspect of the Institute (i.e., communal living). The entire staff participates in an experimental, ecumenical "order." Unlike monastic orders for celibates (the brotherhood and sisterhood, orders one and two), E.I. is of the third order or the family order. (It is interesting to note that for several years the Institute has been seeking an audience with the Pope to obtain official recognition and blessing of the family order. Although the audience has not yet been granted, they have succeeded in contacting many persons of influence in the religious hierarchy.) As a religious family order participating in an urban communal living situation, the staff found the seminary ideally suited for their corporate life style. The large house in Evanston was not equipped to accomodate the thirty people living there. (The living quarters were excessively makeshift with all staff children occupying the unfurnished basement and my parents even lived

in the old coal bin, sharing it with the furnace.) The seminary, on the other hand, provided large and small apartments plus dormitories to house large and small families, and single men and women. In addition, there was a large kitchen and dining hall for common meals, a small church for corporate worship, and an abundance of office space to coordinate the Movement (a generic term referring to the total net impact of all E.I. programs). Weighing present possibilities and future potential, the Institute negotiated and obtained the seminary, thus beginning the Fifth City project.

Yet there is more to the family order than is immediately discernible. The staff understands the Order as a transitory, temporal form that will cease to exist when its mission of church renewal is complete. It is an expedient economic mechanism for maximizing output given limited resources. Aside from seeking to formally articulate a group of families with the Church, the Order serves as a manpower bank to execute E.I. goals. That is, on the practical pole, many people were needed to teach the courses and coordinate the Movement. This required that as few individuals as possible be sent out to hold jobs to support the staff (also collectively referred to as "the corporate body"). Therefore, the most logical way of maximizing limited resources (input) was to establish a communal

life style.[2] One further salient feature of the Order has to do with attitude or world view. As a corporate, religious body, the Order provided the necessary morale (missionary zeal) and vision (revolutionary fervor) to actualize the corporate mission (church renewal). This inspired the requisite dedication to the task and accountability to the structures. Without the Order there finally would be no Movement and no Fifth City. The corporate body is fundamental.

Such was the corporate situation when E.I. personnel first occupied the seminary in this black slum. After the cramped quarters in Evanston, which made thirty people seem more like 130, the large campus offered a brief recess of anonymity. Yet who could

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[2]Communal life is most often associated with the context of rural subsistence and, ideally, with total self-sufficiency. Regarding church organizations, such a life is maintained by the collection plate and support from the Mother Church. The E.I. experiment is neither; the Order maintains itself by assigning some of its members to work, thus enabling the remainder to engage in movemental endeavors. Money that is earned by the working members is pooled into a common pot and divided among all members, each according to his needs; e.g., a family of four is allocated proportionally more than a family consisting of three or two. Furthermore, employment duties are rotated so that no one individual need bear the burden of supporting the Order. It is also significant to note that donations made to the Institute are not used to maintain the corporate body; rather, they are used to support the programs. Therefore, there are two distinct sets of books in the finance office: one for the Order supported by its working members and another for the Institute sustained by contributions--fiscal, material, and professional.

have predicted that within two years the campus housing would be bulging with an ever-increasing corporate body requiring the purchase of additional buildings in the community? The courses conducted by the Institute, aside from being implemental in establishing a resource base for development, proved to be the single most effective mechanism for recruiting people into the Order. This expansion was by design rather than coincidental, although the rate astounds even the skeptical. The order now numbers over 1200 firmly dedicated members. The increase in "troops" is somewhat arithmetic. Eventually the staff on the West Side grew to such proportions that it was decided the time had come to segment. That is, groups of staff were assigned to other cities to establish "religious houses" or outposts. These outposts grew and segmented in turn until E.I. had a foothold in every continent several times over. The result is a complex network of global religious houses with the nerve center based on the near north side of Chicago. The staff is continually being assigned and reassigned for two-year stints all over the world in perpetual movement.

This flux of E.I. personnel is an integral part of the Fifth City project. Fifth City is but one facet of the overall program, which is renewal of the church. The eve of relocation to the West Side witnessed the incipient actualization of a dream: <u>global</u> development

precipitated by the church. The staff did not move to the ghetto to engage in some synchronic program for reformulation of the inner city. It was clear from the start that Fifth City was to be a demonstration project to be replicated on a global scale. It would seem that this is an impossible task and perhaps it is. But, I think it does point to the rationale of a corporate body, a common dialect and a missionary dedication engendered by a religious orientation.

At present the Institute stands ready to replicate this project. By virtue of the large network of religious houses, virtually every major city in the world has been studied and designated sections earmarked for development (in the vernacular of E.I., "gridded"). Also, several foreign governments (which must remain unnamed) have requested E.I. guidance in setting up over 200 local community development projects. To complete the picture, the Institute is currently involved with development in Micronesia and Australia. Therefore, when I refer to Fifth City as a demonstration project in the context of global replication the reader should remember that the demand is there. E.I. has set up the world but lacks enough people to actualize its goals. However, they are persistent and perhaps the day will come when instead of telling the story of Fifth City I will be writing about global reformulation.

Having established the unique context in which Fifth City is grounded, we are in a position to embark into the particulars of the project. To set the format for the ensuing chapters we can begin with an etymological definition. What is a city of the fifth order? The name Fifth City is mostly derived from the spatial configuration of the urban complex. To better understand what that means I have used a spacio-structural paradigm from economics, i.e., the concentric circle model (see Johnson 1972:170-172). The greater metropolitan area (including the hinterland) of the American city can be roughly divided into a series of four concentric rings or infra-cities. The inner-most ring is comprised of the industrial, commercial and service sectors. The next one houses the inner-city poor. The third is that composite of white affluence known as suburbia. And the outermost ring is the rural hinterland, once isolated, now functionally exploitable. Into this scheme the target community is interjected, a city of the fifth order. Unlike the other four infra-cities of megalopolis, Fifth City is not a legally incorporated geographical locale. No official recognition was given at its inception; the Chicago city map did not change. In short, no one knew or cared about it. This community was only a tiny speck in the extensive ghetto of the West Side.

Nevertheless, Fifth City did not go completely unnoticed. The local residents came to understand and appreciate this new community in the midst of their poverty. Indeed, they contributed greatly to its creation. In a sense, Fifth City is an incorporated community, albeit self-defined. The residents have no idea of concentric rings, but they do point all around and refer to the immediate environment as theirs. Therefore, Fifth City can be interpreted as a decisional community, the inhabitants of which are bound together by their common desire to redevelop a chunk of Chicago's slums.

Finally, Fifth City is a tangible entity. It is marked off from the rest of the West Side by distinct boundaries (see Chapter II). This was the first task of the E.I. staff. They sought to delimit a spatial unit whereby every inhabitant could be reached and a true sense of community could be fostered. So when a resident points to his community he is not arbitrarily pointing into space with no direction. He can walk you around the periphery and say, "This is Fifth City."

Fifth City, aside from being a pinpoint on an abstract, economic model, is at once a decisional state and a practical reality. That is implicit in the remainder of this monograph and we will have ample opportunity to expand on it in the following chapters. In "Fifth City: History and Structure" the target

community is laid bare. Here I describe the history of the general area and its ethnic composition through time, establish the criteria for the operational boundaries defining Fifth City, and offer a statistical profile. "The Problem: A Prelude to Strategy" delineates the fundamental problems facing the Community. I argue that these problems (victimization, lack of adequate community structures in the areas of housing, health, education and employment, and no local organization stemming from ineffective political power) are very much interrelated and as such have far-reaching implications for the future of the project in terms of community participation and control. To illustrate the importance of this I compare Fifth City with the Cornell Peru Project.

The second section concerns a possible solution to the problems. "The Fifth City Social Model" is a rigorous analysis of the strategy (the fundamental presuppositions and the inclusive methodology). "But Does It Work?", as the heading implies, endeavors to state in a significant manner the degree to which the project is or is not working. To better understand the progress made in Fifth City, "Actualization and the Comprehensive Context" offers a comparison with Model Cities, also of the comprehensive gender.

In the final section I depart radically from objective analysis. In "Honey Haven: Do-gooders or

Comrades?" I relate my personal experience in the project. Not only do I tell a story of a young man growing up in unusual surroundings, but I attempt to reconstruct the different phases I went through as a change agent (a spirit journey of sorts). By way of concluding the monograph, "Development: The Model and Global Replication" discusses the feasibility of duplicating the project. It is an admixture of objectivism (the global experience of exploitation and oppression), philosophy (the nature of model building) and belief (Fifth City shall be replicated).

CHAPTER II

FIFTH CITY: HISTORY AND STRUCTURE

What is Fifth City? Although the question is simple and straight-forward, the answer comprises a number of complex analytical levels. Fifth City is both a structural phenomenon, i.e., a black inner-city ghetto, and a unique project in comprehensive community development. In this chapter we shall consider the former to set the format for the latter. Before analyzing the target community as a developmental project in an urban slum, it is imperative that the context be examined. We need to consider the general history of the area in which Fifth City is located from the perspectives of both the physical environment and the ethnic composition. Also, a delineation of the operating boundaries is essential; is Fifth City an arbitrary hunk of the West Side? Finally, it is crucial that a statistical analysis be pursued to illustrate the degree of poverty which numerically gives form to the problems of the inner city and points to strategic areas of reformulation. In essence, the following entails an historical and structural description of Fifth City, the purpose of which is to give

the reader some insight into what it means to live and survive in this particular ghetto.

Fifth City--a community of 4567 residents--is located in East Garfield Park on the west side of Chicago. Until 1869, when formally annexed to the city of Chicago, Garfield Park was only prairie and farmland. Building did not begin in earnest until 1885 and soon after resulted in a construction boom lasting until 1914, precipitated mainly by the installation of the elevated railway lines along Lake Street (700 north) and Congress Parkway (400 south) in 1890. Most new residents were immigrants. In the beginning they built red-brick cottages interspersed with two- and three-flat apartment buildings, but later arrivals catered to the more fashionable pseudo-classical architecture. Pillared facades and elaborate wood cornices and doors exemplify the life style the original inhabitants longed for. Housing erected during this era is structurally sound even today, in spite of having been neglected by landlords, abused by tenants and veneered with the grime of over half a century. The fact that some of the housing in this area remains sound is of crucial importance, for renovation is less expensive than renewal. Furthermore, renovation is less apt to result in the "oppressed homogeneity" which accompanies public housing projects (Suttles

1971:22).

Not unlike any other northern black ghetto, the ethnic composition of Garfield Park through time has been diverse. The first major population shift occurred between 1900 and 1920 when the original inhabitants (Irish and Polish immigrants) gave way to Russian Jews and eventually to Italians. As early as 1930, when construction had diminished greatly, blacks accounted for most of the local population, although city-wide they numbered a mere 14,000. In the decade from 1940 to 1950, however, the black population rose sharply in response to the labor demand stimulated by World War II (see Kain 1969:3). By 1960, blacks comprised 62 percent of East Garfield Park; by 1964, 98 percent. Today, the only non-black population in the target area is a residual core of Institute staff and the scattering of ethnic groups, predominantly elderly leftovers from the past.

Since the peak demand for labor in the war-related industries during the 1940's, Chicago's West Side has become a port of entry for southern blacks--the Dixie exodus--who have been pushed out of work due to agricultural mechanization and drawn to the northern cities by the prospect of employment which has not increased with demand. And still they come, from Mississippi and Alabama, hoping to sell their labor on a job market that no longer requires raw muscle. What

happens to these native immigrants is they become trapped in the inner city with no alternatives for breaking out. Yet, not all blacks on the West Side are without the means, economic and/or educational, for escaping the ghetto, providing there are some places to escape to, which are conspicuously absent. Of course, there are exceptions. Those few who are able to amass enough capital can move to the slightly more prosperous ghettos of the South Side, but ghettos nonetheless.

What is at stake in community reformulation is the assimilation of blacks into society as viable participants. The structure of the inner city slum precludes such assimilation. Blacks are not accorded the opportunity to move into higher income areas commensurate with socioeconomic advance.

Historically, inner city ghettos have served a channeling function. Teutonic immigrants have experienced residential dispersion into higher income neighborhoods concomitant with improvement in the socioeconomic sphere (Taeuber 1969). In effect, the process of immigrant assimilation is functionally much like a funnel and structurally like a pyramid. Newly arrived immigrants are located in the poorer sections of the city. With increases in socioeconomic well-being they move into more prosperous areas, each remaining at a given level relative to his socioeconomic peak. Some make it to the top. With successive

generations the marks of ethnicity diminish and opportunities for children increase. (See Blau and Duncan for a "level" analysis of social mobility, 1967:401-420.)

Unfortunately, such is not the case for the black population. They start out in a similar position as that of the first generation immigrant only to remain atthat level in successive generations--segregation, not assimilation (the latter precluded by the former). Even those blacks who improve their socioeconomic status remain segregated in the inner city. In sum, the West Side, East Garfield Park and Fifth City notwithstanding, is a port-of-entry for blacks who come to the city to fulfill a dream only to find there is virtually no exit from the slum to the land of prosperity. Some people have to comprise the base of the pyramid upon which society is built, be they black or otherwise.

The obvious solution to black assimilation is the dispersion of the black population, per socioeconomic criteria, into more affluent residential areas. At least, that is the implicit strategy of the Taeubers, who write:

> Socioeconomic advance and residential dispersion occurred simultaneously for the various immigrant groups. It is apparent that the continued residential segregation of the Negro population is an impediment to the continued "assimilation" of Negroes into full and equal participation in the economy and the society at large (op. cit.:110).

Such a strategy is, of course, untenable. Slums are a rigid structural phenomenon (a function of the national economy) and the attitude of the dominant white population toward blacks is most assuredly racist. The implications of this are far-reaching, for residential dispersion of blacks would necessitate the alteration of economic and market priorities, and a definite change in attitudes. It is in this light that assimilation of blacks must come from a comprehensive attack from within the slum community itself. The residents must create a "paradise" in the inner city with society's leftovers or, put another way, utilize federal structures to elevate income and to create a palatable environment. That is what is meant by Fifth City as a decisional state.

Integral to defining Fifth City is an urban-geographical description. Fifth City encompasses a sixteen square block area of Chicago's notorious West Side. Its operational boundaries (Appendix I) are: north, Fifth Avenue; south, Congress Parkway; east, Kedzie; and west, Independence. The geographical boundaries were not based on an arbitrary decision to merely segregate a portion of the ghetto. Specific criteria were employed to functionally isolate the community. On the north, Fifth Avenue, running diagonally from southwest to northeast, was a natural

divider because it is a commercial strip between residential areas. Congress Parkway, running east to west parallel to the six-lane Eisenhower Expressway, was the logical southern boundary. Kedzie Avenue was the best choice for the eastern border, again because the commercial and institutional property (especially, the C.T.A. bus garage comprising four square blocks) on either side effectively barred any awareness of community with neighborhoods to the east. Finally, a seventeen story high-rise building for elderly citizens and Garfield City Park constituted a natural demarcation point on the west. Thus, the urban geography of this particular section of the city provided ideal boundaries for establishing a community small enough to administer the model, while at the same time delineating a tangible physical identity, both of which are important.

Furthermore, services integral to a community were immediately accessible to residents of Fifth City. Lief Erickson Elementary School and Marshall High School are adjacent to Fifth Avenue. Del Farms Supermarket is located on the east side of Kedzie. Sears, Roebuck and Company is three blocks to the south. Bethany Hospital is situated in the heart of the community. In sum, there are educational, commercial and medical facilities in and around the community, although these structures are inadequate and many

exploitative. In essence, Fifth City possesses all the requisite constituents to develop into a viable community. The task of the change agent and the resident population is to cultivate the necessary power base to ensure that the existing structures serve the community and not exploit it.

The final phase of description concerns pertinent economic and social variables. Out of necessity, I must utilize some relevant statistics, but not without severe reservations. I do not want to fall into the trap of employing statistics as a substitute for words, a pitfall of the social sciences (Andreski 1972). Therefore, I have also included additional statistics not used in the ensuing analysis in Appendix II. Also, voluminous statistics gathered by innumerable blue-ribbon panels of "experts" across the nation have provided more of an excuse for inaction than an impulse to action because of the overwhelming nature of urban problems. Great though the value of adequate sociological data may be, we have been much inclined to allow the process of data gathering to overshadow the necessary hard-headed planning required to alter oppressive situations. Nevertheless, the following crude statistics are included to offer a rough profile of the target community.

Sources for the figures are five: research conducted by the Fifth City Staff of the Ecumenical Institute, the Research and Statistics Unit of the Illinois State Employment Service, the Research and Statistics Unit of Cook County Department of Public Aid, the Public Information Division of the Police Department, City of Chicago, and the 1960 Census Statistics. The inclusive time span for these data sources ranges from 1960 to 1968. Figures for the period 1968 to the present were not available to me, but I do not think that the data employed here represents a distorted picture, even today. In fact, the situation has continually deteriorated on a nationwide basis, relatively and absolutely.

To begin, the median family income is estimated at $4,177. In that respect, Fifth City is representative of East Garfield Park in general, but when compared to North Lawndale (to the south, immediately across the expressway) where median income is approximated at $4,860, the target community is in a worse economic position. It is also interesting to note the relationship between Fifth City and the census tracts in which it is located. Fifth City constitutes the southern portions of tracts 368 and 369 with median incomes of $4,972 and $5,031 respectively, both of which are higher than East Garfield Park and adjacent North Lawndale. Therefore, Fifth City is one of the

poorer sections compared to the surrounding area, with 27 percent of the working adults earning less than $3,000 and only 3 percent at $10,000 or more (where both adults of the household are employed).

The significance of these figures can only be understood in the context of the inner city where rent costs are extremely high and market prices are virtually non-competitive in many instances. Although the median income of the target community is above the federal poverty level ($3,000), the high cost of living still ensures that many individuals will not make ends meet. Furthermore, if those adults earning less than $3,000 annually are taken into account, the situation is rendered even more grim. For example, assuming that those individuals (27 percent of the total labor force of 1291 adults, nineteen years of age and older) are all heads of households, the average family size being 6.1, mathematics demonstrate that 1745 individuals, or 38 percent of the Fifth City population, are below the poverty level.

Yet, even that figure is of dubious value, for unemployment has not been included. The unemployment rate for Fifth City is pegged at 10 percent of the labor force--129 adults. However, 10 percent is a low estimate and is finally unreliable, for "hidden" unemployment has not been taken into account. Hidden unemployment refers to those adults who are not

technically a part of the labor force. For example, in a recent survey conducted by the Illinois State Employment Service (ISES) in a nearby community strikingly similar to Fifth City, it was found that 59.4 percent of the unemployed males were not seeking active employment, therefore, technically not a part of the labor force and not included in the unemployment rate. Of those males, 54 percent stated illness prevented employment; 33.2 percent referred to age as a barrier; 4.2 percent saw no likely job opportunities; and 1.6 percent simply were not interested in working. These men had a median age of 52.2 and a median education level of 8.7; they were primarily heads of households and 66.4 percent of them were not even registered with ISES. Regarding Fifth City, hidden unemployment has been estimated at 40 percent or 932 adults.

Even if all the unemployed and employed males (under $3,000) are not assumed to be heads of households, combined they represent 21 percent of the total population or 1061 people. However, not making that assumption is as logically untenable as making it. Therefore, given a margin for error, it can be estimated that between 21 and 62 percent of Fifth City's population is below the poverty line (assuming that half of the 1061 adults are heads of households with six family members), the latter being more realistic.

That estimate does not include those individuals on welfare who number 1132; 48 percent are dependent on ADC (Aid to Dependent Children), which stipulates that no male be present in the home.

The situation is very complex and the figures are misleading. To better comprehend the dynamics of subsisting in the Fifth City slum, I have constructed the layman's "survival index." To properly describe in a statistical manner the poverty that exists in the target community it becomes necessary to establish a minimum survival level below which subsidy is prescribed. The question is, how much income does a family need to survive? To begin, the median rent in Fifth City is estimated at one hundred dollars a month, or $1,200 a year. To feed a family of four, based on minimal nutrition, requires an expenditure of $0.228 per person, per meal a day, or $2,992.92 annually (Counsel of Economic Advisors, Singell 1973).[1] If an

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[1]These figures are based on an average of regional prices throughout the United States. Averages distort the market reality of Fifth City in two ways: the cost of food in the ghetto is higher than that in other areas (inter-regional), and the cost of food in the ghetto is higher than that of the region (intra-regional). In 1967 the Fifth City staff surveyed the price of food in a local supermarket--Del Farm--comparing it with one immediately outside of the ghetto--Hi-Low. On a price scale of high-medium-low, based on 26 random products, it was discovered that the target community ranked ten-six-six as opposed to four-three-fourteen in the non-ghetto supermarket--a considerable discrepancy. The point is, the cost of food providing minimum nutrition is higher in the ghetto than for the region, and $0.228 per person a day is a low estimate.

