

THE SOCIAL PROCESSES OF FIFTH CITY

--An Experimental Ethnography  
for Applied Anthropology

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## INTRODUCTION

On this side of the social activism of the '60s, the common man finds himself more soberly lucid than ever before about the problems of the world and his own participation in creating them. At the same time, the mass media has demonstrated to him time and again the futility of short-range and small-scale solutions. The average person thus finds himself paralyzed. Non-Western nations, American minorities, and even his family and employees point to him as the oppressor. As an adult, one is left with puny alternatives, such as doing his job a little more responsibly, and hoping for a little excitement on the weekends. As a youth, one experiments and longs for something more creative to do with his life, but knows that he will finally settle for something just mildly benevolent.

The depth of the social malaise of our time is simply the fact that most of us believe that this sense of futility is unavoidable. This peculiar dryness, this sense of uselessness, we would point to as a paralysis in the face of the radical transformation of culture in our time. Local man in every culture has an unprecedented opportunity to plunge into the building of new social forms which our times require. And yet, this opportunity is experienced as horror without the tools, the broad models of social dynamics out of which he can begin to grasp what is needed.

At the same time, it is obvious that many people across the globe see the need for new social tools and are in the midst of creating them. At the annual meeting of the CSAS this year, Sol Tax of the University of Chicago commented that he saw no future in anthropology in the United States, but that it was related with anthropologists from across the globe in working with various cultures to



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create adaptations for the violent transformations brought about in all cultures by modernization, urbanization, and secularization. It is trends like this which we would point to as hopeful, in that such cooperation offers both a practical format for generations of people experiencing radical change in the future, and it gives the opportunity for authentic re-engagement in society by ordinary people. We are, above all, convinced that only the risk of such direct and critical engagement in sectors of the university and of industry, is adequate to satiate the vocational and educational hunger experienced in our day.

This paper is an illustration of the practical uses of a model designed to fit the need of local people today. As such, it is offered as a tool for the applied anthropologist who would work in conjunction with the community in which he found himself. The social process model, as used here, (see chart) following is shifted from its earlier presentation, only insofar as the terms "cultural" and "social" are reversed, to maintain common usage. In this paper, the social process model will be documented to the third level, in a Black urban ghetto community on the West Side of Chicago. Such an exercise serves to ground the model in a small community of 5000 people, and thus to demonstrate the use of such a model in affording its user self-consciousness of the social dynamics in which he participates.

Source material on Fifth City was found to be extremely poor. As a result, most of the material used to describe the processes are our own observations, gleaned from residence in the area between June, 1968 and January, 1972, during which time two years were spent by each of us working directly in the community organization as consultants to the Board of Managers. Appendix A is a Fifth City public relations brochure, which gives the most adequate picture to date of the basic organization of the community. Throughout this paper, we will describe social processes first in their ongoing manifestation on the West Side, and then as they have been shifted through the Fifth City model.



## THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION

### The Common Resources

The social dynamic of humanness is a process, one aspect of which is creating economic commonality, which includes organizing common resources. Common resources is the appropriation of basic materials for use in the economic process. This appropriation extracts raw materials, utilizes manpower, and supplies practical know-how. Therefore common resources consist of natural resources, human resources, and technological resources. If there is no common resources process, there is no possibility of creating usable products; and ownership, exchange, and economic planning become meaningless.

The resources of an area define the limits of productivity of the area, provide potential for that productivity, and supply the ongoing production of the community. Because of the lack of resources within Fifth City, the potential for becoming a viable economic unit is very weak. Natural resources are few, and are not generally owned by the community. Human resources are great, but are weak in education and job stability, and are not seen as valuable in a post-modern, capital-based economy. Technological resources are systematically denied this community by the larger society. Thus, any potential for industry or business in the area is greatly reduced.

The resources of a community set the level of distribution available for that community, generate systems of distribution, and feed the distribution mechanisms. Again, due to the great lack of resources, distribution flow tends to be out of the community, through chain stores, taxes, and contract buying. It is not unheard-of for a television set to be sold, repossessed for failure to pay a single payment, and resold, as many as ten times. This provides a con-



stant outflow of capital, with virtually no input to show for it. The mechanisms for input are based not so much upon resources as upon the whims of the welfare system. The average year's income for 1962 was \$4,244, with over 30% of the population earning under \$3,000 a year, and less than 5% earning over \$10,000 (Kitegawa and Taeuber 1963:69).

Resources' relationship to the whole economic process is that it confines the availability of energy, materials, and knowhow for economic processes, provides these materials, and maintains the existing flow of materials. Fifth City has as its resources some sixteen square blocks of land, on which approximately 5,000 people live. Even this bleak picture does not do justice to the problem. The refusal of government and business to invest in this area, despite its mass of available manpower, creates a situation in which little or no autonomous production can go on. Thus, Fifth City is not simply dependent upon the city of Chicago for garbage collection, electricity, and water, like other neighborhoods, but is also dependent upon the city as a whole to provide it with basic resources, as well.

#### NATURAL RESOURCES

Natural resources indicates the process of allocating communal energy for the sake of human potential, and technical understanding towards pragmatically sharing the necessities of life. Natural resources indicate the fundamental exploitation of primary biological and geological materials. Thus, natural resources consist of basic reserves, ecological flows, and accessory improvements. While this process is best seen in a larger or more rural context, Fifth City and the urban neighborhood in general can talk about "natural" resources as the geographical setting, the housing and business buildings, the availability and kind of transportation, and even the potential for development of an economic base, whether industrial, trade, or service. Fifth City is sixteen square blocks bounded by Independence on the west, Fifth Avenue on the north, by Kedzie on the east, and by Congress Parkway on the south. The area is largely residential, with



a business district running along Fifth Avenue. The houses and apartments are old, generally built before 1914 (Morton 1968:17), and deteriorated, infested with bugs and rodents. Inadequate electrical wiring and heating by today's standards are generally the case. The median value of a single family dwelling in this area is \$14,000, versus the city average of \$18,000 (Morton 1968:19).

Businesses are often run by Blacks, but seldom owned by them. There are no industries in the area, and while few large stores dot the general vicinity, none are in Fifth City proper. Transportation is good, with an El stop at Homan and Kedzie, the Eisenhower Freeway off Congress Parkway and Homan, Kedzie, and Independence being north/south arteries. The income and credit available to the community can be seen as a natural resource. As already mentioned, while income is low, and unemployment or underemployment are high, credit is an interesting phenomenon. Credit can be had for high consumption goods like television sets, clothing, and stereos, for extremely high interest rates; but for rehabilitating a building, credit is nearly impossible to obtain. Finally, the natural resources which allow potential for an economic base are nearly non-existent. One of the two industrial sights within the community has been burned down by vandals, and the other has been empty since the company moved to the suburbs in the mid-sixties. Attracting industry to such an area has been very difficult due to the danger to employees, high insurance rates, need for security, and other related factors.

The Fifth City model is designed to exploit the natural resources of the community so that the community can begin to direct its own economic destiny. Since the buildings are only deteriorated, and yet remarkably structurally sound, a long-range rehabilitation program has been initiated. The effort is to improve both the general livability of the neighborhood and also its property values. Where this is not feasible, new construction is being planned by the Fifth City Redevelopment Corporation (FCRC), which is a community-based corporation



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designed to allow rehabilitation funds to reach the community. FCRC is also buying buildings from absentee landlords, and creating both housing and commercial space.

Relative to income and credit, a series of job upgrading, training, and placement programs are being developed by the community, so that higher levels of income are available to the populace. In addition, a credit union was started in 1968 to control the use of the savings of the community through investment in local concerns. This allows income to remain within the community itself. Also, by developing neighborhood owned and controlled corporations, the credit of the neighborhood can be increased through a corporate effort that is impossible for any individual within the neighborhood. These are largely in the planning stage, but have received the planning wisdom and support of Black businessmen in the community and beyond it.

N  
URCES

Human resources indicate the process of making manpower available for the sake of using the raw materials and technological knowhow to sustain human existence. Human resources include taking into account the inhabitants of the community, their working structures, and the available talent or means of developing it. Resident populations indicate the process involving the social groupings, settlement patterns, and skills groups of an area to enhance productivity. Labor divisions indicate a process directing human energies into necessary work areas on the basis of established criteria. Employable skills indicate a process of developing individual capabilities and providing for their continued improvement.

The human resources process describes the organizing of human availability and skill. The inner city tends to be crippled in the area of human resources in all of the three subprocesses. While some of the highest density of people per square mile is located within the ghetto, people are less healthy than the population as a whole, younger by far, and unskilled in favored areas. The



general health of the community is very poor. Until an outpost for health services was set up by Fifth City, virtually no services were available in the neighborhood or its vicinity. At one early count, fifty per cent of the community's children were checked for lead poisoning, and nearly 50% of those tested showed traces (Morton 1968:62). Most people simply do not want to put up with waiting in line at Cook County, and are frequently unaware of common health hazards.

The age of the community is very young. Over 40% of the community is under 18 years old (Kitagawa and Taeuber 1963:69). The youth of the community, most of which means people who are in school, means that the actual resident work force is much smaller than it seems.

Labor divisions is not a strong process in Fifth City, either. People tend not to be prepared for urban technological society, as much of the migration to the area is from the rural South. Again, lack of urban work experience, and of training in the skills required of the urban job market, provide little in the way of a viable work pool. Finally, because few skilled people are available, few skills are taught locally. Employable skills, the third process of human resources, is also weak.

The Fifth City model is designed so that the human resources of the community are unlocked and made available to the community itself and to the larger society. One important aspect of that model is the Fifth City Health Outpost, where doctors and nurses are available for the community, five days and four evenings a week, along with cooperation from Cook County Hospital for supplying services and doctors on a rotating basis. In addition, a community blood bank has, upon demand, blood for any resident of the community. Also on a regular basis are blood, lead poisoning, TB and PAP tests. Family planning services are also available.

Also, discerning and upgrading work skills are cared for in the model through



the Employment Outpost, which places community members in training structures across the city where that is helpful, and sponsors local training in specified areas, such as construction and computer keypunching.

NOLOGICAL  
JRCS

The technological resources indicate the process of inventing applied techniques for the sake of combining raw materials and human potential in order to make the most of all resources. The technological resources process includes the basic know-how required for developing resources, for combining materials into products, and for creating new devices and methods. Extractive procedures is the process of knowing how to obtain in the most productive way possible the resources available to the society. Industrial arts is the system of skills which manipulate component materials into usable combinations. Innovative means produce those unprecedented approaches within technology which are constantly revolutionizing the economy.

The technological resources process encompasses the ongoing transformation of practical know-how. The technological skills of the community tend to run upon the lines of skilled craftsmen and general laborers. Few of the citizens enjoy skills in management, marketing, engineering, etc. Much of the energy people employ in developing skills informally has to do with the good hustle. Remarkable sales skills are demonstrated on street corners, and yet they are not, in this informal state, transferable to the marketplace. Could that type of gift be released, miracles would happen.

The Fifth City model is designed to generally upgrade the skills of the community. Far more important, though, is the creation of people who are trained broadly enough to discern new trends and gain the training needed to deal with the new situation themselves. Training in leadership skills, workshop and problem-solving methodology, group leading, public relations (when calling for grants and other purposes in the Loop), and even the simple skill of keeping the attention of a neighbor while calling on him, have proved very



profitable for people in the community, and free them to discern what training they need and how to build a model for getting it. This type of upgrading, in addition to skills training, allows people to continuously upgrade themselves in spite of technological change.

### The Common Production

The social dynamic of humanness is a process, one aspect of which is creating economic commonality, which includes engineering the common production. Common production is the utilization of transformation capability. This utilization allows the application of the means of the operating implements, the engagement of the human energy, and the establishment of systematic procedures. Thus common production consists of production instruments, production forces, and production systems. Interrupted common production cripples the economic process by allowing resources to stand idle, unfit for distribution.

Common production designs the utilization of common resources. It selects and expands the stock of available common resources. It perpetuates common resources by demanding their availability. Production is generally services, groceries, laundries, a hotel, and a service station, in Fifth City. At one time, there were two industries in the neighborhood, a chair-building factory and a printing corporation. Since they fled to the suburbs, no new firms have moved into the area. Capital is lacking to develop those sites which could be used for industry.

In relation to common distribution, common production promotes the flow of goods and services by making them available. It conditions the flow by dictating the level of supply. Common production supports the level of distribution as it appears within the economic sector. Since production is, for the most part, outside the community, and therefore distribution is controlled outside the community, Fifth City is run by outside interests to a far greater extent than other communities within the city as a whole.

Common production is the transformation of earth's gifts into exchangeable



goods. In relation to economic commonality, common production actually develops exchangeable goods. It delineates the nature of the economy. It continues to provide form to the economic system.

DUCTION  
STRUMENTS

Production instruments indicate the process of bringing together the ingredients of manufacturing for the sake of applying manpower and effective procedures toward shaping and meeting the material needs of society. The process of production instruments includes accumulating credits, investing helpful utensils, and developing manufacturing procedures. Capital goods include amassing raw material, assembling available mechanisms, and assessing potential available assets. Suitable tools include operating fundamental implements, manipulating energy, and directing precision mechanisms. Industrial processes include overseeing tool arrangement, applying manageable energy, and gauging accuracy.

