

**FOURTH WORLD NATION: A CRITICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF DECLINE**

by

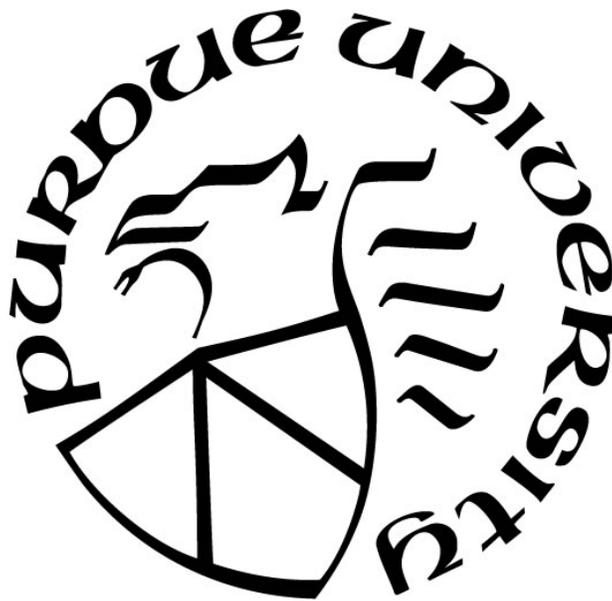
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This research effort is dedicated to Cloice C. Dotson. Without exception, you have been all that a father is *supposed* to be. If I could only begin to approach the level of responsibility and devotion that you have demonstrated as a father and mentor to me, you can be assured that your grandchildren, and someday, their children, will be able to make their way in this Fourth World Nation.

With love and gratitude,

Your son.

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In Solidarity,

Olon Frederick Dotson

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ABSTRACT

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The United States of America is a Fourth World Nation. It has earned this distinction as direct a result of the manner in which it was established, how it developed, and the fact that it has demonstratively failed to confront its ever-increasing disparity and unevenness. Fourth World Theory provides a foundation and framework for a critical investigation of society and culture through an analytical lens, and an examination of the inequities that are increasingly prevalent throughout a post-industrial, post-agrarian, post-developing space of inevitable decline.

On the surface, and through a descriptive lens, this Fourth World Nation can be observed with its racially and economically stratified, physically, socially, and institutionally abandoned urban cores; to massive, hastily manufactured and rapidly deteriorating post-WWII old ring suburbs littered with vacant and undesirable shopping centers and parking lots; to automobile-oriented single-use zoned, poorly constructed residential districts; to a seemingly boundless array of depopulated small towns and rural spaces that vanish on a horizon of stolen land with a physical and social decomposition that was once a thriving agrarian society -- at least for some. Upon further reflection and through critical geography, these troubling descriptive characteristics are merely a physical manifestation of the remnants of a failed capitalist experiment -- a declining imperialist empire, founded on conquest, genocide, and slavery. The United States of America is indeed a crime, and

it is on the brink of collapse under the weight of its own individualistic, violent, manipulative, oppressive, and self-righteous history.

During the course of this research effort, Fourth World Theory has evolved from a rudimentary and descriptive notion of a particular, often severely distressed condition of place, to a more critical investigation of space. Central to Fourth World Theory is the premise that the scale and magnitude of the institutional abandonment of inner-city communities, towns, suburban and rural spaces and places in the United States is not only costly to disadvantaged populations, but to all Americans. In the face of a trajectory toward nothingness, the primary challenge is for this Fourth World Nation to reimagine life as a means to heal humanity - a humanity that has been subjected to the ills of hatred, greed, and power for its entire existence. Out of desperation and absolute necessity, individuals and groups of individuals are emerging through grass roots organizations and movements focused on transformation, and survival. Nevertheless, the structural systems that serve as the foundation for this Fourth World Nation, challenge the possibility for such transformations. Failure to interrogate the structural systems that support the fact that the United States is a crime, makes one an accessory to said crime.

By way of sublime madness, in solidarity, and as “crime fighters,” we must take the initiative to promote system change for the sake of transformation and survival.

INDEX WORDS: American Studies, African American Studies, Urban Studies, Critical Geography, Sociology, Afro-Pessimism, Resistance, Abandonment, Fourth World, Sublime Madness

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The United States of America is a Fourth World Nation. It has earned this distinction as a direct result of the manner in which it was established, how it developed, and the fact that it has demonstratively failed to confront its ever-increasing disparity and unevenness. Disparity is not derived simply from lack of opportunity or personal misfortune. Nor does it result from the common American dogma invariably linking failure to “achieve” to lack of effort. Disparity is the result of artificial and often stereotypical social constructions layered over what Marx would have suggested to be the end stages of capitalism, and what Chris Hedges argues is the disintegration of the structures that sustain capitalism itself.¹ In sharp contrast to the eloquent yet hypocritical prose of the *United States Constitution*, and braced by American Exceptionalism to support a structure of empire, disparity serves as reinforcement for a metaphoric uneven foundation, built on sand, and subject to differential settlement.

As a nation founded under a legacy of genocidal, racist, and sexist ordering systems, the United States is rendered helpless to exhibiting overwhelming evidence of multitudinous oppressive practices manifested through its blatant disparity. It is, as critical geographer David Harvey would describe, a *Space of Capital*.² Baltimore, the plantation Harvey explored decades ago, and the current violent, racially, socially, and economically stratified police state of the twenty-first century,

¹ Hedges, Chris, *America: The Farewell Tour*. New York, Simon & Schuster, 2018, p. 9.

² This italicized phrase makes reference by title and implication, to David Harvey’s seminal publication, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*.

is not an anomaly in this Fourth World Nation. On the contrary, and emblematic of the forces of capital and oppression that have shaped the city, Baltimore *IS* America; Gary *IS*, *The Most American of All American Cities*;³ my adopted dystopia, Muncie *IS* still *Middletown*,⁴ ironically, “a city having many features common to a wide group of communities” (Lynd, 3); and Detroit *IS* “a place and space to begin anew.”⁵

Fourth World Theory provides a framework for a critical investigation of society, culture, and geography through an analytical lens. It is an examination of the inequities that are increasingly prevalent throughout a post-industrial, post-agrarian, post-developing space of inevitable decline. The failure to deploy critical reflection as a means to begin a process toward reconciliation through this or comparable frameworks, renders this space in jeopardy of self-induced, ultimate, and eminent collapse under the weight of its own history.

On the surface, this Fourth World Nation can be observed with its socially constructed and economically stratified, physically and institutionally abandoned urban cores; to massive, hastily manufactured and rapidly deteriorating post-WWII old ring suburbs, littered with vacant and undesirable shopping centers and parking lots; to automobile-oriented single-use zoned, poorly constructed residential districts; to a seemingly boundless array of depopulated small towns and rural

³ This italicized phrase makes reference by title and implication, to S. Paul O’Hara’s first book, *Gary: The Most American of All American Cities*.

⁴ This italicized team makes reference by title and implication, to *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture*, by Robert S. Lynd, and Helen Merrell Lynd, first published in 1929.

⁵ This phrase makes reference by title and implication, to the late Grace Lee Boggs’ chapter entitled, “Detroit, Place and Space to Begin Anew” in her book, *The Next American Revolution: Sustainable Activism for the Twenty-First Century*.

spaces that vanish on a horizon of stolen land with a physical and social decomposition that was once a thriving agrarian society – at least for some.

Through a socio-physical lens, this Fourth World Nation can be understood as a space and place where countless migrant children are placed in cages and separated from their respective families fleeing and seeking sanctuary from troubling circumstances caused in part, by American contemporary colonialism; a space where investors are compelled to empower the Prison Industrial Complex and its network of tributaries, including, but not limited to so-called law enforcement, blatant and extreme disparities in sentencing, mass incarcerations, and school to prison pipeline systems; a nation where its under-resourced citizens can be classified as “refugees” by elected officials; a place where unprecedented gun violence is accompanied by profitable and popular resistance to any form of gun regulation; and where an assured system of intergenerational poverty is fueled and manipulated by a staunch commitment to ignorance.

Upon further reflection and through critical geography, these troubling descriptive characteristics are merely a physical manifestation of the remnants of a failed capitalist experiment, a declining imperialist empire. The United States of America is indeed, a crime, founded on conquest, genocide, and slavery. An abundance of evidence clearly demonstrates that this Fourth World Nation is in an unprecedented state of decline as a direct result of its individualistic, violent, manipulative, oppressive and self-righteous structural systems and resulting disparities.

The general reluctance of the people of the United States to meaningfully, openly, and honestly confront the ideologies behind disparity, including but not limited to the social constructions of race, place, gender, and class, undermines productive dialogue with respect to systemic patterns of sprawl, abandonment, the disappearance of work, and the resulting devastating

socioeconomic and ecological consequences. The continued absence of reflection on the racialization of space, the physically stratified configuration of place, primitive and archaic ideas about gender, and the resulting unsustainable socioeconomic landscape, threatens not only impoverished communities of color in northern rustbelt cities; not only unproductive, post-agrarian, rural midwestern and southern spaces on deforested and poisoned land, sparsely populated by the downtrodden and heavily medicated; not only environmentally degraded, post-mining, industrially abandoned Appalachian spaces occupied by the systemically undereducated and demoralized; not only the geographically isolated and dispirited survivors of eradication, pacified by mind-altering substances as a means to confront the reality of Fourth World oppression; but the health and vitality of the entire nation.

Qualitative and quantitative research methodologies for critically examining the extent of the widespread disparity, abandonment, and severely distressed conditions commonly found yet generally ignored throughout the United States, are examined through the lens of Fourth World Theory. This theory provides a basis for exploring how historical development patterns as well as structural and cultural forces contribute to these conditions.

As exemplar, a portion of this research effort conducts a critical geography of Gary, Indiana, a severely distressed, post-industrial, racially and economically stratified city located within the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) of Chicago, Illinois. The city serves as a historical and living laboratory for exploration through Fourth World Theory by applying research from sociological publications, as well as African American and Urban studies sources, grounded with a pessimistic interpretation of reality. Understandably, an informed reader might suggest that as this aspect of Fourth World Nation research explores the conditions of Gary, an Afro-pessimistic outlook would

be in order. The Fourth World theoretical position would concur with such a suggestion. However, as Afro-pessimism may provide a framework that is applicable to anti-Black space or anti-Blackness in general, Fourth World Theory-based research reveals the universality of the declining state of this Fourth World Nation. Thus, a universally pessimistic outlook is at the foundation of this research. Universal pessimism does not focus solely on negativity; on the contrary, the focus is on truth, reality-based analysis, and liberation from the bondage of ignorance. Nevertheless, Afro-pessimism is discussed and explored herein and is used as a framework for understanding the challenges faced by Gary and similar Fourth World cities.

As Frank Wilderson suggests, in an *Occupied Times* article entitled, “Afro-pessimism & the End of Redemption,” the regime of violence that subsumes Black bodies is different from the regime of violence that subsumes hyper-exploited colonial subalterns, exploited workers and other oppressed peoples. Thus, the landscape of Fourth World space in cities like Gary, Detroit and Flint, Michigan, Camden, New Jersey, and East St, Louis and Cairo, Illinois displays a particular, yet consistent forms of severe distress, uneven development patterns, and degrees of physical, social, and institutional abandonment inherently linked to emotional trauma among the residents relegated to being, or more accurately, nonbeing in such spaces. Writings containing discourse on the brief history of the city of Gary, and oral histories including an introductory interview with former five-term Gary, Mayor, Richard Gordon Hatcher are examined as part of this exploration.

As an entirely new Twentieth Century city, carved from land that had recently been confiscated from the Potawatomi prior to their displacement and eradication, Gary represented an opportunity for a so-called *American* community to be created from lessons learned, and progress toward a utopian space and a model for all to come. However, from its creation as master-planned

and implemented, the city devolved into an acute capitalist, race and class-based dystopian disaster. The outcome of this portion of the Fourth World Nation research effort clearly demonstrates how the social construction race has, and continues to systemically undermine each and every aspect of the overall quality of life in many American cities, with Gary serving as an archetypical example. From an Afro-pessimistic perspective, the non-beingness, nothingness, and nobody-ness of Blackness has been entrenched from the time the first permanent resident arrived in the anti-Black space when Gary was founded in 1906. Experientially, subjects, even Black ones, can obviously find themselves with any myriad of [sic] identities, but ontologically Blackness is still violently excluded from even the meager scraps given when recognized (Sexton, 9).

In addition to enhancing understanding of Fourth World space, other struggling post-industrial rust-belt cities such as the aforementioned Detroit, East St. Louis, Camden, and Flint have been explored and will be periodically discussed through Fourth World Theory. This research effort reveals that the severely distressed conditions have also become the defining characteristic of the vast majority small towns, as well as suburban and rural spaces throughout the entire United States. Post-agrarian, struggling small towns and rural spaces from Immokalee, Florida to Tunica, Mississippi; from Cairo, Illinois, to Allen, South Dakota; from Gould, Arkansas and Prichard, Alabama to Aberdeen, Washington – *from sea to shining sea*. This study clearly demonstrates that such patterns are commonplace in virtually all regions and across the American landscape in its entirety. This exploration emphasizes and demonstrates how the history of stratification based on social constructions of ethnicity, class, and race and its manipulation for the sake of power and greed, has systematically undermined each and every aspect of the overall quality of life, the premise of American Exceptionalism, and the idea of the “American Dream.”

Central to Fourth World Theory is the position that the scale and magnitude of the institutional abandonment of inner-city communities, towns, suburban and rural spaces and places in the United States is not only costly to disadvantaged populations, but to all Americans. The disadvantaged, relegated to residing in Fourth World cities like Gary have and continue to suffer from de-industrialization, historic segregation and discrimination patterns, suburban sprawl, erosion of a viable tax base, racism, inability to embrace the concept of desegregation and civil rights legislation, fear, despair, crumbling infrastructure systems, disinvestment in urban school systems, and environmental justice issues.

This Fourth World Nation has not earned the right to preach to the world from its pulpit of exceptionalism. Civic myths about the triumph over racial injustice have become central to the resuscitation of a vigorous and strident form of American Exceptionalism – the idea of the United States as both a unique and universal nation.⁶ Martin Luther King once described the conditions for its sub-proletariat citizens of color in the United States as comparable to living on a "lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity."⁷ Over the past half-century since King's appraisal and the subsequent and tragic assassination, the land mass of the "island" has continued to expand exponentially to a dimension that is not so "lonely" after all. Fueled by manipulation of capital, greed, selfishness, relentless and curiously amplified religious, ethnic,

⁶ Nikhil Pal Singh, in his 2004 publication, *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy*, questions the sovereignty of the United States of America, particularly for the vast majority African American population. Comparable to the premise that said populations reside in a *Colony in a Nation*, or as suggested herein, a colony within a colony, or as Singh explores, a subjugated nation within a nation state (Singh, 19).

⁷ This quotation is from the full text of Martin Luther King's address at the *March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom* held on August 28, 1963.

gender, class, and race-based discrimination throughout its history, the island within may be best described in every respect, as a colony.

Journalist Chris Hayes, cynically citing Richard Nixon's 1968 convention speech in his book titled, *A Colony In A Nation*, explores the historical legacy and continued patterns of disparity with respect equal treatment under the laws of the United States. Hayes explores the behavior of settlers living under oppressive and manipulative colonial rule that ultimately led to the Revolutionary War and *Declaration of Independence* from the British Empire. Through Fourth World Theory, I argue that the institution of slavery was as central to the Revolutionary War as it was to the Civil War and that the so-called oppressed settlers were indeed, as Paulo Freire would concur, the oppressors.

But almost always, during the initial stage of the struggle, the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors, or "sub-oppressors." The very structure of their thought has been conditioned by the contradiction of the concrete, existential situation by which they were shaped. Their ideal is to be men; but for them to be men is to be oppressors (Freire, 45).