(Continued on next page.)

additional $1,000 a year is included for items such as utilities, transportation, clothing, medicine and incidentals, then the survival level in Fifth City is calculated at $5,192.92 ($2,192.92 above the "poverty" level), certainly an unbiased estimate.

Since I do not have a categorical breakdown of income for the target community, I utilized that of East Garfield Park in order to demonstrate the significance of the survival index. Employing data for the surrounding area, I have calculated that 67.8 percent of the total population is below the survival margin of $5,193 per family. It has already been stated that Fifth City is representative of the general area, if not lower, and it does not seem improper to impute 67.8 percent to the target community. Therefore, out of the 747 families in Fifth City, only 251 are above the survival level.

The preceding figures serve to point out something fundamentally wrong. We, as social scientists or economists, do not know how to define poverty. Poverty is not absolute; it is relative: to family size, family assets and regional price differences. In Fifth City, for example, family size is proportionally large, family assets are minimal, and there exists a high

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(Consequently, the Institute staff shopped at Hi-Low, which was not possible for ghetto residents because of the considerable distance and the lack of transportation.)

cost of living that is not reflected in the regional mean.

What I have attempted to do thus far is offer a realistic profile of what it means to survive in this particular target community. My estimators, and especially the survival index, are finally mathematical manipulations of data and as such can be accepted or rejected by the reader. Nevertheless, I do feel that those statistics are valid, although numerical accuracy is open to close scrutinization. Furthermore, I can corroborate the statistical dimension with my impressions as a participant observer who has lived in Fifth City for five years and who has been affiliated with the project for an additional seven.

To continue, education in Fifth City is poor. The median level of education is 8.6 years, with only 2.7 percent of the population having completed college.[2] The low level of education reflects deep problems in the system. (See Chapters III and IV respectively for the discussions on the dual track of the education system which discriminates against urban poor, tailoring them to a service-oriented job market, and the negative environment of the ghetto which is

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[2]Fifth City is located in Elementary School District Eight and this district has the lowest reading test scores in the entire nation!

not conducive to high achievement motivation.) To illustrate the external manifestations of an inadequate education structure, one only has to examine the dropout rate for Marshall High School. For the academic year 1966 to 1967, the dropout rate was 1350 individuals out of a total student body of 5200--25 percent. Since 1967 monthly averages for a given year have risen as high as 165.5, 50 percent of which have been freshmen, sixteen years of age and older. Truancy is another problem, with an average of 401 absences per day and only one truant officer assigned to the school. The basic reasons for the shortcomings of the ghetto school stem from the fact that facilities are overcrowded and there are not enough teachers, both in terms of quantity and quality. Marshall is typical in that the facilities cater to at least twice as many students as the original structures were designed to handle, which is also reflected in the small size of the faculty. Also, the majority of the teachers do not have any vested interested in the community which they "serve" nor do they understand the problems facing slum students. Out of the 150 teaching faculty at Marshall, thirty of them reside in ghetto areas and only five live in Fifth City. There exists a tremendous gap between educational structures and students. In the final analysis, school for the slum youth is nothing more than the first structural experience of

disenfranchisement.

No less significant is the housing situation. Compared to the greater metropolitan area Fifth City is an older section with 93 percent of housing built before 1939. As of 1965, it has been estimated that 38 percent of the resident buildings were substandard.[3] Unfortunately, my figures were not broken down into categories of housing units per building, which precludes a statistically significant statement about the effect of substandard housing. For example, if the 38 percent were ten flats or more, then, of course, a significant portion of the population would be affected. However, the inverse is just as tenable. Yet my observations in the field indicate it is the larger apartment buildings that account for a greater percentage of substandard structures. Also, it is these buildings that are neglected by slum landlords. Larger buildings preclude individual ownership by the poor (and self-conscious maintenance which is rather high in Fifth City) due to requisite capital investment. Be that as it may, it is truly difficult to find a building in Fifth City that is not in need of some repair.

The Fifth City housing situation is typical of many slums. There is considerable crowding and short

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[3]Model Cities' report on the city of Chicago indicated about 80 percent of housing is in need of major repair and the remainder in need of some improvements.

duration of residence. Of the 1045 housing units in this community, only 27.1 percent have one person per room, the average being 3.88. Length of residence is low: 53.1 percent of the population resides no longer than a year in any given unit and only 26.04 percent stay three years or more. In short, the housing situation in Fifth City is bleak. Slum residents are obliged to spend a high percentage of their incomes in rent for apartments in buildings which are deteriorating due to the incentives in the national market for slum formation. Home ownership (43 percent in Fifth City, which appears to be high, but in terms of service units affects few residents) and home improvement are precluded because banks will not risk inner city investments. And finally, the slum resident has had to adapt to excessive mobility because of the uncertainty of a constant income. He lives from day to day.

The last area offered for discussion concerns crime.[4] Crime is a very real negative externality (an economic term referring to conditions beyond the control of the individual) of the slum community, indiscriminately victimizing the ghetto resident.

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[4]The National Crime Commission reports that nine out of ten urban Negro boys will be arrested sometime in their lives if present arrest rates continue; this does not include traffic offenses (Chicago Sun Times, June 4, 1967).

However, in discussing crime in this community, I must seek recourse to a larger statistical universe, for Fifth City is not a legally incorporated area of Chicago and statistics are not available. Nevertheless, the data compiled for the Eleventh Police District in which Fifth City is located (specifically, Area Four) is representative of the crime dynamic operating in the target community. The incidences of crime in the slum are on the increase and, indeed, constitute an urban trend (see Schreiber et al. 1971:Chapter VII). From 1966 to 1967 crime in the eleventh district increased 10.7 percent compared to only 2.8 percent city-wide. Some relevant comparative statistics illustrate the phenomenon of differential crime well. The Eleventh Police District in 1966 listed 62 "reported" homocides out of a city total of 132. Serious assault, accounting for 14 percent of all crimes in the district, totalled 1119 compared to 2849 for the city, and there were 2301 burglaries (29 percent) out of 8709 in the city. The figures are endless, but it is significant to note that crimes committed in this district categorically account for 25 percent or more of the city total. Yet, crime statistics for the slum are probably greatly biased in that the actual crime rate is undoubtedly higher than reported. Ghetto residents have a fundamental mistrust of police authority and realize the futility of expecting positive

action, resulting in innumerable crimes never being reported. The slum-dweller, then, is victimized both by the initial criminal act, and by inadequate police protection against crime and indifference after the fact.

In summary, I would like to reconstruct the preceding statistics from the standpoint of chance. It is possible to generate probabilistic statements regarding the ghettoite's chances of attaining amenity in the areas of income, education, housing and crime. The only assumption that need be made is although discrimination against blacks as a race is a non-random process, discrimination against any particular black is random. The purpose of this is to illustrate how a Fifth City citizen stands in relation to providing for his family in the context of the slum.

1. Income. The median income of a Fifth City resident is $4,860 annually. However, the probability that any one individual is even employed is .50. Furthermore, the probability of an individual earning less than $3,000 per year is .20; over $5,193 (the survival index), .40.

2. Education. The median level of education in the target community is 8.7 years. Yet the probability that the ghetto-dweller has less than the median is .40; less than four years of high school, .80; and

equal to or exceeding four years of college, ,10 (assuming that he even enters and finishes high school and there is a .25 probability against it).

3. Housing. The median rent paid by Fifth City citizens is one hundred dollars a month for dwelling units that are nine times out of ten 25 years old at a minimum. The probability that such housing is sub-standard ranges from .40 to .80 (depending on the data source); that there will be one person or less per room, .25; that the resident will not last more than one year , .50; and for three years or more, .25.

4. Crime. The probability a resident will be victimized by crime is .25. Of that there is a .30 chance that the type of crime will be burglary, .25 for auto theft (assuming the possession of a car), .20 chance of being robbed, .15 for serious assault, and .10 for theft.

It is apparent that the probability of succeeding in the slum definitely does not favor the ghetto-dweller (if, indeed, one can succeed; survive is a better term).

The significance of these probabilistic state-ments and the statistics from which they were gener-ated serve to illustrate the discriminatory bias of our social structures. Our society is impersonal and dehumanizing toward the black poor of the Inner City, randomly curtailing human potentialities for effective

productivity. Fifth City is a slum community and as such it is a direct function of forces external to itself--forces which preclude equal opportunity to explore pragmatic creativity and allocate few resources for survival which are limited commodities in a market where competition is fierce and demand is high.

CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEMS: A PRELUDE TO STRATEGY

The problems of the inner-city slum are numerous and complex. Perhaps for that reason alone government and private agencies have oriented development programs to specific inequities instead of an all-out comprehensive attack. Naturally, if the change agent perceives isolated problems, his programs become isolated solutions. The ghetto, therefore, is rendered the focal point of a series of independent projects none of which are accountable to a common strategy. It is imperative that the problems of the slum community be given a common form from which the rational, comprehensive strategy flows.

The attempt to give structure to the myriad problems of the inner city yielded a codified core of three functionally related areas: the image of self-depreciation the urban poor have of themselves, many surface problems created by extra-slum forces, and the conspicuous lack of political power controlling the forces that determine the destiny of the slum-dweller. Those three sociological defects in a system which exploits and oppresses are responsible for

the continuing destruction of millions of human beings, and, thereby, deserve particular examination.

The most subtle of these areas is the victim image. Because of an inability of the slum-dweller to alter his contextual and physical environments, he begins to see himself as a victim of social forces beyond his control. In effect, this image of a second-rate human being has been rendered the function of a role--a role, for all intents and purposes, that has been internalized by slum residents, especially blacks. However, victimization is not unique to the black experience. This phenomenon exists in other cultures, to wit, los correctos vs los tontos (Redfield 1930), entron vs encojido (Erasmus 1961), the Bikinians (Kiste 1974), and "sambo" (Elkins 1963) which, although of our own culture, constitutes an historical factor for the black victim image. Further, internalization needs to be qualified. It is difficult to ascertain whether the performance of the victim role is sincere or cynical (Goffman 1959). We ask the question; has the slum-dweller lost his entire being to the role or is he hiding behind one of the many masks necessary for survival (impression management)? We finally never know the answer, for emic data is always subject to the bias of etic analysis.

We can approach the issue from another vantage point: alternatives. Blacks, and urban poor alike, in dealing with their oppressive situation, have two courses of action: acquiescence or violence. Either they quietly submit to their inhuman fate or strike out, resulting in urban riots. Internalization on this level of analysis is finally irrelevant, for we are interested in how the role is translated into manifest action. To pursue the issue further would result in psychological reductionism which obfuscates the causal nature entirely. The victim image is not a psychological problem on the order of a personal neurosis, although it does influence an individual's psychological socialization. Rather we are dealing with the personal identity of the slum-dweller in the sociological sense of significant engagement in the course of human affairs. From this perspective we avoid the reductionistic approach.

In terms of development, then, we must understand how the slum inhabitant stands in relationship to the structures that define his alternatives. There are two ways in which the ghettoite demonstrates the sociological phenomenon of victimization: his orientation to time and space. Under ordinary circumstances time would naturally lend itself to a past-present-future analysis. However, in the case of the slum-dweller we must dispense with a temporal analysis,

per se, and focus instead on a never-ending present. The ghetto resident's future is his present which is his past, a point well made by Liebow (1967). Time is a reality comprehended only by experiencing change, a dynamic that is absent in the inner city (save for a deteriorating environment). Therefore, time has little meaning for the ghetto-dweller; the direction of his life has already been determined.

Spatial victimization is no less real. Responding to being relegated to inner-city slums, the urban poor have defined these areas relative to themselves, thus giving rise to the concept of "turf." Suttles has adequately documented this phenomenon in his study of ethnic territoriality on the near west side of Chicago (1971). Various informal institutions, such as juvenile gangs, have emerged as a logical adaptive reflex to secure what little the community possesses. Territoriality is no less important for the adult generation. There are individuals who are born, mature and die without ever leaving the ghetto which for them becomes a defined retreat, a world unto itself.

In conclusion, temporal and spatial victimization have developed beyond the point of secondary consideration. However, it must be stressed that the victim image is not a causal factor in the deprivation of the slum. It is a real self-orientation, but to blame deprivation on the victim is untenable (see Ryan 1971).

The victim image, then, is merely a reflex to a situation which is defined by national market and social structures, rendering the ghetto-dweller a pawn in a massive bureaucratic web. Yet, altering national priorities and attitudes does not necessarily solve the problem of victimization. Therefore, in addition to dealing with external forces operating on the slum community, we must gear our programs to the individual as he experiences life in the slum. To do otherwise increases the probability of failure in community development.

The second problem area concerns the myriad surface problems of the ghetto, such as substandard housing, inadequate income, inferior schools and so forth. These are generally the most obvious symptoms of a slum, but they certainly are not causal or perpetuating forces. They are also the focal points of isolated, piecemeal programs. What we are dealing with here is not so much the target community as it is the recognition of national market incentives for slum formation and the random-like orientation of federal programs designed to ameliorate specific inequities. Indeed, the government has invented solutions to the many problems, but local community ignorance insures that these efforts will remain token and dispersed, thus significantly decreasing local net impact and precluding changes in priorities.

It is hard to talk about the myriad problems without overlapping into the final area: absence of collective political power. The two areas are intimately related. Perhaps an external/internal distinction will help differentiate problems from lack of power. Problems (or inequities) do exist in the slum, a fact. They exist due to forces external to the community, i.e., market incentives and racist attitudes. The federal government has initiated many programs to cure these social maladies. Yet the problems persist; why? They persist because of a lack of local community organization; that is, the benefits from federal programs enter the community only by pressure generated at the local level. In other words, you have got to make your voice heard and given the way the system works, this means that an entire community has got to unite and bring corporate pressure to bear on the structures. Therefore, the surface problems exist as codified areas themselves (stemming from external forces) and as a part of another area: lack of community organization (an internal factor).

Generally, the third problem area has to do with political disenfranchisement or gerrymandering, a process whereby voting districts are arranged explicitly to exclude a concentration of power in the ghetto. In effect, the ghetto-dweller has absolutely no voice in the policy-making apparatus by which his destiny

is determined. Couple this with differential education structures and limited economic opportunities and one begins to understand the urban poor have become subject to intentional and unavoidable destruction. Without grassroot political structures, the future of slum residents will be no different (at least no better) than their present state. Black Power has risen as a desperate response to this political deprivation. It is imperative that it be constructively channeled and given form within the system to avert the inevitable clash that futility engenders.

It should be apparent that these three inclusive problem areas are highly interrelated and mutually reinforcing. If we do not develop the internal man, then the concentration of political power and, thereby, the attainment of social amenities, is impossible. On the other hand, without the possibility of local political structures and social amenities, development of the individual is futile. Therefore, any effective attack on these problems of the inner city must be comprehensive; to correct for one is to correct for all. If we fail to deal simultaneously with all the problems, then we shall fall prey to the piecemeal approach which only serves to reinforce the slum-dweller's lack of self-respect and self-sufficiency.

To illustrate the ineffectiveness of the piecemeal approach and thereby the necessity for a comprehensive orientation in community development, let us digress momentarily and examine a particular program operating in an inner-city slum. Of all the programs subsidized by the federal government, and they are numerous, Urban Renewal--UR--has the most devastating consequences. Specifically, we are interested in the construction of public housing for the poor. The strategy of such an approach is the isolation of the central problem of the slum, e.g., substandard housing, and by correcting it--public housing--the other problems (employment, health, education and so on) are expected to react. It is argued that if the poor are properly housed, then they will become motivated to constructively participate in society as responsible citizens. (For good examples of this type of strategy see Glazer 1970:50-65 and Moynihan 1969:38-44; 1970: 5-8.) As we shall see, this strategy simply does not work.

Urban Renewal, more often than not, results in a direct subsidy to upper-income families. This criticism is not unwarranted, for much of UR has re-developed inner-city ghettos into upper-class housing, commercial and recreational facilities, medical and educational centers, and the like. The "benefits from 'slum

removal' are zero to the extent that the slum (and the indirect costs associated with it) are merely relocated" (Schreiber et al. 1971:77)--urban renewal equals Negro removal (T.W.O. 1970:5). Moving a slum to another section of the city does not cure the problem. What UR accomplishes is the diminishing, in absolute terms, of the supply of inexpensive housing available to the poor (Tabb 1970:19). In effect, the poor are relocated to areas in which housing is proportionally more expensive because the land bought for UR generally contains the most deteriorated, and thereby the least expensive, housing. Without a commensurate increase in income, incentive is given to overcrowding in other areas which ultimately leads to deterioration and the creation of another slum.

However, public housing for the poor does exist. Yet even when such housing is built, the federal government must provide rent subsidies to the occupants because of the high cost of construction, $20,000 per unit (op. cit. Glazer:61). Upon close inspection of public housing, one finds an even more crucial problem than high rent; the "oppressed homogeneity" (Suttles 1971:22) which accompanies such projects. Homogeneity is structurally built into public housing as there exists an income cutoff level beyond which a family is obliged to move out. That effectively accomplishes two things: it insures family income will remain at a low

level and the poor will be confined or segregated to designed sections of the city.

From the foregoing the inevitable question arises; does community development, i.e., the amelioration of all social inequities, follow from the construction of public housing? Obviously, it does not. Although low-cost housing has been constructed, oppressed homogeneity aside, services integral to meaningful reformulation of the inner city, such as adequate schools, vigorous fire and police protection, periodic trash collection, well-equipped recreational facilities, career-oriented jobs, and the like, are conspicuously absent. It is evident that the slum-dweller and the environmental context in which he finds himself are not taken into account; we remove slums because they grate against our refined sense of aesthetics.

Three fundamental problems emerge from the piecemeal approach. First, there is the issue of stereotyped target populations--the subculture of poverty (Lewis 1966). When clients are viewed as lazy, fatalistic and present-time oriented, programs become paternalistic; it is the expert who decides what the needs of the target community are--the imposition of observed needs from without. Succinctly stated by Cochrane,

> There is a tremendous difference between affecting a community through preconceived or expert-led commercial construction, health, or educational

> programs, and developing a community so that the people themselves are in control of the innovating impetus (1971:47, italics added).

The imposition of observed needs is a critical mistake. If we continue to predicate development programs on Lewis' implicit stereotype, then there is no way we can synthesize the expert's observed needs and the client's felt needs to render the real needs of the community. Furthermore, if we do not give import to the client's intuitive definition of his situation and incorporate it into our analytical framework, then certainly the target population will never be in control of the innovating impetus, thus precluding long-range success of the program. It is difficult for the change agent, who is generally of a higher economic and social status, to understand the dynamics of survival in the inner city slum where the inhabitants have little at their disposal to combat their oppressive situation. If we approach this problem of adaptation from an emic perspective (see Liebow 1967), utilizing the ghetto-dweller's interpretation of his environment as he experiences it, then the stereotype becomes untenable.

At the outset, it is crucial that we understand that the central city slums have become a trap for the poor, especially blacks, which is extremely hard to break out of, given the structured segregation in our society--a trap that is almost impossible to survive in considering the differential means, e.g., few

available employment opportunities and the high cost of living relative to the quantity and quality of goods and services received per dollar. It is in this light that the slum-dweller "is obliged to expend all his resources on maintaining himself from moment to moment" (ibid.:65). It is not that the urban poor are present-time oriented. Their present is their future in which they do not possess the requisite surplus to invest. Couple this with the presence of "significant others" who have continually failed and it is little wonder fatalism reigns high. Hence, the stereotype of the urban poor has been based primarily on illusions of the external manifestations of this fight for survival with no attention given to the dynamics of adaptation to the constraints of the slum. As long as we pursue these illusions significant analysis of urban problems is precluded. It is for those reasons the piecemeal approach is geared towards the "preconceived" and "expert-led," and preoccupied with the symptoms of poverty and not its cause and perpetuation.

The second problem, which is related to the first, is the total lack of understanding regarding the points of articulation between the inner city and the nation as a whole. Urban slums are a function of the national economic, political and social superstructures; they do not exist as systems sui generis but are a product of, and are perpetuated by, national, not local, forces.

If the analysis is colored black, national structures as causal and perpetuating forces of slums become more evident. We can examine this from the standpoints of housing, employment and education.