Within the inner city, production instruments are limited and largely behind the demands of the larger society. Capital, tools, and the processes of production have been taken to other areas of the city. This situation means that, to a large degree, little can be done for the economic destiny of the community until this situation is rectified.

The Fifth City model is designed to enable capital, tools of production, and systems of production to be re-established in the community. The rehabilitation of an old factory and a search for tenants are now taking place. A new shopping center has been designed, and the land bought, and is now being cleared to begin construction under the auspices of the FCRC. All this will provide capital goods for the community. In addition, certain experiments in enabling services to become more profitable are currently going on.

DUCTION  
FORCES

Production forces indicate the process of applying manpower for the sake of integrating creative devices and procedural mechanisms to effectively produce goods for society. Production forces consist of the marshalling of unskilled workers, supplying highly trained personnel, and developing skilled administrators.



Common laborers provide the necessary skills of production at primary levels. Skilled specialists encompass the projective, technical, and monetary capabilities of production forces. Staff supervisors create and implement patterns of operation for the tools, the people who use them, and the ways in which they are to be used.

Most of the forces of production in Fifth City are those being used outside of the community, while a few shopkeepers, clerks, and service station attendants live and work in the community. While any residential community would have this kind of situation, much must be done to provide means of controlling the productive and economic direction of the community within the community itself.

Production systems indicate the process of designing operational relationships between human ability and technical tools for the sake of assuring the control and empowerment of the production process. Production systems consist of establishing cumulative patterns, coordinating the controlling procedures, and determining the apportionment plan. Assembly schemes are the originating of the set-up procedures, facilitating the coordination of materials, and preserving the production standards. Management patterns are the integrating of staff relations, refining the elements of control, and anticipating disruptions of the system. Allocation designs are the pinpointing of the projected consumption, specifying the capital outlay, and deciding the time-flow plan.

Due to the lack of indigenous production instruments and forces, discussion of production systems in Fifth City is reduced to minutia, that is largely irrelevant in this general a paper. Suffice is to say that production systems take place in small businesses in the community, and to some degree in minor home industries such as the few women who do dressmaking.

From the standpoint of the Fifth City model, production systems is an area which awaits the development of industry in the area to come into serious concern.

RODUCTION  
SYSTEMS



The Common Distribution

The social dynamic of humanness is a process, one aspect of which is creating economic commonality, which includes designing common distribution. Common distribution patterns the circulation of goods and services. This patterning establishes the locus of possession, regulates the transfer of ownership, and determines how goods will be employed in the society. Thus, common distribution consists of property claims, exchange mechanisms, and consumption plans. Failure of common distribution to function clogs the economic process by preventing access to the fruits of production, which in turn slows resource development.

Common distribution expands common resources as it makes resources available on a wider scale. It reflects the values of common resources and then regulates their output. It also nourishes their development. By far the least functioning process in the inner city economic scheme is distribution. The economic gifts and potential are not going out of the city in an equitable way to the society at large, and the goods and services of the larger society are not available to the inner city community. The Black community must find ways of exploiting its resources in the inner city to allow full participation in the economic system of society. At first glance, the major economic problem for Fifth City is that the mechanism of distributing goods and services has broken down, and no longer serves this area. This is true, but the root problem seems to be far more complex. How can each local community acquire enough economic power to be able to direct its own destiny?

In relation to common production, common distribution places demands for goods and services. It regulates the output of common production according to the values of the society. It also promotes innovation in common production. In Fifth City and the inner city as a whole, the purchasing power of the community is generally less than that of the society at large, and the selection of



goods is less diverse and of poorer quality. This situation forces a kind of creativity that could solve a number of problems. As David Morton notes:

Again, because of the effective vacuum of economic resources in the ghetto, and because of the potential abundance of resources from government sources and the need to develop productive resources within the ghetto itself, there may well be an opportunity to experiment with new and exciting ways that would be unthinkable anywhere in the dominant white community. For instance, cooperatives have proven successful only in the agricultural segments of our national economy. When developed elsewhere, they have often proven to be more expensive than the forms of private enterprise. But ghetto communities may be forced to discover ways of making cooperatives work. Perhaps where the system of private ownership does not prove feasible, it may be possible to develop a system of property leasing that would have enormous advantages...(1968:61).

Common distribution is the allocation of a society's goods and services. In relation to economic commonality, distribution designs the system of dispersion. At the same time, it regulates economic commonality. By its action and reaction it maintains the market dynamic. If the problems of power in Fifth City are the most critical, the problems of economics are by far the most visible, particularly in distribution. As Morton points out:

If people are unclear about what must be done to develop power, or about what is necessary for the creation of a valid style of urban life, nearly everyone has his prescription for what must be done about the economic problems. The "new cities" projects that one hears and reads a great deal about now are essentially economic creations. Congress and Federal administrations seem incapable of thinking in any but economic terms. And yet, irony of ironies, everyone understands that we live in a time when all of the economic problems of the world have, in principle, been solved. The technology and the resources available in our world are adequate to make possible at least a minimum standard of living for every single individual alive...(1968:60).

Property claims indicate the process of allocating ownership rights for the sake of formulating exchange structures which enable the distribution of goods to all mankind. Property claims identify basic resources, establish a



PROPERTY  
LIMS

system to transfer commodities and services, and regulate that which is accumulated. Material inputs establish a foundation of resources by furnishing management and investments. Production means signify the coordination of different levels of private capital, corporate enterprise, and public finances. Surplus outputs are extra resources produced by the established economy and accumulated by the public trust.

There are several forms through which property is controlled in Fifth City, including individual ownership, corporate ownership, and in a few instances, control through families. The inner city has little control over the ownership pattern of its real estate, public lands, and to a large degree, private property. Real estate is notorious for being controlled by outside interests and for being lower in value than that of the city at large. Less than 16% of the housing units in Fifth City are owner occupied according to the 1970 census, versus 32% for the city as a whole. The median value of a single family dwelling unit in this area is \$14,000, as compared to \$18,000 for the city median. More pertinent is the pattern of ownership. Often, under contract buying, with a house, as well as furniture, or a car, missing a single payment causes repossession, with the goods in question only being resold to a neighbor. Another mechanism of property control is selling houses on very long-term loans, thirty years or more, when the life expectancy of the property is likely twenty years, if that long.

Even less tangible things are ambiguously owned. For example, space for the Fifth City apartment dweller is tighter and frequently less private than that of the rest of the city. The percent of homes with more than one person per room in Fifth City is 28.7%, while the city average is 11.7% (Kitagawa and Tauber 1963:329). In the Fifth City situation, with the added factor of a cultural emphasis upon individual rights, ownership, and space allocation, the average resident has little experience of "owning" his space or belongings.



The Fifth City model is designed to deal with the problems in the area of property claims through a number of approaches. First, while individuals are frequently taken advantage of by contract buying, a consumer education board has been providing information relative to ownership and property rights, and pressuring the legislature about contract buying legislation. In addition, the Fifth City Redevelopment Corporation has begun experimenting with having the community corporately own apartment houses and homes, and rent them to residents at lower rates than an outside landlord can charge. Experimentation in this structure with one building on Homan has demonstrated that the sense of one's self as homeowner is significantly shifted. This particular property has received remarkably fine care as compared to the average rental property in the area. Another step in this area has been corporate application by home owners for HUD "212" loans, for home rehabilitation. It was discovered that a package of applications for loans was processed and honored far more rapidly than such applications have been in the past when done on an individual basis. Although this program effected a minority of the community, it paved the way for further successful proposals with HUD.

Exchange mechanisms indicate a process of interchanging commodities for the sake of dispensing property claims and carrying out consumption plans. This process involves controlling the transfer of goods, and utilizing time, energy, and know-how through standardized economic values and incentives. Goods exchanges establish standard values of goods, provide market outlets, and forecast demands. Service exchanges appropriate pay standards, allow contract and labor negotiations, and assign personnel. Credit exchanges involve the exchange of goods and services using common currency and promise of payment arrangements, as well as setting limits and determining benefits of investment schemes.

Within the inner city, money is the primary mechanism of exchange. But



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because many of the values of the Southern rural culture are brought into Fifth City, a very large amount of bartering goes on, consciously or unconsciously, especially for services. People will help fix up a room for work on a car. Meals are exchanged. This takes place on a very informal level, but some significant amount of time, energy, and skills are exchanged through this mechanism, especially when compared with the larger society.

Another mechanism of exchange is theft. A large amount of goods flow through the economy in this manner. An apartment is broken into, a television set is stolen, and the next day, on Fifth Avenue, a television set can be bought cheaply, even by its former owner. Since the Ecumenical Institute has been in the neighborhood, it has been a focus for robbery. Where possible, people prefer to steal from Whites rather than Blacks, but in most instances they are simply not around.

The purchasing power of the neighborhood in goods and services is limited and suppressed. Very few stores exist in Fifth City, especially since the riots in 1968. Sears' Homan Avenue store is just across the expressway, but a majority of items in the store are on order only, since they consider (rightfully so) that it would be a security problem to maintain too much stock on the sales floor. Apart from this, residents are required to leave the immediate area to maximize shopping power or to do any major purchases. There are three small grocery stores in Fifth City, and a notoriously overpriced Del Farm near its eastern boundary. Fifth City small independent stores, and even its Del Farm, seems to bear out the data collected in the Kerner report:

A 1967 study of low-income Negro households indicated that their low automobile ownership compelled them to patronize primarily local neighborhood merchants. These merchants typically provided smaller selection, poorer services, and higher prices than big national outlets... (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders 1968:275).



Finally, residents of the Black ghetto tend to average the highest rate of unemployment across our society. Many more show up untrained for jobs other than the most mundane and insecure manual labor. Although the 1970 census figures for Fifth City are not yet available on employment, 1963 projections are highly indicative. In May of 1963, recipients of public assistance in this area per 100 was 31.1, while the city rate for the same period is 7.7 (Kitagawa and Taeuber 1963:329). In 1960, unemployment compensation per 100 for Fifth City was 3.8, while the city was 1.7 (1963:326). Neither of these figures are adequate to point to the radicality of the situation in 1972, however. Using the same ratios as these earlier figures, if the unemployment figure for Chicago as a whole is estimated commonly at 6.0%, likely the rate in Fifth City is approaching 14%.

The Fifth City model is designed to deal with this arena through a number of structures. The problem of theft is primarily dealt with by increasing the ordering dynamic through the political guild. Work has been done here to promote citizen cooperation in preventing and reporting theft.

In order to increase the purchasing power of the community, a series of cooperatives are being considered, for instance, a food cooperative could be used to expand the food budget of families. At the same time, customer service protection is being worked on. In this area, the economic guild has been working to devise methods of assuring that customers get maximum value for their money, and that adequate pressures are applied to merchants to obtain a minimum fair price. Many community groups have learned, for instance, that a great deal of Sears' budget is designated for in-kind donations to the community. Talks have begun with Sears about the possibility of providing better local customer service, as one means of performing this function. In the meantime, however, local businesses are good for great amounts of assistance both financially and in-kind, because of their interest in maintaining



alliances within the community.

The Fifth City Credit Union is designed to allow the community with low-interest loans, for purchases and other needs, without removing that investment from the Fifth City area.

Consumption plans indicate the process of determining how goods and products shall be distributed for the sake of maintaining the common welfare of society. They consist of designing and coordinating methods to meet daily and future needs in the most comprehensive way. Current demands are society's needs, tempered by available credit, and influenced by common social trends. Anticipated needs are a projection of basic requirements for advancing capital and increasing living standards. Inclusive equilibriums maintain the structure necessary to balance the demands of community customs and expectations.

JMPTION  
S

Consumption plans are the meeting points of the social values and the economic realities of a society. These are loci of serious conflict within the inner city. Great emphasis is placed upon acquiring goods and the conspicuous expenditure of money. This value, coupled with little available funds creates an immediacy about spending that allows for extremely little long-range planning. Items are often purchased without regard for the future needs of the family, even at very basic levels, which jeopardizes the broader possibilities of the future. The uncertainty of income through welfare, temporary work, weekly wages, and other varying scales, makes this "spend it now" mentality all the more entrenched.

The Fifth City model is designed to allow for extensive training and internalization of model-building methods which emphasize the crucial nature of planning. While the methods themselves are not very impressive as they are taught, people become accustomed to building daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly, yearly, and four, ten, and twenty-year timelines for the community. More than that, people see over a year or a quarter, and especially in reflection sessions



over a four-year or an eight-year period, that their timelines have indeed been successful--everything included has been done, and many things done could not have occurred sooner. This type of encounter with the everyday necessity of long-range planning to enable the complex tactical system of Fifth City encourages tactical thinking, and allows Fifth Citizens the tools and experience to plan for their families should they see that imperative. Since the family, especially in its economic dimension, is a very intrinsic part of the self-understanding of the neighborhood, we are by no means eager to promote change at this level directly. Rather, the necessary skills and images to begin renewal of that structure are set forth in another context, and left to be picked up or not. Until a great majority of other structures in the community have begun to take a radical shift toward renewal, one would be in dangerous and futile territory to mess with the family. This situation is not necessarily unique to the Black community in Fifth City.