Hayes compares the oppression, manipulation, and extortion under British rule to the subjugation that African Americans and African American communities experience under current systems of so-called law enforcement and the affiliated prison industrial complex in the United States. Such a comparison is undermined by the nonbeing status of Blackness in both revolutionary and contemporary times. Afro-pessimist Jared Sexton states that "after the nonevent of emancipation" (Hartman, "The Burdened Individuality of Freedom," in *Afro-Pessimism: An Introduction*), slavery did not simply give way to freedom. Emancipation simply transitioned the nonbeing Black slave to the nonbeing Black "subject."

What followed was a profound entrenchment of the concept of race, both physically and juridically. Formally, the Black subject was no longer a slave, but the same formative relation of structural violence that maintained slavery remained – upheld explicitly by the police (former slave catchers) and white supremacy generally – hence preserving the equation that Black equals socially dead (Sexton., 9).

Comparable to *Nobody: Casualties of America's War on the Vulnerable, from Ferguson to Flint and Beyond*, by Marc Lamont Hill, Hayes' *Colony In A Nation* provides detailed accounts of the ongoing profiling, ticketing, stopping and frisking, choke-holding and trigger-happy murderous policing toward colonized nonbeing populations in Ferguson, Baltimore, Staten Island, and North Charleston, where highly questionable police behavior has resulted in the death of unarmed African American men, women, and children. In essence, Blackness in Fourth World space has been and continues to be, criminalized space.

Individuals can of course achieve some status in society through “structural adjustment (Wilderson, *Red, White & Black*) (i.e., a kind of “whitening” effect), as has been superficially confirmed, but Blackness as a racialized category remains the object of gratuitous, constituent violence – as demonstrated by police murders, mass incarceration, urban planning, and surveillance (from COINTELPRO to special security codes in stores to indicate when Black customers enter). As Blackness is negated by the relations and structures of society, Afro-pessimism posits that the only way out is to negate that negation (Ibid., 10).

Scholar, author, and activist Angela Davis⁸ has questioned the premise of Afro-pessimism with respect to its focus on anti-Black space. Certainly she acknowledges, understands, and struggles against the historical and continued legacy of hatred, discrimination and violence directed toward people of African descent in the United States and throughout the world; however, Davis suggests that such a framework can serve as a barrier to developing the kind of hyper-empathy necessary to

⁸ Angela Davis with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak from the closing plenary session - Symposium III "Planetary Utopias – Hope, Desire, Imaginaries in a Post-Colonial World" of the "Colonial Repercussions" event series at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin (23 and 24 June 2018).

begin a process toward solidarity. Lewis Gordon has also expressed concern, suggesting that Afro-pessimism understates the historical and current struggles by oppressed peoples of color throughout this planet. He explores the dialectical opposition dangers of transitioning from identifying an anti-Black world to identifying the world as being “anti-Black. Gordon suggests that this position constitutes an ontological leap resulting in the belief that “it is what it is” – being the anti-Black world.⁹ Gordon states that such a world is an anti-Black racist project. Its limitations emerge from the basic fact: Black people and other opponents of such a project fought, and continue to fight, as we see today in the #BlackLivesMatter movement and many others, against it.¹⁰ Gordon associates dimensions of pessimism and optimism with nihilism. He suggests that nihilism emerges during periods of social decay, when people struggle with being responsible for their actions. Optimists expect intervention from beyond. Pessimists declare that relief is not forthcoming.¹¹ Fourth World Theory in the context of this research, has evolved as a direct result of a well-documented history of the United States of America, personal experiences and understanding within said history, and the development of pessimistic views stemming from the reality of residing in Fourth World space in a Fourth World Nation. Gordon concludes that a supervening alternative to optimism and pessimism is political commitment; however, under historic and current capitalist structural systems, liberation from oppression resulting from political action is marginal at best. Nevertheless, until the current

⁹ Lewis Gordon: “Afropessimism, Africana Philosophy and Theory” in conversation with Jared Ball at www.imixwhatilike.org blog. Gordon assessed troubling trends prevalent in Afropessimistic thought including a lack of substance among supporters and a tendency to “fetishize” individuals rather than deal with ideas themselves.

¹⁰ “Critical Reflections on Afropessimism” by Lewis R. Gordon in *The Brotherwise Dispatch* Volume 3, Issue #2, June-August, 2018.

¹¹ Ibid.

system self-implodes and the *next system* is developed, the oppressed, through a *Sublime Madness*, must make best with what can be made available, including political action if applicable – and if not, as Fanon would have suggested, perhaps violence is in order.

Through the critical geographical lens of Fourth World Theory, one might argue that the spaces and systems described by Hill and Hayes are of colonies within a *colony*. Thus, the United States of America is a colony onto itself. Despite the fact that the colony declared its independence centuries ago, the continued expansionist, tyrannical, murderous, racist, sexist, hypocritical behavior as well as the prevalence of colonies within, inhibits the colony of the United States from truly achieving liberation. Therefore, although its people passionately reference *democracy* as the socio-political order, said people of the United States remain invariably, emotionally, and hopelessly linked to the monarchy of the British Empire. Hence, the colonized continue to be enamored with the practices, traditions, trials, tribulations, weddings, births, deaths, scandals, affairs, and divorces of the royal family. The “inappropriateness” of former First Lady Michelle Obama to merely *touch* Queen Elizabeth drew greater criticism in the United States (where upon many she was, and continues to be, seen as a nonbeing) than in England. Out of desperation and hopelessness, the political environment might suggest that colonial subjects are in search of a king, or perhaps a fuhrer, as this Fourth World, post-developing colony devolves toward fascism.

Fourth World space falls into an economically and socially constructed canyon or moat that meanders through the American landscape. This crevice has been deliberately contoured to function as a barrier between spaces and places occupied by those who have been, and continue to be, guaranteed full access to the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and the spaces and places inhabited by the vast majority of the subjects of this colonial nation state –

henceforth referred to as colonial subjects. For its colonial subjects of color, nonbeing individuals and groups of individuals perpetually regarded as the *Wretched of the Earth*,¹² Martin Luther King's "island" is essentially a marooned colony within a colonial oppressive police state. The cited "vast ocean of material prosperity," is an enormous private water theme park of unprecedented wealth, privilege, and fear for a one percent sliver of the overall population. While the divide between the lonely island and the vast ocean becomes more sharply pronounced, the entire planet is observing and questioning the socio-economic and socio-political behavior of this post-developing nation, as it witnesses the demise of yet another so-called *great* empire.

Through a descriptive lens, urbanist James Kunstler describes these landscapes as a *Geography of Nowhere*.¹³ From a more critical and comprehensive socio-economic, and socio-political perspective, journalist and activist Chris Hedges defines these spaces as "sacrifice zones." Hedges and illustrator Joe Sacco, in their publication *Days of Destruction Days of Revolt*, define "sacrifice zones" as places in the United States, and the residents who reside in these places, that have been offered up for exploitation in the name of profit, progress, and technological advancement. The book graphically depicts through words and drawings, what life looks like when the marketplace rules without constraints, where human beings and the natural world are used and then discarded to

¹² Citing the title of Franz Fanon's 1961 seminal publication defining and calling for anti-colonialist struggle and liberation from socio-economic, physiological, and environmental oppression of black, brown, yellow, and red surviving colonial subjects subservient to European colonialism and other forms of domination and abuse over the past millennium.

¹³ James Howard Kunstler's 1993 publication, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* provides a troubling assessment of the physical landscape of the United States of America. Kunstler declares that said landscape is "the greatest misallocation of resources in the history of the world." The book accurately describes many of the physical and social ills associated with these spaces; however, it fails to explore the structural systems that are at the foundation of the troubling patterns.

maximize profit, and what the ideology of unfettered capitalism means for families, communities, workers, and the ecosystem.¹⁴ Fourth World Theory supports the premise that the United States of America is a collection of “sacrifice zones.” Scattered within these zones are enclaves of opulence, fortified with gates, walls and other less visible barriers designed to protect the last vestiges of privilege and exclusivity while simultaneously generating *want* among the minds of its colonial subjects. Similar to the historical structure of colonies and former colonies throughout the world, the mere presence of these zones of opulence creates want among the colonized masses. Want results in a psychological and physiological desire for consumption as a means to provide a sense of momentary access to the world of the privileged. Visually inundated by material excessiveness, momentary access suppresses the aspirations and pacifies progression of the colonial subject toward a level of apathy within the very system that oppresses the subjects from otherwise seeking liberation; thus, contention and hatred are turned, often violently, toward one another. Joyce Ladner, interviewed for the critically acclaimed documentary *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth: an Urban History*,¹⁵ simply states that poverty creates *want*. Perhaps want also creates poverty. In a Fourth World Nation, the colonized subjects, the consumers, ultimately become the consumed. Thus, the colonial subject

¹⁴ Hedges, Chris and Joe Sacco, *Days of Destruction, Days of Revolt*, New York, Nation Books, 2012, p. XI.

¹⁵ The 2011 documentary *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth: An Urban History* conducts an analysis of the rise and fall of an infamous public housing development in St. Louis in the context of the national urban renewal programs of the 1950s and 1960s that prompted a process of mass suburbanization and abandonment of American innercities. Statements from Joyce Ladner, who conducted a sociological study of young women at Pruitt-Igoe during the late 1960s and later published *Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman*, were included in the film. As a counterpoint to the common references to pathological behavior often directed toward residents in public housing, Ladner stated, “Poverty never created immorality. Poverty created want.”

regards *itself* as a commodity, living in *The Matrix*, residing on a human farm, and meandering through a nihilistic pasture of a Fourth World landscape.

Fourth World Theory has evolved from being a rudimentary and descriptive notion of a particular, often severely distressed condition of place, to a more critical investigation of space. Physical spaces refer to the topography and geography of the city, its natural and man-made resources, and its situatedness among other cities and towns. Ideological spaces include the cultural, political, social, and racialized landscapes (Dotson and Merriweather). It formally acknowledges these spaces as unique circumstances: ever-evolving dimensions engaged in a perpetual metamorphosis in direct response to the various cultural and structural forces shaping cities, towns and rural places throughout the United States. As Hedges notes in *Wages of Rebellion: The Moral Imperative of Revolt*, when there is a sustained “gap between what people want, and indeed expect, and what they get” some form of rebellion, revolt, or revolution is inevitable.¹⁶ The structural and cultural forces that have contributed to the severely distressed conditions commonly found in Gary and similar inner-city communities are not the sole ingredient for placing America in serious jeopardy of collapse. It is the widespread and ever-increasing disparity and unevenness throughout the landscape that this Fourth World Nation fails to confront.

As a post-developing Fourth World Nation, the primary challenge for the United States is to reimagine life as a means to heal humanity - a humanity that has been subjected to the ills of hatred, greed, and power for its entire existence. Out of desperation, absolute necessity, and by means of what Hedges refers to, by citing theologians Reinhold Niebuhr and the late James Cone, as “sublime

¹⁶ Hedges, Chris, *Wages of Rebellion: The Moral Imperative of Revolt*, New York, Nation Books, 2015, p. 5.

madness,” individuals and groups of individuals are emerging through grass roots organizations and movements focused on transformation and survival.

Reinhold Niebuhr wrote that those who defy the forces of injustice and repression are possessed by a “sublime madness” in the soul “which disregards immediate appearances and emphasizes profound and ultimate unities.” Niebuhr noted that “nothing but madness will do battle with malignant power and ‘spiritual wickedness in high places.’ The sublime madness as Niebuhr understood, is dangerous, but it is vital.¹⁷

From the trenches of Fourth World space there are individuals and organizations leading movements that reject the idea of wealth for wealth's sake and promote self-determination, self-reliance, and strengthening of community. Once liberated from the bondage of practices based solely on capital accumulation and/or the social construction of race, this Fourth World Nation can truly and earnestly begin to progress toward a more sustainable and equitable means of inhabiting the earth. Such movements are grounded in the understanding that the current socio-economic, and political systems under which the United States operates have failed its colonial subjects. For example, *The Next System Project* is a think tank of researchers, activists, theorists, and individuals engaged in progressive political movements. The initiative has been established to confront systemic social, economic, and ecological challenges through exploration and discourse on alternatives toward racial equity, redistributive economic policies, and a truly democratized society. Contributor John Restakis warns that unless the neoliberal free market capitalist ideologies are not only unsustainable, they are pathological.

¹⁷ Hedges cites theologian James Cone from Cone's *The Cross and the Lynching Tree*, who stresses the importance of Niebuhr's “sublime madness” for those who resist oppression, enabling the capacity to “make a way out of no way.” pp. 211, 222-223.

The deification and normalization of greed and the hoarding of wealth by an ever-shrinking and increasingly predatory minority has brought us to the brink of economic and social collapse. What is more, the dominance of neoliberal ideas in our culture has literally deprived people of the capacity to imagine any alternative. This is the ultimate triumph of ideology. If ever there was a time when alternative visions of how economies might work were urgently needed, it is now. The absence of alternatives from public debate is one clear symptom of the crisis we are in.¹⁸

After decades and generations of suffering from lack of access to work, the disappearance of work, institutional abandonment, hoping that the “jobs” would miraculously return; or that the Romanesque belief in the presence of tax-supported sports franchises, facilities designed for entertainment by sacrificial gladiators; or that casinos and other destabilizing venues would somehow “save” the local economy; or that a transition to a service sector economy would effectively replace the pride and security once offered by the manufacturing sector and the dignity of labor; colonial subjects of this Fourth World Nation are leading by example in cities like Detroit, and beginning to emerge from the depths of despair. The healing, driven by a collectivistic and at times, communalistic spirit, generates transformation toward survival in a profoundly post-agrarian, post-industrial, post-developing space. Such movements are emerging from the ashes of comparable Fourth World spaces. For example, Afrocentric visionary Malik Kenyatta Yakini, is the founder of the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network (DBCFSN). The organization was established to confront the lack of access to affordable, healthy, locally grown food through efforts based on principles of self-determination. Among its endeavors, DBCFSN operates D-Town Farms, which is currently the largest urban agriculture center in the Detroit area. The organization is in the process

¹⁸“Cooperative Commonwealth & the Partner State” by John Restakis is from *The Next Systems Project’s* “New Systems” paper series. The objective of the series is to publicize comprehensive political-economic system models and approaches that are different in fundamental ways from the failed systems of the past and present, and capable of delivering superior social, economic, and ecological outcomes. www.thenextsystem.org.

of establishing the Detroit People's Food Co-op, a full-service cooperative grocery store in Detroit's North End. DBCFSN is organized under the Afrocentric principles of Ujamaa (cooperative economics) which rejects the idea of wealth for wealth's sake and promotes self-reliance and strengthening of community. As part of Yakini's mission, the co-op will be part of the Detroit Food Commons, a larger community development complex that features an incubator kitchen where culinary artists and food entrepreneurs will be able to prepare foods in a licensed environment for retail and wholesale customers. The Detroit Food Commons will also include a healthy foods café and a space for community meetings, lectures, films, performances and other events.

The Kheprw Institute, founded by activist and visionary Imhotep Adisa, is an Indianapolis-based community organization dedicated to a more just, equitable, and human-centered world by nurturing youth and young adults to become critical thinkers and doers. Also ground on an Afrocentric foundation, Adisa employs a myriad of devices toward this objective including engaging in community-based conversations about challenging topics as a means to inspire and formulate strategies toward reconciliation and solidarity. For example through Kheprw, a recent series of "From the Ground-Up" meetings facilitated discussions on the topic of gentrification. The organization advocates for food justice and food security systems and maintains an indoor aquaponics farm operated and maintained by local youth.

In the small town of Greensboro, Alabama, in the heart of the "Black Belt," Pam Dorr has created multiple, community-owned, operated, and staffed small businesses ranging from a bamboo bike company to a pie laboratory. Her nonprofit development group, the Hale Empowerment and Revitalization Organization (HERO) serves as an umbrella and catalyst for community development as a means to combat poverty, nihilism, and the rampant physical, social, institutional, and emotional

abandonment present in the town and surrounding area. As a nonprofit organization founded in 1994, HERO provides economic development, community resources, housing education, and affordable housing construction.¹⁹ Dorr’s imaginative approach has resulted in noteworthy positive changes in the greater Greensboro community. As a solid foundation has been established in Greensboro, Dorr has returned to her home state of California to direct creative and unconventional affordable housing initiatives through the Blocks Program of Palo Alto-based Soup.

