

DEVELOPING AND DEMONSTRATING

A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO COMMUNITY REFORMULATION

The crisis in our cities is by now an old and familiar story. The violent eruptions that have occurred in every major city in the nation are symptoms of an overwhelmingly complex set of problems. What has brought us to this situation is not a failure to understand the many historical and sociological factors involved. The major block is to be found in our failure to develop an adequate methodology for dealing with the urban situation.

A great deal of research has focused on the broad problems of the society on the one hand and on very particular problems on the other. But little has been done to research comprehensive methods for urban community reformulation. The need is to focus more scientific and sociological wisdom upon the development and demonstration of such comprehensive methods.

For this purpose a typical inner city community with its high level of economic dependency and social deprivation must be selected as a sociological laboratory. Through experimentation a methodological hypothesis needs to be developed, demonstrated, evaluated, and corrected. Important to this process is an evaluation component geared to the development of measures against which program success or failure can be assessed.

The Ecumenical Institute is a research and training center devoted to developing a contemporary working prototype of social action. For the past seven years the Institute has designed an inner city community called Fifth City on the West Side of Chicago as a living laboratory for its experimental purposes. During that time the Institute has been involved in an initial phase of training and practical planning, and is now engaged in a phase of actualization and verification of the initial conception of model construction. In order to continue this phase and to move to the functional extension and the testing of the replicability of the model it is imperative that research and evaluation be implemented.

INITIAL RESEARCH

The Ecumenical Institute spent from 1962 to 1964 studying the methods and techniques of the current efforts at community organizing and urban renewal both in the United States and abroad. Staff members visited various community organizations and urban projects around the country, interviewing leaders and persons in the communities. Current sociological studies on urban problems were reviewed and key articles were analyzed in depth. The result was a set of conclusions regarding the effectiveness of existing methods.

Evaluational Axioms. The criteria for judging the effectiveness of existing efforts can be stated in five axioms that are generally accepted by those who are involved in the theoretical and practical aspects of community organization. Because they are widely shared values they can be used as a conscious measure of the effectiveness of community organizations and urban programs.

1. Democratic Axiom. The first might be called the "democratic axiom". This is the assumption that one key measure of any community effort is the degree of participation relative to the population of the community or area. No group, however large in number, however financially powerful, however wisely informed, and however long they work can force a model upon a community. Such a structure may be accepted externally but the general population will not assume responsibility for it. Therefore, the effectiveness of the organizing agency to involve the people of a community in developing and assuming responsibility for their own model.

2. Universal Axiom. The second is the universal axiom. This is the assumption that the effectiveness of community effort is relative to the development of an ever widening sense of responsibility on the part of its participants. This might be visualized as a series of circles, the smallest being the self, the next the family, the next the neighborhood and on to the world and all of humanity. Immediate self interest may provide much of the basis for initial organizing but unless the circle of responsibility is enlarged, the organization will be parochially turned in on itself and contributor to the problems of the larger society rather than a part of the solution. Obvious examples of this are racist community organizations which may be effective in dealing with certain kinds of problems within their own communities, but which create greater problems for other communities and the society as a whole.

3. Pragmatic Axiom. The third might be called the pragmatic axiom. This is the assumption that the effectiveness of any organizing effort or project is relative to the degree of practical success it has in solving the concrete problems of the community. It is legitimate, for example, to ask to what degree economic dependency has been reduced, or political participation increased, or illiteracy eliminated if these are major problems of the area.

4. Individual Axiom. The fourth is the individual axiom. This is the assumption that the effectiveness of any community effort is judged in part by the personal growth of the individuals who participate in it. A successful community project should show evidence of people who have become more self-reliant and more able to cope with everyday problems on their own.

5. Durability Axiom. The fifth might be called the durability axiom. This is the assumption that the effectiveness of any organizing effort is relative to the ability to deal not only with immediate crises but to sustain long range efforts to deal with the root causes of the problems.