THE POLITICAL COMMONALITY

The Corporate Order

The social dynamic of humanness is a process, one aspect of which is creating political commonality, which includes providing corporate order. Corporate order is the organization of power to sustain a society. Society maintains corporate order by safeguarding inter-societal integration, insuring internal stability, and authorizing protective covenants. Thus, corporate order includes common defense, domestic tranquility, and legal base. Without the process of organizing the raw social forces, there would be no structural foundation of establishing corporate well-being and justice that would enable creative participation in the decisional processes.

Corporate order enforces social stability. In relation to corporate justice, corporate order originates the systematic use of social power. It determines the extent of power required, and thus protects and nurtures the social system.

Order creates corporate welfare by providing the necessary stable environment. It also tempers the excesses of individual and corporate demands. Finally, it enables creative engagement in the entire culture to go on, without which welfare would be maningless.

In relation to the overall political commonality, corporate order provides the security which is essential for a functional society. It harnesses social power in the political arena, and sustains its equilibrium, so that responsible decisions can be made relative to the care of the entire social process.

Common defense indicates the process of safeguarding the inter-social integrity for the sake of insuring internal stability and the protective covenant. Common defense consists of maintaining the sovereign identity, developing



alliances and bringing together multi-group institutions. Protected sovereignty is the strategic application of political power and the deployment of military force to maintain territorial integrity. Negotiated alliances provide the channels for the contraction and mediation of inter-societal relations. Inter-social bodies integrate common social functions across political boundaries.

Defense of the Fifth City community against outside forces is confronted basicall with the use of this area as a convenient ground for mugging, rape, robbery, and drug traffic from other parts of the West Side.

Since Fifth City is crossed by Homan Avenue, Fifth Avenue, and Jackson, it serves as something of a crossroads for much of the organized and individual criminal activity of the area. While it is clear that deterrence is a massive and long-range issue involving the entire West Side, all members of the community carry out individual and corporate security measures. Of neighborhood people, virtually everyone is armed who is on the street alone or in small groups after dark. Local businessmen staff their establishments with no less than two, and as many as five, people on evening shifts, most of whom are simply there for security. The most effective deterrent, we are repeatedly reminded by a small local liquor store proprietor, is the obvious presence of weapons. In the evening, with two or three friends behind the counter with him, a tell-tale handle here and there indicates a veritable arsenal within reach amidst the stock. In over two years of operation, no one has attempted robbery.

There is also corporate protection among neighbors in the community. Neighbors check each other's apartments during absence, and people assure that friendly doorways are available throughout whatever route they frequently walk. During the 1968 riots, neighbors took shifts standing guard with rifles on the rooftops and porches, to see that their buildings were not touched. Neighbors of ours informed us during that same period that the two buildings we had evacuated of staff persons on Trumbull were also being guarded.



More effective than any private efforts, however, is police presence. Insofar as local protection is concerned, police are experienced as something of a gift. In Fifth City, as many as seventeen cars have been known to appear within three minutes of a crime-in-progress call. Such rapid and massive presence is looked upon as irreplaceable in the community, and while police harrassment is a constant problem, cruising by police in the neighborhood is encouraged by much of the populace.

Another element of community defense is the gangs. While gang members are among the foremost troublemakers in Fifth City, they are eager to maintain their unique position, and readily drive out other youth groups. During the 1968 riots, although they were active themselves in the business area, the gang youth bodily prevented burning of property, especially residences, by groups from other parts of Chicago.

More than anything else, common defense has to do with definition of the neighborhood. "Outsiders" are only understood in terms of a sense of being "insiders." Without that sense of a neighborhood, every man or every block is enemy to every other one. As Fifth City has become increasingly self-conscious of itself as a community, it has also increasingly sought means of banding together for common security. A key in this area has been work with other West Side groups by the Board of Mangers to develop plans for diminishing crime within neighborhoods across the entire West Side.

The Fifth City model is designed to create a self-conscious urban neighborhood, in which community will is marshalled to assure the basic security of all citizens. Songs, the Fifth City symbol, the Fifth City Voice, a community newspaper, housing rehabilitation, and even festivals have served to make the image of Fifth City unmistakable to even the most isolated members of the community. Every person in the area receives at least one visit a quarter from a Fifth City iron man to assure that he is aware of what is going on in the



neighborhood, and he is invited to participate in whatever capacity possible. At the same time, stake, quad, and unit leaders are on the lookout for problems in their areas which need attention.

The sense of Fifth City as an entity is grounded in the fact that people know their neighbors. Not only that, but many people have spent hours working side-by-side with neighbors, recruiting, clearing trash, barbecuing for a festival, and so forth. One knows that he has colleagues in the community who will support the decisions he makes on behalf of Fifth City. This milieu has allowed the possibility of greater emphasis upon common defense in Fifth City in the future.

In addition to developing more intensive channels of communication with other neighborhoods on the West Side, one possible experiment is a "community watch." Neighborhood residents have considered assigning community people to watch nightly at key crime areas in the neighborhood for problems to arise, and to work with police early enough to deter crimes in progress.

The domestic tranquility indicates the process of insuring internal stability for the sake of safeguarding inter-societal integrity and the protective covenant. Domestic tranquility includes insuring the safety of the public, restraining deviant behavior, and promoting citizen assent. Law enforcement is the establishment of procedures for civil protection. Correctional constructs deal with violations of the society's legal code. Community assent is the development of public support of the regulatory structures which assure internal equilibrium.

MESTIC  
ANQUILITY

Domestic tranquility in Fifth City takes place in the struggle to allow the community to live together peacefully. The general tone of violent relationships with those outside of the community extends within the community as well. Parents, who are often very young, are engaged heavily in work and social relationships with other adults, and have little control over the activities



of their children. Often children play outdoors a great deal simply because of lack of space to play indoors. Once on the street, children tend to mix a great deal across age lines in play, affording younger children great sophistication and thirst for adventure. Children roam the neighborhood, getting more and more into mischief as they are not caught, and rarely punished severely when caught.

Another aspect of the struggle within the family is frequent fighting, sometimes leading to violence, among family members. The mere presence of great numbers of weapons is frequently dangerous in family fights. Alcoholism and widespread drug usage among youth intensify these problems.

At the same time, police in the community have little symbolic power to enforce order. It is all too clear that although their presence is powerful as a deterrent, police can be vulnerable in this milieu, and they are neither very interested in, nor asked to deal with, much of the conflict internal to the community. An air of continual militancy results, in which the individual sees himself as finally able to rely only upon his own strength or wiles for self-defense.

The Fifth City model is designed to create in the community the common respect and structural care to allow community peace and stability. The basic approach here has been indirect. Common work among community members has allowed people to see each other's ability and drive. This experience has allowed people a new sense of collegiality across the neighborhood. Youth and adults alike have less time to brood over personal wrongs or struggle over them, simply because quarrelling tends to be focussed on problems of the community. There is also the awareness, for adults and youth alike, that their colleagues will hold them accountable for living an adequate "revolutionary style."

The same general approach is embodied in all youth programs, public meetings, orientation training for programs, and other public gatherings, in



the method of "imaginal education." This method is discussed at length in the wisdom section of this paper, but its function in domestic tranquility is also crucial. Imaginal education simply points to the fact that all Fifth City gatherings are out to develop images of self-worth and significant calling to renew the community for the sake of the world, in all participants. This emphasis, and the new positions of responsibility for the community<sup>t</sup> which many people are assuming, has allowed many to develop a new sense of themselves, in which they are much less prone to violent self-defense than before.

Structurally speaking, much of the work in the domestic tranquility arena awaits the development of adequate community power to deal with problems across the entire West Side. In the meantime, however, the Neighborhood voters' League conducts an ongoing program of community education in the practical operations of the political structures of the community in which we live. Trips to Washington, D.C. may seem foolish to some, but have allowed community residents a graphic picture of the structures they are engaged in. It is clear that the present distrust in communities like Fifth City, albeit well-founded, for governmental structures is a prime cause of the vigilante mentality of many neighborhood encounters. But that that trust is re-established, at the same time it is made realistic, harmony in the neighborhood will not be developed.

Legal Base indicates the process of authorizing the protective covenant for the sake of safeguarding society internally and relative to outsiders. The legal base includes preserving the presupposition upon which society orders itself, upholding the established practices and conscience, and codifying them for common reference. Basic covenant is the consensed operating paradigm by which a society lays the foundations of its internal and external relations. Common law is the recognition of the historic images of order in the community which reflect the behavioral patterns necessary to order basic relationships. Codified statutes are the documentation and articulation of the regulatory policies and

LEGAL  
BASE



governmental instructions.

Fifth City is a part of the 43rd precinct, 28th ward, or the city of Chicago. As such, it participates in the political machinery of the city of Chicago, which need not be elaborated here except insofar as it is uniquely manifested in this neighborhood. Participation in the city's structures is in practice blocked by both legal and de facto strictures upon this area. Political units are so structured that Fifth City is linked with a white, blue-collar area of Cicero. Community vote loses its impact in relation to the rest of the ward. At the same time, votes for some candidates are simply "lost" in the final counting. On one occasion, one hundred people from Ecumenical Institute voted for a popular local Black candidate, while the rest cast their votes for machine candidates, as usual. The Black candidate received a total of only 18 votes in the final counting for our area!

Urban services of all types, from building inspection to ambulance and garbage-collection services, tend to function inadequately to meet the needs of the population, but many are willing to do the job for a small fee. Those who lack the connections in the city or the fee, tend to be lacking in access to the basic services.

The community understands itself to be oppressed by the structures of the city, and presents a solid front in resistance to aiding public employees of any sort. For instance, arrest in public is difficult. The consensus that government is "out to screw us" is widespread, and police, social workers, and garbage men alike are dealt with accordingly.

When President Nixon was elected in 1968, people simply would not appear for meetings for a week. Many said that they wondered if it was worth it to try, when all society seemed marshalled to oppose communities like ours. Since that time, it has become clear that the Nixon election was a great gift to the community, in that it allowed noncooperation by the struc-



tures of government to be seen not as irreparable catastrophe, but as simply the situation, in whcih the ongoing task of renewing the community could go on. In that sense, this administration has done the inner city a great service --even if it is a somewhat backhanded one.

The Fifth City model is designed to allow citizens of the community the most direct access possible to the structures of city, state, and federal government, with an adequate image of corporate power to assure a serious response.

Teams of Blacks and Whites from the community and the Ecumenical Institute are assigned full time to "development": that is, cultivation of contacts in major urban centers across the United States, and especially in Chicago and Washington, to support Fifth City not only financially, but with their influence. It has been in this arena of developing alliances that Fifth City has begun to develop a body of "establishment" support, the kind of "pull" needed in a city like Chicago to assure that community services are granted and rights are protected.

More locally, the Political Guild publishes fliers called "tracts," which are distributed across the community along with the Fifth City Voice. Each tract is centered about a particular topic, and spells out in simple form the basic education which people need in order to assure that they are cared for by the structures of government. One may be on voter registration, another describing the procedures of the Legal Aid Clinic, another simply describing the structure of wards and precincts, and what functions those structures should be expected to play. Tracts are a tool for ensuring that people are informed enough to be able to demand of political structures that they do their duty. In the area of services, this function of accountability is played by the Community Control Board, who are people assigned by the Political Guild to assume responsibility for seeing that service needs such as dead animal



or fallen tree removal are carried out, that demolished cars are towed away, that streets are cleaned, street lights replaced, and garbage collected. It is through these minor activities of corporate care that a community consensus is emerging, a covenant that unselfconsciously, at least, holds Fifth City residents before their decision to be a sign of possibility in spite of the situation.

### The Corporate Justice

The social dynamic of humanness is a process, one aspect of which is creating political commonality, which includes developing corporate justice. Corporate justice is the method by which the common mind is established, applied, and perpetuated through the components of the social order. Through such a method, every society formulates and organizes the common mind, applies or expresses those decisions, and insures the carrying out of those decisions. Thus, corporate justice consists of legislative consensus, judicial procedure, and executive authority. Without the perpetuation of this dynamic, no society can maintain its values, principles, and wisdom, and would have no means of preserving human society in the face of the chaos of history.

In relationship to corporate order, corporate justice executes controlling laws that provide the order needed to protect internal and external intrusions of society. It limits true corporate order by holding all men in the community accountable to the popular will. Finally, it administers the ordering process of the society to prevent social collapse.

At the level of the local community, especially in the inner city, because most communities do not see themselves as a viable political unit, and because of their participation in the larger community structures of justice, there are few formal forms of justice within Fifth City, or within the inner city as a whole. The participation of the community within the structures of the city, state, and nation, provide, to some degree, the structures of order, justice, and welfare in the community. However, there are unique manifestations of the



process of justice within the community itself. For instance, this occurs when a block or a group of neighbors gather together to protect themselves from intrusions by outsiders, when parents band together to protect their children on the way to school; when various associations gather to decide the direction in which the community will move, and begin to make formal the behavior patterns expected in the inner city; then a kind of justice, of decision-making goes on. This is most obvious in the sometimes highly rigidified patterns of socially acceptable informal behavior within the ghetto, that are perhaps unconsciously decided upon, but are certainly consensed upon, by a large proportion of the community. The way in which accountability is maintained is through various forms of social pressure. Sometimes police are called in, sometimes direct action is taken, but in any case there is execution of the informal sanctions placed upon people by the community consensus.on what proper behavior involves.