For decades, the Over-the-Rhine district has been the most severely distressed neighborhood in Cincinnati, Ohio. The area is wedged between the central business district to the south, the Clifton Heights, Fairview, and University Heights to the north, the West End to the west, and Mt. Auburn to the east. In recent years, pressure for redevelopment from each direction has resulted in unprecedented and accelerated levels of gentrification. The degree of displacement of resulting from a taxpayer supported deliberate lack of equitable redevelopment constitutes an act of violence against lower-income residents and the un-housed.

This is a strange moment in Cincinnati, where terms such as “mixed-income housing” and “economic mix” enjoy near-universal purchase across a multitude of competing interests and groups. Yet their meanings are loose and slippery, allowing gentrification to be pursued at all costs as a strategy to address poverty-stricken communities of color like Over-the-Rhine, “impacted” by a “concentration” of low-income housing and social services.²⁰

David Elkins of Over-the-Rhine Community Housing (OTRCH) serves as project coordinator for the Jimmy Heath House, one of several resident-centered affordable housing developments

¹⁹ Source: From the Hale Empowerment and Revitalization Organization Mission Statement on the HERO website at www.herohousing.org.

²⁰ Diskin, Jonathan and Dutton, Thomas A., *Gentrification – It Ain’t What You Think*, A Working Paper, 2006.

established by OTRCH to provide an inclusive community and benefit low-wealth residents remaining in the Over-the-Rhine district. The redevelopment was named in honor of the late Jimmy Heath, a homeless activist, photojournalist and editor of the *Streetvibes* newspaper in Cincinnati. The permanent supportive housing at the Jimmy Heath House serves chronically homeless individuals based on the “housing first” principle – the idea that chronically homeless people can become clinically and socially stable faster when homelessness is eliminated.²¹ Mary Burke Rivers serves as Executive Director of Over-the-Rhine Community Housing; however, Elkins operates in the trenches at the Jimmy Heath House.

Former Black Panther, Wayne Curtis, and his partner, Myrtle Thompson founded Freedom Growers on a series of vacant lots in the midst of severely distressed East Detroit. Their efforts to “grow a garden, grow a community” and their dedication to “make a way out of no way,” consistent with Cone’s philosophy, demonstrates how Detroit’s vacant lots represent the possibilities of cultural revolution.²² Freedom Freedom inspires youth to participate in this revolution by taking personal responsibility for themselves and their community and embracing the power they possess within. In addition to the mentoring offered at the Freedom Freedom urban farm, the organization recently acquired a nearby abandoned house to be reconstructed for community space to promote education and to empower the youth and families as a “means of both healing from and resistance to oppressive structures” (Freedom Freedom).

²¹ May, Lucy, “Jimmy Heath House Ready To Open Doors,” *Cincinnati Business Courier*, November 30, 2010.

www.bizjournals.com/cincinnati/blog/2010/11/jimmy-heath-house-ready-to-open-doors.html

²² Boggs, G.L. *The Next American Revolution: Sustainable Activism for the Twenty-First Century*; University of California Press: Berkeley, CA, USA, 2012; pp. xxi–xxii.

Fourth World Theory supports the courage to accept the fact that Detroit, for instance, is not going to be resurrected as the industrial power (albeit racially and economically stratified) that existed at the midpoint of the twentieth century. Once liberated from the bondage of practices based solely on the social construction of race, Fourth World cities and communities can truly and earnestly begin to progress toward a more sustainable and equitable means of inhabiting the earth. These and other individuals and organizations dedicated to the philosophy of liberation in Fourth World Space will be discussed in greater detail in the final chapter.

The late Grace Lee Boggs dedicated her entire adult life to systemic change inspired by a philosophy of liberation, organic intellectualism, activism, and evolution in Detroit and beyond. In the preface to the second printing of her publication, *The Next American Revolution* the visionary, philosopher, activist, and community organizer writes that it is time to reimagine work and reimagine life as a means to heal humanity – a humanity that has been subjected to the ills of hatred, greed, and power for centuries. We must be reminded that the United States of America is indeed a crime. Its founding was a crime; thus, its foundation is a crime. This Fourth World Nation has engaged in murderous, unjust, criminal behavior for its entire existence. Failure to interrogate the structural systems that support the fact that the United States is a crime, makes one an accessory to said crime. Through sublime madness, in solidarity, and as "crime fighters," we must take the initiative to promote system change for the sake of transformation and survival.

CHAPTER 2. FOURTH WORLD: THE TERM

As discussed in a 2010 paper entitled: *Introduction to the Fourth World*,²³ I initially presumed that I had coined the term, “Fourth World” to describe and analyze the conditions of severe physical and social distress commonly found in inner cities throughout the United States. My research quickly revealed that the term had been used by several, including social scientists, activists, and neo-soul and hip hop artists, to describe the conditions of various nation-less states within larger nations, underdeveloped nations, and/or oppressed or underprivileged victims of a state. In addition, the term has been used to explore the lack of informational capital, poverty, and social exclusion resulting in part from rapid technological advances and the digital divide.

It is the intention of this research to introduce to the Fourth World discourse, the severe physical and socioeconomic distress, stratification, and abandonment that is prevalent in cities, towns, and rural spaces throughout the United States. Herein, Fourth World Theory acknowledges and embraces the prior existence and continued use of the term and the theories. The applicability of these conditions should be deemed congruent to the original positions established by individuals, organizations, and movements as briefly discussed under the following sub-chapters. In addition, the subsequent expansion of the socio-political discussion regarding disenfranchised states that maintain a distinct political culture, as well as the designation of the poorest and most underdeveloped states of the world are certainly applicable to this exploration. Indeed, *A Fourth World Exists*.

²³ Dotson, Olon, “Introduction to the Fourth World,” in *Design Altruism Project*; Editor, David Stairs, July 15, 2010, <http://design-altruism-project.org/?p=669>.

2.1 George Manuel - The Fourth World: An Indian Reality

The late Shuswap Chief George Manuel, is often credited for first publishing the term “Fourth World” in his 1974 publication, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*.²⁴ However, the term was introduced to Manuel by Mbuto Milando, first secretary of the Tanzanian High Commission. Milando stated that “when Native peoples come into their own, on the basis of their own cultures and traditions, that will be the Fourth World.”²⁵ Prior to pursuing publication of the book, Manuel developed the position that there is no place on earth that people can live without either asserting their own political independence against the European nations or attaching themselves to a European nation (or nation deriving its government from that tradition).²⁶ Upon contemplating the systemic political and socioeconomic disparities existing among indigenous peoples, Manuel’s *Fourth World* was in essence, a call to action, independence, and nationalism particularly for First Nations peoples of Canada in response to immeasurable injustices experienced through European expansionism, violence, domination, colonialism, imperialism, and genocidal actions. In the foreword to *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*, Vine Deloria, Jr. describes the evolution of the Fourth World position as juxtaposed to Third World definitions. Deloria suggests that Manuel is calling the institutions of the

²⁴ The Center for World Indigenous Studies maintains an online library dedicated to the memory of Shuswap Chief George Manuel and to the nations of the Fourth World through its Fourth World Documentation Program (FWDP). The library’s archives currently maintains more than 100,000 documents, reports, and publications from American Indian nations and indigenous nations from around the world.

²⁵ Manu Escrita, “A Fourth World Exists,” citing George Manuel, Mbuto Milando, O Quarto Mundo, Web. 28 November 2014. <www.contramare.net>.

²⁶ Manuel, George and Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*. New York, The Free Press: A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974.

world to re-examine their own origins, the beliefs which brought them into being, and the basis for integrity that lies beneath their formal structure.

The Fourth World is not, after all, a Final Solution. It is not even a destination. It is the right to travel freely, not only on our own road but in our own vehicles. Unilateral dependence can never be ended by a forced integration. Real integration can only be achieved through a voluntary partnership, and a partnership cannot be based on a tenant-landlord relationship (Manuel 217).

The way to end the custodian-child relationship for Indian peoples is not to abolish our status as Indians, but to allow us to take our place at the table with all the rest of the adults. Indian status has too often been described as a special status by those who wanted to create an argument to get rid of it (219).

Over time, prejudices and misconceptions regarding the terms “aboriginal” and “indigenous” abound, including an exclusive association with Native Americans. Under forms of subjugation, many indigenous nations in Europe, the nation states of the former Soviet Union, the Middle and Far East, Africa, and Australia, “such as Wales, Catalonia, Brittany, Flanders, Bavaria, Slovakia, Slovenia, Armenia, Georgia, Palestine, Kurdistan, Balochistan, Tibet, and hundreds more are forgotten or discarded.”²⁷ Therefore, as exposure to the historic and ongoing struggles facing Native American peoples has benefitted by broadening the geopolitical discourse through organizations such as the Center for World Indigenous Studies (CWIS) to encompass indigenous concerns throughout the world. In this context, the Fourth World designation has been expanded to be defined as “nations forcefully incorporated into states which maintain a distinct political culture but are not internationally recognized.”²⁸

²⁷ Griggs, Richard, *An excerpt from CWIS Occasional Paper #18: The Meaning of ‘Nation’ and ‘State’ in the Fourth World*. Center For World Indigenous Studies, 1992. Web 05 March 2017. <<http://cwis.org/fourthw.htm#40>>

²⁸ Ibid., 42.

The CWIS is an independent, nonprofit, research and education organization dedicated to wider understanding and appreciation of the ideas and knowledge of indigenous peoples and the socioeconomic and political realities of Fourth World Nations. Within the CWIS dialogue, there appears to be a resistance to further expansion of the Fourth World definition. A primary concern may be that encompassing the great challenges confronting ethnic, linguistic, gender, religious, cultural, environmental and economic matters may undermine its potency and focus, which was originally directed toward the historical expansion of states and the state-nation conflict generated from imperialist exploits. On the other hand, the term has been embraced to designate the poorest, and most underdeveloped states of the world, or to describe any oppressed or underprivileged victim of a state.²⁹

The CWIS discourse continues interdependently through the *Fourth World Rising* movement and with various forms of activism and a series of publications including, but not limited to *The Fourth World Journal (FWJ)*, self-described as the world's leading publication for ideas and analysis about and by writers from the world's more than six thousand Fourth World nations. *Everyday Acts of Resurgence: People, Places, and Practices* edited by Tsalagi (Cherokee Nation) scholar Jeff Corntassel, provides a collection of writings focusing on cultural revitalization, decolonial processes, and self-determination in Indigenous space. The volume is organized around a theme of everydayness and the "Convergence of Resurgence" (Corntassel, 16). Corntassel emphasizes the critical importance of how resurgence and nationhood often begin in unseen, unacknowledged, intimate spaces of home and family.

²⁹ Ibid., 42.

While large-scale actions such as rallies, protests and blockades are frequently acknowledged as sites of resistance, the daily actions undertaken by individual Indigenous people, families, and communities often go unacknowledged but are no less vital to decolonial processes.³⁰

Writing on behalf of CWIS, Kathy Seton explores the rise of Fourth World Theory and indigenous social movements in the context of contemporary political economic analysis. Her exploration and findings counter the notion that under the emergence of globalization, a single world system is in order. Seton discusses the growing emergence of difference in terms of localization by citing “the increasing action of peoples at the local level, who are identifying with one another on the basis of, for example, nationhood (i.e. indigenous nations), ethnicity, or sexual preference; they are sustaining, creating and asserting their difference.”³¹ She suggests that this assertion by the “other” is a response to a power structure of exclusion by the oppressor. Fourth World Theory in this regard could be applied as a self-determination driven response to the structural systems of oppression that have been perpetrated against colonial subjects (“others”) within the United States.

2.2 Joseph Wresinski - ATD Fourth World

The Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), ATD Fourth World, has evolved from the expanded definition of Fourth World. ATD Fourth World, founded in France in 1957 by the late Joseph Wresinski (also credited by some for first introducing the term “Fourth World”), was inspired

³⁰ Citation from “Everyday Decolonization: Living a Decolonizing Queer Politics” by Kwakwaka’wakw scholars Sarah Hunt and Cindy Holmes in the *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, 19(2): 154-172, as cited by Jeff Cornassel in *Everyday Acts of Resurgence: People, Places, and Practices*, Olympia Washington: Daykeeper Press, 2018, p. 17.

³¹ Seaton, Kathy, “Fourth World Theory in the Era of Globalisation: An Introduction to Contemporary theorizing Posed by Indigenous Nations” Center for World Indigenous Studies, 1999. Web 20 March 2017. <<http://nointervention.com/archive/pubs/CWIS/fworld.html>>.

by his experience as a child of chronic poverty and social exclusion.³² This NGO, with no religious or political affiliation, engages with individuals and institutions to find solutions to eradicate extreme poverty. Despite the declaration that ATD Fourth World is not a political entity, its representatives have been involved in geopolitical movements through the United Nations and other international intergovernmental organizations to eradicate poverty. October 17, the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty, inaugurated by ATD Fourth World in 1987 and recognized by the United Nations since 1992, annually presents the eradication of poverty as on-going challenge.³³ Working in partnership with people in poverty, the ATD Fourth World human rights approach focuses on supporting families and individuals through its grass roots presence and involvement in disadvantaged communities, both urban and rural, creating public awareness of extreme poverty and influencing policies to address it.³⁴

Wresinski cited poverty as a human rights matter by declaring that, “Whenever men and women are condemned to live in poverty, human rights are violated. To come together to ensure that those rights be respected is our solemn duty.” ATD Fourth World cites poverty as an act of violence, “an affront to human dignity. The violence of extreme poverty, ignorance, deprivation, and contempt isolates people and locks them in silence to the point where they doubt that they are part of the human community.”³⁵

³² *International Movement ATD Fourth World*. n.p. 17 October 2008. Web. 05 March 2017. <www.atd-fourthworld.org/en.html>

³³ Text of the General Assembly of the International Movement ATD Fourth World, 2004

³⁴ *Ibid.*, <www.atd-fourthworld.org/en.html>

³⁵ *International Movement ATD Fourth World*. n.p. 17 October 2008. Web. 21 February 2019. <<http://www.atd-fourthworld.org/who-we-are/vision/>>

ATD Fourth World is active in thirty-seven (37) countries, including the United States where the organization is engaged in supporting efforts to confront the ills of poverty in Fourth World space. Events held from the “Sacrifice Zones” of Appalachia, to the Seventh Ward of New Orleans, to the United Nations Headquarters, has given voice to individuals and groups of individuals living in extreme poverty. Consistent with Fourth World Theory, the United Nations General Assembly through its study and report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, has issued a scathing summation of the disparity that exists in this Fourth World Nation. The report recognizes the opulence and quality of life for a shrinking majority of United States citizens; but, “its immense wealth and expertise stand in shocking contrast with the conditions in which vast numbers of its citizens live. About 40 million live in poverty, 18.5 million in extreme poverty, and 5.3 million live in Third World conditions of absolute poverty.”³⁶

It has the highest youth poverty rate in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the highest infant mortality rates among comparable OECD States. Its citizens live shorter and sicker lives compared to those living in all other rich democracies, eradicable tropical diseases are increasingly prevalent, and it has the world’s highest incarceration rate, one of the lowest levels of voter registrations in among OECD countries and the highest obesity levels in the developed world.³⁷

³⁶ Jessica L. Semega, Kayla R. Fontenot and Melissa A. Kollar, *Income and Poverty in the United States: 2016 — Current Population Reports* (United States Census Bureau, September 2017), pp. 12 and 17. Cited in the United Nations General Assembly Human Rights Council Thirty-eighth session, 18 June–6 July 2018, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights on his mission to the United States of America.” 4 May 2018. See also Angus Deaton, “The U.S. can no longer hide from its deep poverty problem”, *New York Times*, 24 January 2018.

³⁷ United Nations General Assembly, Human Rights Council, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights on his mission to the United States of America*. p. 4.