The federal government plays a most significant role in the national housing market; that is, "most housing subsidies in the United States are given to middle and upper income families in the form of income tax deductions and loans guaranteed by" (op. cit. Schreiber et al.:73) the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA). Indeed, "the white exodus was financed through FHA loans" (Netzer 1970:17)--the exodus from the inner city to the suburbs. Although the down payment and interest rate required by these government agencies are below those of the private market (which does not mortgage private, inner-city real estate), they are still too high for the low income family. Therefore, the ghetto-dweller, on the average, is obliged to rent, which is excessively high because of the acute demand on an ever-decreasing supply of inexpensive and moderate housing. This, in turn, stimulates overcrowding which eventually leads to slum formation. Even if the poor are able to purchase housing there is no incentive for upkeep and improvement, for they end up paying additional taxes on property that is constantly depreciating due to the negative externalities of the neighborhood.

Although the housing market, per se, exists as a regional structure, financing is primarily at the national level, which precludes ownership by poor blacks. This same analogy is relevant to the supply of housing; that is, the supply of inner-city real estate is a direct function of the construction of new housing in the suburbs which, in turn, is a function of FHA and VA financing to middle and upper income families. It becomes obvious that if the housing market of the inner city is to be stimulated with a bias toward ownership by the poor, then changes have got to be made at the federal level.

Highly correlated with the housing market, which is skewed to the middle and upper income brackets, is differential access to quality employment and education. With the advent of industrial relocation from the inner city to the periphery, a complex network of events occurred. The most immediate consequence of industrial decentralization was the decline in availability of employment opportunities for those individuals who could not make the move to the suburbs. As the net in-migration to the inner city increased over time, the demand on an already limited labor market became extremely acute. Furthermore, as the concentration of poor intensified in the central city, commuting to the periphery (via a transit system ill-equipped and routed for the purpose) became impossible.

Therefore, the labor situation of the inner city was rendered stagnant and at present is one in which only menial jobs are available and a proportionally higher rate of unemployment exists. The urban poor, then, find themselves in a position of not being able to engage in employment that pays enough to accumulate capital. Given no opportunity for capital formulation, it is certainly impossible for the ghetto-dweller to entertain the purchase of a house in the suburbs.

Yet, providing jobs for the inner city poor is not a simple and straight-forward undertaking. The federal government would have to subsidize industry to relocate back to the central city where land is expensive and taxes are high, for it is unprofitable for private enterprise to make such a move. Also, basic changes would have to be made in the national economic and social structures to insure an external market for central city products, and an adequate flow of goods and services back in. Finally, inner city poor would have to be educated because the lack of education, in terms of skill and experience through on-the-job training, and the basic skills of literacy, is rampant.

This points to another causal factor--differential education--which once again requires government intervention. Historically, the federal government has subsidized job-training programs for the disadvantaged

during times of martial conflict when there was a peak demand for war machinery and, hence, a labor shortage (see Tabb 1970:116). However, more crucial than that unfortunate situation is the general nature of our educational structure. That is to say,

> Urban school systems have a dual track, one for middle-income children who will for the most part go on to college and more or less professional occupations, and one for poor and minority children who will go into trades or service occupations if they do not fall into the categories of under- or unemployed (Leacock 1971:16).

The government has attempted to alleviate this condition by forced desegregation of the school system via bussing. On the surface, bussing the poor to quality education would seem to be a logical solution, but in the final analysis, it is merely a symptomatic response to the problem. The problem is one of total, structural environment of the inner city slum, which is a function of the national economic and social superstructures.

This brings us to the final problem area of the piecemeal approach--the absence of understanding regarding the basic nature of urban problems. It is evident that there exists a core of functionally related problems; to solve for one necessitates solving for all if reformulation is to remain viable through time. Implicit in the analysis of housing, employment and education as functions of a national market is

that these areas are very much interrelated and mutually reinforcing. That is, the level of education (vocational or academic) determines employment alternatives which in turn define accessibility to the housing market. Inversely, the location of housing is a parameter of the availability of employment opportunities and the quality of education. However, it is not being advocated that the poor be moved to the suburbs; this, of course, would be ludicrous and counterproductive. On the other hand, it is being argued that development needs to be addressed to the totality of slum experience and that programs be oriented beyond the immediate symptoms of poverty. The creation of public housing contributes nothing to reformulation unless there is a concomitant attack on the environment *in toto*.

In the final analysis, we, as applied social scientists, either engage in sophisticated benevolence, never penetrating to the real causes of urban problems because of a preoccupation with symptoms, or we decide to utilize a model of community development that delineates the fundamental problems and defines the necessary constructs to effectively deal with them. In effect, the urban poor are in a position of economic exploitation with little or no political power and discriminated against by a racist social structure. No

piecemeal program can even begin to scratch the surface of this complex phenomenon referred to as the urban slum.

There is a valuable lesson to be learned from the voluminous documentation of piecemeal programs. Any project that purports to be community development should, by definition, be oriented beyond the immediate problems. To insure viable reformulation, the target area must be viewed in its proper national context. For that reason the fundamental problems need to include the issue of power both at the local and federal levels. Therein lies the interplay of the three problem areas discussed earlier and the criteria for long-range success. Comprehensive community development is much more complex than the mere attainment of social amenities. The change agent is equally concerned with the future of the project; will the "recipient" population continue the endeavor after his departure?

To better understand the implications of viability let us examine and compare a specific case study with the Fifth City strategy of reformulation. The Vicos project in Peru (Dobyns and Laswell 1971) best suits this purpose. Vicos is certainly the most significant attempt in total community development in applied anthropology to date and bears a striking resemblance to

the Fifth City model (even though the cultural contexts differ). Both models emphasize the importance of incorporating the residents into the project by

> developing independent problem-solving and decision-making organizations among the indigenous population which could gradually assume the control and direction of community affairs (ibid.:25).

Initially, this is very difficult because of the victim roles in society played by the Quechua Indians in Peru and blacks in the United States. Also, a concomitant attack on all areas of inequity are stressed: economic, political, social and cultural. For example, where Fifth City has structures to generate employment opportunities, Vicos sought to establish a productive agribusiness. The same is true for health, education, family planning and so forth. The final general similarity concerns the national arena. The change agents or "participant interventors" (Vicos terminology) in either project emphasize power. Vicos and Fifth City are functions of a national social and political structure. Therefore, to effect change at the local level the power elite in each instance had to be cultivated. Change within existing structures does not occur save for the sanctions of those in control of strategic resources. Such is the role of the change agent: to act as mediator between the target community and the power elite.

In overall scope Fifth City and Vicos are almost identical. However, there does exist one fundamental difference between the two which brings us back to the issue of viability or long-range success. The Vicos program was innovator-heavy relative to the national power structures:

> The Cornell Peru Project provided that important external source of power, constituting a social umbrella under which the people of Vicos were able to alter their lives to their greater satisfaction, and without the imminent threat of tragedy and retribution to discourage them as it had before (ibid.:16, italics added).

The above quote begins to faintly smell of paternalism, although I do not intend to belittle the accomplishments of Vicos. Nevertheless, I cannot overlook the methodological implications of the following:

> The achievements of the Cornell Peru Project in education, economics, and health were attained in the first instance by the exercise of its political power within the community, with the most progressive Vicosinos encouraged to assume positions of leadership, and also by the persistent application of its political influence at the highest level of Peruvian national government. The prospects for an accelerated rate of future development in Vicos would be greatly enhanced if the Vicosinos themselves were able to employ the same methods (ibid.:134-135, italics added).

It seems that the pitfall of Vicos is couched in its failure to ensure resident literacy in the manipulation of national structures, an essential ingredient for continuing development in the absence of sophisticated mediators. Fifth City staff, on the other hand, did not transfer power to the community until indigenous

sophistication in such manipulation had been operationalized. Therein lies the key to successful, self-generating development. Otherwise, it is necessary that an innovator be present in perpetuity, which runs counter to the strategy of both projects: the change agent works himself out of a job.

It is evident that the strategy of transformation must be addressed to those people in a society who control the resources, for without their cooperation development is next to impossible, save for revolution. It is not enough to correct the myriad surface problems and to organize the community around a central leadership which is predicated on putting an end to the victim reflex if the indigenous population is not in full control of the innovating impetus. Therefore, establishing local political organization goes well beyond creating internal leadership to the ability of residents to perform the mediating function previously held by the core of change agents.

To summarize, it has been my intention in this chapter to offer an interrelated set of problems upon which a development methodology is built. We have seen the many problems Fifth City citizens face, but those problems are only part of the strategic attack. This has been demonstrated by reference to the focus of public housing and the problems therein. Community

political organization vis-a-vis national power structures remains a paramount issue. Vicos, regardless of its comprehensive orientation, has served to point out the necessity of creating local change agents above and beyond community organization per se. Therefore, from the interrelated problem areas a new strategy emerges: the Fifth City Social Model.

SECTION TWO

FIFTH CITY: A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER IV

THE FIFTH CITY SOCIAL MODEL

The Fifth City Social Model is a highly sophisticated and complex network of eighty social agencies designed to comprehensively attain amenities in the ghetto. Due to the constraints of time and space I shall deal with the model on a general level of analysis; to do otherwise would only confuse the reader, thereby detracting from the goal of demonstrating the effectiveness of the project. It is not my intention to provide a cookbook for comprehensive reformulation (compare Goodenough 1963). Rather, I seek merely to acquaint the reader with the overall focus of the model's components. However, I have included several appendices (referred to during the course of analysis) which deal with the structural and functional intricacies of the inclusive methodology on a more specific level.

Before directing the discussion to the model itself, it is necessary that we briefly digress to consider the basic presuppositions underlying the methodology. Every model for development has certain operat-

ciety become available to the slum community. It is important at this juncture to realize that local structures are not meant to replace existing structures. They articulate with them, exerting the kind of corporate pressure necessary to make the city, state and federal structures effectively serve the needs of the inner city community. To illustrate, FCRC is designed to bridge the gap between state and federal housing programs and the people for whom they were intended; FCRC mediates between the broad public means and the local community. Such social structures and their accompanying social agencies are vital; they educate the slum community in establishing collective power to take advantage of state and federal programs.

The foregoing analysis has served to illustrate the structural configuration of the model, and to point out the impossibility of a detailed consideration of each of the eighty social agencies--their respective functions notwithstanding. Therefore, in discussing the various functions of the model's components, I shall again retreat to a higher level of generality to explain the overall emphasis of the five guilds and their corresponding constructs. (For a more specific analysis of the social constructs and agencies refer to Appendix IV.). The five social constructs were developed to meet not only the expansive vision of viable reformulation, but also the immediate needs of

the community, thus preserving the creative tension between the futuristic and the practical, the comprehensive and the particular. What, then, are the functions of these constructs?

The Economic Guild and the Urban Economy Trust--the former being implemental, the latter structural--comprise a combination of sixteen social agencies under four social structures. (In that respect UET is like the other four social constructs.) Like the name implies, UET is concerned with that area of reformulation requiring substantial economic investment in the community to provide: adequate medical care and facilities, consumer protection and local business development, job opportunities, and environmental redevelopment, i.e., property rehabilitation and community planning. The overriding problem to which UET is addressed is the ignorance of the slum-dweller regarding the existence of funds for the redevelopment of the inner city in the areas listed above. Once knowledge of such funds is achieved and the necessary skills of market manipulation cultivated, the slum resident is in a position to channel investment into his community. For example, in 1974 the Fifth City Redevelopment Corporation (specifically, the Property Rehabilitation Cartel, social agency thirteen) obtained a loan from FHA for the rennovation of eight apartment buildings (see Chapter V). In sum, the

Economic Guild is directed against the exploitative forces operating on Fifth City residents who find themselves in a situation of inadequate health services, consumer service violations, higher rates of un- and underemployment, and substandard housing. It is to these perversions in our system that the sixteen social agencies of UET are directed.

The next three guilds to be discussed--education, symbol and style--fall under the cultural dimension of slum life. These guilds stand at the very heart of the model; they are specifically focused on the victim image. The basic tool is imaginal education, providing new images of what it means to effectively participate in society, in the course of human affairs.

The Education Guild and the Center of Urban Education (CUE) are supplemental structures designed to operate in areas of inadequacy in the present education system. Implicit in CUE, and the other cultural constructs as well, is the incorporation of presupposition four (all age groups) into the "imaginal" curriculum. The key issue in this area is literacy as an avenue to leadership. That is, in the context of the imaginal curriculum--a means to an end instead of an end in itself--the individual comes to understand education as a tool for pragmatic participation in attaining amenities for his community--the antithesis of the victim image. This theme of "possibility" is

present in every program under CUE, from the infant to the elder. Ask a three-year-old Fifth City citizen who he is and he will immediately respond, "I am the Greatest!" Victim? On the practical side, CUE seeks to better prepare preschool children for the formal education experience, tutor school youth in weak subjects, offer GED preparation for those not in the formal structures, and provide opportunities for continuing to college. In essence, CUE's task is to insure quality education while making it functional by cultivating individual commitment to the community, thereby channeling skills back into Fifth City.

The Symbol Guild and The Lyceum of Urban Arts (LUA) are designed to give expression to the cultural heritage of the community, its art, music and drama. Presupposition five (the power of symbols) is fundamental to LUA. Through a variety of agencies, such as an artistry studio, ensemble companies, and the repertory theater, LUA gives positive form to self-expression. Such expression is mediated to the community by public presentations. The interaction between the LUA programs and Fifth City residents precipitates the cultural heritage of the community. For instance, on one side of the Youth Node building there is a three-story mural depicting the emergence of the black man from bondage to self-determination, the self-expression of the individual talent grounded in the history of a

people. Fifth City has many of these concrete symbols plus a host of transitory ones such as a pointed one-act play produced to kill "Uncle Tom" in the minds of the residents. However, I do not intend to put undue emphasis on the cultural commonality of this black community, for the residents are diverse. Their commonality stems from the fact that as a race they are systematically exploited and oppressed; they possess a corporate knowledge of what it means to be black but in a negative sense. Therefore, the task of LUA is to create a positive commonality predicated on a unique, good and creative cultural community. Failure in this area precludes articulation with, and participation in, society at large and world civilization.

The Style Guild and the Matrix of Urban Style (MUS) comprise the last construct of the cultural dimension. MUS supports endeavors in CUE by a series of programs for after-school activities. Combined, MUS and CUE are oriented to occupy as much of a young individual's day as possible. This is important in that the ghetto is a negative environment. If we begin with one set of programs, e.g., CUE, and dispense with another, e.g., MUS, then efforts to instill positive images become self-defeating. Most certainly, programs in other areas of the model are geared to the adults in an attempt to create a positive home and community environment. However, in terms of viable reformulation

the success of one set of programs is predicated on the success of all others; all programs are coordinated and operate simultaneously. MUS, then, seeks to constructively occupy the afternoons of youth in school, and the days of youth not in school, unemployed adults and community elders--all ages.

The use of one's time is crucial in this area. Time is an especially perishable commodity to slum-dwellers. Without discipline, life for residents of the ghetto becomes a series of one day like the next, a uniform flow of passivity. Therefore, in every program under MUS discipline is stressed. Some examples will illustrate the goals of MUS. After school Fifth City youth participate, according to their age, in a series of programs ranging from "the Neighborhood Starfire Jets" to "the Fifth City Youth Set." Activities include involvement in the LUA programs (crafts, theater, music and more), field trips to cultural centers (museums and the like) and study groups. These youth have a place to meet (the Youth Node) and participate in community maintenance, e.g., the demolition of deteriorating structures. In short, discipline of time is the key to possibility, the possibility of altering the oppressive environment of the slum. The net result of MUS programs is the creation of style; a style which by its very nature stands in fundamental

opposition to the uniform passivity that society has structured into the inner-city slum.

Finally, there is the Political Guild and the Urban Polity Centrum (UPC). The primary responsibility of UPC is to put an end to victimization stemming from the violation of civil liberties, neglect in the area of urban services and political disenfranchisement. The former two causes of victimization are dealt with in a rather conventional manner via the legal aid clinic and the vital service agencies respectively and do not need to be spelled out. However, political disenfranchisement is particularly interesting in that the structure designed to achieve political amenities --the Civil Relations Commission (CRC)--is a complex network of dissemination units in a perpetual state of feedback. To illustrate, recently the Chicago Police Department had plans to locate a large complex in Fifth City, much to the displeasure of the residents. To combat its construction, the Community Information Center disseminated the city's plans to all residents via the Neighborhood Stake Complex (a care structure to be discussed under Community Organization). A petition filtered back up and CRC sent a delegation to City Hall. The complex was constructed in an adjancent neighborhood (North Lawndale) which had no corporate power base. Another incident witnessed a vociferous delegation of Fifth City citizens in the Illinois State

Legislature when hearings were being conducted on "contract selling"; it was voted illegal. The point is, given the feedback between the organizational superstructure and the individual, which is structurally channeled through the stakes, Fifth City possesses the means of community power to combat oppression in the political dimension. To belabor this further would lapse into the third and final section of analysis, Fifth City Community Organization.

Up to this point two processes have been discussed, cultivation of the individual via the imaginal education curriculum and development of the requisite community agencies to effectively deal with the problems of the inner city. The complex interaction of these two processes culminate in this, the third area of model analysis, community organization. That is, community organization is the means by which the model is actualized and viable reformulation is insured. It is only through a rigidly structured organization of community residents that total penetration is accomplished and that power is established. It is at this juncture that differential emphasis given to behavior modification becomes crucial.

Power is a highly sensitive and subtle commodity; too early a surrender of the symbols of power to the unprepared ghetto-dweller is counter-productive,

indeed, destructive. That is, power can never be effectively given; it must be taken! To take power requires that the individual be sensitized to its dynamic nature and know how to use it for the benefit of the community. Too many federal and private programs have merely gone into the ghetto, established structures and then handed the entire operation over to the community. If the requisite power to handle such an undertaking were already present, then there would not have been any problem in the first place. Imaginal education seeks to give the ghetto-dweller a vision of possibility for a better community, to cultivate a dedication to reformulation, and to develop the necessary critical intelligence in order that he may gradually be brought into the power structures of the community and take control of the innovating impetus implicit in the eighty social agencies.

Community organization is directed towards total penetration to the last problem and need of the individual resident, and corporate action through political unity. In the Fifth City Social Model the organization itself is comprised of a Congress, Presidium, Stake complex and a construct of Guilds (see Appendix V). The stake complex is the penetration instrument. Its structural components are: the geographical community is broken down into five stakes; each stake is then subdivided into four quads; each quad is further

disaggregated into four units; and each unit is responsible for up to ten families. Initially, the stake complex is employed for recruitment purposes. Once penetration has been accomplished and "troops" recruited, the stakes are rendered a different function --that of a care structure. In time, specially trained volunteer citizens (at least one per unit)--called "Iron Men"--assume responsibility for these units. The Iron Men disseminate information to the units and collect data on social and individual needs, thus linking the community member to the action agencies of the model.

It is to the five guilds that information flows from the stakes for purposes of corrective action. Therefore, the guild constitutes the action component of the organizational structure. The specific functions of each guild have already been delineated in considerable detail. To briefly recapitulate, however, the basic function of the guilds as a whole is to mediate between the broad public means and the local community. The overall structure of the guild construct is as straight-forward as that of stakes: there are five guilds; each guild is divided into four boards; and each board is responsible for the successful operation of one of the twenty social structures. Again, once the opportune time arrives the community residents take control of these boards, volunteering

their time and energy. (That is not to say, there exists a specific time when residents take control, for they are continually being gradually incorporated into the power structures.)

In sum, there is a dynamic interaction between the stakes and the guilds; the stakes assure that every last person is accounted for in the caring of the community and the guilds insure that effective action takes place to meet the residents' needs. Furthermore, the stake complex and the guild constructs are not static entities, responding only to crisis; they are in a perpetual state of analysis and attack, meeting and strategizing bi-weekly on alternate weeks.

People not formally involved in the guilds participate in Fifth City through the Congress, which is the third dimension of community organization. The Congress meets quarterly to hold the stakes and guilds accountable for concrete accomplishments of the past quarter and to establish guidelines for the ensuing quarter. Since decisions are made by consensus rather than by partisan vote, and are open to all residents, the individual has the opportunity to voice his opinion and, if he is persuasive enough, to change the focus of reformulation in any given area.

When the Congress is not in session it is represented by the Presidium (or Executive Council) which is comprised of the chairmen of the twenty boards under

the guild construct. Its primary function is to oversee the administration and execution of the guidelines set forth by the Congress which are then actualized by the stakes and guilds--the structural backbone of the organization. Although structurally this organization may be construed as hierarchically ordered, in reality is is not, for corporateness is stressed first. The individual, in any administrative capacity, comes second. Comprehensive reformulation requires a common vision, a common mission; radical individuality serves only to fragment the endeavor, precluding success.