Previous Models. There have been basically three approaches to community redevelopment, and these were examined by the Institute staff in the light of the axiomatic criteria. One has been the Government sponsored approach that has usually gone under the label of urban renewal. The strength of this approach was seen in the availability of money and the support of powerful urban leaders to insure implementation. The weaknesses were found to be many. Practically all of the efforts had only token participation on the part of community residents. Participants were generally found to be persons who were responsive to the urban power leadership and not to the constituency of the community. These efforts were often not in the self-interest of the community residents but were aimed at relocating them in other geographical areas in order to replace them with more affluent residents or business and industrial developments that would benefit particular persons and groups with power and influence in the existing power elite. In addition, these efforts tended to seek to solve urban problems entirely through external development. The social and human needs of both the old inhabitants and the new tended to be ignored for the sake of architectural and esthetic concerns. In the mean time another community was being overcrowded and developing into a problem filled community by the influx of those removed by the urban renewal effort. H. Wentworth Eldredge has described the failure of this approach in Taming Megalopolis, Vol. I, and summarizes as follows:

"By now the initial murmur of protest about the effects of urban renewal on working-class populations has grown loud enough to make the point clear to all... Had the legislators and professionals who conceived the urban renewal program seen these neighborhoods as functioning social systems, rather than as blighted buildings on valuable central-city land, the program might have taken a different turn." (p. 49)

Subsequent research has confirmed these observations the effects of urban planning efforts (i.e., Scott Greer, Urban Renewal in American Cities, and articles by Bernard J. Frieden.)

The second approach has been the "problem oriented" approach which offers services to communities. These consist of both public and private non-profit efforts. The gift of this approach was that it met immediate and pressing needs of persons and communities and usually had the resources and durability to do this over an extended period of time. It has become increasingly apparent that this approach had severe limitations. Policy was nearly always set by the experts or those in control of the resources and was consequently often insensitive to the felt needs of the people in the areas served. In addition there is growing evidence that this approach tended to perpetuate the cycle of dependency and self depreciation on the part of the disadvantaged. As Charles E. Silberman stated in Crisis in Black and White:

"What has gone wrong, primarily, is that social agencies and social workers have concentrated far too much on symptoms rather than on causes- and on symptoms seen and treated individually rather than in connection with other symptoms. This concern with symptoms has been a reflection, in good measure, of the preoccupation of the social work profession with case work and the study and treatment of individual maladjustment. The goal, that is to say, has been to teach maladjusted individuals how to adopt themselves to society as it is rather than to change those aspects of society that make the individuals what they are."
(pp. 311,312)

The service approach not only failed to alter the structures (and condemned itself to a perpetual and overwhelming task of meeting immediate needs), but it had a double disadvantage in that it met individual needs in a non-personal way. It contributed to the alienation of the people of the community from the structures which have the power and resource by impersonally handling a particular need rather than dealing with the total human situation. It has also been demonstrated that the service approach tended to serve those who are vocal enough to make known their needs but was not usually comprehensive enough to locate those who do not come forth on their own volition.

The third approach is that of the grass roots community organization. This method is generally process oriented in that it seeks to involve the indigenous people in the process of defining problems, setting goals, and implementing programs. The gift of this approach is that it encourages self-determination and dignity and guarantees that at least some of the problems dealt with will be issues of priority for that community. There have been many experiments with grass roots organizations and one of the significant

observations made by the Institute staff is that there is a very high mortality rate among these efforts. One of the most durable and significant approaches is the style of organizing communities by bringing together in one umbrella organization the many different organizations such as business, religious institutions, social service agencies, and block clubs. Both the successes and failures of this approach were studied carefully by the Institute staff. This was further facilitated by the presence of three relatively strong organizations of this type in Chicago. There can be no doubt that this approach has involved more grass roots people than other existing efforts, and that it has moved a significant number of people to the point of concern for their community as opposed to just their personal or private self-interest.

Yet, the community organization method often fails to yield the results demanded by the criteria described above. An organization of this type may cover a wide geographical area including as many as 200,000 people, yet involve only a few hundred in its efforts. It is usually heavily dependent on paid staff and a few charismatic personalities for leadership. A much larger percentage of ongoing involvement is needed if an organization is to truly represent community self determination. Furthermore, this model is usually built upon the motivational principle of self interest. It therefore does not enable people to extend their circle of responsibility beyond the boundaries of the community. This results in a built in parochialism that can be detrimental to the larger society. This approach has also failed to provide a means of delivering services and providing human care for persons with particular problems. Many such problems are met, but only when they coincide with problems that many persons have and which can be dealt with by creating a crisis and exerting public pressure. Finally, this method fails at the point of getting at the root problems and sustaining long range efforts necessary to solve them. The organizational energies are usually focused on visible and therefore external problems such as building code violations, bad meat in the stores, discrimination in hospital services and overcrowding in schools.