ATD Fourth World USA has formally declared that the United States can no longer hide from its poverty problem. Its Fourth World People's University supports discourse, exchange, and action in response to the declaration. As a result of an inclusive planning process, the organization has established three national priorities: Education, the Justice System, and Project Evaluation. With respect to the education priority, ATD Fourth World is engaged in merging knowledge parts by partnering with, and/or supporting organizations such as the Center for Social Policy in Boston, Stoop Talks in New Orleans, the Learning Coop in Appalachia, and the Street Library programs featuring Story Gardens. For example, Street Libraries provide open cultural spaces that invite children to discover the pleasure of reading and art activities and learn to recognize the strength of their own communities. In a central square, a park, a stairwell, or on the side of a mountain, these activities reach children and families too often left behind.³⁸

It has become common knowledge that the United States incarcerates more of its citizens than any other nation in the world. As the *Equal Justice Initiative* suggests, the exponential increase in mass incarceration has led to unprecedented prison overcrowding and put tremendous strain on state budgets. Mass incarceration and the structural systems that support it, is a major contributor to the fact that the United States of America is a post-developing nation. *Slavery by Another Name* is assured, overall productivity is undermined, family structures are dismantled, social capital is eroded, and entire communities are being depleted and destroyed. ATD Fourth World recognizes that individuals and families experiencing poverty are disproportionately affected by the justice system

³⁸ International Movement ATD Fourth World. n.p. 17 October 2008. Web. 23 February 2019. <<https://4thworldmovement.org/about-us/national-plan-2015-2017/>>.

and the impact mass incarceration has on families and extended families. Thus, the priority focuses on exploring ways to nurture and strengthen family bonds during incarceration and upon release.

The third of the three ATD Fourth World USA priorities lies in project evaluation. In order to effectuate and continue positive change, constant reflection is necessary. The organization engages project participants in developing more ways to track, analyze, and publicize the changes people experience and are able to create for themselves. In lieu of the often disastrous altruistic missionary approach that many NGOs support, ATD Fourth is committed to a process of self-determination that is driven by and for the populations served. As my colleague and friend Nihal Perera discusses in his publication, *People's Spaces: Coping, Familiarizing, Creating*, ordinary people do not passively submit themselves to abstract spaces and constituent social orders. As people use their own imaginations in occupying space, the subjects transform the provided and/or assigned spaces – and their subjectivities – into something meaningful to them (Perera, 3).

2.3 Manuel Castells - Fourth World: Polarization, Poverty and Misery

Urban planning, urban sociology, and communications scholar Manuel Castells, credited independently of George Manuel and Joseph Wresinski for coining the term “Fourth World,” has written extensively on the rise of inequality, polarization, poverty, misery and social exclusion throughout the world and their respective relationships to production and relative quality of life. His discourse has generally been geared toward uneven development patterns between advanced, developing, and underdeveloped countries. However in more recent publications, Castells has to a greater degree, directed his focus toward the United States and its increasing tendency toward social, geographic and material exclusion of certain segments of the population from formal labor markets

and network society. In *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, Castells explores the “considerable disparity in the evolution of intra-country inequality in different areas of the world”³⁹ and how this disparity has increased particularly in the United States. He argues that the “acceleration of uneven development, and the simultaneous inclusion and exclusion of people in the growth process, which [he considers] to be a feature of informational capitalism, translates into polarization, and the spread of misery among a growing number of people.”⁴⁰

It is critically important to analyze Castells’ definition of the term “misery” in the context of accumulation of wealth (income and assets) by different individuals and social groups within a particular geographic domain which creates “inequality.”

Polarization is a specific process of inequality that occurs when both the top and bottom of the scale of wealth distribution grow faster than the middle, thus shrinking the middle, and sharpening the social differences between two extreme segments of the population. *Poverty* is an institutionally defined norm concerning a level of resources below which is not possible to reach the living standards considered to be the minimum norm in a given society at a given time (usually, a level on income per a given number of members of household, as defined by governments or authoritative institutions). *Misery*, a term I propose, refers to what social statisticians call “extreme poverty,” that is the bottom of the distribution of income/assets, or what some experts conceptualize as “deprivation,” introducing a wider range of social/economic disadvantages.⁴¹

Castells qualifies these terms as statistically relative, culturally defined, and politically manipulated; however, regardless of where the “povertyline” is drawn in the United States, a measurable index

³⁹Held, David and McGrew, Anthony, *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*. Malden, Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishers, Inc., 2000, p, 351.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 352.

⁴¹ Ibid., 349.

of misery is undeniably identifiable in Fourth World cities such as Gary, Detroit, Flint, Camden, and East. St. Louis.

In *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture: Volume III - End of Millennium*, Castells is more deliberate in his expression of concern about the United States. Prior to directly confronting social exclusion issues of the inner city, he argues that despite the fact that the United States is the largest and most technologically advanced economy in the world, it has displayed a substantial increase in social inequality, polarization, poverty, and misery over the past two decades (1980s and 1990s). Statistics support the fact that the substantial increases have continued into the twenty first century. Castells cites America as a “highly specific society, with a historical pattern of racial discrimination, with a peculiar urban form - the inner city - and with a deep-rooted, ideological and political reluctance to government regulation, and to the welfare state.”⁴² He warns that the patterns of inequality so blatantly present in the United States, with increased polarization between the upper and lower levels of society, are likely to continue to expand throughout the world, based on the American model and American ideologies.

In attempting to identify the root causes for increasing inequality, polarization, poverty, and misery in the United States, Castells argues that traditional interpretations, from orthodox neoclassical or Marxist perspectives, do not seem to account for the scale, degree, and magnitude of the rapid expansion of Fourth World conditions. He challenges the orthodox view of capitalist exploitation by questioning “why capitalism in the 1990s generates more inequality than in the 1950s or the 1960s, and why the lowest producers of value, the unskilled workers, are those that have

⁴² Castells, Manuel, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture: Volume III End of Millennium*. Malden, Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1998. p. 129.

experienced the steepest decline in their real wages.”⁴³ Ultimately, Castells attributes the growth of inequality and poverty in the United States to four interrelated processes, including

- (a) deindustrialization, arising from globalization of industrial production, labor, and markets;
- (b) individualization and networking of the labor process, induced by the explosion of information;
- (c) the incorporation of women into the information economy, under conditions of patriarchal discrimination, and
- (d) the crisis of the patriarchal family.⁴⁴

It is common that social critics cite the incorporation of women in the workforce and the crisis of the patriarchal family as a significant factor in social ills. Many question the reliance on statistics pointing toward the presence of single-parent households headed by women as a leading factor contributing to crime, poverty, and the erosion of society. Under the capitalist structures that depend on these patriarchal and often oppressive systems, such redefinitions of the role of gender are indeed a threat to capitalism and thus, the American capitalist social order.

Marxist scholar Tithi Bhattacharya explores social reproduction theory and gender relationships and capitalist social structures that are manipulated in order to feed the system. These means are historically determined and depend upon a society’s specific circumstances, such as the general level of development/infrastructure and the standard of living the working class has been

⁴³ Ibid., 134.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 134.

able to wrest from capital for itself.⁴⁵ To these processes, Castells adds that the socio-political factors ensuring domination of unrestricted market forces, accentuate the logic of inequality. The growth of the disparity has been generally unaffected by the more recent severe recessions. Thus, the phenomenon of unprecedented disparity resulting from these processes has continued to expand through the first decades of the new millennium and is consistent with the tenants of Fourth World Theory. Continued resistance to acknowledging and confronting the realities of poverty and disenfranchisement will ultimately lead to violence and potentially, a Twenty First Century Civil War in this Fourth World Nation.

2.4 Erykah Badu - Fourth World War

Entitled “New Amerykah Part One (4th World War),” Grammy Award-winning singer, songwriter, hip hop/neo soul artist, actress, and activist Erykah Abi Wright explores inner city struggles and subjects including institutional discrimination and abandonment, drugs and senseless violence, the abuse of power, apathy, and nihilism. Since bursting onto the scene with her debut album, *Baduism* in 1997, she has interrogated systems of oppression such as the Prison Industrial Complex through artistic expression by recording such works as “Other Side of the Game” and its re-mixed sequel “Danger” produced years later. As Erica Edwards suggests in the introduction to her publication, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership*, Wright has developed a reputation for self-conscious, self-directed acts of intellectual disruption. As an industry leader in alternative R&B, Badu has often provided an unobtrusive critique of the very Black nationalist symbols and values she has appropriated (Edwards, vii).

⁴⁵ Bhattacharya, Tithi, Explaining gender violence in the neoliberal era, in *International Socialist Review*, Issue #91, Center of Economic Research and Social Change, n.p. Winter 2013-14. Web. 05 May 2017.

Better known by her stage name Erykah Badu, but also known as Low-Down Loretta Brown, Analog Girl in a Digital World, or Medulla Oblongata, she produced an esoteric socio-political album focusing on urban decay, disenfranchisement, and the unfulfilled promises of the American Dream. The cynically constructed opening track, *Amerikahn Promise*, questions the tenants of American Exceptionalism through overt political satire with themes of disenfranchisement overlaid with a circus-barker style voice presenting and promising unlimited and unrestricted material access. As with Sun Ra, Nina Simone, Curtis Mayfield, Marvin Gaye, Gil Scott-Heron, Tracy Chapman, Public Enemy, Arrested Development, Meshell Ndegeocello and comparable artists, Badu's collective body of work indeed serves as a form of activism designed to confront the trauma resulting from residing in Fourth World space.

2.5 Olon Dotson - Fourth World Theory, Fourth WorldNation

It is a primary intention of this research to introduce the severe physical and socioeconomic distress, stratification and abandonment that is prevalent in cities, towns, and rural spaces throughout the United States, to the Fourth World discourse. My approach to Fourth World Theory acknowledges the prior existence and continued use of the term and the theory. The applicability of these conditions should be deemed congruent to the original premises established by George Manuel, Manuel Castells, and Joseph Wresinski, as well as Erykah Badu. In addition, the subsequent expansion of the socio-political discussion regarding disenfranchised states that maintain a distinct political culture, as well as the designation of the poorest and most underdeveloped states of the world are applicable to this exploration. The degree of isolation of severely distressed communities within larger metropolitan statistical areas, "Sacrifice Zones" as described and explored by Hedges, sprawling and rapidly deteriorating old-ring suburbs, the collapsing business districts of small town

America, abandoned rural spaces, or Fourth World cities like Gary, Detroit Flint, East St. Louis, Cairo, and Camden are consistent with the aforementioned nation state designations summarized. The interdependency of the structural and cultural systems that has created, maintained, perpetuated, and reinforced these stratified conditions, renders the United States as it draws closer to an empire in jeopardy of collapsing under the weight of its own history, a Fourth World Nation. Within this Fourth World space, individuals and groups of individuals have no choice but to emerge by promoting and engaging in practices of self-determination, self-reliance, and liberation from the bondage of oppression. When critical mass is reached, this Fourth World Nation may potentially begin to progress toward a more sustainable and equitable means of inhabiting the earth.

CHAPTER 3. **FOURTH WORLD THEORY: THE EVOLUTION OF . . .**

The theoretical framework for this investigation involves a "triangulation" or a "cross examination" of sociological, geographical, historical and archival sources, combined with conversations and interviews as a means to minimize intrinsic biases and enhance the development of Fourth World Theory. With the exception of recent publications including some of the citations herein, issues leading to *Fourth World Nation: A Critical Geography of Decline* have been discussed in relative isolation and within the limited scope of specific disciplines or modes of scholarship. The aforementioned scathing summation by the United Nations General Assembly through its study and report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights disparities parallels the Fourth World Theory declaration that the United States of America is a Fourth World Nation. Perhaps to a comparable degree, Hedges', *America: The Farewell Tour*, where he declares that the most ominous danger this nation faces "comes from the marginalization and destruction of institutions, including the courts, academia, legislative bodies, cultural organizations, and the press, that once ensured that civil discourse was rooted in reality and fact, helping us to distinguish lies from truth, and facilitate justice" (Hedges, *America: The Farewell Tour*, 6).

As indicated in the previous chapter, the United Nations report recognizes the opulence and quality of life for a shrinking majority of United States citizens; but, "its immense wealth and expertise stand in shocking contrast with the conditions in which vast numbers of its citizens live" (UN General Assembly, p.3). Fourth World Theory attempts to synthesize the discourse of these disciplines, modes of scholarship, and realizations, placing the social construction of race at its core

and drawing upon the field of critical geography, which is concerned with understanding place-based inequality and injustice.

The nature of this study is a mixed-method of qualitative and quantitative research with a qualitative focus. This includes an expansive statistical analysis of selected Fourth World spaces (cities and towns comparable to Gary) examining for example, the scale and magnitude (by percentage), of population gains and losses over the past one hundred years, of severely distressed, post-industrial, institutionally abandoned, racially stratified, shrinking spaces in a Fourth World Nation. Although the statistical data between Fourth World cities and towns may reveal striking similarities with respect to substantial population gains and losses, it should be noted that quantitative data should not be applied in isolation of qualitative analysis. Sociological oral histories are incorporated into the study. The Indiana University Northwest Calumet Regional Archives has also been utilized. This qualitative approach demonstrates how the social construction of race⁴⁶ has, and continues to, systemically undermine each and every aspect of the overall quality of life in the city of Gary, and throughout the balance of the United States – a Fourth World Nation.

⁴⁶ The categorization and use of race as a social construction as a foundation for racist ideologies as well as an agent for power and oppression has been explored by countless scholars including, but not limited to Leonard Harris in his edited volume, *Racism: Key Concepts in Critical Theory*. This publication includes a series of essays written throughout the 20th Century and an introductory essay and postscript by Harris where he articulates the fact that, "Races, as biological kinds matching social kinds, do not exist. That is, there are no necessary correlations between racial biologies and cultures . . . Racial groups, as social kinds, are constructions." (Harris, 439).

Race indeed is a social construction, and as Ta-Nehisi Cotes poetically espouses, "...but race is the child of racism, not the father."⁴⁷ In the postscript to his edited volume, *Racism: Key Concepts in Critical Theory*, after processing the powerful, eloquent and timeless writings of Locke, Gordon, Mosley, Garcia, and others, Leonard Harris responds to the central question, What, Then is Racism?⁴⁸

Racism is a polymorphous agent of death, premature births, shortened lives, starving children, debilitating theft, abusive larceny, degrading insults, and insulting stereotypes forcibly imposed. The ability of a population to accumulate wealth and transfer assets to their progeny is stunted by racism. At the bane of honor, respect, a sense of self-worth, racism surreptitiously stereotypes. It stereotypes its victims as inherently bereft of virtue and incapable of growth. Racism is the agent that creates and sustains a virulent pessimism in its victims. The subtle nuances that encourage granting unmerited and undue status to a racial social kind are the tropes of racism. Racism creates criminals, cruel punishments, and crippling confinement, while the representatives of virtue profit from sustaining the conditions that ferment crime. Systemic denial of a population's humanity is the hallmark of racism (Harris, 437).

Integral to race-based denials of humanity are unspeakable terrors, holocausts, vicious rapes, cruel beatings, tortures, and maiming rituals. It is never enough, in racist societies, to exploit and degrade. Humiliation and symbolic subjugation of even the dead of the suppressed population are required to sustain a sense of superiority, honor, healthiness, purity, and control in the dominant population. And too often, self-effacement, inferiority complexes, insecurity, and hopelessness are features developed by segregated and stereotyped persons (Ibid., 437).

⁴⁷ In a letter to his adolescent son, Ta-Nehisi Coates' non-fiction work, *Between the World and Me*, brilliantly explores many of the topics challenges discussed herein through an intimate interpersonal rhetoric. According to reviewer Toni Morrison, "Coates's journey, is visceral, eloquent, and beautifully redemptive. And its examination of the hazards and hopes of Black male life as profound as it is revelatory."

⁴⁸ Philosopher Leonard Harris in his edited volume, *Racism: Key Concepts in Critical Theory*, audaciously endeavors to bring closure to a compilation of powerful works written throughout the 20th Century by posing the central question, and summarizing the key concepts of racism in two paragraphs.