In relationship to corporate welfare, corporate justice defends the basic rights of all people. It limits corporate welfare by subsuming standards of fairness under the value of the community's survival in history. It enables corporate well-being by supporting the necessary structures that guarantee equity. Perhaps because of the king of oppression which the inner city has experienced relative to justice, there is a great demand for and expectation of fairness in the community. People insist upon it at many levels, that rules apply to everyone equilly, and sanctions are applied when this is nct done.

Corporate justice mediates the tension between what is necessary to sustain an ordered community and the demand for the well-being of the community. In relationship to the political process as a whole, corporate justice enables the decision-making process of the people to guide the body politic. It exposes reductions in political commonality by forcing articulation of the social conflict before the total community. It upholds the inalienable rights of the citizens by administering the rational, deliberative process of societal consensus.



The dynamic of justice is difficult to talk about in Fifth City, but it clearly takes place, although at seemingly a rather unconscious level. There is, for instance, a propensity for the community to vote the same way, without much of anything in the way of prior agreements. Obviously, the community has tacitly consensued that the Democratic Party is their choice. Another point of justice appearing in the community is in gang decision-making structures. Here again, highly specific consensus are reached, with little formal structuring, sanctions are determined for inappropriate behavior, and applied when necessary.

LEGISLATIVE  
CONSENSUS

Legislative consensus indicates the process of implementing and mediating the corporate will for the sake of allowing participation in organizing the power that controls society. It includes enabling participation, affecting procedure, and insuring the formulation of the common mind. Constituency suffrage motivates the society and informs it of its communal obligation to participate in decision making. Aligned pressure includes giving visible force to the public perception through convincing methods. Deliberative system involves the procedures of assembling pertinent data, examining the data, and articulating the collected opinion.

By far the most exciting aspect of the political life in Fifth City is its legislative consensus. Although highly invisible until recently, newly formed block clubs, parents groups to assure children's safety, and informal social groups abound. These decisions are related, it seems to the decision to be Fifth City, in that all point to a new consensus that it is possible to renew this community.

The Fifth City model is designed to assure that all members of the community have the opportunity at least once a quarter to participate directly in the planning for the future of the community. There are several levels of Fifth City engagement in creating the community will and focussing it towards the creation of Fifth City as a more viable community unit.



The first level, and the most symbolic, are the community congresses, which are held once a quarter, and to which every person in the community is personally invited. Congresses are held in the neighborhood, and are somewhat reminiscent of New England town meetings. A festive air is present, but the Congresses are highly organized and structured. After a meal, singing and rituals, and some entertainment, the Board of Managers make reports to the community on what has been accomplished over the past quarter. The Board of Managers and the Presidium then report their vision as to the direction in which the community seems to be moving. At that point, ideas and suggestions are requested from the floor, and these are incorporated into the planning for the upcoming quarter. Decisions are made in the broad dimension as to what steps need to be taken in the upcoming quarter.

These Congresses, while by no means perfectly attended, present at times up to five hundred people with the opportunity to directly participate in formulating the direction which the community needs to take.

The second level of legislative consensus in Fifth city is the Presidium itself. Each quarter, a Presidium is selected out of the people who have shown themselves to be actively concerned about the way in which the community needs to go. Meetings are held monthly, or more often, depending upon what is going on in the community at the time, and what the demands are upon the community. Presidium is selected to represent each of the 20 Guild Boards, and the 20 quads. We hope to be able to make these bodies larger, to represent all eighty of the agencies (four per Guild Board), and all eighty of the units, of which there are also four per quad. This would allow for a Presidium which would be very directly accountable to the community, and also to the model.

The third level of legislative consensus has to do with the Board of Managers themselves. There are twenty of these, four for each guild, and one for each guild board. These people are assigned to execute the will of the community,



through the day by day administration of the model, and represent the "servants" of the community. They are there simply to see that the community is able to solve the problems which arise in actualizing the Fifth City model, in the day to day struggle.

The fourth, and probably the most complex, form of decision making in Fifth City is that which takes place through the stakes and guilds. Not concerned directly with action, but with the personal care of people that needs to be done to sustain their action. The guilds, on the other hand, carry out the directives of the Presidium and the Congress, in terms of the specific actions which need to go on in the community each week of the quarter. Guilds, for instance, would decide that a rent strike would be carried out, or a festival. They would plan the general form of that event, and their support, enthusiasm, and creativity determine, in a very concrete way, the direction which Fifth City takes.

Guilds and Stakes meet on alternate Tuesday nights, and provide the most immediate actional and caring decisions relative to Fifth City. While stakes determine the forms of care, the guilds determine corporate direction. At this level of decision making, legislative consensus is directly operative. Judicial procedure indicates the process of arbitrating social dispute for the sake of maintaining the decisional process and enabling social continuity. This is the process of gathering the pertinent facts, negotiating over data, and finalizing the decision in relationship to the laws of society. Litigated disputes formulate the constructs of the legal scale of society by weighing known facts for the sake of settling social debates. Arbitrated appeal indicates the process of verifying error and reviewing decisions in regard to any legal appeal for the sake of authentic judgement within a society. Final judgement indicates the process of finalizing a decision after weighing up all given facts for the sake of maintaining just social defense and judgement.

JUDICIAL  
PROCEDURE



By far, the inner city is disenfranchised from the kind of judicial procedures which are available to the larger society. There are many reasons for this, but we will mention only a few directly experienced in Fifth City. Most Fifth City court cases, for instance, have to go to the public attorney, simply because residents of the area cannot afford the fees charged by standard legal counsel. As a result, people tend to lack the quality of defense available through a private attorney. People experience the justice system as one which does not grant people of their situation a fair trial. The result here is a tendency not to take one's complaints to the police or to court, but to retaliate on one's own. The conviction, not far from the truth, is that neither police or the courts will do anything. Therefore, the kind of mediation which judicial procedures does between the local community and the larger society, and between the members of the local neighborhood themselves, is simply not taking place, so far as the experience of this community is concerned.

The Fifth City model is designed to make available to this community the best possible legal services obtainable. Probably, however, some aspects of the inner city will not be solved until the problems of the judicial system as a whole are solved. A Legal Aid Clinic has been set up on a regular basis, availing community members of quality legal services. A Citizens' Rights Board has been created, to which community members can bring complaints relative to the failures of regular city services. The Board acts as mediator, by calling, for instance, the sanitation department to see that Mrs. Brown's garbage is picked up. In conjunction with a program of developing contacts on city bureaucracies who are interested in Fifth City, this program of accountability for getting the job done has been very successful.

Another area in which the Fifth City model has been developed is in relation to the police. We have made great efforts in the community to demonstrate support for the Fillmore Police district, in that Fifth City understands itself



also to be struggling to do away with crime on the streets. Because of such support, Fifth City has been allowed to experiment in ways not usually permitted in the inner city, such as having parolees from the area assigned to Fifth citizen's care, or that of the Board of Managers.

UTIVE  
ORITY

Executive authority indicates the process of establishing and administering systems to enact the legislative and judicial decisions for the sake of maintaining the basic rights of all members and ensuring their participation in the society. Executive authority is activated by its leadership and technical guidance, as it administers policies. Bureaucratic systems regulate and administer the economic, legal, and social needs of a community by establishing policy agencies at each governmental level. Advisory council administers the divisional branches of the executive authority with the aid of technical experts and various informed opinions. Symbolic leader indicates a process of focusing leadership appointments and embodiment of roles and rituals.

Executive authority in the inner city has to do with the execution of the decisions of the community. This takes place at a great many levels. The executions of city decisions relative to Fifth City are numerous. Police presence is a good illustration of this situation. Police in the Fifth City area are assigned to be highly responsive to crime in progress calls, but are little concerned about bribery of public officials or dope peddling in the neighborhood. As a result, while police presence is very useful if a crime is in progress, other activities rage unchecked in the community.

Another illustration of the impact felt in Fifth City of the execution of city decisions is the sense of disenfranchisement experienced by Fifth citizens relative to the Democratic Party. Although local structures are known and dealt with through the local precinct and ward captains, it is clear that Fifth City is part of the West Side, which is simply too far away imaginally from the heart of party activity to get much interest. The sense is simply



that one's presence in the party is ignored.

The Fifth City model is designed to experiment with finding a non-bureaucratic way of constructing a community for the sake of the world.

Therefore, executive authority is structured somewhat differently here than it would be in, say, Woodlawn, or other parts of the South Side, in that strong community leadership is definitely the exception, rather than the rule. To a large degree, we are less interested in seeing the emergence of strong individual leaders than we are in seeing a leadership principle be created, by which anyone who is willing can play the role of leading, without requiring special charismatic characteristics or power. Therefore, executive authority in Fifth City rests solely with the Presidium, guild and stake leaders, and the Board of Managers. All of these roles operate on the principle that they are assigned to execute the community will through individual initiative.

Remarkable events have happened through this type of principle. Since no one must wait for decisions from the top to move, people in various roles are free to suggest directions, and try them out, for the sake of the whole. When one Jets teacher heard that the Board of Managers had scheduled a Saturday morning cleanup every week of the quarter, she went ahead and assigned the Jets to come for a special session every Saturday. The day of the first cleanup, scores of youth hit the streets along with their parents to sweep up glass, dirt, and debris.

Symbolic leadership has to do with local people deciding to pick up leadership for a specific task. Mrs. Robinson, at 75 years old, was so insistent that the Crafts Shop come off, that she was put in charge of it, and has spent countless hours seeing that it was decorated, stocked, and now opened every day. She has become a symbolic leader in the community. Another body which has immense symbolic power is the Board of Managers. It is clear that their influence in the community is unmatched. The struggle here is to assure that none of



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the Board use that power for their own interests. Such a move could wreak havoc throughout the community. And yet, the strength of the Board is simply that they realize that fact. Perhaps Fifth City has made a leap toward the kind of political structures which we will need at higher levels of government in the future. Time will tell.

### The Corporate Welfare

The social dynamic of humanness is a process, one aspect of which is creating political commonality, which includes promoting corporate welfare. Corporate welfare makes dignity possible for every human being and thus releases human power for the sake of all. Through such a method, society participates in assuring basic existence, guarding human rights, and intentionally channelling human resources. Corporate welfare consists of secure existence, political freedoms, and significant engagement. Without the perpetuation of corporate welfare, order and justice are meaningless.

Corporate welfare assures that rights, privileges, and obligations of society are available to serve all. In relationship to corporate order, corporate welfare calls forth internal and external stability through creating a common voice. It curbs the raw power of society. Corporate welfare allows every human being to attain dignity.

In relation to the dynamic of corporate justice, corporate welfare enables responsible participation. It demands comprehensive grassroots structures. It provides a basis for continued social affirmation.

Corporate welfare has to do with directing social benefits to serve the people. In relation to the political process as a whole, welfare provides motivation for cooperation within society. It demands specialized care structures to assure that all human needs are met. Finally, it provides that cohesive social base without which <sup>C</sup>society does not function.



Secure existence indicates the process of insuring basic sustenance for the sake of enabling political freedoms and intensifying engagement. Secure existence included the provision of basic life needs, sustaining employment, and equal benefits. Primal sustenance demands protection of life, property, health, and ecology. Adequate livelihood means the provision of equal opportunities for job access, fair wages, and fringe benefits, plus a working environment which meets health and safety needs. Equitable benefits include the provision for basic safeguards to health and environment, the supervision of marketing, and the definition of the rights and duties of individuals.

Secure existence is the arena in which Fifth City is most self-consciously aware of its problems. It is brutally obvious to any observer of this area that the needs of living as provided in the West Side ghetto are in no way comparable to those provided in almost any other sector of the society. This is a situation in the arena of welfare, however, because it is a sociological, rather than an individual, problem. A great number of incomes in Fifth City are comparable to lower incomes in suburban areas, or on the North Side of the city. The difference is that in Fifth City, housing, health care, employment opportunities, public services, and so forth are lacking for everyone. The water system, for instance, is simply not ample to take showers in homes and run the fire hydrants in the summer. Electrical wiring in the entire neighborhood is designed for a single fifty watt bulb per room. Rats are abundant, as are roaches, in everyone's house, regardless of income. In such a situation, it is clear that money alone is not the problem. The struggle in secure existence is most painful when it becomes clear that the ghetto has been brainwashed to believe that if individuals could make more money, things would be better. All this means is that individuals who make more money leave the area; the secure existence crisis remains.

The Fifth City model is designed to gather the forces necessary to allow



the entire Fifth City community to be freed from dealing with economic survival as the basic issue of life. The Political Guild has developed a diversity of structures to push at the general level of economic sustenance in the entire community. First of all, the Consumer Education board allows Fifth citizens the training they need to discern economic exploitation in buying, and how to avoid it. The Human Liberties Council, another agency of the Political Guild, is out to design future plans for the development of totally new public utilities and services for the entire area. The Political Guild has promoted over the years community campaigns, also, to deal with rats and bugs in the area. The initiation of this work happened when, in 1965, community people and Institute staff tore down an old garage one Saturday, and found themselves killing 38 rats in the process. The rats were lined up on the curb and photographed, and used as a sign of the issue in the community. Since then, the Guild has worked with a number of extermination agencies to devise a method for wiping out the rat population on the West Side. Although this work is still developing, it is now in planning among West Side groups beyond Fifth City.