THEORETICAL HYPOTHESIS

After considering where existing efforts were both failing and succeeding the Institute staff developed a hypothesis of community redevelopment methodology designed to meet the axiomatic criteria applicable to any community. This was stated in the five organizing presuppositions.

1. Comprehensive reformulation begins with a specific, clearly defined, restricted geo-social area. The attempt to work with nameless masses in massive areas has clearly failed to involve a significant percentage of people in the process of community reformulation and has ensured that specific human problems go unsolved.

If comprehensive depth reformulation is to occur an area must be small enough that concentrated efforts will demonstrate results and large enough that it represents significant power to deal with the problems. By clearly defining the area a community identity can be developed which is important in motivating participation. Such a community should be defined by existing physical and social boundaries and should probably be no smaller in population than 5,000 people and no larger than 25,000. Such a definition should take into consideration the existing structures that people of the community relate to such as schools, social service agencies, political boundaries, shopping centers and natural meeting and gathering places.

2. The second presupposition is that comprehensive reformulation be made possible by discerning and attacking the depth human problem of the community. Responsible participation and lasting results are dependent upon the degree to which the root problem is solved. Contemporary psychology and sociology have revealed that the way a human being images himself in his situation is the key to his effectiveness in solving problems. If a man images himself as the typical inner city resident does, as a "victim of circumstances" and as a worthless and insignificant human being, he will not be responsive to efforts to involve him in effective community reformulation. He is more likely to react in angry frustration or hopeless resignation in the face of the problems. If that image can be replaced by one of significance, and possibility and if he can learn to see himself as capable of changing the shape of his own life and of society, then responsible participation and lasting results will follow.

3. The third operating presupposition is that all the human problems in the community must be attacked simultaneously and in a coordinated fashion. The solution of any particular problem is related to the solution of every other problem. The natural scientist and the urban sociologist have taught the inter-relationship of all things. It is self evident that the problem of unemployment and underemployment for example, reinforces the problem of housing, and the problems of education and health reinforces the problem of unemployment. Upon close examination it becomes clear that every problem reinforces every other problem and that the depth problem reinforces all the problems. An attack on only one level or problem area is thus doomed to failure. Every area of social existence, -cultural, political, and economic must be dealt with simultaneously and in a coordinated fashion if lasting solutions are to be realized.

4. Fourthly, all age levels among the citizens must be dealt with at once. Not only every problem, but every human situation is interrelated. The child continually appropriates the images of the adult world while adults are often changed by the rebellion of their children. If the problems of the aged are not met, the solutions to the problems of every other age group are undercut both by the influence of the aged and the awareness that every younger generation has of its own destiny to become elders themselves. The current practice of our society, for example, in condemning the aged to useless and meaningless lives of retirement communicates something of the valuelessness of all human beings to every other generation. If the problems of children are not met one insures that the future adult generation will perpetuate the same social problems and if the problems of the middle aged are not met then their problems will continue to manifest themselves in the older and younger generations. If a community organization is to be effective in involving people in reshaping their community in solving problems and in ministering to individual needs, then programs and structures for all age groups are required.

5. The fifth presupposition is that the use of symbols is the key to motivation and identity building essential to the comprehensive approach. A growing number of sociologists are pointing out the importance of symbols in creating and maintaining of society. If the depth problem is the key to effective community reformulation, then the use of symbols is the key to the solution of the depth problem. The self image of man in society is changed when he has a new set of symbols that hold before him a new image and therefore, new possibilities for his behavior. Symbols may take the form of myth or stories, rites and visual symbols that point beyond themselves to some conviction or decision about the self in relation to society. It is only as symbols are used which enable man to see himself as a member of a significant community, a great nation, and a global community that he is able to expand his circle of responsibility beyond himself and his family. Symbols are needed which have the power to provide a sense of unity in purpose and action necessary for effective community reformulation, and provide the motivation and enable the dedication required for long range solutions to community problems.

THE PRACTICAL HYPOTHESIS

Having thus formulated the theoretical hypothesis for effective community reformulation methodology, the Institute staff started the task of developing the practical hypothesis for implementing this theory.