Of particular interest at the Indiana University Northwest Calumet Regional Archives, are data on the Anselm Forum, a group organized in Gary in 1932. Its founders wanted "to create an atmosphere of harmony, a sense of belonging together, despite differences of creed, race or occupation."⁴⁹ The forum's belief in diversity was so strong that members were dismissed when they made objections to new members based on race, creed or ethnic background. In 1945, the forum became directly involved in public school integration in Gary. This chapter demonstrates that the counter-productivity of racism is the key ingredient in the formula that has ultimately lead to the demise of this Fourth World Nation. The United Nations General Assembly, Human Rights Council would concur with this assessment.

In 1927, prior to the involvement of the Anselm Forum, *Time Magazine* chronicled an incident involving White students of Emerson High School, rebelling against the admittance of twenty-four Black students. "The next day the 'nice' residential part of Gary, was littered and scrawled with placards and signs: 'WE WON'T GO BACK UNTIL EMERSON IS WHITE . . . NO NIGGERS FOR EMERSON . . . EMERSON IS A WHITE MAN'S SCHOOL' etc. By the second day, student protestors numbered 1,357."⁵⁰ The protestors demanded that the Black students be segregated in the corners of classrooms and in the cafeteria until they could be transferred to another school. School administrators acquiesced to their demands and endeavored to eventually transfer the students to a segregated facility. The Emerson student body continued to resist the concept of desegregation for decades and in 1947, a similar strike was held and the White student protesters

⁴⁹ CRA128 – Anselm Forum Records, Calumet Regional Archives, Indiana University Northwest. Gary, Indiana.

⁵⁰ O'Hara, S. Paul, *Gary, the Most American of All American Cities*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2011, p. 136.

were accompanied and supported by their parents. It is likely that the majority of the “parents” were strikers two decades earlier. It is more than probable that the vast majority of the previous strikers had recently arrived as immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe.

Two years earlier, two well-publicized and lengthy anti-integration boycotts had occurred at Froebel High School in Gary. The Anselm Forum put their resources together and brought the young performer and (at the time) activist Frank Sinatra to Gary. On November 1, 1945, Sinatra stood in front of 5,800 young people crowded at the Gary Schools Memorial Auditorium to hear him sing *Ole Man River*, *The House I Live In*, and most importantly, deliver an impassioned condemnation of bigotry. He labeled the strike, "the most shameful incident in the history of American education," and suggested that the adults who were behind the student-led strike, be run out of town.⁵¹ Through Fourth World Theory, I suggest that this event, and the action that followed, was one of the most significant moments in American History. *The House I Live In* was written by Abel Meeropol, a Jewish American teacher, activist, writer and composer best known under his pen name, Lewis Allan. He was also the writer of the lyrics and melody to *Strange Fruit*, made famous by Billie Holiday and inspired by a lynching that occurred in Marion, Indiana.

The performance and scolding from Sinatra at the Gary Memorial Auditorium represented an opportunity, potentially with national implications; however, immediately following the appearance, and regardless of the powerful message in Meerpol’s lyrics, and the momentary “integration” at the assembly, the boycotting students promptly returned to striking. The strikers claimed victory merely on the basis that their racist grievances had been heard and had garnered

⁵¹ Lane, James B., *City of the Century: A History of Gary, Indiana*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1978, p. 236.

national attention. As for Frank Sinatra, this episode of progressive activism was observed, documented, and filed under the watchful, anticommunist eyes of J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Meeropol was also “blacklisted.” As for the Anselm Forum, as time progressed, membership declined. During the 1960s, as bigotry, rapid flight, and massive migration transformed Gary to a *Chocolate City*, the group became somewhat unpopular among many people in the White community. By 1971, the group could no longer gather enough members to hold a breakfast meeting, and was ultimately disbanded. Meanwhile, the Gary school commissioners conveniently deleted references to the city's history and ongoing intentional practice of blatant and restrictive physical segregation of its neighborhoods by arguing segregation as an “unintentional” consequence (O’Hara, 137). This commonly-used justification became nationally known as “Defacto” segregation. As a result, the Gary Public School System, like most innercity school systems, is as segregated and unequal today, as it was in 1954.

Hedges argues that the current condition of the United States “marks the end of a long, sad tale of greed and murder by the White races.

Europeans have spent five centuries conquering, plundering, exploiting, and polluting the earth in the name of human progress. They used their technological superiority to create the most efficient killing machines on the planet, directed against anyone or anything, especially indigenous cultures, which stood in their way. They stole and hoarded the planet’s wealth and resources. They believed that this orgy of blood and gold would never end, and they still believe it (Hedges, 43).

In Critical Geography discourse, Bobby Wilson discusses DuBois’ positions on the danger of application of class politics without “modification of thought”⁵² to the unique American circumstance. “We must situate race, not only in a historical context, but also in a historical

⁵² Bauder, Harold and Engel-Di Mauro, Salvatore, *Critical Geographies: A Collection of Readings*. Kelowna, British Columbia, Canada Praxis (e) Press, 2008, p. 288.

geographical context. We must expose the skeletons of places and plant the flesh of Black experiences on those bones as well. Social practices are not only historically specific but geographically or place-specific, even in the age of globalization”⁵³

The publication *Gary, the Most American of All American Cities* by historian and American Studies scholar Stephen Paul O’Hara of Xavier University, is a substantive and essential source to this research effort. Not only does the publication parallel my preliminary research and writings with respect to the motivations behind the unique establishment and development of the industrial city of Gary, it also examines the range of impressions of the city from its industrialist founding, its rise and expansion, through its rapid economic, physical, social, and spiritual decline under the simultaneous weight of deindustrialization and flight – which is evidenced by the title of the O’Hara’s publication.

In discussing the establishment and early history of Gary, O’Hara’s analysis is reminiscent of, and often parallels classic American Studies writings of such scholars as Leo Marx and Richard Slotkin with respect to how the frontier myth remained as an essential component of the American social-political landscape and psyche. Upon the 1906 founding of Gary as a capitalist experiment, rapid westward expansion, which had been rationalized by the concept of “Manifest Destiny,” had brought closure to the mystique of the frontier and the unknown. The continent had been explored, conquered, and exploited. All battles and wars, both domestically and internationally, had been “won.” The founding of United States Steel Corporation was, as O’Hara cites, not simply integration or consolidation of functions and capital relocation, but also an opportunity for vast expansion and efficient production resulting in an industrial “order” with no intention of benevolence or social

⁵³ Ibid., 288.

responsibility. O'Hara references Slotkin as he discusses the rhetoric of industrial utopianism and the contradictions of frontier romance, masculinity, savagery, and triumph.

Yet Gary promised much of the same in the first two decades of the twentieth century because it was new and largely unsettled. Young single men streamed in for the economic and entertainment possibilities. Its streets were active, violent, and even bloody. The "Patch," the working-class district south of the Wabash Railroad tracks, was marked by over 200 saloons with names such as the "First and the Last Chance," "Jack Johnson's Gambling Joint," and the "Bucket of Blood." This frontier mythology with its focus on youth, opportunity, and violence offered as Richard Slotkin has argued, a chance for regeneration and renewal. Far from the rest of modernizing America, Gary seemed lawless, violent, exciting, chaotic, and romantic, all within the shadow of the most modern steel-producing center in the world. But above all, the frontier image of Gary was profoundly male (O'Hara, 59).

As a case study, Gary serves as a microcosmic exemplar for a capitalist, industrialist and post-industrialist America. Throughout his study, O'Hara engages in meaning making by focusing on the narrative of Gary. In introducing the subject, he suggests that the story of Gary has challenged perceptions and perspectives about capitalism, community, regionalism, and nationalism, as well as the social construction of race in America. "The cultural grid of Gary existed locally in terms of separation of mill and town, regionally in terms of the industrial metropolis of Chicago and its periphery, and nationally in terms of the persistent question of whether Gary represented Americanism or some sort of perversion of Americanism" (Ibid., 8).

Unlike the research, writings, and a documentary produced by sociologist and Gary native, Sandra Barnes, including the publication, *The Cost of Being Poor: A Comparative Study of Life in Poor Urban Neighborhoods in Gary, Indiana*, and her documentary, *Gary, Indiana: A Tale of Two Cities*, O'Hara's study admittedly constructs its narrative by privileging the "voices of privilege,"⁵⁴ perhaps at the expense of the residents who remain committed to and vested in the city. Although

⁵⁴ Ibid., 13.

O'Hara is self-critical in this regard, the privileged voices are carefully and effectively scrutinized throughout the work by critically juxtaposing said perceptions against realities. *Gary, the Most American of All American Cities*, is in essence is written in chronological order. As the narrative progresses toward the mid-to-late twentieth century, O'Hara's discourse is initially centered on industrial manipulation of capital and labor, immigration and ethnic strife, and what I refer to as *Wonka-esque*⁵⁵ space with inherently designed physical and social separation between the factory and the city. *Gary* then transitions to becoming solely centered on the city's virtual hopelessness and inability to reconcile physical, social, and economic spatial mismatches manifested through the social construction of race, resulting in the physical, social, and economic devastation and abandonment that is clearly evident throughout the entire city today. O'Hara explores in his closing chapter "Epitaph for a Model City," the turbulent times of the mid-to-late 1960s and upon the election of Richard Hatcher.

Race not only became the meta-language of Gary but also reduced to possible declensions of Gary into a single story line – the moment Gary became a Black city. The story of capitalism in Gary had shifted from one of space to one of race. Gary had moved from a model city of industrialism to a cauldron of racial politics (O'Hara, 147).

This parallels the prophetic writings of the late Manning Marable's *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America: Problems in Race, Political Economy, and Society* with respect to

⁵⁵The term, *Wonka-esque* is my invented descriptor supporting O'Hara's discourse on Gary's separation of mill and town and as depicted in Roald Dahl's 1964 children's novel, *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* and the dystopic 2005 film adaptation by director Tim Burton. The novel and film describe a once thriving factory towering over a distressed town filled with dilapidated shanties and housing poor, wretched, and miserable citizens. Behind its fortified steel gates, the factory somehow continues to produce massive amounts of high-quality chocolate despite the fact that no employees are hired from the community, and no workers are ever seen entering or leaving the facility.

the forecasted continued erosion of the non-skilled labor force, the expansion of the prison industrial complex or what Michelle Alexander identifies as *The New Jim Crow*. Marable explores the development of a permanent underclass or sub-proletariat in American innercities and the prevalence of crime, violence and physical deterioration within a 1980s, pre-crack epidemic, Fourth World environment.

How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America begins by historicizing factors that have led to what is referred to as “The Crisis of the Black Working Class.” Marable relied heavily on the positions of WEB DuBois to lend credibility to his central argument by discussing agricultural labor and capital as the institution of slavery became increasingly racialized, the transition to and exclusion from industrial labor and capital after emancipation, and the Black labor force during the twentieth century. He suggested that the “only period when Black employment approached 100 percent was during slavery; since the end of World War II, the numbers of Black unemployed have soared” (Marable, 28).”

Marable discussed the history of, benefits, as well as the ills of Black involvement in organized labor and how despite blatant wage discrimination patterns and having limited access to capital through wages for some (Black proletarianization), have advanced capitalism and contributed to increased class stratification within the Black community. He cited numerous examples of how at all levels, access to capital creates an individualistic social structure as the needs of the few outweigh the needs of the many. Some use the metaphor of “crabs in a bucket” to describe this phenomenon in certain sectors of African American society. With respect to Gary, Marable’s theories may shed light on how Black flight, which promptly and under such a capitalist structure naturally, followed White flight, has only reinforced domestic uneven development patterns coupled

with the social, economic, and institutional abandonment described herein. This historical discourse is essential to Fourth World Theory, for it provides a late twentieth century framework to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century work of DuBois, the historical explorations of O'Hara, as well as the writings of urban sociologist, William Julius Wilson and urban historian, Thomas Sugrue.

The permanent reserve army of Black workers, subproletarians or the “underclass,” is the latest social culmination of the process of Black ghettoization, economic exploitation and urban decay. In one sense, it represents the highest stage of Black underdevelopment, because it eliminates millions of Blacks from belonging to working class organizations . . . The social institutions created by working class Blacks to preserve a sense of collective humanity, culture and decency within the narrow confines of the innercity are eroded and eventually overturned. Subproletarianization and the extension of permanent penury to broad segments of the Black majority provoke the disruption of Black Families, increase the number of Black-on-Black murders, rapes, suicides and assaults, and make terror a way of life for all Blacks of every class background who live in or near the innercity (Ibid., 67).

In the chapter, “The Black Poor: Highest Stage of Underdevelopment,” Marable describes in part, what I have eventually come to refer to as Fourth World conditions, in a late 1970s early 1980s context. The text begins and ends by describing severe physical, social, and economic distress, supported by disturbing statistics and facts, germane to innercity communities within and in sharp contrast to, the unprecedentedly high and remarkable standard of living conditions of the United States. Passages describing some of the “worst urban slums in the world . . . dilapidated shanties that are mirror images of eighteenth and nineteenth century slave quarters” or “rat infested, crime filled squalor,” are written in a manner which may suggest that Fourth World Theory research and writings will merely serve as an update to Marable’s *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America*. The principal challenge of Fourth World Theory however, will be to develop an argument which suggests that the scale and magnitude of the institutional abandonment of innercity communities in the United

States is costly, not only to African Americans and other disadvantaged residents of institutionally abandoned innercity communities, but also to all Americans.

Fourth World Theory references the works of DuBois, Drake, Marable, Sugrue, Wilson (Bobby and William Julius), O'Hara, Harvey, Sutton and Kemp (Chapter 4), as well as others to support the fact that any meaningful discourse relative to the social, economic, or ecological crises cannot be conducted without formally recognizing and collectively addressing the ever-expanding challenges associated with what Marable identifies as the *Subproletariat*.

A class that is neither “self-conscious” nor acts collectively according to its material interests, is not worthy of the name. This general philosophy of the typical ghetto hustler is not collective, but profoundly individualistic. The goal of illegal work is to “make it for oneself,” not for others. The means for making it comes at the expense of elderly Blacks, young Black women with children, youths and lower-income families who live at the bottom of working class hierarchy. The consciousness of the subproletariat is not so much that of a “class,” but the sum total of destructive experiences that are conditioned by structural unemployment, the lack of meaningful participation within political or civil society, the dependency fostered by welfare agencies over two or three generations, functional illiteracy and the lack of marketable skills (Ibid., 64).

Marable cites the publication, *Certain People: America's Black Elite*, by author Stephen Birmingham as he recounts the acute embarrassment of one Black upper class matron from Washington, D.C. at the sight of a Black young man donning *Super Fly* pimp-type attire. “‘Disgusting,’ she whispered. ‘There is the cause of all of our problems.’ Her friend, more perceptive, said, “No, that is the *result* of all our problems”” (Ibid., 65).

A central focus of subproletarian life is fear. Black elderly and handicapped persons are afraid to walk or visit friends in their own neighborhood at night or travel on public transportation because they are convinced (with good reason) that they will be assaulted . . . Parents who live in innercities are reluctant to send their children several blocks to attend school or play outside after dark because they are afraid they might be harmed . . . It instills a subconscious apathy toward the political and economic hierarchy, and fosters the nihilistic conviction that nothing can ever be changed in the interests of the Black masses (Ibid., 66).

Initially, Fourth World Theory relied heavily on the writings, publications, and lectures of urban sociologist William Julius Wilson. Primary sources including, but not limited to *More Than Just Race: Being Black and Poor in the Inner-City*, and Chicago focused publications such as *There Goes the Neighborhood Racial, Ethnic, and Class Tensions in Four Chicago Neighborhoods and Their Meaning for America* and his seminal work, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*, differentiate and place ever-evolving emphasis on structural and cultural factors as a means to gain understanding of the dynamic societal forces which contribute to racial inequality and severely distressed conditions commonly found in American innercities.