Another direction the Political Guild has taken is the planning for a shopping center in the neighborhood on land left open since the 1968 riots. Through long negotiations with supermarket chains, local businesses, and financiers from across the city, it appears that within the next three years, ground will be broken to erect a shopping center in the neighborhood, developed through the FCRC. This will allow not only opportunities for local businessmen who have heretofore been blocked by their lack of capital resources, but also allow the consumer a nearby area to shop at stores with prices comparable to those of the suburbs.

Political freedoms indicate the process of guarding individual rights and the expression of human responsibility for the sake of the total well-being of the community. Political freedoms consist of sovereignty of the self,



POLITICAL  
DOOMS

opportunity to participate in decision-making, and intentional reconstruction. Individual liberties are individual respect, protected individuality, and open-ended expression. Citizen rights include common permission-giving, access to legal processes, and the right to spontaneous and unrestricted assembly. Loyal opposition is the right of responsible criticism, minority advocacy, and disagreement.

Behind many of the problems and issues in the inner city lies the simple fact that the Black ghettos of this nation lack political power. This lack has long been identified with the lack of economic resources. Although economic resources are a source of immense power in our time, they are not the fundamental political issue. Individual and common rights are denied freely in the ghetto because there is no effective political block to that activity. This is evident in Fifth City through gerrymandered political boundaries, schools which lack even enough power to get enough books to go around, services which are dubiously dispensed, and persistent refusal of government structures to "register" requests. At the same time, police harrassment, mysterious inspections by fire, health, and building inspectors whenever a facility becomes powerful, and obvious tampering with voting records, make it clear that the West Side does not come as a political threat to anybody. In this social context, no particular rights have much clout either.

While economics is not a helpful direction<sup>in which</sup> to look for power development, organization may well be. The Fifth City model is designed to create structures of care for every person in the community, to assure that the corporate power of the neighborhood is exploited to its fullest. Perhaps the two greatest signal happenings here have been the community Congresses and the recent acquisition of a preschool grant. For the community itself, it is critical that the stakes, guilds, Presidium, Board of Mangers, and the mass of the community operate out of a single plan. Congresses offer the entire neighborhood the opportunity to par-



ticipate in formulating that plan. Participation in Congresses has trebled over the past three years, to the point that as much of the community as ten per cent participate in developing the basic images of what direction needs to be taken for the quarter. This type of participation affords the Board of Managers the opportunity to understand themselves as authentically responsible to the will of the community, and thus able to move forcefully in the awareness that they will be supported. Internally speaking, the community understands for the first time that its decisions have the power of many troops behind them.

Externally, development work has been a key in creating the allies and friends necessary to pull strings when they are needed. A recent breakthrough in this area was the receiving by the Fifth City Preschool of a \$40,000 grant as a demonstration of mass education. In addition to a recent HUD grant of \$1.5 million for housing rehabilitation, Fifth City has now the weight in terms understandable to the establishment to stand on its own.

These are preliminary steps. In a city like Chicago, it is futile to demand favors without the troop strength to impress the Daley machine. And yet it appears that the continual carrying out of door-to-door community organization offers that possibility.

Significant engagement indicates the process of living intentionally and channelling human wisdom into meaningful social roles for the sake of guaranteeing a secure existence, and protecting human freedoms. Significant engagement consists of individual free access to the necessary wisdom, creative participation in society, and protected humanness. Knowledge access consists of free availability of stimulating recorded data and collected insights. Meaningful involvement consists of action within meaningful or significant roles. Expressed conscience means acting with self-determination out of personal beliefs and in consideration of protective group limits.

SIGNIFICANT  
ENGAGEMENT



Significant engagement in Fifth City has long been economically determined, as it is for Western society in general. By early childhood, people spend time looking for the give-away or the hustle, or the little job, that will allow them to make it. Students who are at all interested in school tend to be interested in it for a field that is economically rewarding. All of culture told the ghetto that if people would only try harder, to make more money, they wouldn't have these problems. While this is true to some degree, the self-consciousness of the need for economic development in Fifth City has tended to obliterate other values. Early in working with the Board of Managers, the group came in for a meeting one day and declared that if only we got enough cash together, we could get a real organizer from, say, the University of Chicago, and have him do Fifth City for us. For people who had spent years in the clear recognition that only Fifth City can do Fifth City, this idea came as a fabulous brainstorm. It was as if everything the Board had ever stood before as operating principles was obviously subservient to the fact that the solution could be bought if we could afford it. While that issue has come up again and again in the midst of the journey of Fifth City, it has become obvious that for most people in Fifth City, the almighty power of the dollar has not been questioned. Unlike the suburbs who have often seen through the economic myth, the ghetto is hard pressed to see through a myth which most people are still trying to achieve. The decision to take anything else seriously is a critical one for every person in Fifth City.

The Fifth City model is designed to allow Fifth Citizens to understand their significance as utterly distinct from economic terms, and thus free to be a sign for communities everywhere. The greatest struggle in Fifth City is the conviction that, since one has not "made it," he couldn't be worth much. It is clear that community power will not have a chance of ever emerging until that type of self-depreciation is licked. Two very different approaches have been useful here. First, once one has seen through the economic myth, to see



genuine economic problems, the struggle is always present to remind oneself that the old mythology doesn't work. This has been done through constant bombardment of the community with songs, rites, and symbols, reminding them of the fact that to decide to renew Fifth City is to decide to renew the world--that Fifth City is a sign for communities across the world. Songs such as, "Chicago is a wonderful place, the West side's where we live" offer a way to reappropriate the significance of one's life not as an economic animal alone, but as one who offers possibility to others. A more radical reminder of the same issue is the simple fact that Fifth City uses government-sponsored salaries to pay for more than the salaries. Thus, all Fifth City employees make far less money, for far more work, than most of their neighbors. This is what the Board of Managers means, in part, when it describes itself as the corporate servant of the community.

The second arena in which the model has approached significant engagement is through a broad dispersal of rotating leadership. One who is active in a Guild is likely to be asked to serve as the head of the Guild the following year, or to lead a Jets trip, or conduct Guild workshops. A leader one year may be a participant another year. This rotation serves a number of functions. First, of course, it creates new leadership. Second, it allows every person in the group to struggle with the task of being the symbol of the decision of the group. A griper, when he is in charge of the meeting, sees what other gripers are doing, and gains self-consciousness on his own propensity. This raises with seriousness for each individual the decision of whether finally, he will stand in Fifth City as an Iron Man, or choose some other course.



## THE CULTURAL RATIONALE

### The Communal Wisdom

The social dynamic of humanness is a process, one aspect of which is creating cultural commonality, which includes continuing the communal wisdom. Communal wisdom is the propagation of the corporate heritage. Through this propagation, every social unit imparts practical know-how, transmits the common life curriculum, and assigns value to human relationships. Thus communal wisdom consists of useful skills, accumulated knowledge, and final meanings. Without the propagation of the corporate heritage, social acumen is lost to posterity, and each individual must attempt socialization without the benefit of collected experience.

Communal wisdom is the total body of knowledge which lays the foundation that allows all men to participate effectively in society. Style is created by the provision of the new social relationships indicated in the common memory. Communal wisdom questions unconventional style, and affirms that which is consistent with the culture as a whole. In Fifth City, the propensity to hold on to the rural mindset of the past tends to allow highly traditionalistic lifestyles to persist, in spite of a rapidly-paced, urban environment.

Communal wisdom creates the symbolic life of a culture by naming and identifying the experience common to all members. Symbols are limited primarily by the wisdom's drive for authenticity, but sustained by its formalization of common experience. The delimited geograph and temporality of the common memory in Fifth City puts emphasis upon symbols which are locally and immediately significant, and which maintain the inescapable power of the past heritage.



The cultural process as a whole is created by the generation of common memory in the process of common wisdom. The common wisdom also serves to limit culture to familiar forms of expression. Finally, the cultural process is sustained by the building of methodologies through the community's common wisdom. In Fifth City, all aspects of the cultural process are related to the common struggle to articulate what it is to be Black at this time in history.

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Useful skills indicate the process of conveying practical methods for the sake of tapping developed understanding and grounding ultimate significance to ensure practical social functioning. Useful skills consist of developing fundamental abilities, passing on applied techniques, and bringing forth practical expression of the expert's creativity. Basic techniques provide manual, relational, and communicational abilities in which skill can be rooted. Inclusive technologies rationalize the methods by which society meets its practical needs. Supportive techniques provide expertise in specialized areas which enable the solving of current practical problems.

Useful skills in Fifth City are imparted through both formal and informal means. Formal skills training is largely limited to the skills taught through the Chicago Public School system, and basic job skills training through local adult training classes.

For most residents of Fifth City, school is Leif Erickson Elementary through the sixth grade, followed by John Marshall Upper Grade Center and High School. Leif Erickson, built in the late fifties, is a modern, two-story structure. In addition to basic elementary training, Erickson offers children their first encounter with an extended peer group, and in many instances, with white people.

Students at the kindergarten level begin school with less previous experience with "standard" language skills than most curricula call for. Mothers



often work, leaving children with grandmothers or older children who do little speaking to them. Children are rarely encouraged to speak or to begin to read in the home.

Social skills are perhaps a key to the Fifth City child's training. Prior to schooling, he has had encounters with a number of siblings in most instances, with his mother, her friends, and a diversity of relatives. Through his primary years he learn to deal with relationships beyond the family. He learns to create allies for getting to and from school with his lunch and milk money intact, he learns to avoid isolation from his peers, and he learns to manipulate authority. By the sixth grade, the extent, and frequently the seriousness, of his social contacts have made him quite adept in relating to people. His emphasis upon this aspect of basic skills has tended to eclipse the relevance of speaking beyond an operational slang, as well as other areas of study. This process is escalated at the high school level.

At the same time, many students do manage to acquire more advanced skills in school. For many, the struggle with language skills is a very difficult one, although teachers report that mathematics ability is often a point of success. Practical courses, such as machine shop for boys and home economics for girls, are seen as immediately useful for jobs, and are thus better supported than more abstract courses. The same is true of physical education, music, and clerical courses. College for most is looked upon as unlikely.

The median educational level in Fifth City and the surrounding community is about 8.6 years. A normal day's list of absences in the Spring averages in the vicinity of 400 out of 5000 students at Marshall High School, and there are only two trained officials to keep track of who is missing and why. Teachers estimate that conservatively speaking, about 150 students drop out per month at Marshall (Norton 1968:24).



Job skills training, for high school dropouts and graduates, as well as older students, includes GED (high school graduation certificate exam preparation), and "job-holding training offered at Sears YMCA, just outside of Fifth City, and a machine-shop training center on Fifth Avenue. These are mostly attended by young men between sixteen and twenty-five.

The Fifth City model is designed to allow necessary skills education to go on in Fifth City simultaneously for all ages. The key approach here is the understanding that skills training is useless without the accompanying shifts in self-image which allow one to employ his skills. Thus, Fifth City preschool teaches four types of curricula for children six weeks old through kindergarten. First is "intellectual," including reading, mathematics, history, etc. Second is "relational," the behavior, manners and social skills that allow one to relate to other people. Third is "developmental," or the creation of the physical control and emotional responsiveness needed to get on in society. Finally, and most critically, is the "imaginal" curriculum, in which one's imagination is trained to understand that he is uniquely a self, and responsible for creating human society. A similar approach is used in adult GED training, on-the-job training in construction for neighborhood young men through the Fifth City Redevelopment Corporation housing rehabilitation projects, and an eight-week training program called the Academy, in which Fifth Citizens, along with Churchmen from across the world, develop the pedagogical, model-building, and theorizing skills needed to lead their communities.

Accumulated knowledge indicates the process of organizing human awareness for the sake of maintaining practical capability and human significance to nurture social experience. Accumulated knowledge consists of the rational organization of what exists, the subjective relationships to reality, and the means to grapple with it. Scientific knowledge is the organization and examination of raw data. Human wisdom develops perceptual constructs for viewing

UMULATED  
WLEDGE



and transmitting images of man's journey through space and time. Formal methods create order from disorder, determine necessary action, and build the future vision.

Accumulated knowledge in Fifth City occurs both through the home and the school. At home and amongst peers, Fifth citizens acquire an operational knowledge of the city of Chicago based upon the images of their Southern, rural past. What this produces is an astonishing kind of conservatism. The city, with all of its variety, has very little interest for residents of Fifth City, whether the money to taste them is present or not. More tangibly, there is what camp counselors call "curbstone sickness." Travel, no matter how short the distance from the home neighborhood, produces all the depressive symptoms of the homesickness of younger children, in people of any age bracket. Anxieties run wild. One very bright Fifth City youngster demonstrated nearly everything there is to say on the subject when he turned down nearly \$10,000 in scholarship and expense money for four years on the excuse that his mother was afraid, because this excellent college was south of the Mason-Dixon line!

The matter does not end with a localist orientation to one's space. There is present also a victimization by history itself. The clamour of Black parents, high school students and college students for "Afro-American" history courses is well-founded. Ghetto children may know Willie Mays, and even Joe Lewis made it "big" in athletics, but almost none have heard of W.E.B. DuBois. They may know of Booker T. Washington, a slave who did something or other, and be impressed by the Supremes, Wilson Pickett, and other Black entertainers, but few images exist of Black people who played a significant role in society without having unique, spectacular gifts of some form or another. There are, in addition, few people in the community that youth look to as wanting to emulate, and yet no one would articulate wanting to be "like Whitey."