The primary practical methodology necessary for effective community reformulation is model building -developing short and long range constructs for action programming.

Procedurally, it involves the development of a series of charts which contain all the relevant information pertaining to the whole complex of objectives to be accomplished. It includes timelines, problem analysis, the format of the various organizational structures to be built, the type and source of the various resources to be employed, and is closely related to the administrative concept of system analysis. Model building is ideally suitable as a methodology for corporate planning, for it is capable of drawing together the contributions and insights of many minds into a related composite whole.

The process by which a model comes into being moves according to a basic rhythm between the abstraction and concretions of the given situation. When the model builders seek clarity on what they intend to bring about in the community, they are also forced to be more and more concrete. As they seek to apply the model in day by day activities, they are forced to seek a new abstract picture of the context for action.

For model building to be relevant it must be formulated by the people of the community, for they are the ones who must bear the responsibility for its implementation. It is therefore, necessary to involve as many indigenous persons as possible in the initial phases and there must be openness to re-examine the model as additional persons become involved. The organizing agency must therefore, develop a strategy for getting community persons together for the necessary workshops to build the model. This process can be begun by locating and by interviewing community agencies and indigenous leadership, and visiting community residents and questioning them as to their willingness to experiment with a comprehensive approach to the problems that define their situation. It can safely be assumed that there are, in any community, those concerned persons who are willing to begin this process. In addition, signal projects can be developed that meet strongly felt immediate needs and thus establish a relationship between the organizing agency and the community. When the initial workshop group has been recruited they engage in the following steps.

1. Geo-social Map. A geo-social map of the community is developed. Kevin Lynch in The Image of the City (The Technology Press and Howard University Press, 1960) points out that there is a public image which is the overlap of many individual images of a community. He classifies the content of the image into five types of elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. Paths are generally the channels along which people move. They may be streets, walkways, expressways, or railroads. Edges are the boundaries or breaks in continuity such as shores, expressways, railroads, walls, or industrial developments. These are barriers more or less penetrable

that close one community off from another or one section from another section. Districts are the subdivisions of a community which from the inside have a common, identifying character. Nodes are the strategic points or spots of intensive activity such as street intersections, shopping areas or meeting places. Landmarks are the external objects that mark the community such as buildings, signs, statues, stores, trees. In the development of a geo-social map, all of these physical characteristics are taken into account as well as the sociological ones. For example, the people on one side of a street may be more affluent than the other side, or live in different types of dwellings, or be more mobile than the other side. By studying city and community maps, boundaries of various public and private organizations servicing the community, census charts, and personal experience of moving about in the community, a common visual image in the form of a map which may include a series of overlays, is developed. When completed, this map enables the groups to decide external boundaries of the area of community reformulation and the internal segments within that community.

A name is then given the community that is preferably a new name which implies a new direction for the community. This geo-social map with its name becomes the first important symbol for motivating and uniting the residents.

2. Geo-Social Analysis. On the basis of the geo-social map development, the workshop group undertakes a comprehensive geo-social analysis. Groups of people may be assigned to gather existing information of the community including census information and sociological studies. Others may develop questionnaires and interview residents, or obtain information from agencies serving the community. A variety of methods are used, therefore, to detail the everyday experience of the people by listing the thousands of problems they describe.

3. Geo-social Problemat. By organizing and categorizing the many particular problems from the analysis, a geo-social problemat is created. This enables the community to see the inter-relatedness of particular problems, and to direct attention toward the root causes underlying the whole groups of problems. Thus, the problems that are related to the total physical environment and needs of the community may be grouped together as economic problems. Problems concerning the internal ordering of community life in the area and external relations with the wider metropolitan area may be termed political problems. Inadequacies related to the educational needs and experiences of the community may be gathered together as educational problems. Difficulties due to culturally fixed behavior patterns of persons in the community may be categorized as style problems. Problems related to self-depreciation,

may be categorized as style problems. Problems related to self-depreciation, racial and cultural degradation, community apathy and irresponsibility may be described as symbolic problems. The result of this work is the problemat -- a chart which shows the concrete problems in the community organized into several categories and reveals the major problems underlying the others.