Wilson frames structural factors by identifying two types of forces contributing to what is referred to herein as Fourth World conditions resulting from race-based and uneven development patterns: social acts and social processes. Social acts refers [sic] to the behavior of individuals within (Wilson, *Declining Significance*, 5). He defines such acts in the context of circumstances when the act of an individual or group exercises power over others. Examples of such social acts might include stigmatization, stereotyping, and deliberate exclusion from professional or social organizations. Wilson defines social processes as the “‘machinery’ of society that exists to promote ongoing relations among members of the larger group.” He cites racial profiling, redlining, school tracking, the disappearance of work and deliberate suburbanization of jobs, political actions and historical as

well as current voting irregularities at the institutional level and how these processes collectively contribute to the continuum of racial inequality and social stratification. Gary, Indiana is a living and breathing manifestation of these structural systems and conditions.

As with structural factors, Wilson discusses two types of cultural factors that contribute to or reinforce inequality. Prevailing national views and beliefs on race contribute to racism and racist ideologies. Cultural traits which emerge from intergroup interactions, often within restricted spaces resulting in part from historical discrimination and segregation patterns inevitably impact “shared outlooks, modes of behavior, traditions, belief systems, world view, values, skills, preferences, styles of self presentation, etiquette, and linguistic patterns . . .” (Ibid., 15) result in shared constructions of reality.

Wilson’s collective body of work has endured harsh criticisms from many African American Studies scholars, particularly in response to his controversial work, *The Declining Significance of Race, Blacks and Changing American Institutions*. In his publication, *Yo’ Mama’s DisFUNKtional, Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America*, Robin Kelley places Wilson in company with the likes of ultraconservative Supreme Court Justice, Clarence Thomas, anti-affirmative action activist Wardell “Ward” Connerly, Dinesh D’Souza, and the late social scientist and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan whom Kelly implies, had been playing the dozens and talking about his mama since 1965.

Kelley challenges Wilson’s position that culture mediates structure or the premise that culture develops in response to structural conditions. In his attempt to give voice to urban populations under siege, he argues that culture and community are more than a product of structure and as a defense of Black people’s humanity and a condemnation of scholars and policymakers for their inability to see the complexity. Kelley suggests that the perspectives of social scientists such as Wilson and

perhaps Marable in this regard, and their respective and collective interpretations of culture, have severely impoverished contemporary discourse over the plight of African Americans for decades. He detests the approach of such social scientists for attempting to rationalize culture (a trait that is inherently non-rational) though he recognizes the obligation to measure culture which compels a rigid, conservative, nonthreatening African American social scientist to apply quantitative research methodologies which render simplistic conclusions. Kelley argues that once culture is seen as a static, measurable “thing” it becomes less difficult for example, to simply cast African Americans as pathological products of broken families, broken economies, and/or broken communities (Kelly, 9).

Jacob Slifer, one of my former Fourth World Theory students, discusses Kelley’s positions by noting that even the most well-meaning, liberal, and progressive social scientists, seeking to recast impoverished intercity African Americans as active agents rather than passive victims, reinforces the idea of culture as a monolithic entity. This conception of culture as a monolith fails to promote understanding of the complexity of a people, and it arises from social scientists like Wilson, in Kelley’s opinion, to relying on narrowly conceived definitions of culture. In fact, conceptualizing of Black urban culture in the singular, opens the door for the invention and manipulation of the “underclass” debate. Culture in this regard, is often depicted in spatial terms, having developed as a response to white-flight and the relocation of manufacturing jobs to the suburbs.

Few scholars acknowledge that what might also be at stake here are aesthetics, style, and pleasure. Nor do they recognize Black urban culture's hybridity and internal differences. Given the common belief that inner city communities are more isolated than ever before and have completely alien values, the notion that there is one discrete, identifiable Black urban culture carries a great deal of weight. By conceiving Black urban culture in the singular interpreters unwittingly reduce their subjects to cardboard topologies who fit neatly into their own definition of the "underclass" and render invisible a wide array of complex cultural forms and practices (Ibid., 9).

Norwegian Social Anthropologist Fredrik Barth's introduction to the 1970 publication *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* contextualizes what I refer to in this context as Fourth World space. He discusses not only the persistence of ethnic groups within society, but the space between such groups and the variations of circumstances that occur when said *units* interact. The title of the collection of essays thus, includes the term "*Culture Difference*" in lieu of the conventional notion of *cultural differences*. Barth begins the introduction by being highly critical of the absence of discourse within social anthropology regarding the "constitution of ethnic groups and the nature of boundaries between them."⁵⁶ He suggests that this space has been largely avoided by social scientists as some sort of neutral zone within "society" in which ethnic groups can be compared or analyzed. Barth urges that social anthropology break away from the old world, simplistic and often exotic – a *Gulliver's Travels* like space, separated by mountains and oceans (*what Barth later refers to as "pelagic islands"*) notion of cultures as static, bounded entities, and ethnicity as biologically self-perpetuating, and replace such analysis with a focus on the interconnectedness and interdependence of ethnic identities. Barth's argument is grounded in two basic principles:

⁵⁶ Barth, Fredrik, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. London, George Allen & Unwin, p. 9.

First, it is clear that boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them. In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete discourses are maintained *despite* changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories.

Secondly, one finds that stable, persisting, and often vitally important social relations are maintained across such boundaries, and are frequently based precisely on the dichotomized ethnic statuses. In other words, ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interactions and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built (Barth, 9).

John Logan and Harvey Motloch coauthored, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* in 1987. Chapter 2 of the publication, entitled *Places as Commodities* explores the manner in which the value of place, which is *precious* and indispensable to its users, is undermined, and becomes no more than a commodity in a capitalist economy. The premise suggests that place is essential to human beings and that “individuals cannot do without place by substituting another product. This is clearly evident in the current shrinking debacle in Youngstown and Detroit with respect to the displacement and relocation of residents as a means to re-densify the city. They can, of course, do with less place and less desirable place, but they cannot do without place altogether (Logan and Motloch, 18). One’s relationship to place is both physical and emotional often with “long-term and multifaceted social and material attachments” (Ibid., 18). As with most mammals, homosapiens become protective and even violent when their sense of place is disrupted or threatened. Sense of place becomes a collectivistic endeavor when it encompasses one’s neighborhood or community.

People who have “bought” into the same neighborhood share a quality of public services (garbage pick-up, police behavior); through these forms of collective stake in the area’s future . . . Individuals are not only mutually dependent on what goes on inside a neighborhood (including “compositional effects”); they are affected by what goes on *outside* is as well. The standing of a neighborhood vis-à-vis other neighborhoods create conditions that its residents experience in common. Each place has a particular political or economic standing vis-à-vis other place that affects the quality of life and opportunities available to those who live within its boundaries (Ibid., 19).

Spatial segregation based on race, ethnicity and/or class has had tremendous impact on place, particularly in the United States. Wilson discusses this phenomenon extensively in the abovementioned publication, *There Goes the Neighborhood*: as exercised through “voice.” Wilson cites economist Albert Hirshman’s theory of exit, voice, and loyalty to aid in understanding changes in neighborhoods.

Hirshman argues that when people become dissatisfied with changes in their surroundings, they can exit – more or withdraw from further participation – or they can exercise voice. Hirshman defines voice as any attempt to “change, rather than to escape from,” an undesirable situation. The more willing people are to try to exercise voice – that is, to change, correct, or prevent a particular situation – the less likely they are to exit. In situations where both exit and voice options are available, past experience will largely determine whether people overcome their biases in favor of exit, the easier option. The view that a neighborhood is on the path of inexorable change, even when these changes have yet to occur, can trigger an exodus. Indeed, Americans maintain a strong bias toward the exit alternative when confronting ethnic and racial changes (Wilson, *Neighborhood*, 9).

When the economics of capitalism is injected into the formula of race and class stratification of place, as the thesis of “Places of Commodities” suggests, the dynamics are exasperated. This is no more apparent than in severely distressed cities such as Gary, Detroit, East St. Louis, Camden, and Flint and in specific neighborhoods within cities throughout the United States including, but not limited to Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Los Angeles, Oakland, Miami, Baltimore, Houston, and the nation’s capital, Washington, D.C. Articles regarding Detroit’s bankruptcy,

ambitious plan for shrinkage, and the emotional debate of whether to demolish or revitalize blighted neighborhoods are living examples of the critical importance of this discourse.

The *Detroit Works Project*,⁵⁷ initially led by architect, planner, and scholar Toni Griffin, and the *Detroit Future City*⁵⁸ Strategic Framework are arguably, among the most progressive and ambitious endeavors ever envisioned for management of shrinkage resulting from massive, unprecedented physical, social, and institutional abandonment. However, as in Youngstown and other severely distressed Fourth World spaces, the visionaries often grossly underestimate the people's attachment to place. When proposals for relocation (permanent or temporary) are presented to individuals residing in what is deemed to be decrepit conditions, resistance is a common response – regardless of monetary and/or other seemingly rational incentives. With respect to the “commoditization” of real property, whether commercial or residential, Logan and Motloch outline three general observations about capitalists' attachment to place:

⁵⁷ The *Detroit Works Project* was introduced in 2010 under the Bing Administration as a process to generate a vision for addressing the physical and social, and institutional abandonment of the City of Detroit. Initially, the project was highly criticized for a perceived lack of transparency and poor communications. The project was supported in part by the Kresge Foundation and the Ford Foundation through The Detroit Collaborative Design Center (DCDC): a multi-disciplinary, nonprofit architecture and urban design firm at the University of Detroit Mercy School of Architecture dedicated to creating sustainable spaces and communities through quality design and the collaborative process.

⁵⁸ The *Detroit Future City* Strategic Framework are arguably, among the most progressive and ambitious endeavors ever envisioned for management of shrinkage resulting from massive, unprecedented physical, social, and institutional abandonment. The Strategic Framework is charged with developing approaches for best use of more than one hundred thousand vacant lots and an additional thirty thousand abandoned structures within the Detroit city limits.

- First, compared to those of residents, the satisfaction that capitalists derive from place is less diffuse. Their paramount interest is in the profitability of their operations; concerns with place turn heavily on how well land and buildings serve that overcharging goal.
- Second, capitalists, at least compared to residents, have greater opportunity to move to another place should conditions in one place cease to be appropriate. Free of at least some of the constraints holding residents, such as sentimental ties to family and access to schools and jobs . . .
- Finally, capitalists' use of place is less fragile than residents. Capital can adapt to changes such as noise, odor, ethnic succession, whereas the effect on such change on residents is more immediate and more serious (Logan and Motloch, 22).

In his essay entitled *City and Justice: social movements in the city*, which was included as Chapter 10 of his book, *Spaces of Capital: Toward a Critical Geography*, David Harvey summarizes his “Militant Particularism” thesis. The premise of the thesis is that all politics, whether local, urban, regional, national, or global in focus, have their origins in the collective development of a particular political vision on the part of particular persons in particular places at particular times (Harvey, 190). The interests of these grassroots politics often become constrained and unremarkable with respect to social change due individual interests, thus undermining the cause. He paints a rather bleak picture by demonstrating the ineffectiveness of activism and collectivism within a culture of individualism. Harvey states the following which in my opinion, parallels the Fourth World position:

Such collective movements preclude rather than promote the search for alternatives (no matter how ecologically wise or socially just). They tend to preserve the existing system, even as they deepen its internal contradictions, ecologically, politically, and economically. For example, suburban separatism in the U.S. – based upon class and racial antagonism – increases car dependency, generates greenhouse gases, diminishes air quality and encourages the profligate use of land, fossil fuels and other agricultural and mineral resources (Ibid., 191).

In the same paragraph, Harvey discusses the uneven geographical development of capitalism and how it is universally apparent in a Fourth World Nation by disparity and spatial mismatch.

For the wealthy, therefore, ‘community’ often means securing and enhancing privileges already gained. For the marginalized, it all too often means ‘controlling their own slum.’ Inequalities multiply rather than diminish. What appears to be a just procedure, produces unjust consequences a manifestation of the old adage that ‘there is nothing more unequal than the equal treatment of unequals (Ibid., 191).

Harvey’s statement validates my position that America’s inability to confront class and race matters in a meaningful social, physical, political, and equitable manner, will ultimately result in the collapse of the union. There are not enough resources on earth to accommodate America’s propensity to, as former President Barack Obama stated in a somewhat different context, during his first State of the Union address of his first term, “run for the hills.”

3.1 Gary And Fourth World Cities

One of the primary objectives of the establishment of the Fourth World position is to explore the institutional abandonment of innercities throughout the United States, investigate the causes which have led to massive disinvestment, and attempt to develop a sense of empathy for the citizens who choose or are forced to remain in these environments. Although many urban centers contain districts, sections, or neighborhoods in which such conditions are prevalent, the city of Gary, Indiana, like Detroit, Camden, East St. Louis and Flint, represents a case where essentially, the entire community is in a virtual state of severe distress. Historic structural inequalities demonstrate that this Fourth World space -- the city of Gary surrounded by racially stratified municipalities, is apparently incapable of reconciling social stratification based primarily on the construction of race as a vehicle for physical separation and institutional abandonment. A portrait of the city is that of a struggling post-industrial manufacturing and production center overwhelmed with corruption and an exceptionally high violent crime rate. Therefore, what remains is a uniquely profound form of physical distress and institutional abandonment that is present throughout the entire city proper.

A consequence of a renewed fascination with the dilapidated landscape of the city has expanded de-industrialization discourse; however, the conversations are primarily focused on labor, capital, the disappearance of work, and globalization. Comparative research regarding the shrinking cities phenomenon has been institutionalized as evidenced by organizations such as SCiRN™ (The Shrinking Cities International Research Network); nevertheless, the vast majority of the query remains focused on the physical. The City of Gary has devoted resources and years on contemplating the conversion of the abandoned and crumbling Gary Methodist Church in the midst of its fledgling Central Business District into a “ruin garden.” Meanwhile, young children, attending 21st Century Charter School at Gary, gaze from their classroom windows, in the shadows of the dilapidated wreckage of a once glorious, racially segregated, gothic revival religious structure, in the midst of abandoned Fourth World space. The physiological impact of being perpetually surrounded by abandonment is immeasurably traumatic. At a minimum, children residing in such spaces are relegated to varying degrees of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). As Harris is cited above, “too often, self-effacement, inferiority complexes, insecurity, and hopelessness are features developed by segregated and stereotyped persons”⁵⁹ who have few choices other than to see themselves as *The Wretched of the Earth*, develop a pessimistically skewed sense of self and outlook, and behave accordingly.

⁵⁹ An excerpt from the above cited Leonard Harris’ quotation in response to the question, “What, Then, is Racism?” in the edited volume, *Racism: Key Concepts in Critical Theory* (Harris, 437).

In the spirit of quantitative research and shrinking cities⁶⁰ discourse, I conducted a statistical analysis of selected Fourth World cities, examining the scope and magnitude, by percentage, of population gains and losses over the past one hundred years, of severely distressed, post-industrial, institutionally abandoned, racially stratified, shrinking, Fourth World cities in the United States of America. It was my expectation that regardless of population and size of the city, the population gains and losses, by percentage would be virtually identical over the past century. The results were astonishing.

⁶⁰ The Shrinking Cities International Research Network™ was founded in 2004 as a research consortium of scholars with a mission to advance international understanding and promote scholarship about population decrease in urban regions and urban decline, causes, manifestations, spatial variations, and effectiveness of policies and planning interventions to stave off decline.

Table 3.1 Regression: Multivariate Time Series Analysis

H_0 : Population gains and losses by percentage over the past century among severely distressed Fourth World Cities possess variations that are NOT statistically significant.

H_A : Population gains and losses by percentage over the past century among severely distressed, post-industrial Fourth World Cities possess variations that are statistically significant.