The schools add depth and breadth to the Fifth Citizen's picture of the



universe, increasingly so with experimental curricula designed to speak to the images out of which ghetto youth operate. On the whole, however, they do not serve to shift the imaginal focus of the Fifth City worldview, simply because the community's assumptions about the world have little value placed upon what is learned in school.

The Fifth City model is designed to permit Fifth Citizens to create authentic ties with the globe in order to expand the context in which data is gathered from formal education structures, television, and the like. The Fifth City Education Guild is a group of community parents who meet weekly to struggle with solutions to the educational problems of the community. Trips for all ages are sponsored by this group, across the country, and to Mexico and Canada. The Guild also deploys Fifth City high school youth to attend school in good schools across the nation, and live with Fifth City-supportive families. Most frequently, students live in White, middle-class communities, and attend suburban high schools. They are sent out to "be Fifth City," to tell its story where they go, and return with the gifts it needs to be renewed. Students are thus exposed to a universe far beyond the confines of the ghetto, and see rather readily that simply being White and bourgeois is not the answer to the problems they struggle with. Another aspect of the education Guild's work is pushing for adequate curriculum in neighborhood schools. One event in this area was elders of the community teaching their own Black heritage curriculum at Leif Erickson grammar school.

FINAL MEANINGS  
 Final meanings indicate the process of communicating ultimate human relationships for the sake of directing common memory and techniques to ensure the continuation of society. Final meanings consist of developing personal significance, promoting accepted societal conduct, and revealing the depths of reality. Individual integrity enables the interior life which brings about responsible, self-disciplined people. Social morality demands that decisions



be made in the context of self in society. Ultimate concern relates the primordial past, the awe-filled present, and the abyssal future and reveals the final reality before which the community consciously stands.

The sense of the meaning of living in the midst of Fifth City might best be viewed through an analysis of images of time and space. Both of these, even in the midst of the urban setting, take on a somewhat constricted significance. One who works in the community learns quickly that to advise people of a meeting a week in advance serves little value, save only the communication of common courtesy. To get people to meetings requires that they be contacted either the day before or the same day. It would be easy to write that off as simple slovenliness, as the White community has done for years. But it seems more viable to say that for many, future time is simply not a reality beyond a few days. Linguistically, for instance, few people use complex tenses: "You goin' to the store?" or "I been down the street." Relationships among events in the past and future are not much expressed.

For those fond of making easy moral judgements, all that that communicates is irresponsibility. But time is a reality that we know only by change. We are acutely conscious of time, for instance, in a period of intense change, like changing jobs, or moving to a new house. Few people in Fifth City have reason to expect change in their lives from day to day or at any future point. Few people expect a change that would be especially worrisome or demanding-- things will go on. In this type of situation, time, and especially that in the future, means little. Thus, immediacy in response, in gratification, and in demands are habitual.

Much the same things are true of space, although they are less easy to define. The economic and residential immobility of the ghetto produces a geographical and physical <sup>im</sup>mobility with a foundation comparable to the parochial mindset of a small town. Chicago Loop, Cicero, Alabama and Detroit are



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pretty much in the same bag--somewhere else.

Once, a while back, a staff member was driving along the lakefront with a youth from Fifth City, and asked him, "What's out there?" pointing to the Lake. "Viet Nam?", said the boy, questioningly. A few other questions produced the mental image of a river just a little wider than one could see across, with Korea, China, Viet Nam, California and Europe lined up on the other side. Even within the city itself, space means little more than the distance between home and job, with a few spurs for the movies and shopping. Another evidence of this sense of space is the use of automobiles. Stolen cars in Fifth City are generally recovered within ten blocks of where they were taken. The function of a car is much less going anywhere than it is being seen by one's neighbors driving a nice car.

This delimitation of space and time is continuous with a sense that one is unable to deal with experiences outside the neighborhood or in the distant future. People will pay exorbitant prices for food, clothing, and other household items at the Del Farm and Sears in the neighborhood rather than consider going a few miles out to Korvette's or other discount outlets. This is true when cars and other transportation is available. Even shopping on the South Side, which would offer a familiar context, is out of the question. Attending college farther away than Circle or Malcolm X, even for those who have scholarships, is a radical decision which even at week back home on vacation can reverse.

This inability to handle outside experiences is coupled with a deep self-depreciation, a sense that the Black person may really be inferior, just like Whites have said all along. On one occasion, a staff member took the job of developing a series of cartoon-style posters depicting scenes from American Black history, to accompany a neighborhood presentation. It so happened that in one panel he needed a real "Simon Legree," the typification of a "White devil." Showing the picture at a meeting of the community people who were



writing the program, to see if the picture adequately depicted people's image of an exceptionally mean White person. Upon asking some questions about the picture, the response came back from one dignified matron, "Why, sure, that's alright--anyhow, there's some White folks almost as ugly as us!" The continual repetition of this stance through the images of the culture serve to cut against popular efforts to articulate the greatness of being Black. For every "Black is beautiful" symbol, a thousand memories of self-depreciation linger.

The Fifth City model is designed to rechannel the imagination of Fifth citizens to allow them to understand themselves as "global citizens," who can stand competent to deal with any situation. This rechanneling process we refer to as "imaginal education." It is a matter of providing people not only with data, but with images. The difference between data-oriented education and imaginal education, for instance, is the difference between telling a person that he can lead a group, and having him lead it. It is the difference between saying "everyone can participate," and doing workshops in which all of the information comes out of the everyday knowledge of the group. It is the difference between holding meetings in well-appointed community centers, and holding them in people's living rooms, or between starting a meeting with business right away, and starting a meeting by singing about the decision to be the "iron men" of Fifth City. In the arena of final meanings, Fifth City uses imaginal education as a methodological presupposition directed toward releasing the community creativity to create a new sensitive and responsive worldview.

The Communal Style

The social dynamic of humanness is a process, one aspect of which is creating cultural commonality, which includes communal style. Communal style is the process which enables society to embody and rehearse its corporate life.



It is the process by which society names its basic life-phases, regulates the primal relationships, and creates the necessary social structures for acting out the various social roles. Communal styles function through the clarification of cyclical roles, are ordered through procreative scheme, and are acted out in social structures. Man would have no way to act out functionally his self-conscious social relatedness if communal styles were not initiated and ordered.

Communal styles are the social enactment of a community's worldview. Communal styles create the common wisdom of a community by providing the particular types of experience about which people reflect. Style tests common wisdom by holding it up against the demands of day-today encounters. Communal style sustains the communal wisdom, as it embodies social expertise.

In Fifth City, for instance, the style of female household leadership has long helped to hold in being the conviction that Black families are unstable. At the same time, it has indicated for youth what educational tools they need in school. Only as Black men have begun to show leadership in the community, have the patterns of schooling, as to how far one need go in school, and what things one should study, begun to shift to emphasize male as well as female expertise.

Communal styles provide the ground of shared life experiences from which communal symbols are generated. But communal styles also demand applicable authenticity, and insist upon practical grounding of the culture's symbols. These activities serve to limit and sustain the symbol system.

Communal styles provide the ordering of relationships essential to cultural commonality. Those relationships require basic re-evaluation of the entire cultural dynamic. Communal style provides continuity for the social functions which establish the cultural patterns.

Cyclical roles indicate the process of defining maturational phases for the sake of progenitive stability and common structuring. Cyclical roles con-



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sist of maturing the youth, maintaining the common values of the society through the mature adults, and conserving the social heritage through the elderly veterans of the society. Thus, cyclical roles are initiated in the emerging generation, in which man is introduced and assigned to accepted patterns of wisdom and in the process acquires social vision. Established adults insure cyclical roles by disciplined engagement within the established patterns of behavior. Community elders conserve and affirm cyclical roles by demonstrating behavior patterns which are continuous with history.

Using broad divisions of youth, adults, and elders, Fifth City tends to be dominated by those in the youth role. Youth are the focus of the family. They are that for which the parents work and the elders babysit. For the Fifth City young girl, womanhood is achieved not with education, sexual intercourse, or marriage, as might be the case in the white community, but with the birth of a child. Since childbirth is possible at a very early age, and since few girls have had birth control training, or believe in that which they have had, adult status is achieved by females sooner than it is for males. For males, the transition is less specific than it is for females. For males, adulthood is reached through joining or being drafted into the army, going to college, participation in some of the more serious structures of the gangs, or often there is simply no rite of passage.

Adults understand that the pleasurable time of their lives is gone, and that their role has to do with raising children, and providing for them. Very few adults do not have children, in that there are always children who need care about the neighborhood, who are formally or informally "adopted" by a neighbor or relative. The preschool teachers frequently not children who return to be enrolled with new guardians every year or so. An adequate income is seen as critical here, in that material luxury, in clothing, food, and housing, are considered a prerequisite to parenthood, especially by younger parents.



Many parents also find that a better income can allow them to send their children to parochial school at Our Lady of Sorrows or Saint Mel's, at which both discipline and the quality of training offered is more likely to push children toward a middle-class future than is the public school.

There are two types of elders in Fifth City. First, there are the two hundred or so renters of apartments in a Chicago Housing Authority high rise, which is an apartment building complex for Senior Citizens, offering special rent and common activities from time to time. Secondly, there are those who live with relatives in their homes and apartments. Elders in the family, no matter with whom they live, care for their grandchildren on an irregular or regular basis. Elders have remarkable power in Fifth City, as compared to their role in other American communities. Many elders today are those who moved up through "Uncle Tom-ism" throughout this century. They are frequently more familiar with the White community, and more willing to relate to it, than are their sons and daughters, simply because they worked there. As a result, they are often very useful to younger generations in providing information about the past, and especially about the city beyond the ghetto. Elders are very rarely left to their own devices, except when their children have moved on to the suburbs or the South side. Even in the high rise, for instance, children come to visit their parents at least once a month, to go shopping, to drop off children, or just to visit. Between visits, phone calls are frequent.

The Fifth City model is designed to assure all ages the possibility of participation in the re-creation of the community. Travel and experience outside the ghetto has been one focus of the varied activities of the Style Guild. The Fifth City Jets, for instance, an after-school recreation and imaginal education program for grammar-school youth, have travelled as widely as San Antonio, Nashville, and Toronto to tell the Fifth City story, and to experience themselves as representatives of a new style of Black men.



The elders in Fifth City have long been a key to the vitality of the community. They, also, have travelled widely, to Mexico City, and Washington, D.C., for instance, as the storytellers who hold the wisdom of the past. Luncheons are held weekly at the high rise, often with slide shows, to allow visitors to Fifth City to hear the story. They have been greatly instrumental in voting drives and in Fifth City Congress recruitment, in that, as one woman puts it, "If we can make it every year, so could anybody."

Other participants in numerous Fifth City trips are the Young Citizens' Syndicate, a group of high school dropouts, 17-25, whose creativity in making trouble in the community has been priceless in organizing neighborhood youth programs, building rehabilitation, dances, dramas, picnics, and preschool parents' presentations. At the same time, the Urban Student Union provides the tools and advice for any student who is interested in any way in getting to college to be able to do it.

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SCHEME

Procreative scheme indicates the process of sustaining the patterns of societal regeneration for the sake of continuing the scheme of human groupings and delineating the successive standard roles. The procreative scheme consists of embodying the sexual roles, delineating the marital interactions, and upholding the family ties. Sexual framework is exposed and articulated in the definition of male-female roles as foundational classifications in social relationships. Marriage institutions sustain commonality in contexting primary roles and symbolize the understanding, acting out, and testing of relations. The nuclear family sustains the procreative process by transmitting patterns of immediate and extended family life.

The Fifth City family structure is marked by a high percentage of female household heads. Generally females are viewed as more stable geographically than males, and more reliable in employment. Common-law marriage is an acceptable substitute for legal marriage, especially in the short range.



Family structures tend to be somewhat loose in membership, including neighbors and fictive kin as well as actual kin. At the same time, family structures extend to include a number of generations and degrees at the same time in a single family gathering.

Female heads of households is a tradition that dates back in the Black community for a very long time, in this country. One major contemporary rationale for men leaving in Fifth City is that it better affords women to continuously collect ADC. Females also bear a great del of the weight of breadwinning and discipline in the family.

In recent years, the opening of jobs, education, and other social structures to a greater degree of Black participation has begun to point to a new trend in Fifth City for men. Younger men are tending increasingly to experiment with education and job training in percentages and with staying power that was not the case five years ago. This trend is bound to have radical implications for the relations between the sexes, especially within the family.

The Fifth City model is designed to afford families engagement in a common task of recreating the life of their community. Although most care of the family is necessarily indirect, volunteers in the Family Services Bureau refer individual problems in the community to city and local agencies, including welfare, family planning information, finding apartments, and so forth. The area of greatest impact, however, has been the creating of family-based community events. Since the struggle of the family is such a hot issue in Fifth City, we have not been interested in sponsoring "family" anything at any point, or even of raising the issue, but <sup>in</sup> the providing of events which an entire family could easily attend, and the appearance of many community volunteers with their families at those events. As a result, the image that Fifth City events are a viable family activity has become increasingly clear in the community. On May 21 of this year, for instance, 350 people from Fifth City attended a community



picnic at Thatcher's Woods. The picnic was a celebration of events in Fifth City over the past year. Preschool graduation, Jets' programs, Fifth City Congresses, and festivals on Fifth Avenue, are all designed as events which have roles for various members of the family.