Even though the Fifth City Social Model has been presented in three sections--imaginal education, social constructs, and community organization--for analytical purposes, it should be stressed that they make up a model. That is, imaginal education is implicit in the Center of Urban Education (indeed, in all of the Cultural Guilds), as is community organization in the Urban Polity Centrum (refer, Appendix III, social Structure number twenty). The overall structure and function of the model is extremely intricate and interrelated; indeed, it staggers the imagination. Yet, the model is no more complex than the situation for which it was designed. It is in this light the lingering question surfaces; does it work? Devoid of contextual

application and on the theoretical level we may be impressed, but on the pragmatic level model actualization remains to be demonstrated. It is to an evaluation of the model's applicability to which we now turn in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

BUT DOES IT WORK?

After the riots of 1968 it became clear to everyone that removal of exploitative establishments in the ghetto by fire and looting did not alter exploitation as a structural phenomenon. Instead of walking across the street, residents had to travel many blocks to be exploited. To eliminate a few competing enterprises in a virtually non-competitive market is to increase monopolistic control of ghetto buying power; the market is altered, but to the detriment of the slum-dweller. Yet, the absence of those establishments (in the form of vacant lots) served a positive function; the ghetto residents came to understand the nature of exploitation and the need to create anew, community-oriented business and housing.

Unfortunately, since the riots and up to 1971, no major outward sign of improvement had appeared. Nevertheless, Fifth City residents were patient, for they realized that the period from 1964 to 1968 was a time allocated to building the social model. However, patience yielded to despair in 1970 during the period of model actualization (1968 to 1972) with the conspic-

uous lack of tangible changes of major proportion, which culminated in a paradox. Regular meetings which by 1968 involved over 200 residents, generated great expectations in Fifth City. In 1970 the paradox emerged: an apex of expectancy and a nadir of disillusionment. Structurally, in terms of the model, this meant that the target community had been organized and incorporated into the project, but the requisite funds to actualize the most visible signs of reformulation (the community shopping center and renovated housing) had not materialized.

Initially the Fifth City project was subsidized by the Institute with later funding by Sears, Roebuck and Company, Jewel Tea, the Rockefeller and Wieboldt Foundations, and philanthropic individuals, but it simply was not enough to restore the commercial heart nor to provide adequate housing. Yet, hope never succumbed to rampant despair and in 1971 Fifth City was nationally recognized as a viable reformulation project and, thereby, was heavily funded (relative to past fiscal support) by such agencies as the Illinois Housing Development Authority (IHDA), the United States Department of Housing and Development (HUD), the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), the Borg-Warner Foundation, and regional banks. Through a series of project

proposals and national publicity, enough seed money was procured to meet the fiscal requirements of reformulation. In short, these funds enabled the actualization of the most visible social construct of the model (The Urban Economy Trust), the other constructs having already been operationalized by 1968; hence, the miraculous symbol the community needed to boost morale and to carry on the project--a new reality transcending a dream.

The fiscal format having been established, the discussion may now be directed to the question posed in the chapter heading. The issue of whether Fifth City is working and how can be evaluated from the standpoints of the data I collected in the field (an etic analysis) and the human drama of the community itself (an emic examination). At the outset, however, it must be stressed once again that the model emerged from the three problem areas discussed earlier (Chapter III). Therefore, in assessing the success of Fifth City, it is necessary that we return to those problems, i.e., the degree to which they are or are not still present.

Yet two of the three areas are not readily quantifiable. To be sure, I have collected numerous figures which attest to the progress made in establishing local social agencies. But what about the overriding problem of the victim image and the conspicuous

lack of political power? At present quantitative analysis in these two areas has not been attempted--a methodological balk. However, the inclusive methodology is an interrelated whole which suggests that success in one area is predicated on success in the other two, to wit, creating viable social agencies is built on community organization made possible by reorienting residents from victims to social catalysts. It is in this light that arresting victimization and establishing corporate power is implicit in the first section of analysis. All things being equal, it is my contention (by virtue of a before/after comparative study) that Fifth City is progressing, which the reader will, of course, accept or reject on the basis of the ensuing discussion.

To begin, the first level of analysis is based on the quantitative data I collected during brief field research in the month of August, 1974. Much like the discussion of the social model, the data neatly lends itself to a categorical breakdown per the eighty social agencies presently operating in Fifth City. However, to pursue that line of analysis would obfuscate the general pattern of success which now typifies the target community. Therefore, I have combined some of the relevant data into four general areas: housing, education, health and employment. By doing so it is

hoped that the aforementioned trend will come into acute focus. Furthermore, these four areas represent tangible parameters of the success of the social model in Fifth City. They also constitute the fulfillment of expectations experienced by the residents and for which heavy funding was necessary.

The most obvious sign of deterioration in the ghetto is not the littered streets or abandoned cars or the ethnic composition (the inference of slum from ethnicity); it is the condition of housing. This impression holds true not only for those people who drive through the ghetto with their car windows rolled up tight and doors locked, but as well for the orientation of government policy in Urban Renewal which has centered around substandard housing. Fifth City is typical in that on entering the community one first takes notice of several deteriorating buildings with boarded windows and doors.

The despair community residents felt from 1968 to 1970 was dramatically offset in 1971 by the approval of a rehabilitation package for housing. In August a loan for $1,995,000 was arranged under FHA--Section 221 (D) (3) of the National Housing Act--to renovate eight buildings consisting of 95 dwelling units (fifteen one-bedroom, 26 two-bedroom, 32 three-bedroom, and fifteen four-bedroom apartments). The loan was issued at 3 percent annual interest for a forty year

duration. In addition to funding renovation, FHA provided $50,688 in rent subsidies for these buildings, the apartments of which let for $125 to $204 a month. To date, seven have been completed, the eighth burned down before rehabilitation began. The next rehab package was funded by HUD for the renovation of four more buildings, totalling 58 dwelling units. Unlike the former package, these buildings consist of condominiums which will be purchased by community residents with loans from IHDA. At present, all four are still under construction. The third and final package is for ten buildings and will complete Fifth City rehabilitation. Proposals are now being drafted and it is hoped that the loans will be approved (in spite of poor national market conditions).

The crucial importance of these rehab packages was not so much in the physical renovation of deteriorating buildings as it was in the heightened morale of the community. Fifth City citizens experienced model actualization in an area they thought to be impossible. The E.I. staff also underwent a similar experience; they proved that the market could be manipulated to channel benefits into the ghetto. In short, federally funded rehabilitation of the environment became a signal event in the brief, but long, history of the community and provided the necessary impetus to carry on the difficult task of reformulation.

Of equal magnitude was the restoration of the commercial heart of Fifth City in the form of a centrally-located shopping complex. A loan of $500,000 (which was matched by local residents) was obtained from local banks to construct the center, part of which is situated in a vacant lot formerly occupied by an exploitative grocery store. The loan was contracted at 6 percent interest for twenty years, to be retired at $25,000 annually. (It is significant to note here that this loan represents the first private capital investment in the community in over twenty years!) The shopping center, which is still under construction but near completion, will contain: a foodstore, drugstore, laundromat, dry cleaners, barbership, beauty salon, restaurant, currency exchange and a realty office. To avoid the impersonality and dehumanizing effects of iron gates for security, which are characteristic of every shop on Madison Avenue (four blocks to the north), the suburban model of a shopping mall was used; there is only one central entrance. Also, the use of fluted concrete walls and roof to enclose the mall was employed as an innovative and attractive way of providing security during closing hours. (One HUD official in the Chicago area commented that this project has the "highest pedigree"--the most significant project in community development--of any comparable undertaking in the entire state of Illinois!)

This shopping mall, then, is a sign of revitalization and not a silent testimonial to the negative externalities of the slum (as are the typical iron-clad stores of the West Side).

The symbolic importance of the mall is, I believe, quite obvious. However, there is a subtle issue here regarding the actual commercial use of the facility that deserves attention. Is Tabb's economic paradigm of colonial/neo-colonial rule in the ghetto applicable to Fifth City?[1] The answer would have to be a qualified no for several reasons. The commercial center is owned and operated by and for Fifth City residents (serving, of course, the surrounding area as it was included in the cost-benefit analysis in the funding proposal) and will employ local citizens. Also, local merchants have played an integral role in the planning

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[1]Tabb (1970) depicts the subjugation of blacks to whites in the United States as internal colonialism (pg. 24) and the substitution of black merchants for exploiting white ones as neo-colonial control because of the necessity of cooperation with outside white interests (pg. 35). The question is; are blacks more exploitative of their own race than their white counterparts, above and beyond the economic contingencies of low-volume buying, high insurance rates, credit risks and high crime rates? Tabb argues that if the black merchant has no vested interest in the community he does business with (as a resident), then exploitation will undoubtedly continue (pg. 48), capitalizing on the structure of the ghetto market with a high probability of intensification or acceleration per the increased middle-class aspirations of the black merchant.

of the center; they have given their fiscal and moral support. Furthermore, these merchants hold weekly meetings to discuss the black market and what it means to economically care for their community. Finally, the social model provides for intense consumer education and protection, and the organizational power of the community is such that an exploitative merchant would not stay in business very long. The significance of the commercial center, then, is: it is a physical manifestation of reformulation, and it is a non-exploitative, community structure which serves the economic needs (culturally oriented to blacks) of the residents who own and operate it.

Although not as tangible, but nonethless important, are the accomplishments in the area of education, specifically the Fifth City Preschool. In 1972 the preschool, which had been operating for eight years, partially subsidized by the federal government, obtained a $410,000 grant from OEO as a "Model Preschool Education Demonstration Project" for facility rehabilitation and expansion of services. (The Fifth City preschool was selected by Abt Associates as OEO's number one demonstration project in early education.) The importance of development in this area is not the rehabilitation of the facilities, although they were much in need, but the effects on the community residents in terms of active participation and net results of the

curriculum. The preschool is presently serving over 227 children (with 150 on the waiting list) coming from 180 Fifth City families. Of the families whose children attend the preschool, 50 to 60 percent of them are in some way actively involved in the program; 75 percent of these active families actually assist in classroom activities in capacities such as catering lunch, telling stories and chaparoning excusions into the city. Parental participation in a program that in many instances is a diurnal dumping place or repository for unwanted children is unprecedented and constitutes a learning experience for the adults as well as the very young (six weeks through five years of age). Although adult involvement is a viable means of establishing community concern, it is tangential to the curriculum itself.

The preschool curriculum, a facet of imaginal education, has enjoyed a tremendous amount of success locally and recognition regionally. Locally, the program has had a positive effect on the ghetto child's learning ability which has significantly increased since the preschool was established. In fact, the staff of Leif Erickson Elementary School feels that the scholastic standards have risen recently due to the quality of the Fifth City Preschool training. (The Borg-Warner Foundation should be acknowledged in that they donated and installed eight experimental

machines to accelerate reading abilities.) Regionally, the program has been recognized as the best preschool education in the greater metropolitan area. In that context it is significant to note that the preschool staff, comprised of twenty local residents, has established the Urban Progress Center, which is the training center for the entire West Side Day-Care system. (The training consists of a six-week course in curriculum and methodology.) Also, the program has received national acclaim with the grant from OEO. In the final analysis, the total long-range impact of the preschool program is impossible to assess, for there has not been enough time to evaluate student performance beyond elementary school. However, performance at the elementary level indicates that the prospect of a higher median level of education in Fifth City is encouraging.

Another part of the success in the area of education concerns the Emissary program. As the reader will recall, this program involves the sending of Fifth City youth to live with Movement families across the nation to attend suburban schools. With an average of approximately 35 participants a year, the program has yielded remarkable results; 100 percent of the students have received their diplomas with 20 percent going on to college. Scholastic averages have clustered around "C" and "B" (some "A's") which is

significant given the differential educational preparation these students have received in the ghetto juxtaposed to the higher standards of suburban schools. The GED program is also encouraging; 33 percent of the participants to date have obtained diplomas--a testimony to the self-discipline of young and established adults in the face of overwhelming obstacles. Finally, it has been reported that the truancy rate at Marshall, the local high school, has dropped. The significance of this data can be appreciated by comparison to Marshall's average graduating class, which runs less than 10 percent of the student body annually. Not to fall victim to statistics, the Fifth City staff hopes that the figures cited above represent a trend, although again it is too early to be conclusive.

The third area of marked progress is the health division of the model. The Neighborhood Health Outpost--NHO--is one of the vintage programs initiated in Fifth City. It started with a couple of E.I. nurses and evolved into a facility that employs a full-time doctor (soon to be two) plus the services of seven visiting doctors (totalling forty man-hours a week), a staff of five, and local female youths who have been trained in elementary nursing skills with NYC funds. NHO also has a fully equipped chest X-ray unit, utilizes a computer for records, has established a local blood bank, and has reserved-ward status with

Cook County General Hospital. Through a program of health education and preventive medicine, illustrated by the 200-plus visits to the center each week, the incidence of hospitalization among community residents has been significantly reduced.

Like housing and education, endeavors in the realm of health have received due recognition. NHO has been chosen by the Urban League and HEW to receive a demonstration grant (the amount of which has not yet been disclosed to my knowledge). Further, there are six other health outposts in Cook County that have observed the degree of success of NHO and subsequently have decided to use the Fifth City model for comprehensive health care. Such recognition and replication in this area (and the other two as well) in itself is healthy and preventive; healthy for community morale and preventive of disillusionment.

Employment constitutes the fourth area of evaluation. Unfortunately, the employment situation in Fifth City has not improved in tandem with the other areas above. In fact, unemployment remains a severe obstacle. That is not to say there has been no improvement; there has, but the rate of progress is slow. The reason for this lag is the job market is not as easily manipulated as federal funds; it is much more sensitive to fluctuations in the national aggregate demand curve. Furthermore, the national

unemployment rate has continued to rise, hitting hard the lower stratum of society. Compounding the problem are the omnipresent lack of skill and experience of Fifth City residents. Yet unemployment in the target community is not peculiar to the area. It is impossible to generate jobs at the local level when employment and demand nationally are decreasing, and inflation accelerating. It has been argued that full employment is possible and profitable if national priorities were to be rearranged (The Council of Economic Advisors 1969:58-59), but priorities are a function of the lobby and as such are difficult to change. Long-range solutions to unemployment in Fifth City rest with the federal government, requiring basic categorical alterations in the budget. The final factor is attitudinal, i.e., discrimination. Blacks continue to be excluded from jobs on the basis of race; unemployment in the black sector is a function of white unemployment--the ratio of two to one remains constant through time regardless of the rate (see Kovarsky and Albrecht 1970). It is for that reason the Institute has sought recourse to the Church in order to break down the attitudinal barriers which preclude, in part, full employment in the inner city.

Employment in Fifth City is the responsibility of the Income Resources Bureau (IRB), social structure four under the Urban Economy Trust. Its functions

are job placement, training and referral. The fundamental problem IRB faces is not necessarily the availability or quantity of jobs as it is quality. That is, jobs within reach of the black ghetto-dweller are generally menial and service oriented; they pose no challenge to an individual's resources and capability--the job has no meaning, no personal satisfaction. It is the familiar dichotomy of a job versus a career; what dignity and future is there in scrubbing floors for a living? Fifth City residents continually enter and leave a job market which tailors them to meet the marginal demands of society. The net result of this situation, in spite of well-intended and fairly constant job placement and referral, is a high dropout rate. Equally dismal is the vocational training program. Attempts in this area have been frustrating due to a decreased demand in the market and to an increasing technology which requires continual re-education and retraining. For example, I.B.M. trained fourteen residents in computer operations, but the dynamic nature of computer technology diminishes chances for advancement while increasing the probability that the worker will rapidly become outdated. The marked lack of dramatic results in the employment area can be briefly summarized as follows: generally, only menial jobs are available and Fifth City residents put no lower or higher value on this

type of employment than does society at large (see Liebow 1967:57), and accessibility to career-oriented jobs is severely limited.

On the positive side, there have been a significant number of jobs generated in the community, to a large extent from the administration of the project by residents, i.e., twenty full-time positions in the bureaucracy (managerial, secretarial and maintenance) accounting for 32.8 percent of new employment. The remaining 67.2 percent consists of employment as a function of model actualization with no administrative connections. These jobs are: fourteen I.B.M. keypunch operators, twenty preschool teachers, six NHO staff (paramedical and secretarial), five service jobs on the Institute campus for preschool maintenance and security (two cooks, one dishwasher, one janitor and one guard), four guaranteed jobs in the new commercial center (two grocery-store clerks and two night guards), and one Fifth City resident elected as alderman. In total, there have been 61 new jobs created in the community since 1970, given a margin for the new employment continuum which began roughly in 1967.

To better understand the implications of these new jobs, it is best they be viewed relative to the employment situation of the community as a whole. The active adult labor force (ALF) of Fifth City is

1291 (58 percent of the total adult population--TAP--of 2220) with an unemployment rate of 10 percent or 129 residents. Furthermore, the hidden employment rate (Chapter II) has been calculated at approximately 42 percent (41.9 exactly) or 932 adults. Therefore, the total unemployment rate for the community is 47.7 percent affecting 1061 citizens--a staggering figure. The interjection of 61 new jobs, then, accounts for 4.66 percent of ALF or 2.74 percent of TAP. In terms of unemployment, there has been a 46 percent reduction in AFL or 9.3 percent in TAP resulting in rates of 4.6 percent and 39.06 percent respectively. Even though the drop in unemployment is not as great as expectations would have it, the decrease cannot be discounted; 61 jobs are 61 productive family units, present and future.

In the final analysis, it is difficult to assess the fiscal impact of IRB on Fifth City. For example, money has been channeled into the community through the N.Y.C. program and residents have joined the Order (although monetary gain is nominal). Also, one has the tendency to compare the employment arena with success in other areas of the model, e.g., 2.74 percent decrease in TAP unemployment vis-a-vis the $1,995,000 FHA loan for housing rehabilitation. However, there is improvement in the employment sector, albeit slow. What is at issue here is not the velocity

of transformation, but a trend that moves forward; a trend built on dreams, fostered by hope and actualized by non-remunerative toil of concerned individuals. Community reformulation is a slow process, slower in some areas than in others.

There are other areas that could be explored to illustrate progress in Fifth City. We can point to the Police Commander in Chief's report of an 11 to 14 percent reduction of crime in the community during 1973 (no categorical breakdown available) or to the 500 plus residents per year receiving legal aid in the form of court services. However, I chose to elaborate those categories of progress that atest to the success of the experiment in the most salient and cogent manner. That is not to say there have been no setbacks or disappointments. Fifth City is not a unilinear process of repeated successes. What is important here is that through the combined efforts of community residents and E.I. staff a model for comprehensive inner-city development was built and is being actualized.

Yet the overall picture is not quite complete. The reader might logically argue at this juncture, given the magnitude of the Movement, E.I. established and perpetuated the innovating impetus in the target community resulting in the accomplishments enumerated

above, and the future success of Fifth City is predicated on the continued presence of the Institute. To the former--the impetus--I would have to agree, but not without qualification. Of course E.I. provided the innovating impetus and the initial means. If impetus and means existed on the West Side, then there would have been no problem and no need for a Fifth City in the first place. The residents of the target community needed to be educated to the task of improving their condition before they took control of the innovating impetus--no bootstrap development here. Unlike most liberal, bourgeois change agents whose expectations and strategies for reformulation are products of the dominant culture, the Institute staff channeled the impetus through the culture of the target population in order to clearly define the needs of the community and only then proceeded to create local structures by which the black ghetto could meaningfully articulate with society at large. To the latter--the future--I would emphatically disagree. The Fifth City project is not an external, wholesale operation imported and imposed on the ghetto; it is a structural phenomenon that has emerged from within the community based on the cultivation of local leadership without which reformulation is futile. The second level of analysis, then, pertains specifically to that indigenous leadership which is

the future of Fifth City--a human drama of anxiety, frustration and possibility.

To discuss local community leadership in Fifth City is to discuss the transfer of power. The possibility of reformulation has been demonstrated to the target population in that each of the eighty social agencies has been actualized. (Perhaps the word "demonstrate" is a poor choice, for it implies: I show you, now you do as I have.) Yet, demonstration does not create leaders as a by-product of observation. Leadership is only established by a gradual cumulative process of active participation in the forces of change and the transformation of the individual from victim to catalyst. Such was the premise for incorporating the community residents into the project from the very beginning in 1964--cooperation in innovation.