	Braddock		Cairo		Camden		Detroit		East St. Louis		Flint		Gary		Youngstown	
Year	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	City Pop.	%	City Pop.	%	City Pop.	%	City Pop.	%	City Pop.	%	City Pop.	%
1900	15,654	82.9	12,566	21.7	75,935	30.2	285,704	38.9	27,734	96.0	13,103	33.7	334*	n/a*	44,885	35.1
1910	19,357	23.7	14,548	15.8	94,538	24.5	465,755	63.0	58,540	96.9	38,550	194.2	16,802	4930.5	79,066	76.2
1920	20,879	7.9	15,203	4.5	116,309	23.0	993,678	113.3	66,785	14.1	91,559	137.6	55,378	229.6	132,358	67.4
1930	19,329	-7.4	13,532	-11.0	118,700	2.1	1,568,662	57.9	74,397	11.4	156,492	70.8	100,666	81.8	170,002	28.4
1940	18,326	-5.2	14,407	6.5	117,536	-1.0	1,523,452	-2.9	75,603	1.6	131,534	-3.2	111,719	11.0	167,720	-1.3
1950	16,488	-10.0	12,123	-15.9	124,555	6.0	1,849,568	21.4	82,366	8.9	163,413	7.8	133,911	19.9	168,330	0.4
1960	12,337	-25.2	9,348	-22.9	117,159	-5.9	1,670,144	-9.7	81,728	-0.8	196,940	20.5	178,320	33.2	166,688	-1.0
1970	8,862	-28.2	6,277	-32.9	102,551	-12.5	1,514,063	-9.3	70,029	-14.3	193,317	-1.8	175,415	-1.6	139,788	-16.1
1980	5,534	-37.5	5,931	-5.5	84,910	-17.2	1,203,368	-20.5	55,239	-21.1	159,611	-17.4	144,953	-17.4	155,427	-17.4
1990	4,682	-16.9	4,846	-18.3	87,492	3.0	1,027,974	-14.5	40,921	-25.9	140,761	-11.8	116,646	-19.5	95,787	-17.0
2000	2,912	-37.8	3632	-25.1	79,318	-9.3	951,270	-7.5	31,542	-22.9	124,943	-11.2	102,746	-11.9	82,026	-14.4
2010	2,159	-25.9	2,831	-22.1	77,344	-2.5	713,777	-25.0	27,006	-14.4	102,434	-18.0	80,294	-21.9	66,982	-18.3

* Gary, Indiana was founded in 1906

Primary Source: U.S. Decennial Census, US Census Bureau of the US Department of Commerce

R = .997 R Square= .984

An R Square Value of 99, 99% of the variance in severely distressed, post-industrial Fourth World cities is explained by time and a R-Value of .997 indicates a strong positive linear relationship between the variables. With P-values of -.916, -.929, -.369, .186, .581, .520 and-.040.

Table 3.2 Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(constant)	1940.791	.24.984		77.682	.000
Population_Braddock	-.002	.003	-.478	-.876	.431
Population_Cairo	-.012	.005	-1.493	-2.435	.072
Population_Camden	.002	.000	.931	5.003	.007
Population_Detroit	-1.255E-005	.000	-1.72	-.823	.457
Population_Gary	.000	.000	-.299	-2.679	.055
Population_Flint	.000	.000	-.507	-1.575	.190
Population_Youngstown	.000	.000	.465	2.303	.083

a. Dependent Variable: Time_year

Table 3.3 ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	14216.900	7	2030.986	27.756	.000 ^a
	Residual	83.100	4	20.775		
	Total	14300.000	11			

a. Dependent Variable: Time_year

b. Predictors: (Constant): Population_Youngstown, Population_Cairo, Population_Gary, Population_Camden, Population_Detroit, Population_Flint, Population_Braddock

Table 3.4 Model Summary

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistic				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.997 ^a	.994	.984	4.558	.994	97.761	7	4	.000

a. Predictors: (Constant): Population_Youngstown, Population_Cairo, Population_Gary, Population_Camden, Population_Detroit, Population_Flint, Population_Braddock

There is very strong evidence against the null hypothesis. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and with 95% confidence, it can be concluded that there is an extremely strong, statistically significant relationship in population gains and losses by percentage over the past century of severely distressed, post-industrial, Fourth World cities.

Table 3.5 Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Time_year	1955.00	34.056	12
Population_Braddock	12209.9167	7035.10422	12
Population_Cairo	9603.8887	4653.55196	12
Population_Camden	99778.9156	18418.02586	12
Population_Detroit	1147284.5833	494910.53279	12
Population_Gary	93098.6667	61595.38675	12
Population_Flint	125054.7500	56735.12904	12
Population_Youngstown	122422.4167	45904.95052	12

Table 3.6 Correlations

		Time_year	Pop. Braddock	Pop. Cairo	Pop. Camden	Pop. Detroit	Pop. Gary	Pop. Flint	Pop. Youngstown
Pearson Correlation	Time_year	1.000	-.916	-.929	-.369	.186	.581	.520	-.040
	Population_Braddock	-.916	1.000	.992	.678	.122	-.464	-.275	.333
	Population_Cairo	-.929	.992	1.000	.624	.062	-.536	-.340	.291
	Population_Camden	-.369	.678	.624	1.000	.779	.199	.479	.843
	Population_Detroit	.186	.122	.062	.779	1.000	.649	.893	.923
	Population_Gary	.581	-.464	-.536	.199	.649	1.000	.877	.491
	Population_Flint	.520	-.275	-.340	.478	.893	.877	1.000	.768
	Population_Youngstown	-.040	.333	.291	.843	.923	.491	.768	1.000
Sig. (1- tailed)	Time_year	.000	.000	.119	.282	.024	.042	.451	
	Population_Braddock	.000	.000	.008	.353	.064	.194	.145	
	Population_Cairo	.000	.000	.015	.424	.036	.139	.179	
	Population_Camden	.119	.008	.015	.001	.267	.058	.000	
	Population_Detroit	.282	.282	.424	.001	.011	.000	.000	
	Population_Gary	.024	.024	.036	.267	.011	.000	.052	
	Population_Flint	.042	.042	.139	.058	.000	.000	.002	
	Population_Youngstown	.451	.451	.179	.000	.000	.052	.002	
N	Time_year	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	
	Population_Braddock	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	
	Population_Cairo	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	
	Population_Camden	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	
	Population_Detroit	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	
	Population_Gary	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	
	Population_Flint	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	
	Population_Youngstown	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	

For example, as a struggling, post-industrial steel town that has lost nearly seventy percent of its population and has been identified to have the lowest median income by far, of any U.S. city with more than 65,000 residents (*CNNMoney*), Youngstown, Ohio could be considered a statistical outlier with respect to demographics in comparison to the other Fourth World cities identified in the study. It should be noted however, that each city possesses its own development patterns and historical narratives. Similarities between Youngstown, Gary, and other Fourth World cities can also be observed through a qualitative lens with respect to ethnic strife, resistance and violence, de-industrialization, historic segregation and discrimination patterns, suburban sprawl, erosion of a viable tax base, racism, inability to embrace the concept desegregation and civil rights legislation, fear, despair, crumbling infrastructure systems, disinvestment in urban school systems, environmental justice issues, and ultimately, institutional abandonment. Within these cities and relative to their respective regions, inequalities exist which undermine the expectations of civil society resulting in what Yale sociologist, Jeffrey Alexander refers to as “material asymmetry” (Alexander, 207) and obtuse disadvantages among certain individuals or groups. Hedges cites Raoul Peck’s documentary *I Am Not Your Negro* where Baldwin prophetically proclaims that “the disparity now gripping the United States is an inevitable consequence of White Americans’ steadfast failure to confront where they came from, who they are, and the lies and myths they use to mask past and present times” (Hedges, *Farewell Tour*, 53). Through a balance of quantitative and qualitative analyses, Fourth World Theory should be utilized as a vehicle to conduct inquiry that may better qualify interested parties to visualize a city such as Gary as a microcosm for structural and systemic conditions which undermine productivity, sustainability, and overall quality of life. This is not only for the city proper, but for their regions, for the United States, and ultimately, for the world.

CHAPTER 4. A TALE OF TWO FOURTH WORLD CITIES: GARY AND DETROIT

Regardless of its massive size and scale in comparison to Gary, in some respects, Detroit may possess a greater degree of qualitative and quantitative similarity to Gary than for example, Youngstown. Nevertheless, Gary remains unique in terms of its founding at the beginning of the twentieth century as a capitalist experiment established by a single company. Like Detroit however, Gary's development of acute institutionalized ethnic, class, and race-based stratification, and the causes which have led to unprecedented and massive disinvestment, serves as a demonstration that the legacy and continued liability of *race* is central to the rise and fall, not only of Fourth World cities, but to the entire Fourth World Nation.

In the upcoming chapter "Gary, Indiana: A Critical Geography of a Fourth World City," I discuss in great detail, factors leading to the founding of the city including the industrial climate at the turn of the twentieth century, as well as land acquisition by U.S. Steel corporation and its subsidiary, Gary Land Company. In addition, I examine, in a turn-of-the-century context, the memory and fear of labor uprisings in reaction by wage earners to the paternalistic model city program established by Pullman in which the houses, infrastructure, and retail establishments were owned by the corporation, and how the fear of similar "problems" generated reluctance to move forward with the capitalist experiment that ultimately became Gary. Yet, U.S. Steel forged ahead, learned from the Pullman fiasco, and established a corporate town developed entirely upon capital. David Harvey is again cited in this chapter, stating that accumulation of capital requires "the creation of a physical landscape conducive to the organization of production in all of its aspects (including the specialized

functions of exchange, banking, administration, planning and coordination, and the like, which typically possess a hierarchical structure and a particular form of spatial rationality)” (Harvey, 81). Examples are provided to demonstrate that stratification and hierarchical structures based on race and class were incorporated into the Master Plan or perhaps “Master’s Plan” of Gary from its conception, and how said stratification resulted in violence and uneven development patterns.

Also discussed in the chapter is how upon the massive influx of African Americans to the city resulting from “The Great Migration,” the racially stratified configuration, which had been inherently designed into the city, presented particular challenges to the social order of Gary. Such discriminatory practices woven into the fabric of the city, became increasingly threatened by the massive presence of skilled and unskilled African American industrial workers and their families. Finally, I summarize how it all came tumbling down primarily due to two simultaneous developments: the national out-migration of steel production at U.S. Steel which ultimately relegated the “Steel City” to what Saskia Sassen refers to as being “peripheralized,” and Gary’s historic structural inequalities which clearly exhibit that the city, which was founded on such principles, is undoubtedly incapable of reconciling social stratification based primarily on the construction of race as a vehicle for physical separation and institutional abandonment.

O’Hara’s writings parallel my explorations to the degree that upon initial discovery and first read, I became discouraged; for I questioned whether a prospective dissertation on the subject would or could generate or develop new knowledge and add to the discourse. I was also disheartened to the point of revisiting the term “Fourth World” in light of the aforementioned multiple uses of the term by Manuel, Wresinski, Castells, and Wright (Badu). Nevertheless, and upon meeting with Stephen Paul O’Hara, who offered comforting words of encouragement, I have elected to continue this

journey through utilization of expanded research methodologies to examine Gary's brief one hundred-year history, its ambitious rise to a major industrial center, and its unprecedented decline and institutional abandonment as Fourth World Theory clearly demonstrates that racism layered over de-industrialization is a perfect storm for disaster.

Beyond relative size and scale, profound quantitative and qualitative similarities exist between Gary and Detroit. As evidenced in by the statistical data provided, both cities have experienced comparable and substantial population gains and losses (55% and 61% respectively) over the past century. As George Clinton declared "we've got Gary" on the title track to Parliament's 1975 *Chocolate City* album, it is commonly understood that Detroit, with a "CC" factor of 82.7% (Gary @ 84.8%)⁶¹ could have, and should have been included in the lyrics.

Ah, blood to blood, players to ladies
The last percentage count was eighty
You don't need the bullet when you got the ballot
Are you up for the downstroke, CC?
Chocolate City
Are you with me out there?

Rapid population gains as well as moments of stagnation in Gary have been linked directly to industrial expansion and contraction, corporate capitalism and the labor demands of United States Steel Corporation. Simultaneously, Detroit has embodied the melding of human labor, technology and capitalism as automobile factories, shops, and other forms of manufacturing rendered an

⁶¹ Primary Source: 2010, *U.S. Decennial Census*, US Census Bureau of the US Department of Commerce

industrial geography unsurpassed in scope. In both instances, demand for European immigrant as well as domestic migrant labor from the American south -- primarily African American, created enclaves and ethnic and racial tension tinged with perpetual forms of resistance and periodic episodes of violence.

As Gary's industrialists carefully manipulated the balance between capital and labor by instituting "order" through various forms of physical and ethnic-based social separation, Americanization and institutional segregation, labor began to organize and demand formal recognition. Upon the initiation of a strike in 1919, U.S. Steel continued to function and produce through the use of African American strike breakers. As a result, on a late afternoon of October 4, 1919,⁶² Black strike breakers were snatched from a street car, attacked and beaten by an angry mob of White strikers. Although the forces leading to the violence were primarily grounded in industrial manipulation and consequential strife, the ethnic and racial dynamics generated a narrative that framed the incident as a "race riot."

The steel strike exposed inequitable mill conditions and the extent to which Gary was a company town . . . Gary had always been fragmented; but during the winter of 1919, wrote Isaac J. Quillen, "the gap at the Wabash tracks became a canyon," dividing churches and families, fostering contempt for law and government, and breeding cynicism and disillusionment. Thus, at the dawn of the 1920s, Gary had lost its innocence and some of its illusions of grandeur (Lane, 93).

⁶² O'Hara references the *Chicago Tribune*, or per his notes, *The Chicago Daily News*, October 1-5, 1919 article which included a detailed description of the scene. He also discusses how the press engaged in framing the incident in a means to maximize readership by choosing to "concentrate on the language of race, the imagery of warfare, and the specter of radicalism" (O'Hara, 80).

So prominent was the social construction of race that a distinctively different Gary emerged. Since its conception, the geographical language of Gary was drenched in racial antagonism and hatred which had insurmountable influence on corresponding allocations of resources and access as well as irrational geographical development patterns in the city. Creative writer and novelist David Wright, in his introduction to the reprint of Richard Wright's *12 Million Black Voices* recounts that, "Water does not respond to that which is absolute, but rather to that which is relative (Wright, ix), the harsh realities faced by the southern migrants seeking refuge and opportunity in the industrial north, paled in comparison to the atrocities of the south.

The jobs they found were low-paying, menial, and exhausting by Northern industrial standards, but lucrative, high-status and relatively easy by Southern agricultural ones – ten hours sweeping a factory were nothing compared to twelve hours behind a mule. The oppressions they found were relatively mild – who would complain about police brutality and biased justice when in the South any group of White men could be a cop, judge, jury, and executioner? Who would carp about a stinking toilet down the hall when in the South the toilet was in the yard, and smelled worse? Few bad reports returned to the South, and so the river flowed, and pooled in sections of Northern cities the immigrants abandoned. It was better there. It truly was (x).

Scholars, architect Sharon Sutton and social scientist Susan Kemp jointly communicate in the introductory chapter to their publication, *The Paradox of Urban Space: Inequality and Transformation in Marginalized Communities*, that hegemonic conceptions of space and time have historically been imposed on disadvantaged and oppressed populations.

Throughout America, spatial policies and practices standardize the landscape to benefit dominant groups – guaranteeing profits for developers and individual property owners – while normalizing dominant values and lifestyles. The downside of this standardization occurs in racially and economically segregated neighborhoods, in which a high percentage of minority residents and concentrated poverty go hand-in-hand with a slew of inequities, including substandard housing, inadequate schools and social services, higher rates of unemployment, lower incomes with a higher proportion of income paid in rent, more unwanted land uses, and lack of access to healthy foods (Sutton and Kemp, 1).

In wartime “Rosie the Riveter” Detroit, the war effort drew women into industry as replacement workers; however, prospects for employment of Black women were met with harsh resistance. Many Detroit firms only hired White women and relented to hiring Black women in response to protest and pressure. At Hudson, 350 White women walked off their jobs after their bosses hired a handful of Black women to join them” (Martelle, 152). At the Ford Willow Run plant, which had been converted to a war production facility, busloads of protestors picketed in response to a documented unwillingness to hire Black women.

But even after they were hired in defense industries, Black women faced an uphill battle. White male workers often harassed their women co-workers and reacted even more vehemently to the double affront to their racial and gender privileges when firms hired Black women to work beside them. At Packard, Whites walked out on a hate strike in 1943 when three Black women were placed as drill operators (Sugrue, 28).