We have found that, more than counseling or better income, although both of these are critical in some cases, families in Fifth City begin to sense a new corporateness through their common decision to focus time, energy, and resources toward the creation of a new way of living in the city. A great deal of recruitment takes place between husbands and wives. A common joke is that, when one member of the family begins to spend his time working in Fifth City volunteer structures, other members of the family become active as well, in order to see him from time to time.

Social structures indicate the process of patterning human interaction for the sake of perpetuating community styles. The social structures consist of imaging territorial population, patterning functional stances, and forming cooperative associations. Social aggregation secures social structures by specifying the territorial boundaries. Basic roles secure social structures by designating functions, recognizing special privileges, and establishing social norms. Community groupings secure social structures by delineating the recreational, employment, and service-oriented gatherings.

Social structures in Fifth City are primarily the churches, the gangs, and related voluntary affiliation social groups for various ages. A social structure which serves to cement the community together is the Church. In Fifth City there are two non-sectarian storefront churches, and one full-size Evangelical United Brethren Church. Church services themselves are attended at least once annually by much of the community, and much more frequently by some. Women and older people are specially frequent attenders. The focus of the Church for a great proportion of people in Fifth City is Gospel music. Far



greater than Church attendance is the attendance at various Church choir contests and recitals throughout the city on Sunday afternoons. Many people attend these programs, and people in general are prone to fall into corporate hymn singing quite readily. Singing harmony versions of the Supremes, the Temptations, and so forth on street corners and porches in the evening tends to be the same dynamic.

It is this sort of corporate rehearsal of one's memory that allows one to know that he is in the midst of a group of people who have experienced what he has experienced. The hymns, no matter how they are sung, rehearse for many people a past that is no longer available to anyone, but which all understand as their own. For the younger groups, popular music creates the same sense of commonness.

As the strongest social group imaginably, the gangs tend to serve the function of skill training in survival in the neighborhood, as well as knit the community together. Most of all, however, they allow young men to operate in a corporate context in which they have significance in relation to the community as a whole. A gang provides one with a group out of which one can deal with whatever physical or moral dangers may arise, and it demands of him full allegiance. For a young boy, work with the gang is mutually beneficial. Six-to-ten year olds are used by older gang members as errand-runners, as decoys for the police, and most frequently, to carry home loot, weapons, and ammunition, in case there is any likelihood that the older youth may be stopped before they get home. The younger boys are looked after and well trained by the young men in what must be done should they themselves be stopped, should anyone on the street ask questions, and so forth.

For the young men of the gang, moreover, the boys serve a valuable protective function, in that many of them are constantly harrassed by police, whether they are doing anything at the time or not, to check to see whether or not they



are carrying weapons. Especially for more significant members of the gang, obviously carrying a weapon is a deterrent to shooting by some other group. But that he has some one to do that for him, such as a younger brother or cousin, he fair game for either arrest or shooting. The above description of the Unknown Vice Lords leadership in Fifth City is based in a time when gang activity there was violently active, especially between 1966 and 1969, which is not presently the case. Even today, however, the social emphasis of the gang allows significant roles in the community for young men for whom the social fabric of the community and of the society at large has literally no other place.

Other than these extremely engaging social groups, the regular lineup of suburban structures like Lions, Elks, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Home Owners' Association, Bowling groups, and so forth, have no counterparts in Fifth City.

The Fifth City model is designed to assure comprehensive care for all members of the community. In addition to the guilds, which allow participation in the community from an issue-oriented approach, Fifth City is also composed of stakes. The stakes in Fifth City are arenas of geographically-based care for the community by the community. A stake is composed of about three to four city blocks, or 1000 people, and is further subdivided into four "quads" of 250 people each. The quads then break down into eight "units" apiece, with thirty to forty people in a unit.

Unit, quad, and stake leaders are out to assure that every person in the stake is cared for. Thus, a quad or unit leader assures that illness, financial problems, family squabbles, or even loss of the vision to go on renewing the community are dealt with personally, or are taken to the Fifth City node for recommendations or referral to deal with the issue. In the elder's high rise, unit leaders check each morning at every door in their unit, to make sure that people are well and are adequately provisioned.

The flip, by which Fifth City will extend its northern boundary up to



Madison, is due to begin this year. Like the Fifth City done among the Australian  
Aboriginals in Mowanjum, Australia, the flip offers the opportunity for the  
community as a whole, and in all of its aspects, to operate on behalf of another  
community. This opportunity, more than anything else, has created powerful indi-  
vidual leadership in the midst of a deeply cohesive community.

The Communal Symbols

The social dynamic of humanness is a process, one aspect of which is  
creating cultural commonality, which includes sustaining community symbols.  
Communal symbols are the mediator of man's understanding of his relationship  
to himself, his society, and that which is beyond understanding. They contain  
the community's relationship to life, articulate that relationship, and create  
the forms by which that relationship is experienced in the life of the society.  
Communal symbols consist of corporate language, social art, and common religion.  
Without communal symbols, cultural commonality would collapse, for there would be  
no way for the society to act out its understanding of life in a way that gives  
meaning and form to the societal patterns.

The use of communal symbols is the means by which a group of people is con-  
tinually reminded of the values and beliefs that bind them together. The incen-  
tive for the creation of communal wisdom is provided by the community's symbol  
system. Symbols also demand that the wisdom system be relvant and authentic.  
Symbols sustain the process of wisdom by upholding those ideologies which are  
socially valid.

The symbol system of a community also creates the community's style.  
It does so by pointing out the significant directives from which new modes  
of living originate. The symbol system determines and circumscribes the  
functions of roles in the community, and finally, symbols provide the context for  
style--that is, they articulate what significant human style needs to be.

In relation to the cultural dynamic as a whole, communal symbols reveal



new cultural possibilities, and motivate a people to common action. They call into question the operating images of society and demand a new response within culture. They embody the common vision, thereby spurring and enriching the entire culture.

Corporate language indicates the social process of creating, enabling, and grounding a community's symbols. It consists of giving form to the experiential awareness, inventing the rational expressive scheme, and setting the enabling context for common communication. Corporate language is enabled by expressive formation to articulate the comprehensive human experience. It is enriched by linguistic structure, which provides the formulating of subtleties in basic life relationships. Societal world occurs when the corporate language reflects and modifies the mindset and lifestyle of the particular historical community.

In the area of language, tapes were made of speakers in the Jets after-school program for grammar-school age children. Local Black women, who were teaching the students afternoons, frequently used the tapes as teaching evaluation records, and in order to help train the children in their pronunciation. These tapes, transcribed in Appendix B, demonstrate the impact of linguistic patterns upon the perception of the universe of Fifth Citizens.

Of all of the classifications possible through morphology, phonology, and syntax, it seems from the samples taken that syntax is the most revealing.

Four particular characteristics of language usage were noticeable:

1. Repetition of a small corpus of adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions, with little attention to relational structures;
2. Frequent usage of soliloquy in the presence of the third person whom the soliloquy refers to. This is used most frequently in inferior-superior relationships;
3. Intonation which carries meaning in counterpoint to the meaning of the sentence, emphasizing sarcasm and irony (paralanguage); and
4. Reference to sexuality and race used as a means of denoting scorn, used extremely frequently in relationships between inferiors and superiors.



Conversation one is marked by continuous repetition of such adjectives as "bad," "funky," "fuckin," and "\*\*\*\*-ass," where \*\*\*\* can be just about anything. The teacher's "alright" seems to mark the place at which she is seriously demanding attention, that her patience has worn thin. Note the omission of "is" among the children giving their names.

Such a characteristic of a rigidly limited series of adjectives used profusely, and attention to single images rather than the relationships among them allows one to avoid dealing with areas of life which are extreme or unusual, because they are described with the same adjectives that describe everything else. They fit into the same patterns as every experiences, or the speaker cannot discuss them. For an oppressed people, such a characteristic can be very useful for regularizing traumatic and unpleasant experience. For the present day, however, one can be placed very readily into situations in which he is incapable of articulating his experience of his struggle. If it is "bad" or "funky" it is just like a rainy day or a missed bus or a thousand other different situations. One loses the ability to distinguish his experiences from each other.

The characteristic of soliloquies is especially well represented in the teaching assistant's comments on page one. She indicates her disapproval of the teacher to both teacher and students, without having to deal with the teacher head-on at all. The students frequently make comments in this form as well. It allows one to participate in the decision-making of the class without having to assume responsibility or liability for what one has expressed.

An excellent illustration of both intonation and soliloquy is the teaching assistant's use of the word, "peanut butter." It is reiterated time and time again in her comment, and given heavy stress in time and tone. Peanut butter is rendered utterly absurd, a parody. This communicates meaning--that the situation in which she finds herself is absurd, futile, and ridiculous; and yet



she is free of responsibility for having told the teacher off--she is simply talking to herself about peanut butter.

Finally, there are numerous illustrations of the characteristic of sexual and racial imagery. In these conversations, sexual images seem stronger, but that may well be due simply to the low age range of the speakers. The most obvious feature of such imagery is that it is rejected from standard, polite English. It is used, of course, in White culture a great deal, but never on such a frequent and universal basis. Such terminology serves to reduce the object of person whom one encounters as offensive to commonly-understandable, manageable terms. For authority figures, it effectively removes their mystery and thus their power. It allows one to deal personally with any relationship by doing away with the authority-subject structure in any situation in which it is present. This is very helpful in allowing direct personal confrontation, but tends to erode structural relationships, and replace them with immediately personal ones.

The Fifth City model is designed to permit the community to create language patterns which significantly hold the struggle to live in the twentieth century. Naming structures and events, for instance, is understood to be a critical activity. A name cannot be so unique that people don't know immediately what it means; and yet, a name must be adequate to create the relationship required of a particular structure or event. The Fifth City Jets, for instance, is the grammar-school age after-school group. The name "Jets" was chosen to hold the image of futuristic youth training and experimentation in a distinctly urban milieu. "Scouts" or "Bluebirds" point to a time when youth needed outdoor and domestic skills to survive. Although Jets deal with hiking and so forth, their critical skills include things like knowing how to read a street map, or how to find one's way alone on the L. Thus, they are called the Jets--about to take off.

Names of all other structures and images in Fifth City are chosen with



equal deliberation, for what is being created in such naming is a new series of relationships. One who decides to give his life to building Fifth City, although functionally a volunteer, is referred to as an "iron man," named after the twelve foot statue set down on Fifth Avenue which is a key symbol of Fifth City. As an "iron man," one is a community pillar--of iron. As such, one is a "colleague" to every other iron man. Colleagues do not necessarily enjoy each other's company--they are not friends--but they know that they share the same vision. This type of intentionally-created jargon, as well as that jargon which emerges spontaneously out of day-to-day common work, serves to hold in being new consciousness of what it is to be a human being, and to create commonness across the community. The use of rites and songs serve the same purpose. Stake and guild meetings, for instance, open with the following ritual, which was written at some of the early stake meetings:

Leader:           Let us come to terms with life.

Community:       Our life is the city.  
                  The city is brokenness,  
                  Scattered, burnt pieces.

Leader:           Let us give the broken city to the world.

Community:       Tomorrow the world is a city.  
                  Tall visions rise from the wreckage,  
                  Powerful, hard, Black.

Leader:           Let us labor for the renewed city future.

Community:       Today our life is poured out.  
                  The whole world waits for our creation  
                  As we build, shape, construct order.

Social art indicates the process of creatively expressing society's consciousness for the sake of dramatizing its grounding in the eternal. It translates into tangible expression the inner drives and tensions, the joyful and fearful happenings, the longing for aesthetic ideals, and the radical possibilities of a society. Interior awareness reveals the harmony of life through art forms which hold the tension between opposing forces. In eventful conscious-



ness, emerging tensions are revealed in an historic event and the eternal meaning in that event is revealed. The ongoing activity of manifesting the community's insights, concerns, and futuristic vision through perceptible art forms is radical projection.

Social art in Fifth City is everybody's business. Over on Kedzie, there is a very small storefront church across from the Del Farm. On a stool out front, a man in his 70's sits from sunup to sundown whenever the weather permits, and sings to himself while he strums blues and rock music on an electric guitar. With his amplifiers full tilt, his music is heard all summer for blocks around.

After dark, youth gather around the record store at Fifth Avenue and Trumbull, to play popular music over the store's loudspeaker system. On other nights they sing popular music themselves. Children in any class at most any time are likely to break into four-part harmony of the latest thing on the radio. Even established adults are often as much experts on the latest in popular music as their high school age children. Participation in Gospel singing groups by all ages, regardless of deep relations to any church, is also widespread.

Another mode of popular artistic expression is the decor of one's home. While the outside of buildings are frequently in disrepair, a great many apartments are dramatically decorated inside. One apartment visited by the authors has black and white geometric murals completely covering the walls of the front room, with furniture and bar in black and white leather to match. Another place was all white, with white furniture, and brilliant oil paintings done by the husband hung around the walls like a gallery. Reflooring, painting, panelling, roofing, and all other types of do-it-yourself work on one's home are important activities in which relatives and neighbors participate.

In calling on people in the neighborhood, every third or fourth call turns up an amateur musician, painter, clothes designer, or wood carver. While



very little of these skills are used for making profit, such abilities are seen as important attributes, and spontaneous performances and displays are numerous.