The transfer of power, a dynamic process and not a static ceremony, can be roughly divided into three stages which are not temporal entities, but overlap. The first stage (1964 to 1968) was an incipient stage of recruitment. During this period community inhabitants were solicited to help define the fundamental problems facing the target area and to help build the social model. From this group of people rose a body of "Iron Men" dedicated to the task of actualizing the social agencies. The next stage

(1968 to 1972) was a period of transition in which potential leaders emerged from the corporate body of stage one. Those individuals received extensive training in the dynamics of the model, i.e., the manipulation of economic, social and political structures. The final stage (1972 to 1974) witnessed the actual transfer of power. Fifth City citizens assumed full responsibility for the future of their community.

The transition itself was a time of joy and sadness, a time of hope and anxiety. How did the residents react when all the decision-making processes and facilities were turned over to the community? Response to the transfer of power was both emotional and practical. The emotional element--a time of joy and sadness--was effectively related to the Order by Lela Mosely, a Fifth City citizen and prominent leader, who wrote:

> I feel tearful now, but something tells me this is a time when we should lift up our heads and prepare to make a joyful noise. There is a sadness here in that so many of us who have been the backbone of Fifth City . . . are going to new places. That makes it a time for crying . . . . But it is also a time for rejoicing (July 1974).

The emotion expressed above is not the bourgeois sentimentality associated with the melodramatic parting of friends; it is the parting of comrades who maintain a bond through their common mission. It is the

creative tension (see Chapter VII) which has existed in the community for the past ten years that has enabled the severing of staff and residents to be functionally joyful, for Fifth City is but a small dot on the face of the earth and there are many more communities in need of reformulation:

> Our intention from the beginning was not to keep Fifth City so that it became a city unto itself. Our intention was to give it to the world. And our way of giving it to the world is giving you to the world (Ibid.).

It was clear to the community from the outset that Fifth City was to be a demonstration project for purposes of global replication, not the synchronic testing of a social hypothesis. Not without a heavy heart, Fifth City citizens took upon themselves the burden of the innovating impetus and are now struggling with the awesome complexity of reformulation.

When I was conducting my field research I had the opportunity to spend an afternoon conversing with Lela. The results of that pleasant but sober conversation are most pertinent to the other dimension of the transition, i.e., the practical--a time of hope and anxiety. Immediately after the transfer of power community morale was high. Fifth City residents had witnessed several major changes, specifically, the rehab packages and the commercial center. Although the local leaders had experienced setbacks along with the E.I. staff in terms of not quite balancing the

budget or the refusal of a proposal for funds, they were now on their own, alone with no one to turn to except themselves. They found that hope only exists on the other side of anxiety. In spite of the difficulties, Fifth City residents have managed the project well. Financially they are no longer subsidized by the Institute; they carry on their own "development" agency (a term for fund raising) to maintain the salaried personnel and the myriad programs--fiscal responsibility. The indigenous leadership has become literate to the fine art of petitioning funds, to wit, the drafting and submitting of a proposal for $108,000 to be used in a management training program specifically for the training of residents as managers of the recently rehabilitated apartment buildings. They also negotiated and obtained a loan for small home improvements--heretofore unattainable--although I found out later that it had been revoked with no explanation offered.

Fiscal development and responsibility exist as long as Fifth City operates. But that is not the crux of the issue. Channeling money into the community is a continuing problem for the residents not because funds do not exist or lack of skill in manipulating the market, but due to the issue of external control. Fifth City has had several grants offered to the community, but grants with strings attached.

The problem is funding corporations and foundations have sought to define the use of the grant. If suggestions concerning the use of funds by the benefactors were solely confined to general areas, e.g., health, then there would be no problem, for that would be implicit in the proposal in the first place. However, these suggestions go well beyond the general areas of application to the level of exactly how the funds are to be utilized. In effect, an attempt is being made to exert control on the innovating impetus of the project. Consequently, Fifth City turned down the grants; no one was going to meddle in the model. Where, then, is the victim image? Most certainly the foregoing points to victimization, not from within the community but from the bourgeois idealism of petty bureaucrats.

Another sensitive area concerns power. The community has experienced the power of corporateness in the fight to block the construction of a large police complex in Fifth City (see Chapter IV); they won. However, control is never absolute. Bethany Hospital is moving out of the community (which it never really served) leaving behind a methadone clinic and psychiatric ward. Fifth City was not consulted and leaders are upset. In August 1974, dialogue was being established with the hospital to make the move constructive. If there was to be a psychiatric ward,

then it would have to articulate with the model. Yet, Fifth City residents are not pushing the issue of control for the sake of control. Structures in a community must serve the community; if not they become potentially dangerous. The reason for concern here is subtle. At present, the project is at a critical and fragile stage. Given the interdependency of the eighty social agencies, a disruption in one part of the system could trigger serious dislocation in other areas resulting in a domino effect (possibly leading to the total collapse of the model). Fifth City cannot afford any negative externalities which would have deleterious effects that might be avoided by prompt action. In sum, Fifth City citizens know the power of corporateness, but such power is not always respected; they know the fine art of petitioning for funds, but requests are not always granted or strings are attached; and they know that the future of their community is in their own hands and nobody else's.

It is truly difficult to make a definitive prediction about the future of Fifth City. If the project were confined solely to the original boundaries of the community, then the probability of success and completion would certainly be high. However, the target area has now been expanded to forty square blocks with a total population of 20,000 (Fifth City

was "flipped" over to the north). It is impossible to arrest a project of this type at a given time, analyze it per the degree of progress and then conjecture about its future. Why? To begin, the strength of a community development program covaries with the amount of responsibility assumed in the innovating impetus by the residents (see Niehoff 1966:247); this we must accept as a given. It has already been established that Fifth City residents have taken total control of the project. Yet Fifth City is not a community unto itself. Therein lies the strategy of expansion; that is, once the target community reaches the stage of self-generation it expands to incorporate adjacent areas, hence the "flip." It is for that reason Fifth City cannot be arrested in time for the purposes of prediction. As soon as residents have control of the processes of change in their particular community, reformulation begins to spread, exponentially. At present, local leaders face the prospects of ministering four times the original population, replicating the action (guilds) and care (stakes) structures, and actualizing the model anew. What this means is that reformulation begins all over again, except this time it is Fifth City citizens who must act as innovators, not the E.I. staff. Therefore, there is no completion of the original project. Success terminates when all of Chicago's

slums have been redeveloped, indeed, all like situations of oppression. Will the local leadership become victim to the impossibility of redefining the environment and recreating it? The answer will only come from an historical pronouncement.

There do, however, seem to be some basic criteria which assure Fifth City a future in its enlarged state, provided they are continued. First, the emphasis on comprehensiveness must continually be stressed, all the people, all the problems. Second, the fortitude and dedication of the leadership must be maintained, not falling prey to cynicism. Finally, the community residents must not lose sight of Fifth City as a demonstration project based on a universal vision; Fifth City cannot stand alone. If all three are maintained with equal tenacity, then Fifth City will have a future; if not, it will internally collapse of its own weight. The general trends have been set. It is now up to the people to show the world they have assumed responsibility for their own destinies and that they will succeed.

The fifteenth day of December, 1973, marked the true beginning of Fifth City with the first official visit of Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley who came to attend the "Decade of Miracles" celebration. No less significant than Daley's appearance was the

short speech he delivered to the people, excerpts of which appear below.

> Everyone here has accomplished much. . . . and I hope, with the help of God, that what you are doing here will be emulated, and imitated, and repeated in every neighborhood in our city . . . because when we improve the neighborhood and we improve the community, then we improve the city. . . . and there's no reason why we can't do what you've done in ten years, in the next ten years, to remove every slum and every blight in Chicago . . . congratulations again from a grateful city to fine, hard-working people who had a dream (E.I. bimonthly newsletter 1973:2).

The mayor's visit was indeed a propitious occasion; Fifth City had finally been recognized by Chicago's power structure, an enfranchisement of sorts. Daley's presence represented the symbolic capstone to a decade of sheer struggle and the beginning of a new decade of possibility.

CHAPTER VI

ACTUALIZATION AND THE COMPREHENSIVE CONTEXT

The comprehensive approach is not a novel development in community reformulation strategy, exclusive to the Fifth City demonstration project. However, to construct a comprehensive model is one thing; to actualize it is quite another. Any self-conscious social scientist can abstract the problems facing the slum community and build an elaborate model to deal effectively with them. But the test comes when that model is juxtaposed to the reality of the situation for which it was designed; does it work? To better understand why Fifth City has been so successful when other attempts have repeatedly failed it is necessary that we compare it to another project of the same gender. The Model Cities program provides the best possible contrast to Fifth City in that it is a significant attempt in total development initiated at the federal government level, but is failing. By examining why Model Cities has not proved effective we will come to understand why Fifth City has worked. For purposes of analysis I shall refer specifically to the Model Cities program in the Woodlawn area of south

Chicago (The Woodlawn Organization--TWO--1970) as representative of the general model.

The basic consideration of Model Cities "is to redevelop the total environment in which the low income family resides" (Schreiber et al. 1971;78). The TWO model is comprehensive in that it laboriously constructs the necessary agencies within the community to effectively deal with all the crucial economic, political, social and cultural inequities. The result is a large network of decision-making and problem-solving compartments that enter into a bulging bureaucratic framework in which the people of the target community have an active voice. Indeed, the fundamental presupposition of the model is citizen participation and responsibility in actualizing the goals and objectives of the program. The model itself is divided into three parts: The Core and Outreach System, The Educational System, and The Housing and Economic Development Corporation (HEDC). Subsumed under the core are: The Health Division, The Social Services Division, The Financial Services Division, The Law Division, and The Environmental Planning Division. The Education System includes programs ranging from preschool to vocational training; and HEDC deals with employment opportunities, adequate housing and so on.

In its structural configuration (in terms of

categorical emphasis) TWO is quite similar to Fifth City, especially in the economic and political dimensions. For example, the subdivisions of the Core and Outreach System with the exception of the Law Division (subsumed under the Urban Polity Centrum in Fifth City) correspond to the four social structures of the Urban Economy Trust in the Fifth City Social Model regarding function, although the Housing and Economic Development Corporation should be included as well. Also, the scope of the Educational System is analogous to the Center of Urban Education. The point of departure between the two models is not, therefore, structural. Rather, there is no counterpart in TWO to the imaginal education curriculum. As we have noted (Chapter IV), imaginal education is foundational to the inclusive methodology and its exclusion precludes development as is evidenced below.

The TWO model is much more complex than I have presented it, but the skeletal form above does serve to illustrate an attempt to give structure to and solve the many problems of the slum. The model, per its inclusive structure, is basically sound, but models as such are not enough. If it cannot be actualized then the effort amounts to nothing more than "utopian rhetoric" (see Greer 1970). TWO did not survive the transition from the abstract to the concrete; it failed to operationalize its community

agencies in a manner ensuring long-range viability. To be sure, TWO worked on a short-term basis but it lacked a solid community foundation to handle the innovating impetus through time. The shortcomings of TWO are not, then, attributable to its focus but to its implementation which can be construed, in part, as a methodological defect. There are three interrelated problems which are responsible for the demise of this Model Cities program: no imaginal education, too large a community, and an inadequate task force.

The first problem of no imaginal education stems from the apparent insignificance given to the victim image. Again, this is not a psychological problem. Although TWO brought the slum-dweller into the power structure of the community, it failed to develop the total individual. That is, total commitment to the reformulation of the community does not necessarily follow from giving the residents a voice in the decision-making processes. Woodlawn is a black community and the black man bears deep psycho-sociological scars born not only of his immediate environment, but from a long history of oppression. It is essential that the internal self-image of a second-rate human being (a negative self-orientation resulting from oppression) be immediately dealt with, not only for the sake of developing self-confidence, but for establishing a genuine commitment to the total

reformulation of the community. Without the dedication of all members of the target area and the self-confidence in the face of many frustrations and setbacks, the structure of the model will collapse of its own bureaucratic weight. TWO did not develop the necessary "gut-level" commitment of the community residents. The TWO model has been experiencing political factioning and fragmentation (personal communication) and, thereby, is failing in its task. (I should also mention that the Nixon administration drastically cut Model Cities funds.) Without a common mission and corporate responsibility on the part of the entire target population, effective change is impossible.

Second, TWO defeated itself from the very beginning by encompassing too large an area to adequately administer the model. The target community must be small enough so that virtually every inhabitant is reached; total penetration must be achieved. This is important in several respects. If the target area is small enough, then a genuine sense of community can be established. Community identity is crucial if the change agent expects to generate resident participation in the care structures. Also, effective community power is established if all residents are involved. Corporate power is essential in the manipulation of state and federal agencies to serve the

inner city. Furthermore, the direct benefits of reformulation to the individual are maximized if all members of the community are involved in the program; that is, negative externalities are minimized. Finally, a small community provides a realistic unit for measuring the net effects of the model. If the geographical area is too large, as Woodlawn is, then total penetration is impossible and the probability the model can be effectively demonstrated is greatly diminished. In the end, differential emphasis is placed on the massive structural bureaucracy rather than on how it must practically function in serving the community. Such was the fate of TWO.

The final problem is that TWO lacked the necessary task force to actualize the model. I have already considered the community resident and the imperative of addressing the internal man in order that he be wholly incorporated into the common mission of reformulation. Yet community inhabitants constitute only part of the requisite troops. There has got to be a core of development experts who assist. These experts must become <u>residents</u> of the target community with a personal, vested interest in its well-being. This requires a commitment that few are willing to make; it involves personal danger, sacrifice, frustration and suffering. If the change agent is not willing to "get his hands dirty," then surely the

inhabitants will lack the corporate incentive to change their environment. Bootstrap development is a product of the Protestant Ethic and it simply does not apply to the reformulation of the inner city. Slum-dwellers need to be educated to the task of improving their condition before they take control of the innovating impetus, and this becomes a twenty-four hour a day undertaking which requires that the expert be constantly available. I do not subscribe to the notion that experts should only act in the capacity of advisors who are imported as circumstances dictate--a pitfall of TWO. The fundamental presupposition here is the change agent must become an active, participating member of the target community eventually working himself out of a job, moving on to another area. In the final analysis, it cannot be any other way.

One might conjecture at this juncture that had TWO recognized and then corrected the three problems above it might not have degenerated. However, we will never know if it could have survived; it is entirely possible that it would have failed anyway, in spite of corrective efforts in those areas. This raises an interesting issue, that is, the degree of importance assigned to the victim image, the delimited community and the resident change agent as key ingredients in community development. Although we cannot

turn back the clock on the TWO project, we can compare the absence of these factors in it with their presence in Fifth City to resolve the issue. In essence, we are asking the question; why has Fifth City enjoyed success and not Woodlawn?

To begin, the two models are structurally very similar; both are comprehensive and involve complex bureaucracies. Furthermore, each of the two models operates with the presuppositions of addressing all the problems of the slum community and orients its programs to include all age groups (Chapter IV, numbers three and four respectively of the Fifth City model). Finally, citizen participation and responsibility are mutually stressed as fundamental to realizing the objectives of attaining amenities. At this point, however, the models radically diverge from similarity. The Fifth City model incorporates three additional presuppositions, i.e., the delimited area, the depth human problem (the victim image) and the power of symbols (implicit in imaginal education). The advantages of a workable target area have been sufficiently explored. Suffice it to say, a "community" that does not know it is a community cannot exert sufficient power to channel benefits into the slum. (Community is in part established through symbols.) The victim image is equally critical. It has already been mentioned in the discussion on community

organization (Chapter IV) that power is a subtle commodity; too early a surrender results in disaster. Power is to be taken, not given as with TWO. The taking of power requires a dramatic reorientation of the slum-dweller. He needs to be shown first that change is possible. Next, he must become sensitized in the nature and use of corporate pressure. Finally, a dedication to his community must be cultivated to avoid the internal political factioning and fragmentation experienced by TWO. Imaginal education is partially the vehicle by which this is achieved (again through the use of symbols). In sum, the addition of these three presuppositions (and corresponding programs, indeed, the entire focus of the model) provides an optimum climate for the demonstration of the model's applicability.

Probably the most significant factor is the character and motivation of the resident change agents. The Fifth City experiment is quite unique in that, as change agents, the staff moved into the ghetto and set up primary residence; no one maintains a second household, a retreat to escape the slum. They have made a commitment to the extent of subjecting their children to the negative environment of the inner city; what benefits the community benefits the Order. The importance of this has been previously established; development requires a twenty-four hour day. Importing

experts creates only a superficial aura of cooperation and concern with residents; there is considerable latitude for mistrust and wasting precious time. What it boils down to is this. If community residents realize that what you do, as a change agent or develment expert, affects your well-being and that of your family as residents with a vested interest in the community, then a major gap between "innovator" and "recipient" has been bridged. TWO failed to do this and the project paid the price.

What is important here is not so much that TWO did not work as it is why Fifth City did. The foregoing discussion has pointed to three factors which were absent in TWO but present in Fifth City. Again, the significance of this is not that TWO lacked these ingredients and failed, but that Fifth City had them and succeeded. However, given the similarity between the two models, it is logical to infer that the presence of the additional presuppositions and the resident expert are foundational to success in community development. Therefore, I believe that we have come much closer to understanding how Fifth City works and why it has been successful where other comprehensive projects have failed.

SECTION THREE

IMPLICATIONS: THE CHANGE AGENT AND THE WORLD

CHAPTER VII

HONKY HAVEN--DO-GOODERS OR COMRADES?

Fifth City can be approached from yet another standpoint, i.e., from the perspective of the change agent. In utilizing my subjective experience as a member of the Institute staff and as a resident of the target community, I seek to describe the mechanics of how the project was initiated and evolved. Therefore, my sole data source is based on my impressionistic universe.[1] However, I do not wish to convey the idea that the ensuing discussion merely constitutes an extemporaneous discourse on life in the ghetto. Quite to the contrary, the following is a premeditated analysis, albeit retrospective, of the human dynamics of reformulation as experienced by the change agent: the vision, the expectations, the failures and the anxiety. In a very real sense we are about to embark on the spirit journey of the

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[1]The analysis of subject matter in this chapter is my own and in no way should be construed as wholly representative of the views held by the members of the Ecumenical Institute.

change agent as his self-image and world-view evolves from the romantic, to the realistic, to the cynic, and finally, to the pragmatic--the objective experience of subjectivity.

In August of 1962 I arrived in Evanston, Illinois (Chapter I) not knowing what to expect, for my family had moved there during my sojourn in Europe. Furthermore, the Ecumenical Institute meant nothing to me; I was totally ignorant, having not been at all informed about the particulars of the move, save for the fact that if I returned to my point of departure (Austin, Texas) my family would not be there. At sixteen, my impressions of the mansion, out of which the Institute conducted its activities, were quite favorable. It was a grand old house complete with a promenade for a front porch, ornate interior trim, stained-glass windows and on and on. It even had a coachhouse on the premises which was surrounded by a wrought-iron fence accentuated by intricate designs.

However, my intrigue soon gave way to misgivings. What were all those people doing living together in that mansion? Although I had participated to a degree in communal living (common meals and worship) at the Christian Faith and Life Community, I never had to share living quarters. My family had always had a

house of its own. Misgivings transformed into anxiety after I, along with all the other children, was relegated to a "dormitory" in a cold section of the basement. My parents soon followed, occupying the coal bin. And still people continued to come and the mansion was once again sectioned off into increasingly smaller compartments to accomodate the influx of troops. Although my anxiety never gave way to hostility, I do recall a period of severe alienation. It was as if suddenly I had acquired additional sets of mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, who continually placed demands on my body and soul. Of course, there were the inevitable conflicts and I firmly believe that had the Institute not relocated to the West Side, the Movement might have been nipped in the bud, for people, like rats, are spatial creatures; exceed the optimum crowding point and havoc reigns.

My only salvation at the time was school. I attended my sophomore year at Evanston Township High School (ETHS), the facilities of which rival some colleges. Although I was duly impressed, the experience proved to be the antithesis that led to my deep concern for the oppressed. One incident in particular set the stage for my adjustment to ghetto life and the inevitable vocational decision I would have to make. The social structure of ETHS student body was divided

along two lines: the "white bucks" (high status) and the "greasers" (low status). Each group was readily identifiable by their respective attires. The white bucks garbed themselves in Madras shirts (hand-washed in cold water so as not to lose color), white Levi jeans with a brown belt, and dark socks and brown penny loafers. The greasers wore flannel shirts, black stovepipe pants with a black belt, and white socks and black pointed shoes with Cuban heels. Naturally, at my debut I immediately was pegged a greaser. Not that I really cared about making it in ETHS society, but there were friends within my social network of greasers who did. Therefore, we set out to become white bucks. First, we changed our attire (my father was furious that I had spent five dollars on a Madras shirt and that I wanted some brown penny loafers when my black shoes were "perfectly good"). We then started to attend social functions that white bucks frequented (generally, dances at the Y.M.C.A.). Our networks gradually expanded until one day, voilá, we were bucks, just like that. I remember the day we realized it while walking down the street; the scene was euphoric. The day ended with our getting drunk, having obtained liquor from the underground at grossly inflated prices (Evanston was a dry township). Through the haze of my hangover the next morning, I reflected on

the event with disgust; is this what suburbanites do to fill in the void of boredom? Fortunately for me, my "buckdom" occurred late in the school year. Moving to the ghetto was, in fact, my salvation.