4. Projected Goals. The next step is to project goals and discern blocks for achieving those goals. This is a relatively simple matter once the problems have been discerned for it is a matter of stating positively a vision of the solution to the problem. The major problems under each of the problemat categories are thus restated in the form of general goals under each category. By using the method listing all the anticipated practical blocks to achieving the stated goal, and then reducing the list to a few major blocks, clarity on the task begins to emerge.

5. Strategic Structures. In order to achieve the goals, it is necessary to envision the strategic structures for dealing with the problems. This involves projecting structures that will deal with each of the major problems under the categories and their structural interrelatedness. In addition it means projecting the structures for individual human care and participation in the ongoing decision making process of the community. Structural charts are thus developed which both indicate the nature of the proposed structures and also give imaginative names to point beyond past structures which failed to deal with the problems. Finally, the practical functioning of the structures is sketched out and clearly defined in charts and narrative description.

6. Tactical Steps. Listing tactical steps for bringing the structures into being is the next task. Again using the workshop methodology a long list of possible steps is created and then combined and reduced into a series of necessary steps. These are concrete practical acts, such as meetings to be held, publicity materials to be produced, visits and telephone calls to be made. These steps are then arranged in a logical order or progression which when carried out will result in the existence of the desired structures.

7. Activating Forces. Once the tactical steps are clear, the next practical task is to discern the forces needed to actualize the model and develop a method for recruiting and training these forces to engage in the reformulation process. These forces will include lists of existing groups in the community, the staff of the organizing agency, outside resource persons, and lists of key individuals in the community. A training program is envisioned that includes a method of education by providing new images for the forces, involvement in reworking the model so that it is their own, and

practical leadership training in such things as how to conduct meetings, how to conduct surveys, how to locate resources and how to get necessary funds for the task. Steps for recruiting and enabling the forces to participate in the training process are then developed.

8. Motivating Instruments. The next step is to create the instruments or special tools that will enable the community to have the leverage to activate the structures to meet the problems of the community. The primary instruments are the symbols to be created, which are indicated in the presuppositions as the key to community reformulation. In other words, the instruments are the "attitudinal and motivational" tools that change the images out of which the people live and by which they enter into the reformulation of the community. In fact, when the geo-social grid, analysis, problemat, and structure charts are developed they become such instruments. The community name is another symbol. It is such instruments as symbolic ways of opening and closing meetings and visual slogans which provide the continual pressure, as well as generate the spontaneity that keeps the forces alive in the midst of the daily drudgery and long hard work that community reformulation demands.

9. Operating Timeline. Finally, a time line is developed which shows the phases, stages, and steps necessary to achieve the model. A calculated guess is made in terms of the necessary time to complete the model, and the various phases, stages, and steps are placed upon a chart of years, quarters, months, weeks and days that indicates the necessary task of each day in order to complete the whole project on schedule. Much as the space agency developed a time line for putting a man on the moon and thus clarified the many necessary jobs of each phase, the persons participating in this approach to community reformulation can experience every particular task as significant, no matter how insignificant in itself, because the model has deemed it necessary. When the timeline is built, it is time to begin actualization of the model knowing that the model is likely to shift and change in the process. This practical method not only grows out of the theoretical hypothesis but is based upon the wisdom of the scientific methodology that has been so effective in enabling man to succeed in solving the problems of his physical consensus of psychological and sociological wisdom. But the proof of the theory is, as in the natural sciences, in the actualization of the goal.

SUMMARY DESCRIPTION OF THE 5TH CITY COMMUNITY

Fifth City is a sixteen block area bounded by Kedzie Avenue on the East, Independence Boulevard on the West, Eisenhower Expressway on the South, and Fifth Avenue on the North. It is almost entirely residential. Leif Ericson Elementary and John Marshall High School are adjacent on the North Side of Fifth Avenue. There are small businesses along 5th Avenue and there is a small lithographing firm in the area. The Chicago Transit Authority car barn is the only large commercial enterprise. Bethany Brethren Hospital is located on the Northwest corner of Van Buren and Trumbull. First Church of the Brethren is on the Northwest corner of Congress Parkway and Central Park Avenue. Four small storefront churches are located in Fifth City. Except for the Ecumenical Institute, the remainder of the area is residential housing. A few of these are single family dwellings. The majority of the buildings range from two apartment dwellings to fifteen apartment dwellings. A unique housing feature is the Chicago Housing Authority sixteen story apartment house for retired citizens located at the Northwest corner of Independence and Congress Parkway. The Institutes square block, five-building campus is located at the very heart of the triangle. The population is 5,000 with Afro-Americans comprising 98%. The community part of the larger West Side ghetto serves as a kind of "port of entry" for Southern rural-minded Blacks who have experienced raw economic, political, and cultural deprivation. The average age is 35.7 years. The average family numbers five persons and has a yearly income of \$4,800. 35% of the population is receiving public assistance. The few White people in the area are employees of Bethany Hospital and members of the inter-racial faculty and staff of the Ecumenical Institute.