The Fifth City model is designed to focus community creativity toward building richly sustaining images of the human venture for the whole community. The symbol guild has experimented with a diversity of neighborhood programs to weave together the journey of Fifth City. It sponsors occasional performances by the Fifth City Jets, the Young Citizens' Syndicate, and a local group called the Fifth City Voices. A record cut by the Fifth City Voices has served as a good fund-raiser, and offered possibilities for the future.

The Fifth City Craft Shop on Fifth Avenue offers a marketplace for local arts and crafts. One elder woman, for instance, uses the Crafts Shop as an outlet for custom- and ready-made African-style clothing and hats. Others create jewelry, sculpture, paintings, and Fifth City symbols for the home.

Fifth City festivals offer an opportunity, through decor, public performances, and booths, for all members of the community to participate in creating the artistic images out of which Fifth City lives.

Common religion is the rehearsing of man's relationship to ultimate reality for the sake of grounding it in social articulation and embodying that relationship in the creative forms of common life. It consists of sharing primal images, celebrating significant ceremonies, and honoring self-conscious stories. Unifying icons are the fundamental perceptible forms by which a society grounds its understanding of life's relationship to its own mystery. Common rites authenticate individual and societal patterns by dramatizing their final significance. Inclusive myths are the fundamental expression of the societal origins, aims, and ground of being.

MON  
IGION

The religious activity of Fifth City is less connected with the institutions of religion than it is with everyday, secular encounters. While it is



true that a great proportion of the community participates in various Church structures, this activity seems to be more significant stylistically than it is in creating the mythology, rituals, and symbol system out of which people operate from day to day. The basic mythology has to do with Blackness. The Fifth citizen has a self-image, or an operating principle, or a myth, that to be Black is to be a second-rate human being. For the West Side resident, every encounter affirms his conviction that White bourgeois society has been right in marking him as inferior. This can be referred to as a "victim image." Black people, as far as Fifth citizens are concerned, are people who do poorly in school, live in detapidated housing, cannot hold a family together, and cannot keep a job. While Black power, Black pride, and re-education through Black history, Black advertising, and so forth, have had a distinct impact upon the self-image of Fifth citizens, pride in one's blackness is far weaker here than in the more established South Side. Also, no charismatic Black leadership such as that on the South Side has emerged here, to bring the community to national importance. People thus see only that they have somehow been doomed to an inferior existence: doomed to live in the ghetto, a victim of social forces beyond their control.

At the same time, rituals in Fifth City are perhaps the point of greatest individual and corporate energy any day of the week. People are masterful in creating encounters with each other and with anyone else, that allows their freedom to create the situation regardless of outside pressures, to appear in bold relief. For instance, a white suburban commuter who has gotten off the freeway at the wrong exit, stops for a red light. Three youth come up behind his classy car and shake the frame, wave at him in his mirror, and disappear into an alley. The man is terrified, or furious, but he has been walked through a direct encounter with his own existence: inside his car, his income, and his status, he is no more free than the three boys. Schoolteachers in the



area constantly encounter the same thing, on a corporate scale. One day, everyone says "good morning," and sits down--on the floor. Or everyone hums the same tune in fragments, on the other side of the room from which the teacher is looking. The impact in these instances is similar to the one above: the structural relationship between student and teacher is pushed aside, to demand that she deal with a direct human encounter. Even one's appearance on the street, clothing, hairdo, mode of walking, and accompanying music, is the creation of a dramatic event that demonstrates who one understands oneself to be.

The "victim image" is a popularly ritualized myth, as well. Perhaps the most dramatic reminder of the neighborhood's sense of futility is a look at the physical appearance of the neighborhood. Streets and sidewalks are filled with trash, broken glass, old furniture, and debris. Buildings are abandoned and left open. Dead animals, furniture and appliances, radiators, and the shells of cars, are left on the street or in open lots to deteriorate. People have mostly ceased to call city trash clearing services, convinced that they wouldn't come. Most, one becomes accustomed to it, and plows through the streets unconsciously reminded that order in this area is simply impossible.

Encounter with the community outside of Fifth City is another rehearsal of the "victim image" mythology. The red tape of Chicago bureaucratic service structures is seen as inevitable, and a visit from a social worker, a robbery, or collapsed trees on the street after a storm are all occasions of reminding oneself that one is trapped by his circumstances. The failure to report robberies, rapes, welfare payment errors, and so forth, serves both to dramatize one's conviction that services are not for him, and also to reinforce it, in that urban services are not held accountable for doing their job properly.

Symbols also serve to rehearse the mythology of victimization. Wearing light  
and  
wigs, straightening bleaching one's hair, bleaching one's face, and putting out



putting out Herculean efforts to be dressed always in the latest of styles, only serves to reinforce the belief that one is less than adequate as he is. The only greatness that seems credible is that of being a great consumer, with a breathtaking car, clothes, and furniture.

At the same time, symbols of a burgeoning new stance appear everywhere. Few apartments lack a corner over the bar or a mantel top where pictures of Martin Luther King, and frequently John and Robert Kennedy are hung. Malcolm X is present in a few homes, as are African carvings, drums, and so forth. Frequently plastic flowers and/or candles are also present, not unlike the shrines in many Latin American homes.

The Fifth City model is designed to call into being the common myths, rites, and symbols which allow people in Fifth City to grasp their inalienable greatness, and to see ways of living it fully in the midst of their situation. It is clear above all that the renewal of any community is a corporate journey of decision. We live today on the other side of the "showy" decisions for a community like Fifth City. Civil rights and Black power have come and gone, OEO and its "war on poverty" has come and gone, even the explosive fires and violence of April, 1968 have long been cold. Many Fifth citizens have moved back South, moved to suburbs or on to the South Side, and some have died or just disappeared. Very many of those who helped to build the initial Fifth City models seven and eight years ago, however, are still working. It is obvious now that renewing a community is no single glorious march, or riot, or rent strike, or government grant. Rather, it is the sustaining day to day and week to week for many years of the decision to be an "iron man" who stands as an unfailing sign that "the dream" can be carried out.

In this journey of decision, which is finally all that Fifth City is, the single critical element has been the sustaining of a powerful symbolic life. No meeting is held without songs and an opening ritual. For instance, one of the



earliest Fifth City songs is the following:

MARCHING SONG OF THE IRON MEN  
(to the tune of The Battle Hymn of the Republic)

Deep within the hearts of Black Men charred  
Charred by bitterness and pain  
By three hundred years of slavery  
Of injustice, fear and shame  
Burns the spark of human dignity  
Which history will claim  
As the destiny of man

Refrain:

Men of iron, we stand together,  
Men of iron, we stand together,  
Men of iron, we stand together  
For the dignity of man.

From the blackness of the West Side  
Now the spark bursts into flame,  
Rushing outward from Fifth City,  
From Chicago whence it came;  
Spreading forth to every city,  
Every nation to proclaim  
The dignity of man

Refrain:

Men of iron, we march together...  
For the dignity of man.

See the vision of a lifestyle  
Stretch before the eyes of man,  
From Brazil, to France, to China,  
From the Congo to Iran.  
Where all men can live in freedom,  
Claim their power and their plan,  
Full humanness for all.

Refrain:

Men of iron, march on together...  
Toward the destiny of man.

Rites are as simple as: Leader: These are the times.  
Community: We are the people.

During the past two years, the emphasis upon symbolic life has allowed people to begin to pull in traditions out of their own formal religious heritage which address the struggle of being Fifth City. A few women recalled an





FIGURE 1



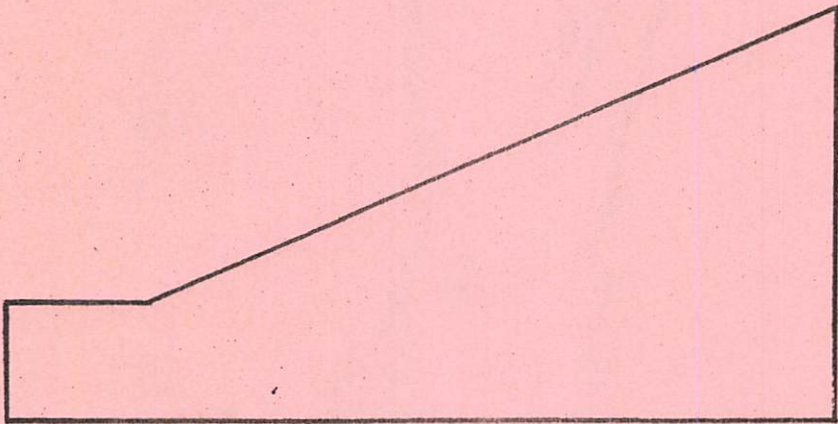


Figure 2



old spiritual, I'm Going to Work Until My Days Are Done, and broke loose a wave of reappropriating many of the traditional songs which were created out of the Black American's struggle to come to terms with an impossible situation. Both old and new songs have thus begun to come together to allow the community to rehearse its journey through history, as well as its journey in the present to create a sign of what a renewed community might be.

Visual symbols have been another critical key in the life of Fifth City. The two basic symbols of Fifth City are the Iron Man (see figure 1) and the Fifth City symbol itself (see figure 2). The Fifth City symbol is a simplified map of Fifth City. It is depicted in red on a black background--red for the explosion of a new vision and the blood it costs, and black for the people from whom that vision is emerging. The Fifth City symbol marks all Fifth City meeting places and publications, is painted four feet across on walls, and shows in windows throughout the community. It is also a small pin worn by many community members. It points simply to the fact that this particular piece of geography is a signal community.

The Iron Man was originally a statue twelve feet high made by a welder in the community to embody the image of being an iron man. Since the iron man image has been used on publications, and mass printed, he appears in homes across the neighborhood. Picnics and outings are transformed by the presence of iron men on trees, cars, and buses. The iron man is the sign of any person who decides to stand to renew the globe in his own community.

It is increasingly clear that only an authentic and extensive symbolic life is finally adequate to sustain the lifelong journey of decision which community renewal involves in our time. We would suggest that this is not a phenomenon which is limited to the ghetto.



## APPENDIX B TRANSCRIPTION OF TAPED CONVERSATIONS

CODE: SPEAKERS-Conversation 1

SPEAKERS-Conversation 2

T: Teacher  
S: Student  
TA: Teacher's Assistant

A: First youth  
B: Second youth

## CONVERSATION I

S: Forget you, lady.

T: Shut up.

TA: That lady in the orange think she bad, fixin peanut butter for them kids. Kids don't want no peanut butter. An ol Rejean O'Connor she so bad, an that little Feiller she ugly, an that little fat Tom Liles' son he look bad.

S: Joseph, you funky.

S: Fuck you.

S: MacNeil's a sissy.

S: That ol black ass nasty ass Miss ass Hass. Fuckin White ass nasty ass Uncle Tom.

S: MacNeil's a sissy, MacNeil's a fucker.

Ss: (singing) Judge sho is funky, Judge sho is funky...

S: That mother fuckin Miss Hass ain't nothin but a mother fuckin Uncle Tom. That nasty-lookin ass, that dirty bitch.

S: So is Miss Johnson.

T: Just write a sentence about anything.

T: Wait a minute now, let's go. Alright, now, I want you to write your sentence about anything you want to write about.

Ss: (singing) Judge sho is funky, Judge sho is funky, Judge sho is funky.

S: I didn't do it your honor.

T: Alright, MacNeil, come on.

S: Miss Johnson a fucker.

T: Hey, you are a stupid fool! You stop actin so silly and act your... Stop actin your color and...(pause)...act your age.

TA: Hey, I'm your sister, not your mother.

S: Gimme some pussy.



Ss: (singing) Judge sho is funky, Judge sho is funky, Judge sho is funky...

T: You ain't supposed to be singin no song. You kids make me sick. That's what you kids all like. Alright, now listen to this sentence right here. This is Jane's hat.

S: Jane going with MacNeil.

T: Alright, come on, boy. Say your name and what you did this summer.

S: I went down South and my name Louis.

T: You got to talk louder.

S: I went down South

T: Talk loud!

S: I went down South and my name Louis.

S: I went down South this summer, and my name Everett.

S: I went down South this summer and my name Jan.

S: I went down South this summer and my name's Louise.

S: I got hit by a car this summer and my head hurt and when I went to the hospital I got a lot of money.

S: I went to the South, and my name Jack.

T: Get over there. What did you do this summer?

S: I came to Jets this summer.

T: Come on.

S: I went down South.

T: What's your name?

S: Antoine.

T: Alright, get down, I'll smack you. If I have to tell anybody else to get down, I'm gonna smack you.



APPENDIX B TRANSCRIPTION OF TAPED CONVERSATIONS, p. 3  
CONVERSATION II

A: Who that just got through sayin somethin, Miss Hess?

B: Ah shit, ain't worried about her.

A: Let me see what I got to say. Where's the Jets at?

B: Ah, they gone outside.

A: Where they went, Garfield Park?

B: No, down south.

A: Down South? You gonna tell me they went down South pickin cotton, man?

B: You say somethin and I answer.

A: Okay. Oh, Nick is a punk. Got on them silken mohair britches he got on.

B: Uh Nick. That nappy-haired boy Gwynne's room.

A: Shit.

B: That ugly, bumpy-faced, nature-faced mother fucker. He ain't had pussy since pussy had him.

A: Testing, 1, 2, 3, 4.



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