Relocating to the ghetto was an event which I embraced with considerable enthusiasm. Anything was better than living in a cold and crowded basement which cramped my style in playing social games anyway. After numerous forays into the target community, the move began. During the summer of 1963 a continuous stream of U-Haul trucks emptied their contents into the seminary on the West Side. I am sure that the confusion I felt at the time was greatly exceeded by the curiosity experienced by the community residents. Nevertheless, I was ready and excited. I unhesitatingly put in long hours moving furniture, scrubbing floors, sweeping basements, painting apartments ad infinitum and so much more.

The transition was easy for me as I had tired of the suburbs. Yet, the ease I experienced in entering this black community was probably due more to my naiveté and romanticism than to a rejection of suburbia or to altruistic intentions; I was there because the Institute was there. I knew intuitively that something fundamental was happening but I could not quite grasp what it was. Most certainly, my knowledge of E.I. was growing. I understood the purpose of the courses

and had participated in some of them. However, it was not clear to me at the time that the staff had re-defined the role of the church and that was why we were in the ghetto. On the other hand, although staff realized that the church had to deal with the inner city, they did not know how to go about it; they were there to find out--there existed no preconceived model.

The first two years (1963 to 1965) of the experiment were devoted almost entirely to getting established in the community, not so much as a self-conscious exercise as a creative standoff between staff and residents. That does not mean there was no effort to penetrate the target community. But on the other hand, we did not flood the streets telling the inhabitants our intention and purpose; that came later. (In the beginning, the Institute had neither the resources nor a model to effect change; the staff was still struggling with the courses for the renewal of the church to establish a base for reformulation.) Getting established, as any field researcher or change agent knows, is the first priority (second only to finding a place to live) and the hardest. Being a family order, the Institute was at a distinct advantage in that all age groups and marital statuses were represented; therefore, communication could be established at all levels.

In effect, the efforts in community reformulation by the staff can be viewed as an aberrant form of the interdisciplinary team approach to field problems, i.e., the intergenerational team strategy. The advantages of this approach, especially given the nature of the project, are rather obvious. However, I do feel the role children play in the field is very much underrated; children are definitely an asset. To illustrate, at seventeen my role, and the role of all Order youth, was to make friends, although this role was not explicitly defined by the staff at the time nor was it a self-conscious act dictated by strategy. It was simply something youth naturally do when they move into a new neighborhood. Ghetto children and young adults were attracted to the seminary grounds immediately. We played football, baseball, basketball (there was a gym on campus) and so forth. (It is interesting to note, in these games it was never "us" against "them." We, the Order youth, always made sure the teams were comprised equally of ourselves and the neighborhood kids.) Intense rapport was established, in terms of mutual dependence.

The importance of this concerns the degree of mobility children have. Whereas adults tend to thoroughly screen one another, children come and go as they please. Ghetto youth had free access to the

Institute and we had free access to community homes --no suspicion. Children act, in a sense, as informal spys; they relate to their parents the day's activities and encounters. In the absence of hatred and hostility, the Order youth established the initial tie to the target community, albeit without structure.

On the other hand, youth rapport was not the only dynamic at work during those first two years; adults were out in the community too. Why, then, is emphasis given to youth during this period? For over a year (1963 to 1964) the E.I. staff honored the justified suspicion of the residents concerning this honky haven which had sprung up in the ghetto, by confining their activities to the campus of the newly-purchased seminary. That left only the youth to interact with the community in an overt manner. Yet there was something created by this interaction which was more significant than the rapport of children playing games. By virtue of the fact that Order youth attended the local schools, which were quite inferior, and were seen at an ever increasing rate functioning in the community outside the protection of seminary confines, adults of the target area began to realize this group of white people was not of the do-gooder gender. They had enough vested interest in the community to subject their children to the negative

environment of the slum. That created a tremendous curiosity factor and community adults began to inquire into the nature of E.I. I do not intend to convey the impression that all of a sudden the Institute was teeming with local folk. Rather a very slow process of adult interaction was begun, having been precipitated by the presence of white families.

As far as the adult staff was concerned, the first year was devoted to plotting and planning strategy with primary consideration given to laying out the operating boundaries defining Fifth City. The second year (1964 to 1965), however, witnessed adult entrance into the community. With the tenacity and determination comparable only to salmon swimming upstream to spawn, not to mention the audacity, the staff started visiting the local bars (one for every two square blocks) not to recruit troops, but to make their presence known. (Bars are the only social nodes for adults in this ghetto.) At first, the explicit aims of E.I. were not directly related to the residents. However, through a subtle process of assimilation residents were incorporated into the project which they helped start. In sum, the first two years were a time of caution and informality, but productive.

The relationship between the staff and residents was never intended to fulfill some romantic ideal of

black and white working together in harmony, although this ideal was there for me initially. Harmony is finally counterproductive; change is brought about by dynamic, not harmonious, forces. Harmony precludes the cultivation of black leadership essential to reformulation, for only a determined black people can make change viable through time. There has got to be a "creative tension" between innovator and resident in order that the problems be correctly defined and adequate solutions reached. Whites who become "black" usurp their mediating function between the slum and the power structures; blacks who become "white" preclude their role as leaders. To establish a creative community in the ghetto there needs to be this tension; it insures against white dominance in the solutions to slum problems on the one hand, and the degeneration of effort into a black, sub-cultural backwater on the other.

The next block of time (1965 to 1967, inclusive) witnessed not only great changes in the community, but my personal graduation from romantic to realist (in terms of the internal slum resident and the external slum environment) as well. I have already alluded to my initial romanticism concerning living in the ghetto. I had made many friends in the community and I felt safe within the boundaries of Fifth City; people knew me and I experienced no trouble or

anxiety. However, the high school I was attending was thirteen blocks away and my brother and I had to walk, which meant we had to traverse foreign territory (ten blocks) outside of Fifth City. Protected only by my naiveté, I made the journey five days a week never suspecting any harm would befall me. How wrong I was in extending the dynamics of my relationship with Fifth City youth to all young blacks in East Garfield Park.

My first revelation came early in 1965 when my brother and I were walking home from school. In front of us was a tall, muscular black youth attired in a sweatsuit jogging in our direction. As he approached us his face seemed blank and indifferent, but as soon as he got within striking distance his blank face turned into an expression of hatred and violence and he unleashed a powerful fist in my brother's face, knocking him to the ground. The assailant continued jogging into the park where he joined a dozen or so of his peers. I did not know what to do. It was as if I had been struck. How dare you hit my brother, I screamed to myself, shaking an imaginary fist with illusions of running after him. At the moment my pain was greater than my brother's (although I am sure he would disagree), for his was merely physical; mine was existential. There I was, a white man who was seeking each day to

understand my role in the ghetto to help the oppressed. This was not the first encounter of that nature, nor was it my brother who always bore the physical brunt of my existential dilemma. Yet it was the first time I realized the frustration of the black man and that I should have been more realistic in my perception of the human dynamics in the ghetto. No longer would I perceive myself as "do-gooder"; I was a symbol of white oppression and exploitation to the black man. However, my romanticism did not die a sudden death, for even after such encounters I always felt safe once back in Fifth City.

My next revelation came early in 1967 when, after dropping out of college, I returned to Fifth City to participate in the project. By this time my knowledge of E.I. endeavors in the target community was becoming comprehensive, although by no means complete. (It was not until 1974 that the whole picture of the Movement was clear to me.) At this time I felt my relationship to the slum-dweller was quite realistic, but my perception of the environment proved to be still very romantic. My impressions of the target community from 1963 to 1967 were superficial. I remember walking down the streets of Fifth City looking at the magnificent apartment buildings (left in the aftermath of the Jewish occupation) with no visible signs of a slum that articulated with what I

though a slum should look like. The few buildings I had visited were primarily the duplex type in which the families of my friends lived. Although modest, they were well-kept, exhibiting conscientious care. (Given the communal circumstances I was living in, some of those dwelling units were quite adequate.)

However, that illusion was soon to be destroyed, for now I was totally involved in the project with no educational outlets to soften the blow of hard-headed work. Specifically, I participated in the Community Festivities Complex (the forty-sixth social agency) of the Community Culture Nexus (the twelfth social structure) in the Lyceum of Urban Arts (the third social construct). Although my duties were innumerable, one in particular is relevant to this discussion: I was coordinator of a community festival the theme of which was Black Africa. I not only made the decor (twelve-foot high silhouettes depicting black heritage and possibility for the future) and coordinated the entertainment, I had to publicize its occurrence. In the absence of local media, I was forced to rely on the only alternative: house to house visitation, hence the collapse of my illusion. Never before had I been required to visit every household (1047 dwelling units) in Fifth City, but there I was standing in front of these "magnificent" buildings trying to muster enough courage to enter. Having entered, I knew

what it meant--literally and figuratively--to be on the inside looking out.

The conditions I encountered were deplorable and I tried hard not to look shocked by what I saw. Many of the dwelling units were excessively humid due to broken steam lines in the heating systems, which accentuated the foul odor of an improper diet and hygiene (most often attributable to non-functioning plumbing); rooms were sparsely furnished in the second-hand thrift motif and were overcrowded with several people occupying a single room sharing beds; and the people themselves seemed lost in the maze of barren walls, the uniformity of which was only interrupted by large cracks and gaping holes in the plaster. The external appearance of these edifices had not prepared me for the dehumanizing living conditions inside. Once again I was thrown up against my romanticism, but this time the process was complete; I had evolved to the second stage of the journey, that of the realist.

Fifth City also underwent drastic transformations during this period. Although the apartment buildings in the community were structurally sound and exhibited no signs of deterioration in their appearance from the street, there were external manifestations of a slum, such as littered streets, abandoned cars, decaying garbage and rotting garages in the alleys, and

structurally unsound, unpainted back porches and steps. The summer months of 1965 through 1967 produced signs of reformulation. Fifth City was attacked by an army of course participants (spending the summer in the ghetto and numbering up to 600) armed with trash cans, brooms, hammers, paintbrushes, ladders and the like which were used to clean the streets and alleys, repair and paint back porches and stairs, to create artistic murals on the sides of buildings, and to tear down delapidated garages. (Tearing down the garages unexpectedly produced an abundance of rats which were killed, stacked and photographed; photos of these mountains of rats were then sent to the mayor's office to illustrate the blight of the slum.) This effort was not one-sided; community residents pitched in and some were so inspired they painted other portions of their homes and began to take care of the small lawns between the front stoop and the sidewalk. Although in absolute terms little was accomplished, on the symbolic level something very significant happened--the beginning of community care and pride (so difficult to instill in the ghetto). Fifth City now exhibited tangible signs that something concrete was happening in the community.

Although the first ten-year time-line dates the beginning of Fifth City at 1964, it was not until the summer of 1965 that the target community was

bombarded with the idea of a creative Fifth City. During the ensuing two years many things happened in addition to officially chartering Fifth City in the minds of the residents; they began to participate in the project. The first role played by the residents involved their participation in the creation of the social model. Their contribution was in the realm of problem delineation, i.e., what they thought were the fundamental problems facing the community. It was a slow process of consensus requiring constant feedback between staff and residents (initially, six and twelve respectively). In 1966 the model emerged, not as a gift from E.I. to the community, but as the culmination of a combined effort. This period also witnessed a phenomenal increase of tenfold in resident participation. Guild and stake meetings were well attended and residents were taking more responsibility for the success of Fifth City. This too was a painful development, for as every community organizer quickly learns, recruitment is a continuing problem. In the beginning, the E.I. staff had to pressure community participation--a kind of friendly badgering--calling on residents two nights in succession and once, an hour before the scheduled meeting. In time, a sufficient number of cultivated residents assumed that function and they proved to be very effective. It was from this group of local people

that the community leaders emerged. Not only have they come to understand the dynamics of the social model, but they have attended the courses and comprehended the vision of global development.

The year 1968 marked the end of my participation in the Fifth City project; in March of this year I left the ghetto to resume my studies. However, two signal events occurred during 1968 that are relevant to the discussion. The first concerns the target community: the foundation for the eventual takeover of the innovating impetus of the project by the residents was established. In the summer the Institute staff cut its active participation in the community from fifty full-time workers to a dozen. The reason for that cut was the magnitude of community involvement; 200 residents were actively engaged in some facet of the overall program, twenty of which were directly employed in the experiment on a salaried basis.

The second event is personal and concerns the third stage of the change agent's spirit journey--the cynic. In 1968 after the assassination of the Reverend Martin Luther King, blacks on the West Side rioted, Fifth City inhabitants notwithstanding. In the aftermath of the violence portions of the target community were laid bare, mostly white-owned, exploitative businesses. I remember standing on a street

corner watching the National Guard trucks file up the Homan exit of the Eisenhower Expressway (the southern boundary of Fifth City). These were my saviours, or so the guardsmen thought as they smiled and waved at me, but I did not appreciate their presence; I knew that Fifth City would never again be the same. My intuition proved correct. The West Side became a very dangerous place to live; no longer could I walk the streets without fear. It finally became necessary to seal off the seminary and to post an armed guard at the only entrance at night. It also became necessary to establish an escort service for the staff who had to travel in the community, i.e., to the buildings that had been purchased to house an ever-growing staff and to conduct various programs in the community. That depressed me considerably, for I suppose my romanticism had not completely vanished. Yet the realist in me forced a confrontation with the facts and was finally given a new form--the cynic. Why was it in a community that had made such great strides toward reformulation I was not able to move about without fear for my life? I never placed the blame on the local residents for the cynicism I experienced regarding my restricted mobility in Fifth City because the target community is not an isolated area; it is subject to the negative contingencies of the West Side and to the exploitative

structure of a racist society.

From 1968 to 1971 (inclusive) I was completely divorced from Fifth City, studying anthropology in Mexico at La Universidad de las Américas. However, it was more a physical isolation than spiritual, for it was during my intellectual sojourn there I began to see the cross-cultural parallels of oppression and differential access which typified Fifth City, and the possibility of model replication in another culture. It was not until 1972 that I re-established contact with the project after a two-year cessation in my academic pursuits and resumption in the fall of this year of my studies in anthropology at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Since 1972 I have made annual trips to the Institute culminating in a month of intensive research on the social model and the target community in August of 1974. Unfortunately, I found that during my absence from Fifth City I had not divested myself of the cynicism I had left with.

However, starting in 1973, I began to experience a change, a change which precipitated the end of my spirit journey in the summer of 1974; the final stage had been reached--the pragmatist. The pragmatist is one who channels his developmental perspective through the social model--the prescription of the necessary means to attain defined goals (Kant)--without suc-

cumbing to the negativism of deviant behavior. In a practical sense, the meaning of the model and the perspective (self-image) of the change agent must be sought in their practical consequences regarding the target community. Therefore, the "model" behavior of the change agent serves to establish general principles of conduct. That is extremely important, for the cynic cannot effect significant change; he is, finally, counterproductive. Although the foregoing might seem to be cold and calculating, it is absolutely essential, for reformulation is a hard and painful process not only in terms of creating the necessary social agencies, but of the change agent as well. On the other hand, this pragmatic perspective is very warm and sensitive; model actualization is a human process, creating structures for people by people.

On the other side of having developed a pragmatic perspective regarding community development, I cannot help but look back on my participation in Fifth City with great nostalgia. But the role of the change agent eventually must come to an end; he begins all over again in another community. This experience of displacement came to me during my recent visit to Fifth City, creating in me an uneasy feeling. Observe: As I made my exit off the expressway I was full of expectations. It had been two years since my

last visit and I had been informed of the miraculous transformations which had taken place during my absence. To my surprise, the community initially looked the same. At that moment I wanted to drive down every street in search for a panacea for my disillusionment, but I had a two o'clock appointment with Lela and I did not want to be late. I was to meet her in the Program Center (an old union hall) located in the heart of the community. Driving down Homan Avenue, I began to see the signs I had been anxiously anticipating, the renovated apartment buildings and the commercial center. I was lucky enough to find a parking space in front of the center and proceeded to Lela's office. I found myself to be extremely nervous as I entered through the front door and approached the reception desk. Never before had I felt uncomfortable being in Fifth City. Was it that I felt guilty about not living there, freely giving of my services to reformulation? Or was it that I was entering this community as a different person, a graduate student doing research for his thesis? I was quite perplexed by my insecurity and I broke into a nervous sweat which was intensified by the awful humidity of a Chicago summer.

Suddenly, a voice interrupted my self-doubt, "May I help you?" I remember feeling a trifle embarrassed and wanted to apologize for the eternity

I had spent standing there like a fool contemplating my navel. After several intercom exchanges and a long five-minute wait, I was ushered upstairs to Lela's office, making polite conversation with my escort and thanking him for fetching me. I cannot relate to you how I felt when I finally met with Lela, for she was the only person I had encountered thus far whom I knew. Although I had been acquainted with her for years, I had still not overcome my nervousness. Lela was exceptionally cordial and I soon felt at ease. I told her what I had been doing the past several years and precisely why I had come to visit. I had come prepared with a list of pertinent questions to assess the present status of Fifth City. Lela was very open and honest in responding to all areas of my inquiry.

After my partial interview, partial extemporaneous conversation with Lela about Fifth City, where it had come from and where it is going, my escort returned to walk me around the community, for which I was grateful because my anxiety returned upon leaving the center. However, I soon ran across some old friends and they took over my tour, freeing my escort to return to the center. We walked the streets talking of old times and that made me feel very comfortable. Fifth City was once again my home; or was it? After visiting the shopping center, the

rehabilitated apartment buildings, the Youth Node and the seminary campus, we decided to grab a couple of beers and cruise the entire community in my borrowed car just like we did years ago. It was a wise decision to drive as it was getting late and I had social obligations that evening. We combed every block and through the merriment of the occasion I was casting a critical eye on the environment.

I decided to cut the cruise a bit short as I wanted to drive through the community again by myself. Having dropped off my friends and said farewell, I toured selected areas. I needed the time to reflect on the day's activities as I was bothered by some of the things I saw. One of the first things I saw after leaving Lela's office, which had previously not fully commanded my attention, was the litter in the streets (although it was quite understandable in that Fifth City is transected by six major thoroughfares). Another discomfort to me was that I recognized several people around the Youth Node who apparently had been hanging out there since 1967--no change. Furthermore, there were still vacant buildings closed tight by boards. I was perplexed and irritated with myself, for I had allowed my expectations to cloud my perspective. Even after having seen the miracles, I kept repeating to myself, "all the people, all the problems." At that moment

I decided it was time to leave.

Later that night, as I was compiling my data and recording my observations, a self-evident truth was revealed: community reformulation is a hard, slow process. I already knew that, but I never really had accepted it. I then took a piece of paper and drew a vertical line down the center; on one half I listed all my positive impressions and community accomplishments, and anything negative on the other. The positive side was overwhelming whereas the negative was so insignificant that I felt rather ridiculous at having felt the necessity to make the comparison in the first place.

Reflecting on the day, I reconstructed the atmosphere of reformulation that I observed. It was one of tremendous excitement. People were busy in the offices, construction workers were rapidly completing the commercial center and making headway on the second rehab package (the first having already been completed), the Youth Node was packed and on and on. I decided that the reason I had felt so ill at ease was because I felt threatened by the spirit of a community that no longer required my services; my function had expired. It was the black man who was now changing his community, not I. The point is, Fifth City was alive with the determination of self-destiny. It had been reborn with a spirit

that is manifest throughout the community in spite of the few negative aspects the cynic points to. I concluded that the leadership in Fifth City and the dedication of the Iron Men (now 400 strong) will make this project work as a demonstration to the world of what possibility is all about.

Yet, given the magnitude of model replication, the change agent remains an integral part of the community. This relationship was implicit in Lela's parting words to me, "Hurry up and finish with school; we need you." It was not until some time later that I fully understood what she meant. I knew I was not needed in Fifth City and I had come to realize and appreciate the stance the change agent must take for reformulation to work. Lela's message to me was this: Fifth City bears the burden of a demonstration project and we cannot stand alone; replicate us anywhere and everywhere! I am sad, yet I rejoice; sad because Fifth City is no longer my "home," but rejoicing in its present success and future possibilities.