THE 5TH CITY EXPERIMENT

In 1964 the Ecumenical Institute began to test the theoretical and practical hypothesis it had developed in the inner city community around its campus in Chicago's West Side. The first four years were spent in enabling the community to develop a comprehensive model using the method outlined above and creating the initial structures.

In the first year the staff of the Ecumenical Institute ventured into the surrounding community to talk with people and assess their willingness to undertake an experiment in how to face the morass of problems confronting them. Evenings and weekends small groups came together and developed the geo-social grid, and geo-social problemat and analysis. They converted the problems into statements of goals, discerned blocks, envisioned structures, developed tactical steps, identified and planned for the recruiting and training of forces and began to create the necessary instruments. The results of the work are summarized in the enclosed charts.

Following the initial model building, the first signal projects were initiated in the community to begin to awaken it to its possibilities for change. During the second year pre-schools were begun with an O.E.O. grant and people from the community were hired as teachers and to work with the staff in developing curricula and teaching methodologies. An imaginal art form curriculum for inner city youth gang members and high school drop-outs was successfully developed, tested and published. During the summer, community dramas and celebrations were held and the first large gathering of several hundred persons became conscious of themselves as part of a community with new alternatives.

The success of the first two years enabled the development of structures for action on all the problems. Guilds were formed in each of the five social areas of the political, economic, symbol, education and style. These structures began to deal with immediate and pressing problems as well as to implement the steps necessary to bring into being the twenty structures of the social model. In addition to the Guilds, the community was divided into five sections, called Stakes, with each having the same population density covering two to four square blocks in each section. An abstract model for later subdivisions was also produced which divided each of the Stakes down into four quadrants and each quadrant into eight units or a total of 160 units in the community. Representatives from each of these units would later form the primary planning and decision making body. This system would later enable human care for all individual needs. Initially it provided a context for informal awakening and training of indigenous leadership.

The festivals of previous years continued in the fourth year with as many as four thousand participants in the summer of 1967. Guests, artists, performing groups, movies, food, games, decor, and native dress from the cultures of Latin America, Africa, India, the Middle East, and the White West were the context for six exciting celebrations of the Red Man, Black Man, Brown Man, Yellow Man, Tan Man, and White Man, his gifts to civilization and uniqueness in history. Following a summer trip to Mexico, community youth were sent out to high school and college to points all across the United States. The junior high youth and adults went to the Montreal EXPO. A high school house was begun in the Fall where community youth began to experiment with working together in residence, preparing themselves to go to college while engaging with teachers in active and constructive model building. Their task was to envision what kind of high schools are needed in the future to provide inner city youth with the education they need but have not been receiving from public institutions.

The full education construct from the cradle (eight weeks old) to the grave (oldest member being 93) was brought into being in that year. The Neighborhood Youth Corps numbered over two hundred that summer and showed a new seriousness about their community as they began to participate in the Guilds and Stakes. A performing group, the 5th City Ensemble, wrote and produced a musical dramatization of the history of the Black Man and then performed it in twelve cities throughout the East and Midwest on a two week tour the following summer. In the winter quarter the first community corporations, the Fifth City Citizens Redevelopment Corporation, was formed and funded with seed money by the State of Illinois Housing Development Authority to do five million dollars worth of housing and business community rehabilitation and new construction.