In sum, comprehensive community development is an experience replete with anxiety and setbacks. It finally becomes necessary that the change agent adopt a hard-headed, practical perspective in his relationship to the target community; otherwise, he will fail

and do potential harm. Although the preceeding discussion has flowed from one period to the next, the Fifth City experiment itself has been a series of steps backward as well as forward. The opinions and expectations of the E.I. staff have not always been those of the community residents. However, both groups have tolerated each other and have been willing to experiment and compromise. Such has been the creative tension integral to viable reformulation. Furthermore, the staff has not been in total harmony with the environment; they have been subject to the same negative externalities of the ghetto as the slum residents. That is to say, E.I. personnel have been robbed, raped, assaulted and mugged. (Once my father confronted two black youths walking out of his apartment with his television set. He said, "May I help you?") Yet in spite of the setbacks, frustrations and abortive spirit journeys, Fifth City is progressing. Having demonstrated in a pilot project that the Social Model can be actualized, it is now the task of the change agent to replicate Fifth City on a global scale, the implications of which bring us to the final discussion in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPMENT: THE MODEL AND GLOBAL REPLICATION

Fifth City cannot stand alone. What does that mean, practically? It has been the intention of the E.I. staff since 1963 that Fifth City be a "demonstration" project in community development, not an idiosyncratic program fitted to one particular locale. The model which emerged from this project was predicated not only on its viability in a given community, but on its replicability throughout the world as well. The implications of this for the nature of development, the role of the applied anthropologist and the model itself are far-reaching. Therefore, it is imperative we explore these implications as they are integral to the philosophy and strategy of community development.

Since the end of World War II development has become a household word in the United States, but a word with various meanings. Initially, we associated development with efforts to rebuild countries suffering from the devastation of war. During those years of global reconstruction we realized that the world

would never again be the same. Total annihilation was possible. However, this period in time now belongs to history. Those countries involved in the war to end all wars have emerged once again as productive units in the vast economic network, extending to every corner of the earth. Next came development of the Third World--the "underdeveloped" countries. Under the guise of contemporary Manifest Destiny, billions of U.S. dollars were pumped into the developing nations to insure their participation in the economic process. Finally, development has been conscientiously applied to our own urban centers. A myriad of programs were constructed to bring the inner city back into the economic mainstream. We proudly point to our efforts in the area of urban renewal (see Chapter II), to our compassion for minority groups, to our "benevolent" welfare system and so forth.

Yet amidst our manifest generosity in helping others to help themselves there exists a fundamental contradiction, a perversion--we help ourselves to that which we have no claim. We rebuilt Europe to insure ourselves a market, mostly manufacturing (Magdoff 1970: 36), and to establish a stronghold against Communist expansion (ibid.;19). We gave aid to the less developed countries to again insure markets, to extend our web of military might, and to monopolize control

of natural and human resources (Green 1970:114-115, 146 and Pomeroy 1970:141). We invested in our central cities to buy off violence that was threatening the very foundation of our society (Tabb 1970:130). Development, then, is not altruistic; it is imperialistic (see Magdoff and Sweezy 1971)!

In the final analysis, development has become synonymous with control--control from without. What development should be and what it is have become polarized; they stand diametrically opposed. In the abstract, we seek to enable indigenous potentialities to come to fruition but in the concrete we merely subjugate them to external forces, beyond the control of even the change agent. (For a good discussion of the relationship between change agents and governmental agencies, see Schaedel 1970:184-189.)

Where, then, does this leave us relative to development? In discussing development it is hard not to consider the role of the applied anthropologist. Of course, such a consideration invariably degenerates into an abstract philosophical treatise on ethics. Not that ethics are not important, but ethics as such are finally irrelevant. I take it as a given that any self-conscious anthropologist who dedicates his life to enabling constructive change to happen is fully aware of his responsibility to the target population. Yet I realize such individuals

are rare. Unfortunately, too often we respond to Malinowski's amorality and neutrality of 1929:

> By the constitution of the Institute [the International African Institute] all political issues are eliminated from its activities. This can easily be done by concentrating upon the study of facts and processes which bear upon the practical problems and leaving to the statesmen...the final decision of how to apply the results (1970:13, italics added).

Further, I realize that many applied anthropologists are deeply concerned with the issue of ethics. That is, we can no longer be neutral observers:

> The applied social scientist cannot, by definition, be netural to the larger political and ideological issues which determine the framework of his professional practice, whether he is engaged in international organizations or works on development problems within his own national content (Stavenhagen 1971:333).

I believe that anthropology is well on its way to standing in radical opposition to its neo-colonial foundation. We know what responsibility is and the consequences of our actions. However, will our lucidity be made manifest in our actions?

It is not, then, the ethics of the role per se that is the issue as it is how we engage in the inevitable process of change. This is a fine distinction and is vulnerable to attack by semanticists. Let me clarify my position by considering the times in which we live. First, we live in a time of global awareness. Our contextual reference points have broadened from the immediate environment to include all people across the

face of the globe. We also live in a time of tremendous political and social upheaval. Everywhere people are calling into question the structures in which they find themselves. Finally, we live in an urban world. At an ever-increasing rate the urbanization process is encompassing the earth. In short, we are all caught up in the complexity of a twentieth-century world. The way in which we decide to deal with this complexity will determine whether the course of human affairs is to continue in turmoil or experience a time of "resurgence" predicated on a new humaneness. Given that alternative, the applied anthropologist has three courses of action: he can do nothing, he can accelerate the turmoil, or he can precipitate resurgence. However, the extent of his contribution depends entirely on a proper perspective--a perspective devoid of a neo-colonial orientation which has been reflected in the policy-making apparatus of governments, and has conditioned the methodology and strategy of transformation. The question is; are we to stand by and merely observe the devastating consequences of contact between pre-industrial primitives as well as displaced urban immigrants and the established, industrial, international power elite? Contact continues and accelerates as we ponder the ethics of intervention.

Now, let us not get defensive. Of course we have "applied" our discipline to programs for development apart from neo-colonialism. However, with the excep-

tion of Vicos (Chapter III), it has been on a piecemeal basis (Chapter I). Even those projects labeled "community development" are finally piecemeal, both in terms of the totality of community and its relationship to the national arena. Yet development must be oriented beyond a particular target area vis-a-vis the national power structures to global intervention. To date, the collective mind of applied anthropologists has not come to terms with the necessity for integrating developmental endeavors (methodology) on a world-wide basis. We seem content with the investigation of entities, e.g., the single isolated community, to the exclusion of how the internal dynamics of such entities relate to global reformulation. Responding to the mandate of resurgence, we must abandon this narrow focus, for development is an international concern.

But what about Fifth City? Cannot we argue that it is nothing more than an idiosyncratic project in spite of its comprehensive nature and the emphasis given to the cultivation of national power structures? To be sure, it was necessary we utilize the entity of community, but only to build and actualize the model, heretofore nonexistent. That is, we needed a well-defined geographical area in which we could manipulate and control all the essential variables, and thus measure progress. In effect, we moved into Fifth City to first develop a model and then to

evaluate its general, cross-cultural applicability. Evaluation of the comprehensive model (national power structures inclusive) relative to development on a global scale distinguishes this use of "community" from the typical idiosyncratic development projects of isolated communities in the traditional context. If we build a model and construct an adequate methodology based on world-wide reformulation, then not only does the model specify pre-project goals and objectives, and provide for assessing performance during the period of actualization, it becomes a means for critically analyzing and evaluating developmental prospects globally. Therefore, the model emerges as an objective tool in that it is applicable (relevant) to all target communities.

One might logically continue the argument by pointing to the fact that Fifth City is located in an American city. How can it be replicated in a foreign country with a different culture? Also, why so much emphasis on urban when the majority of the world's population is rural? To respond to the first question I would argue that the urban complex is a universal phenomenon, regardless of culture. This is tenable from the standpoint of structure; that is, the poor have been relegated to the slums of the inner city or the functional equivalent, e.g., squatter settlements. It is a dehumanizing process

of adaptation to impossible living conditions in which the individual has little at his disposal to survive--a world-wide condition. Furthermore, I would submit that the American city is the primary model affecting the urbanization process in most, if not all, of the developing countries, a by-product of the integration of the underdeveloped areas into the structure of world capitalism (O'Conner 1970:142).

Let me digress a moment. The condition of our inner cities is critical. Something must be done. As applied anthropologists, our task is quite clear. We need to study up in our own society. Too often national attention has been focused on our societal structure as a reaction to already well-articulated problems made manifest by the outbreak of violence, to wit, The National Commission on Civil Disorders in response to the Los Angeles riot of August 1965. The Fifth City model arose as an effort to anticipate the problems of the inner city by providing mutually-defined solutions. Steps are now being taken to duplicate these solutions across the country.

Returning to global replication, I have argued that there is a unity of experience of the poor given the structural inequality present in all cities of the world. It seems logical that if we correct the deficiencies of the primary model (i.e., urban America) then the cities of the underdeveloped countries

would directly benefit by averting the fundamental problems. This is imperative in that

> today's nonindustrial populations are growing faster and at an earlier stage than was the case in the demographic cycle that accompanied industrialization in the nineteenth century (Davis 1963:31).

Furthermore, migration to cities in developing countries continues to increase and has become a concern of urban anthropologists (for example, Gonzalez 1974 and Doughty 1972). The point is, the universal urban complex must be a primary focal point in development and Fifth City has demonstrated that it is possible. However, to actualize global urban development presupposes the alteration of structured exploitation by the international power elite. This is a severe obstacle which is aptly typified by the difficulties the Cornell Peru Project faced:

> . . . the prime minister of Peru (Pedro Beltrán E.) informed the United States' Charge d'affairs that he would never approve the Vicos sale [to the peasant Vicosinos] for fear of the precedent it would set in land reform matters throughout the country (Dobyns and Laswell 1971:58, italics added).

The prime minister's apprehension was well taken in that communities around Vicos sought their advice and help in dealing with their problems (Holmberg 1970: 83-93) after the transfer in July of 1962. One might speculate as to the intentions of host governments and our own which sanction these demonstration projects, but balk at success. Success is indeed a threat to

established economic and political interests.

In sum, situations of exploitation and oppression are universal, although each must be analyzed relative to the particular superstructure with which it articulates. The dynamics of interaction remain constant whether the unit of investigation is a black ghetto in Chicago or a poor vecindad in Mexico City. It is in this light that the model is able to incorporate local variations without altering its basic precepts.

Regarding the second question pertaining to development of the world's rural population, the same line of reasoning can be used. I maintain that differential wealth and power is just as fundamental and important an issue in rural areas as it is in the urban context. The Vicos project has made this quite clear (op. cit.). Economic, political and cultural deprivation remain constant (although the cultural is vulnerable to ethnocentricism). For example, recently the Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA), a global development adjunct of the Ecumenical Institute, began a demonstration project on the island of Majuro (Lolwelaplap), located in the Marshallese Islands of Micronesia. It is a "trust territory" of the United States which has witnessed the succession of numerous foreign powers for over 500 years. Upon arriving, the ICA staff found the schools to be inadequate, poor health, an unstable economy operating

well below optimum efficiency, poor housing, a rapidly disintegrating cultural heritage and a general lack of local organization--quite reminiscent of Fifth City. The social model is being applied, but not without some variation. For instance, the economic guild functions the same in Majuro as it did in Chicago, but emphasis was shifted to creating a local maritime industry for shipping copra and establishing a world market. Both are well on the way to successful completion. Also, imaginal education under the three cultural guilds has not been altered save for different cultural metaphors. Community organization in the political guild remains the same. Finally, heavy funding and investment is absolutely necessary, requiring the cultivation of local vested interests of the power base. In short, the Fifth City model has been applied to a situation analogous to rural, most certainly non-urban. As Fifth City was the beginning of urban reformulation, Majuro is the beginning of global development.

In the final analysis, we never know whether the models we build are theoretically adequate or appropriate to the situation for which they were constructed. This kind of pronouncement only comes from an historical perspective. The Fifth City model emerged from the collapse of sustaining structures in the inner

city slum which had become either inadequate or nonexistent. In essence, this model is an attempt to impose a new reality on a disordered human situation. Given the philosophy of model building, we know this new model is by no means a finished product. It too evolves relative to the dynamic nature of human interaction.

Insofar as replication is concerned, an image of universality has been built into the model. On the theoretical level the model has been geared to the global experience of differential wealth and power. On the individual level the target populations have each been oriented to an awareness that they are involved in community reformulation on "behalf" of oppressed people everywhere, not merely for their respective environments. It is in this light that Fifth City cannot stand alone, for if it does and is not replicated in every corner of the earth, then truly it will have been idiosyncratic and this monograph rendered yet another case study in the social sciences.

I would like to conclude with an ethical issue. As a graduate student I have repeatedly been involved in discussions concerning responsibility to one's "client" population, specifically, the dissemination of research results back into the community for their edification and use;

> Yet how frequently do those communities and these helpful informants whose lives are so carefully laid bare by proficient researchers actually get to know the results of the research? Is any effort made to channel the scientific conclusions and research findings to them; to translate our professional jargon into everyday concepts which the people themselves can understand and from which they can learn something? And, most importantly, to which they can contribute precisely through such a dialogue (Stavenhagen 1971:336)?

In keeping with this responsibility, which I do think is important, this monograph will be deposited in the Institute archives and made available to Fifth City citizens. But finally, they know more about community development than many social scientists, anthropologists notwithstanding, will ever know; they live it!

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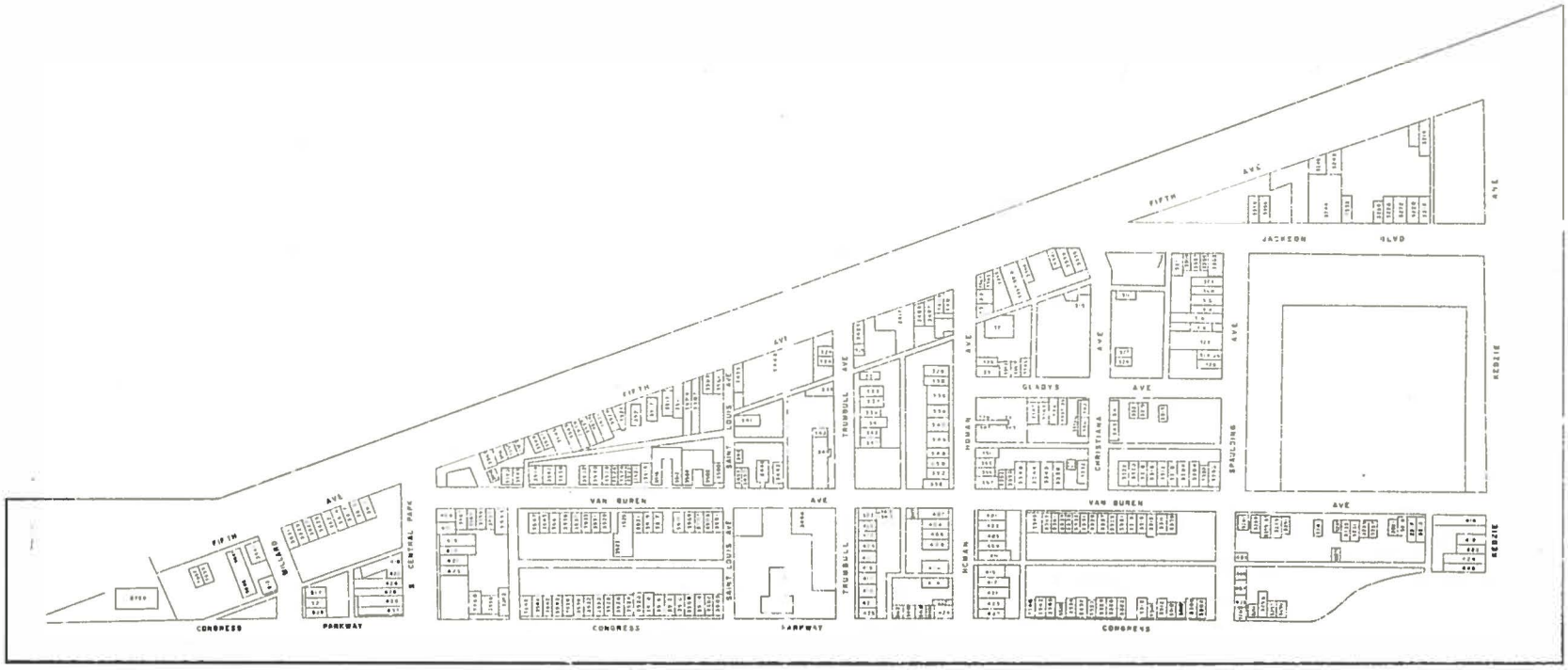
APPENDIX A

THE FIFTH CITY MAP

5th CITY

A PROJECT IN
COMMUNITY REFORMULATION
THE ECUMENICAL INSTITUTE



APPENDIX B

FIFTH CITY STATISTICAL SHEET

FIFTH CITY STATISTICAL SHEET

I. Location: East Garfield Park on Chicago's West Side

II. Population:[1] 4567

III. Median Family Income:[1] $4,117
under $3,000/year: 27%
over $10,000/year: 3%

IV. Unemployment Rate:[2] 10% of the labor force or 129 individuals (labor force = 58% of adult population or 1291)

V. Education:[1]
Median Education Level 8.6 years

1-4 years elementary school	3.6%
5-7 years elementary school	12.1%
8 years elementary school	19.7%
1-3 years high school	21.5%
4 years high school	14.1%
1-3 years college	5.0%
4 years college or more	2.7%

VI. Housing:[1]
200 resident buildings--excluding 10 flats and larger
125 owned or being purchased on contract by Fifth City residents (63%)
Structures built in 1939 or earlier--93%
Substandard--38% (4/65 estimate)
Median Rent--$100

Breakdown into units and length of residence:

	Number of Housing Units			Length of Residence by %					
Stake	No. Housing Units	Pop.	Persons/ Unit	0-6M	6M-1Y	1-1½Y	1½-2Y	2-3Y	3Y & Over
1	150	205	1.36	2.6	97.4				
2	130	439	3.38	16.1	22.5	2.1	15.0	10.7	33.3
3	316	1589	5.03	22.8	22.4	6.6	6.9	12.9	38.4
4	152	679	3.89						
5	171	746	4.36	21.9	14.2	5.6	6.9	11.?	40.3
6	126	495	3.92						
Total	1045	4057	3.88	22.1	31.0	3.7	4.05	12.9	26.04

VII. Crime:[4]

Crime	11th District--1966 No.	% of Total	Total Citywide --1966
Homicide	62	1%	132
Rape	144	2%	378
Serious Assault	1119	14%	2849
Robbery	1459	19%	4814
Burglary	2301	29%	8709
Theft ($50&over)	925	11%	4677
Auto Theft	1874	24%	8241
TOTAL	7884		29,800

VIII. Public Assistance:[3]

1000-1132 Public Aid cases in the Fifth City area.

ADC	48%
OAA	16%
Blind	0.9%
Disability	27%
General	8%

This does not mean that 1000 families are on welfare, as many of the Public Assistance families are "multiple assistance households" (how many is very difficult to estimate).

IX. East Garfield Park population compared to surrounding communities:[5]

	4/60 Census	4/65 Estimated	% Change
Austin	125,133	120,661	3.6
West Garfield	45,611	41,834	8.3
East Garfield	66,871	59,747	10.7
Near West Side	126,610	121,213	4.3
North Lawndale	124,937	117,974	5.6
South Lawndale	60,940	58,665	3.7
Lower West Side	48,448	43,495	10.2

X. General comparison of East Garfield Park and the adjacent North Lawndale community, and census tracts 368 and 369, the southern portions of which Fifth City is located in (blanks indicate that information was not available):[5]

	E. Garfield Park		368	369	N. Lawndale	
Total pop.	66,871		7140	3593	124,937	
Negro pop.	41,097		3374	1535	113,827	
% Negro	61.5		47.4	42.7	91.1	
Under 5 yrs.	11,845	17.2%			23,072	18.5%
5-19 yrs.	18,125	27.1%			37,834	30.3%
20-44 yrs.	25,613	38.2%			45,031	36.0%
45-64 yrs.	8,646	11.9%			14,860	11.9%
Over 65 yrs.	3,002	3.3%			4,140	3.3%
Median Age	23.3				20.7	
% under 18	41.5		35.2	37.5	46.4	
Median School Yrs. Completed	8.7		9.2	8.7	8.7	
Family Income						
Under $1000	1116				1907	
1000-1999	1377				1976	
2000-2999	1558				2494	
3000-3999	1995				2919	
4000-4999	2131				3650	
5000-5999	2033				3300	
6000	1356				2366	
7000	1047				2179	
8000	821				1631	
9000	497				1091	
10,000-14,999	899				1922	
15,000-24,999	185				307	
25,000 & over	11				9	
Median Family Income	4177		4972	5031	4860	
Under $3000	27%				24.8%	
Over 10,000	7.3%				8.7%	
Housing						
Owner occupied %	13.4		5.6	9.7	17.9	
Substandard %	29.9		28.6	38.3	14.0	
% with one person per room	28.7		26.4	28.8	35.0	
Median Rent	$86		$92	$98	$97	

Sources (footnoted per category):

[1]Based on research done primarily by the Fifth City Project Staff of the Ecumenical Institute in 1967.