There were many other signs of community reformulation and consciousness. Most significant was the erection of a community sculpture -The Fifth City Iron Man-made of metal the same as the Picasso Sculpture in the Chicago Loop. This stood as a symbol of community decision by the "Iron Men" of Fifth City to do the task of reformulation. Events like this point to a deeper happening in the community, the emergence of community leadership, a body of some forty or more persons who organized themselves as the Presidium to enable the Congress, Stakes, and Guilds, to do their work. (see previous page) They received visitors from HEW and OEO who were highly impressed with this development which had taken place with relatively no funding and in the midst of one of the most severely blighted areas of any American city. The Presidium meets monthly to review and guide the work of the Guilds and Stakes. Once a quarter they assemble the Congress which receives the reports of the Guilds and Stakes, discusses crucial problems and issues, and makes decisions regarding plans for the coming quarter.

In the fourth year the Stakes also began to see themselves as crucial entities. An abstract model for their effective operation was developed. A goal was set to recruit one leader from each unit in addition to the forty "Iron Men" for a total of two hundred Presidium members who were regularly active in Stakes and Guilds. These people began to meet regularly in the Stakes and Guilds on alternate weeks. New roles for the Stakes were now developed in the gathering of information on particular individuals and their needs and the development of a computer card system for the storing and utilization of this information in developing programs and projects to meet those needs. The Guilds also functioned as the referral structures to existing city, state, and private programs which already existed to meet those needs. A community headquarters

was opened, (the Fifth City Node) to facilitate the dissemination of information and the referral process while local structures were being developed. It was staffed by volunteers from the Presidium until funds could be secured for expanded operation.

The next significant shift in the Fifth City Experiment was the move into Phase II - the establishment of the model. The actualization of all the major structures was the objective beginning in the fifth year. The twenty structures began to operate with a board of community directors for each of the structures and more than half the social agencies were actualized with volunteer leadership. The Stakes also began meeting in the twenty quadrants. The Academy for Urban Leadership Training was conducted for full time leaders. This was an intensive thirteen week program of providing the practical training in tools and methods for leadership. The leaders then began a period of on the job training of learning by doing. The Board of Managers, which are the full time indigenous staff, began to work together enhancing the comprehensive approach to community problems.

The remaining agencies and a total of 160 volunteers needed to operate them have been brought into being in year six, which began in June, 1969. These goals represent minimal needs, for what must finally be created are full-time staff persons to make these agencies fully operational. Year six, however, represents the completion of the initial stages of the model. Before it is possible to continue with the model and before the crucial test of replication in an adjacent geographical area is begun, there is a pressing need to verify through research the effectiveness to date of this methodology.

If it can be objectively shown, and the Institute believes it can, that this method can be highly effective in transforming a community then it will be possible to proceed in Fifth City with confidence and to expand the area four times the population of the present community. If there are obvious needs for revision of the hypothesis, this is the time when this must be done in order to make corrections and modifications for the future.

Year seven calls for such an expansion into an adjacent community and year eight should mean that the original Fifth City area is self supporting and visibly transformed while all the structures of the adjacent project are in existence. In addition experiments will begin with other types of communities, outer city, suburban, and town and country to seek to demonstrate the applicability of the model in its essential form to all types of situations!

COMMUNITY REFORMULATION RESEARCH DESIGN

The staff of the Ecumenical Institute has developed a research method designed to test the effectiveness and replicability of both the theoretical and practical aspects of the comprehensive community reformulation methodological hypothesis. The design calls for an eighteen month research project that will test the hypothesis against the evaluational axioms.

THE RESEARCH TEAM

The research project will be initiated, directed and administered by a research team composed of three Ecumenical Institute staff persons and three indigenous community leaders. The team will utilize the large number of social workers and social science experts on the staff of the Institute, many indigenous community leaders and workers and the wisdom of three outside professional research consultants.

THE RESILIENCY PROFILE

The basic method for establishing the effectiveness and replicability of the model is the development of a resiliency profile that will compare the present 5th City community with 5th City before its initial reformulation (when the original problemat was developed), and then with 5th City after an additional year of development. In addition 5th City will be compared with three adjacent communities of comparable size and population. These three comparative communities have the same conditions and history as 5th City, but to date have not directly been affected by the 5th City model. The first is a community immediately east of 5th City in which there has been no self-conscious community reformulation effort and in which no community development is anticipated for several years. The second is a community immediately to the south of 5th City in a Model Cities Development area. The third is a community immediately north of 5th City in which there has been no self-conscious reformulation effort to date but in which there will be an expansion of the 5th City model during the research period.

THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Each of the communities will be examined in five research areas that relate to each of the evaluation axioms. In order to test the communities relative to the democratic axiom the research will seek to measure the extent and degree of community participation. In order to test the communities relative to the universal axiom the research will be aimed at developing a true picture of the social attitudes. Objective practical improvements of community conditions should reveal the success or failure of efforts relative to the pragmatic axiom. The personal development of residents will be measured as an indication of community strength and weakness relative to the individual axiom. The way in which residents identify themselves as a community will be indicative of strengths and weaknesses relative to the durability axiom.

THE RESEARCH METHOD

1. Indigenous Survey. The indigenous survey of each of the four inner city communities will be carried out by ten surveyors hired from the 5th City community to conduct brief house-to-house interviews. It is anticipated that the 5th City structures will enable a 90% sampling of the family units in the experimental area. A much smaller percentage of 20-25% is anticipated in the other communities. The survey will consist of a questionnaire developed by the research program. The area of community involvement will be researched by determining the degree of participation in community life and structures. Social attitudes will be researched by aiming the questionnaire to test attitudes on global issues. The awareness of practical results will be researched by surveying the residents' awareness of possible visible improvement and of resources available to them for dealing with their problems. Finally, the survey would determine the extent of community identity by revealing the predominant image residents have of their community.

2. Group Interview. In each of the geographical areas a group of twelve community leaders representing various organizations or structures in the community will be selected for four evenings of three hour discussions in each of the research periods. A contribution will be made to their organization as an incentive for participation. The research team will develop a format for the four evenings that will seek to discover the leadership dynamics, the problems awareness, the attitude change, the problem-solving capacity, and organizational loyalty of the participants. The discussions will be taped and analyzed with reference to these categories.

3. Agency Information. The research team will develop a list of information needed from various agencies in each of the communities and will interview and request such information where it is legally and ethically possible from them. This method will particularly focus upon the time commitment of volunteer workers, the relationship of the agencies to the large urban scene, the structural effectiveness of the organization, the improvement or deterioration of living conditions, and the working relationships of those related to this agency.

4. Case Studies. In each geographical community three different types of families will be selected at random and will be paid for in-depth interviewing in each of the time periods. These interviews will be taped and case studies will seek to reveal the degree of self-determination exercised by these families, their depth concerns, their experience of service delivery, their images of self-worth and significance and their appropriation of current community and ethnic images. Professional social workers on the Ecumenical Institute staff will be utilized for this method.

5. Data Evaluation. All of the above information will be, as far as possible, fed into a computer which will be programmed to aid the evaluation process. The research team will seek to draw conclusions from the remaining information and analyze the computerized results. This will be done at the end of each of the three month research periods. At the end of the final period the two periods will be compared and a final report prepared.

Three outside consultants will participate in developing each of the above methods and in ongoing advice to the research team. In addition, the three consultants will prepare an independent evaluation of the information gathered which can be compared with the findings of the research team itself. Together these two documents will provide the results of the research that will make possible the appropriate response of continuation and alteration of the experimental model.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF RESOURCES

The Ecumenical Institute. The Ecumenical Institute: Chicago, with principle offices at 3444 Congress Parkway, Chicago, Illinois, 60624, is incorporated under the laws of the state of Illinois as an independent, not-for-profit research and training organization. Originally funded as a division of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, it has emerged as the center for a world-wide program of contextual re-education, social reformulation, and human motivation.

The staff teach on location in cities across the nation and world a curricula of intensive weekend courses encompassing contemporary cultural wisdom and religious insight. Methods of community reformulation for the inner city have been developed and tested over a period of seven years of work in the pilot laboratory community of 5th City on Chicago's West Side where the Institute staff live and work.

Size and Experience. There are 355 persons on the staff of the Ecumenical Institute. Of these, 185 are located at the Chicago base, 42 in the Northern part of the United States, 49 in the East, 32 in the West, 26 in the South, 19 in Southeast Asia, and 2 in Africa at the present time. Two-thirds hold degrees in social science related fields. There are presently 12 persons employed as Social Workers, 17 as Community Organizers, 23 Public Educators, 3 University Educators, and 6 Nurses. Approximately two-thirds of the staff are involved in various research projects in education, social reformulation, and religion.