[2]Based on data supplied by the Research and Statistics Unit of the Illinois State Employment Service.

[3]Based on information supplied by the Research and Statistics Unit of the Cook County Department of Public Aid.

[4]Based on data supplied by the Public Information Division of the Police Department, City of Chicago.

[5]Based on data from the 1960 Census.

APPENDIX C

THE FIFTH CITY SOCIAL MODEL

"The channels whereby the benefits of urban society become available to the inner city"

FIFTH CITY SOCIAL MODEL

DESIGN FOR LOCAL URBAN REFORMULATION
5 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTS 20 SOCIAL STRUCTURES 80 SOCIAL AGENCIES

ORDER
DIRECTION
POWER

URBAN ECONOMY TRUST		CENTER OF URBAN EDUCATION		LYCEUM OF URBAN ARTS		MATRIX OF URBAN STYLE		URBAN POLITY CENTRUM	
I	1. homecare service	V	17. neighborhood infant school	IX	33. intentional artistry studio	XIII	49. neighborhood starfire jets	XVII	65. local peace commission
NEIGHBORHOOD	2. local health clinic	COMMUNITY	18. community mini school	VISUAL	34. social crafts workshop	YOUTH	50. community thunder jets	HUMAN	66. legal aid clinic
HEALTH	3. public health exchange	PRE-SCHOOLING	19. fifth city prep school	ARTS	35. neighborhood arts seminar	DEVELOPMENT	51. urban sabre jets	LIBERTIES	67. civil rights association
OUTPOST	4. health promotion agency	INSTITUTE	20. urban kinder school	COMPEND	36. fifth city arts emporium	CORPS	52. fifth city youth set	COUNCIL	68. social research lab
II	5. consumer education center	VI	21. community teachers union	X	37. community talent lab	XIV	53. student action league	XVIII	69. public maintenance commission
CONSUMER	6. fifth city community co-op	PUBLIC	22. urban education laboratory	FIFTH CITY	38. folk art commons	URBAN	54. high school house	URBAN	70. vital services agency
SERVICES	7. business development bureau	SCHOOLS	23. local school commission	ENSEMBLE	39. fifth city ensemble companies	STUDENT	55. young outsiders corps	SERVICES	71. neighborhood control board
ASSOCIATION	8. consumer protection board	AUXILIARY	24. fifth city tutorage	COMBINE	40. black arts cabaret	UNION	56. university student exchange	OFFICE	72. urban assistance exchange
III	9. outpost employment office	VII	25. imaginal education complex	XI	41. repertory theater academy	XV	57. young citizens syndicate	XIX	73. neighborhood voters league
INCOME	10. job development center	FUNCTIONAL	26. basic learning centre	URBAN	42. community improvisation theater	SOCIAL	58. individual rehabilitation center	CIVIL	74. community information center
RESOURCES	11. fiscal services mart	EDUCATION	27. urban citizenship school	DRAMA	43. literary arts guild	DEVELOPMENT	59. family services bureau	RELATIONS	75. legislator relations office
BUREAU	12. community economics commission	CENTRUM	28. career development office	DOME	44. fifth city playhouse	CENTER	60. community elders union	COMMISSION	76. legislation promotion corps
IV	13. property rehabilitation cartel	VIII	29. fifth city services school	XII	45. urban culture exchange	XVI	61. urban style central	XX	77. community guild construct
FIFTH CITY	14. home finance mutual	URBAN	30. community reformulation center	COMMUNITY	46. community festivities complex	FIFTH CITY	62. social services agency	FIFTH CITY	78. neighborhood stake construct
REDEVELOPMENT	15. neighborhood residents association	WORLD	31. urban leadership academy	CULTURE	47. symbol education bureau	COMMUNITY	63. public relations office	COMMUNITY	79. citizens general president
CORPORATION	16. community planning foundation	ACADEMY	32. inner city experimental university	NEXUS	48. community design center	FOUNDATION	64. fifth city extension corporation	ORGANIZATION	80. fifth city congress

APPENDIX D

THE FIVE GUILDS OF THE MODEL

I. THE ECONOMIC GUILD AND THE URBAN ECONOMY TRUST (UET)

UET has four explicit functions. The first is the provision of adequate health care for the community. Adequate medical care is conspicuously absent in the ghetto; a situation that is almost as debilitating as ill health itself. Inner city health is notoriously bad, with high incidences of tuberculosis, venereal disease, lead poisoning and more. The slum-dweller has three alternatives regarding the state of his health: he can consult private practitioners who charge more than even fully employed ghettoites are able to afford; or he can spend hours waiting for diagnosis and treatment in an overcrowded clinic at a city hospital--hours that he or she can ill afford because of the real problem of losing a job or leaving children unattended at home; or he can do absolutely nothing and suffer the consequences. To remedy this situation two agencies were established. The first (home care service) serves the needs of the chronically ill in their homes. The second (local health clinic) serves the local community, eliminating the necessity for long distance travel, time consuming red tape and waiting. No less significant are programs of health education and the training of paramedical personnel.

The second function is the provision of a complement of consumer services designed to curtail the endless commercial exploitation of ghetto residents. Exploitation of this gender runs the gamut of the ghettoite's economic experience, i.e., his individual buying power. Contract selling is perhaps the worst consumer offense to the slum-dweller. A merchant can, on default of payment, repossess merchandise with no obligation to refund what had already been paid, even if the greater part of the balance is notwithstanding. Another example concerns perishable products: food. It is a known fact that produce in the ghetto supermarkets are aged leftovers from the suburban food market. (One only has to attempt to prepare a gourmet meal in the ghetto to verify that.) Furthermore, the price of food in the inner city is grossly inflated realtive to quality.[1] Attack in this realm of ghetto survival is basically threefold. There is massive consumer education enabling the slum-dweller to realize that exploitation can be checked by collective buying

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[1] A survey conducted by one of Chicago's leading newspapers--the Chicago Sun Times (June 4, 1967)--compared food prices in the ghetto with those of a northern suburb (Winnetka). This survey revealed that canned goods commonly cost 2¢ to 3¢ more in the ghetto store, with many products being 10¢ to 20¢ higher. Meats marked "good" in the ghetto were more expensive than those marked "choice" in the suburb. An order of groceries bought in the suburb cost $1 to $3 less than comparable staples in the ghetto. (Winnetka is one of the more affluent suburbs in the greater Chicagoland area.)

power. There exists a bureau designed to help indigenous residents establish businesses which cater to the specific cultural, consumer needs of the community. And finally, a community co-op, or shopping center, is prescribed in order that the resident need not search beyond his immediate community for the basic necessities of life.

The third, and most difficult, has to do with adequate income, i.e., sufficient resources to sustain productive individuals and families in dignity and physical well-being. This is a particularly difficult area because one does not just create jobs (especially for individuals with little or no skills) where there is no demand. To make matters worse, underemployment is just as crucial a problem as unemployment. Although some residents can be employed in the community structures of the model, jobs remain scarce. There are, however, some conventional means of dealing with this problem. Dissemination of information into the ghetto of job opportunities and qualifications is essential. This is a typical problem to which the outpost employment agency is addressed. Training programs to provide basic skills are another facet of UET. There are companies and corporations willing to invest in inner city poor (if for no other reason than social-conscious propaganda). Yet, again it is a matter of making these opportunities publically known in the ghetto. Finally,

there are the underemployed. An individual who is not holding a job has nothing to lose and everything to gain by enrolling in a training program, but an individual (especially one with family obligations) who is employed, albeit under, cannot risk the loss of income and possibly his job. This individual must be pushed to invest his time after work in home-study courses, completing the GED and the like, and there are structures for that. Due to jobs as a direct function of aggregate demand in the national market complex, employment in the ghetto is rendered a severe obstacle to reformulation, requiring sophisticated manipulation of local and national economies.

The final function of UET is environmental redevelopment. The most blatant problem in the physical environment of the slum is housing. Absentee landlords, code violations, negative externalities of the neighborhood, no financing for home improvement and more, combine to ensure dilapidated dwelling units. Less significant, although no less obvious, are abandoned cars, littered streets, cluttered vacant lots and so on. Some of these environmental manifestations of the slum can be corrected by initiating and organizing community concern and pride. For example, the neighborhood residents association is the agency responsible for such things as Saturday trash pick-ups, painting front porches, manicured lawns, and others.

Regarding reformulation, such endeavors seem insignificant, but on the symbolic level they are very important; they exist as signs that something is happening in the community.

On the other hand, property rehabilitation and home financing are not as easily actualized. That is not to say, funds do not exist; the federal government has earmarked money for the physical rehabilitation of the inner city. The basic problem is the ghetto-dweller is ignorant of the existence of such funds and the ways in which community power can be brought to bear on national and regional structures to insure that these funds do in fact reach the slum, instead of perpetuating bureaucracies and subsidizing upper income families. To meet these problems (dilapidated buildings and community ignorance) agencies are established at the local level to petition federal funds for massive rehabilitation and to secure loans for home improvements.

II. THE EDUCATION GUILD AND THE CENTER OF URBAN EDUCATION (CUE)

CUE is aimed directly at the dual system of education which discriminates against the slum resident. CUE's attack in this area is more of a supplemental

structure than it is radically revolutionary per the system, although reorientation of this system is definitely a goal which is brought about by teacher proximity to the supplemental curriculum. The situation is dismal; facilities are inadequate and home environments are not conducive to high scholastic achievement.

The methodology created to combat this situation is imaginal education. Implicit in the curriculum of imaginal education are three presuppositions. First, the curriculum must be comprehensive in that the knowledge acquired by the slum-dweller can be incorporated and applied to the reality of his situation. The curriculum must also be oriented toward the future so that education becomes a means to an end and not an end in itself. And finally, the curriculum must be intentional; the student must be self-consciously aware of the decisions he makes regarding his studies which articulate with his life. The curriculum itself consists of four parts: the basic, the relational, the internal, and the imaginal. The basic has to do with the fundamental skills of literacy. The relational is sociological in nature, i.e., how the individual relates to his social context. The internal stresses total individual growth, biologically, socially, and rationally. Finally, the imaginal addresses the limitations of the individual and the way in which he

appropriates them; how he perceives possibilities and the discipline he uses to engage in those possibilities. Imaginal education constitutes, in effect, an all-out attack on the inadequacies of the present system at all age levels.

For the sake of brevity, we can consider the application of imaginal education on four levels. First, there are the preschool children. Much like Head Start, various agencies under CUE are designed to give slum children extra social, cultural and intellectual exposure to better prepare them for the formal education experience. Second, formal education in the ghetto is supplemented by auxiliary agencies in the community, e.g., tutorage. Third, several agencies are geared towards individuals (young and old alike) who find it impossible to obtain an education within the constraints of the formal structures, e.g., GED preparation. And finally, agencies exist to make students aware of available opportunities for continuing on to college.

Underlying the entire program is the premise that education must be functional; it must be career-oriented and it must be a means of cultivating local leadership. CUE seeks to subordinate education to reformulation of the community by channeling newly acquired skills, professional and service oriented, back into the community itself. Therefore, imaginal

education not only enables the slum-dweller to obtain an education, but accords him the opportunity, the dedication, to apply this education to the betterment of his community. In essence, the ghetto-dweller becomes literate to the dynamics of oppression and to the tactics for the amelioration of all inequities.

III. THE SYMBOL GUILD AND THE LYCEUM OF URBAN ARTS (LUA)

LUA directly articulates with presupposition five--the power of symbols. This is a particularly difficult area in that progress is nebulously elusive to empirical verification. Furthermore, LUA gives expression to the explosive self which is cultivated via imaginal education under CUE. What we are dealing with here is the dynamic expression of a cultural heritage which gives form to the historical legacy of a people. Thus, the cultural heritage of the community residents is molded into a "story"; a story that brings together the diversity of individuals into a common awareness that their community is unique and good, containing the possibility of creative expression and, thereby, significant contributions to society at large. Having created the story, the slum-dweller can point to his community with pride.

Agencies in the ghetto exist to channel cultural creativity from myth into reality, utilizing the mediums of arts and crafts, music and dance, drama and literature, all of which stand in a functional relationship to the community. The Community Culture Nexus is the social structure that establishes the underlying commonality of all available media. In particular, it is the social agencoy of the "community festivities complex" that brings together intra-cultural diversity into a common structure of community self-expression. Festivals are a total community function serving the symbol needs of the ghetto. Yet, the festival complex is not an exclusive phenomenon using only the target community's cultural heritage; it also serves to increase the slum-dweller's awareness of other cultures. Each festival has a specific theme, motif, decor which are directed toward the uniqueness of each racial and/or cultural group of people and their particular contribution to world civilization. Festivals, then, seek to give the community's heritage a common form, a form in a global context. In the final analysis, it is through the power of symbols the slum community constructively articulates with the greater metropolitan area, the nation and the world.

IV. THE STYLE GUILD AND THE MATRIX OF URBAN STYLE (MUS)

MUS is the social construct that makes specific and concrete the community story in the lives of the residents. In essence, the three guilds of the cultural dimension constitute a process of human resource development. First, we explode the imagination of the slum-dweller, replacing images of despair with ones of possibility. We then give these new images of self symbolic form in the life of the community, thus creating the common story. Finally, we make manifest the individual as he relates to the story by enabling him to cultivate a style. However, style is not meant to imply the externalities of existence, e.g., clothing, but points to the underlying ontology of the individual. Style, then, is the manner in which the ghettoite relates his relationship with the community to society at large, to the world; style does not finally exist at the local level unless it articulates with a larger context, i.e., community style vis-a-vis the world. On the individual level, style is the external, ontological expression of how the slum-dweller appropriates his own unique creativity on the one hand, and how he concretely actualizes that creativity on the other.

Integral to the development of style is discipline, or the way in which an individual uses his time. For

example, a community elder who teaches black heritage at the local grammar school has style as opposed to one who plays cards or knits all day--no style. Furthermore, style is an existential phenomenon; that is, one does not give style to an individual; style is experienced, but only in relation to reality outside of the target community. Only by experiencing "opposites" does the individual become self-consciously aware of his style.

The structure of urban slums precludes style as I have defined it; style does not exist in the void of a closed system of experience. It is to the development of style that MUS is addressed. The fundamental question here is; how do you expand the existential horizon of the ghetto resident, thereby rendering it a part of his ontological self? Out of necessity, attack in this area requires an age-specific format, for the cumulative experience of different age groups alters the nature and intensity of the problem.

Although many programs have emerged from MUS, the overall program can be divided into two parts: one, programs for those residents participating in formal education structures, and two, programs for those who are not in school. The former category ranges from preschool to college, whereas the latter includes dropouts, adults and community elders.

The program for youth in school focuses on three areas: extra-slum experience via cross-country trips and visits to museums, factories, cultural centers and so forth, extra-curricular activities in the afternoons, e.g., arts and crafts, and tutoring in weak subjects in school at night (a facet of imaginal education). In addition to these areas, high school youth are sent to live in suburban communities for a period of a year, sometimes more, to attend school. College is another means of extracting ghetto youth from the slum. The purpose behind these programs is to broaden the existential base of the youth upon which their future, and the future of their community, rests.

The second series of programs is a conglomerate of age groups, family and individual services. For example, the "young citizens syndicate" is an agency designed to channel the energy and leadership capabilities of the ghetto youth subculture, i.e., gang members (often with prison records), into constructive action in reformulating their community. At the other end of the age continuum, are programs for senior citizens ranging from participation in the model as hosts to visitors to global odyssies (world tours). In sum, the basic function of MUS is to expose the slum resident to alternative life styles and cultures, thus enabling him to come to know his own--a style

which becomes manifest and productive in his viable participation in the innovating impetus of reformulation.

V. THE POLITICAL GUILD AND THE URBAN POLITY CENTRUM

The reader will recall that in the discussion on the three foundation problems of the inner city (Chapter III) the third area concerned the lack of effective power; the slum-dweller has no opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes by which his destiny is determined. Attack in this area occurs on two levels. First, internal structures have to be secured for grassroot participation in community decision-making. Community organization is the functional instrument ensuring community participation and responsibility. Second, and of particular importance, is the creation of practical political self-consciousness on the local level. This involves not only the political education of slum residents, but the building of functional bridges between the target community and the greater metropolitan, state and national political arenas, thereby enabling them to manipulate the existing structures for the purposes of their community, putting an end to victimization.

Every inhabitant of the inner city experiences

the political "shaft" every day of his life in his civil liberties, his community's low priority rating in terms of urban services, and the exclusion of his community in key legislative decisions pertaining to urban affairs. Three social structures have emerged in response to this situation. The Human Liberties Council is addressed to the lack of civil rights and inadequate law enforcement. To serve the legal needs of the community there exists a legal aid clinic whose function is to act in an advisory capacity. There is also a civil rights agency, the express purpose of which is to provide the means of a calculated, strategic attack on violations, such as the practices of absentee landlords and discriminatory consumer and employment practices of exploitative companies operating in the ghetto. Regarding the lack of law enforcement, a local peace commission exists, the functions of which are to open channels of communication between community residents and police officials, and to maintain internal security by an informal peace force comprised of local inhabitants who patrol their own neighborhoods. The Urban Services Office is a community structure designed to correct the low priority rating regarding vital urban services, such as trash collection, snow removal, street repair and on and on. Alleviation of such deficiencies occurs at two levels: at the city's administrative bureaucracy

where repeated phone calls, letters and visits prompt action, and at the community's care for its environment where local efforts at maintenance are regularized. Finally, the Civil Relations Commission is an information center for potential legislative action pertinent to the community and an organizing force in the exercising of voting rights, i.e., voter registration and participation.

APPENDIX E

FIFTH CITY COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

FIFTH CITY COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

STRUCTURES FOR LOCAL URBAN CORPORATENESS

A. COMMUNITY CONGRESS B. OPERATING PRESIDIUM C. GUILD CONSTRUCT D. STAKE COMPLEX

A. 5TH CITY CONGRESS

quarterly town meeting

DISCUSSION
ACCOUNTING
PLANNING

B. FIFTH CITY PRESIDIUM

160 volunteer leaders

motivation representation direction

BOARD OF MANAGERS
full-time administrators

D. STAKE COMPLEX

LOCAL
CORPORATE
URBAN
CARE

COLLECT
DISSEMINATE
REFER
DATA

I. STAKE FAR WEST	QUAD 1	QUAD 2	QUAD 3	QUAD 4
II. STAKE NORTH CENTRAL	QUAD 5	QUAD 6	QUAD 7	QUAD 8
III. STAKE SOUTH CENTRAL	QUAD 9	QUAD 10	QUAD 11	QUAD 12
IV. STAKE NORTH EAST	QUAD 13	QUAD 14	QUAD 15	QUAD 16
V. STAKE SOUTH EAST	QUAD 17	QUAD 18	QUAD 19	QUAD 20

C. 5TH CITY GUILD CONSTRUCT

COMPREHENSIVE–COORDINATED–CONCRETE ACTION

LOCAL CORPORATE URBAN POWER

I ECONOMIC GUILD	II EDUCATIONAL GUILD	III SYMBOLIC GUILD	IV SOCIAL GUILD	V POLITY GUILD
1 BOARD health	5 BOARD pre-schooling	9 BOARD arts compend	13 BOARD youth development	17 BOARD human liberties
2 BOARD consumer services	6 BOARD public schools	10 BOARD ensemble combine	14 BOARD student union	18 BOARD urban services
3 BOARD income resources	7 BOARD functional education	11 BOARD drama dome	15 BOARD social development	19 BOARD civil relations
4 BOARD redevelopment	8 BOARD world academy	12 BOARD culture nexus	16 BOARD community foundation	20 BOARD community organization