As in Gary, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and scores of other northern American cities and towns, racial tensions in Detroit workplaces and neighborhoods during the mid-1940s had gradually increased from a simmer to a boil. Sugrue cites a climate of racial animosity and mistrust bred by the disruptions of World War II, and how a major brawl which started on Bell Isle on a hot June afternoon in 1943, was symptomatic of deeper tensions. Journalist and scholar Isabel Wilkerson chronicles the recollections of over a thousand African American migrants in her publication, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America’s Great Migration*. From her interviews and conversations with George Swanson Starling between June 1995 and June 1998⁶³, she was able to

⁶³ The notes from *The Warmth of Other Suns* by Isabel Wilkerson indicated that, “. . . all references to George Starling are based on numerous interviews and conversations with him from June 1995 to June 1998 (Wilkerson, 562).

assemble a narrative describing the circumstances of the riot, from the perspective of an African American laborer who had migrated to Detroit from Eustis, Florida.

And every minute, George was scared the whole place would blow up from all the chemicals and paranoia. Then on the humid night of June 20, 1943, a fight broke out between several hundred White and Colored men on Belle Isle, a park extending into the Detroit River on the east side of town. The fighting spread north, south, and west as rumors circulated among Blacks that White men had killed a colored woman and thrown her body into the Detroit River and, among Whites, that colored men had raped and killed a White woman in the park. Neither rumor turned out to be true, but it was all that was needed to set off one of the worse riots ever seen in the United States, an outbreak that would mark a turning point in American race relations (Wilkerson, 132).

Sugrue summarizes the tragedy and aftermath by indicating that on the following day, more than ten thousand hostile Whites, supported by Detroit police officers, swept through the segregated and overcrowded district in which most Negroes were restricted to reside, known as “Paradise Valley.” Seventeen African Americans and zero Whites were killed by police. Ultimately, “over the course of three days, 34 people were killed, 25 of them Blacks. 675 suffered severe injuries, and 1,893 were arrested before federal troops subdued the disaster” (Sugrue, 28).

In Gary meanwhile, tension in the workplace and in institutionally segregated communities became most visible through school strikes designed in staunch opposition to the prospect of integration. From the founding of the city, the racially stratified configuration was constantly challenged by significant increases in population of an ostracized group of African American migrants from the south. For example, when the first schools opened in Gary in 1908 the “thirty or so Black children, except for two in high school . . . by year’s end were to be transferred to rented facilities in a Baptist Church” (Cohen 8). Therefore, the die had been cast for “separate but equal” education in the new city. As evidenced by “Negro Subdivision” designations, Gary had also

developed its residential neighborhoods in a context of “separate but equal.” What was clearly apparent by physical example was the fact that in Gary, as in the balance to the United States, “separate but equal” is not equal.⁶⁴

During the same time frame, the African American population of Detroit was subjected to more heinous and ambitious forms of blatant and intentional segregation including, but not limited to redlining, restrictive covenants, and the construction of physical walls designed to separate Blacks from Whites. As in the decrepit “Patch”⁶⁵ in Gary, African Americans arriving in Detroit from the Jim Crow South generally found themselves restricted to decaying, overcrowded areas known as “Paradise Valley” and the “Black Bottom,” in which they were jammed into inadequate, substandard,

⁶⁴Ronald Cohen, in the publication, *Children of the Mill: Schooling and Society in Gary, Indiana, 1906-1960* writes that “Hereinafter, Black and White would be separate in the Gary Schools, but hardly ‘friendly rivals.’ While legal under the ‘separate but equal’ laws then comment in Indiana (adopted in 1877) and other northern states, school segregation was not automatic. Northern cities experienced various degrees of racial separation at the time, although most were moving in the direction of explicit segregation. Gary, somewhat early in joining the movement, was hardly different.” Cohen cites numerous sources for this position including, but not limited to: *The Separate Problem: Case Studies of Black Education in the North, 1900-1930* by Judy Jolley Mohraz.

⁶⁵ The Patch (also formerly called the Southside) was the unplanned expansion of Gary in the early 1900s - 1920s in which its poorer foreign workers were originally housed. It attracted more than 200 saloons and other disreputable establishments that had been banned from the more upscale north of the city. The houses were often makeshift dwellings built by speculators.

Typically, they housed a family, several boarders, and various farm animals raised for food. Most inhabitants came directly from their home countries -- predominantly Serbia, Poland, and Croatia. U.S. Steel initially ignored the living conditions, saying “we are not in the summer resort business.” In the late 1920s the city’s population doubled and conditions deteriorated further. At last, in 1923, the city ordered all substandard housing to be evacuated, leaving 1,500 people temporarily homeless. Nonetheless, the Patch persisted as a largely blighted area. Eventually, it became predominantly African American as European immigrant workers moved further south. As the city became more segregated by race, the Patch came to be viewed as the “Black district.” After the decline of the steel industry, the Patch ceased being atypical in its relatively low quality of life. Today the area is known as “Midtown” (Source: [www.wikimapia.org/25191627/The- Patch](http://www.wikimapia.org/25191627/The-Patch)).

dilapidated housing. As with the Patch in Gary, the shoddy, densely packed frame structures had once housed eastern and southern European immigrants decades earlier. Sugrue describes the restricted districts of Detroit in graphic detail.

As the district's population expanded during the 1940s, living conditions worsened. Federal housing officials classified over two-thirds of Paradise Valley residents as substandard (a category that included dwelling units without a toilet or bath, running water, heating, and lighting; buildings that needed major repairs; and low-rent apartments that were overcrowded). Rents were among the lowest in the city, but they were disproportionately high given the quality of housing in the area. Fire was an ever-present hazard, especially in older wood-frame buildings with outdated electrical and heating systems (Sugrue, 37).

After waiving her handkerchief⁶⁶ as a symbolic gesture to initiate demolition of the dilapidated shacks in the Black Bottom, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt indicated to the crowd of over twenty thousand, that “. . . it is a lack of social consciousness which permits such conditions to develop, but we may thank the Depression for focusing attention on those sore spots in or social life” (Martelle, 134). Yet the African American population that occupied the Black Bottom was evicted with no provisions for relocation, and either left homeless by the slum clearance, or forced to take up residence in the nearby, already overcrowded and severely distressed Paradise Valley slum. Sugrue describes deplorable sanitary conditions in the densely packed, predominantly Black Lower East Side of Detroit featuring rat infested, vermin filled, filthy dwelling environments inducing various forms of disease and in some instances, contributing to death. Albeit in small percentages,

⁶⁶ On September 9, 1934, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt traveled to Detroit for the symbolic start of slum clearance in Black Bottom, part of a \$6.6 million federal program to replace dilapidate shacks with new public housing called Brewster Homes. The First Lady told the audience that the neighborhood was a slumlord's paradise, with 92 percent of the tax payments delinquent (most of the homes were rentals), a crime rate six times the city average, and “juvenile delinquency” ten times the average. Tuberculosis was rampant, more than seven times the city average (Source: *Detroit: a Biography* by Scott Martelle),

some African Americans managed to find refuge in other small restricted enclaves within the city limits of Detroit. Nevertheless, with the exception of the Conant Gardens⁶⁷ neighborhood, most of the enclaves were severely distressed as a result of various structural barriers and limited access to financial resources.

Richard Wright lays down his sentiments regarding “The Talented Tenth” and the so-called Black Elite in his forward to the original edition of *12 Million Black Voices* like never before – or since.

This text assumes that those few Negroes who have lifted themselves, through personal strength, talent, or luck, above the lives of their fellow-Blacks – like single fishes that leap and flash for a split second above the surface of the sea – are but fleeting exceptions to that vast, tragic school that swims below in the depths, against the current, silently and heavily, struggling against the waves of the vicissitudes that spell a common fate (Wright, 5).

The Great Migration, coupled with returning GI populations, their baby boom families, in concert with the resulting post-World War rapid economic expansion, created unprecedented demand for housing in the Detroit area. However, discriminatory Federal Housing Policies worked in concert with local bankers and real estate brokers to assure that in general, neither the newly constructed communities, nor the eligibility for mortgages, would be available to African Americans. In addition, restrictive covenants were instituted and condoned to preserve ethnic and more commonly, racial homogeneity. During the late 1940s, more than 80 percent of property in Detroit outside of the inner city fell under the scope of racial restrictions. Similar statistics were

⁶⁷ Conant Gardens was the wealthiest area of Black Detroit. Settled by Black ministers, teachers, lawyers, and businesspeople fleeing the inner city, the area was more suburban than urban, surrounded by open fields and remote from the city’s business and industrial districts. The quiet tree-lined streets of the neighborhood passed modern single-family detached homes, often with large well-manicured lawns (Sugrue, 41).

commonplace in cities throughout the United States from Boston, to Chicago, to Los Angeles. “Whereas no land developed before 1910 was restricted, deeds in every subdivision developed between 1910 and 1947 specified the exclusion of Blacks” (Sugrue, 44). Although racial covenants were deemed unenforceable in 1948, race-based restrictive patterns continued through real estate practices such as “steering”⁶⁸ and discriminatory behavior among lending institutions. Thus, the vast majority of African Americans in Detroit, Gary, East St. Louis, and other developing Fourth World cities, remained relegated to severely distressed, dilapidated districts which were soon to be subjected to demolition and displacement so as to “eradicate bight” and facilitate the construction of freeways to accommodate the new suburban enclaves which were unavailable to Black folk.

Postwar highway and urban redevelopment projects further exacerbated Detroit housing crisis, especially for Blacks. Detroit’s city planners promised that the proposed system of cross-city expressways would dramatically improve the city’s residential areas, as well as bolster the city’s economy. For the thousands of Blacks who lived in the path of Detroit’s first expressways, both promises were false. Detroit’s highway planners would only minimally disrupt middle-class residential areas, but they had little concern for Black neighborhoods, especially those closest to downtown. Instead, they viewed inner-city highway construction in Detroit and other major American cities, North and South, as “a handy device for razing slums” (47).

⁶⁸ Despite the Supreme Court decision declaring the enforcement of racially-based restrictive covenants (see *Shelley v. Kraemer*), the practice remained commonplace. The Court found that the covenants themselves were not invalid, thus allowing private parties to continue to voluntarily adhere to the restrictions. These “unenforceable” covenants served as powerful signals to potential homeowners, realtors, and insurers about who was welcome in a given neighborhood. Government agencies also continued to rely upon the covenants as substitutes for overt exclusionary practices. As a result of continued use of racially restrictive covenants and “steering” of Black residents to non-White neighborhoods by real estate agents, access for minorities to purchase homes remained severely limited. It was not until 1968 that the actual inclusion of racially-restrictive covenants into deeds was deemed illegal, although many such covenants can still be found within the language of deeds today. While no longer a legally sanctioned practice, the residential patterns created by racially restrictive covenants still persist (Source: National Fair Housing Alliance).

The respective postwar political and economic environments in Detroit and Gary were virtually identical with respect to ongoing racial tension and hostility, the beginning and unforeseen undercurrents of economic decline as a direct result of gradual decentralization of industrial production coupled with an inconspicuous weakening of the organization and dignity of labor, and political mechanisms that were in direct response to the decline and hostilities. The social construction of race was a major and constant undercurrent in all political maneuvering as either politicians jockeyed to appease perceived interests of the ever-increasing Black population or engaged in extremist positioning by supporting segregationist approaches.

Behavior during the 1949 Detroit mayoral campaign and general election race between UAW activist George Edwards Jr. and conservative Republican Albert E. Cobo was scrutinized by the city's Black independent weekly newspaper, *The Michigan Chronicle*, which regarded Cobo's ultimate victory as a counter-referendum on White acceptance of Black citizenry. It described the election as "one of most vicious campaigns of race bating and playing upon the prejudices of all segments of the Detroit population" (Martelle, 169). The newspaper documented Cobo's appeal to the White neighborhoods of Detroit through the use of pamphlets linking Edwards to supporting integration policies. This issue of race trumped any relationship or endorsement Edwards may have maintained with organized labor – in a union town. Martelle finds the election of Albert Cobo in 1949 as a "watershed moment in the evolution of Detroit.

The city effectively held a referendum on what its future would be, and White fears won the day, an electoral decision that still resonates more than sixty years later" (170). Sugrue suggests that the election process, which was a mere reflection of the postwar climate, not only contributed to the

further erosion of race relations, it also undermined working class solidarity and “dimmed future hopes for the triumph of labor liberalism on the local level in Detroit” (Sugrue 64).

Despite the Federal Public Housing Authority and the City Plan Commission’s pleas, Cobo went to work immediately with a neoliberal agenda, rescinding scattered-site federal public housing designed to help alleviate concentrations of race and poverty resulting from decades of discriminatory restrictive zoning practices. In addition the Cobo Administration endeavored to surgically dismantle Detroit’s public housing programs in general, focusing instead on slum clearance, displacement, and forced relocation predominantly Black communities into already overcrowded concentration-of-poverty camps to make way for large privatized redevelopment projects and expanded freeway construction initiatives designed to ultimately facilitate and support the mass exodus of Whites from the central city.

Postwar Gary remained a Democratic machine within a heavily unionized environment; although the mechanisms were constantly threatened by “Red Scare” hysteria and accusations of radicalism within various factions. In addition political corruption, nepotism, and permissive association with various forms of criminal forces had been commonplace ever since the party had taken what appeared to be a permanent stronghold under industrial working-class, ethnic, and New Deal Democratic forces. However, as in Detroit, the social construction of race became an increasingly divisive element within the political environment.

Just as the New Deal coalition was redefined by issues of civil rights and race relations nationwide, so too would the politics of Gary become defined by race and backlash. For instance, in 1964 George Wallace, the segregationist governor of Alabama, carried Lake County in the Indiana Democratic primary. Clearly notions of race, segregation, and separations had changed in Gary between 1945 and 1964. So too would notions of race alter the way people thought and talked about the city. If Sinatra's visit had represented the possibility for postwar optimism, then Wallace's success made Gary into a crucible of racial conflict (O'Hara, 136).

It was anticipated that the mayoral incumbent A. Martin Katz would benefit from the consentaneous tendency of Black voters support of White Democratic candidates; however, in the 1967 campaign, the system was shocked by the emergence of African American candidate, Richard Gordon Hatcher. Black voters, which were more than 50 percent of the electorate, had grown weary of the political servitude and general lack of regard for their loyalty. *Ebony Magazine* editor Alex Poinsett in his publication, *Black Power Gary Style* suggests that the African American political community rebelled against the Democratic political machine "which had long controlled the ghetto through the usual precinct network of block-level politicians, patronage, payoffs, "ghost" voting, and protection of Negro gambling operation's (Poinsett, 76).

. . . Hatcher, the first Black man ever to win the mayoral nomination either on the Democratic or Republican ticket in Gary. Yet in his campaign speeches, Hatcher admitted that Katz had been "probably more fair" to Blacks than any predecessor. He criticized the mayor's failure to consider qualified Blacks for top jobs in the police, fire, and health departments and charged that nothing had changed during the prior three and a half years under Katz. "I ask you," he would question audiences, "are the slums any prettier? Are our schools and less crowded? Have they built one single public housing unit? Have they torn down one single building for urban renewal? Have they expanded the park system? Have they desegregated the schools?" (77).

Upon Hatcher's defeat of Katz in the Democratic Primary, the White Democratic electorate immediately became splintered and fragmented, withdrawing Democratic party financial and political support or abandoning the party altogether in support of Republican candidate Joseph B.

Radigan, a “college-dropout son of an Irish Immigrant and proprietor of a downtown furniture store inherited from his family” (78). During the general election campaign, “red, White, and blue Radigan billboards blossomed all over Gary proclaiming the Republican candidate as ‘100 percent American’ and thus inferring that Hatcher – whose ancestors arrived on these shores at least two centuries before Radigan’s Irish forebears – was un-American” (82). Regardless of the various and often unsophisticated forms of political resistance, Richard Gordon Hatcher “won the election, and he and Cleveland’s Carl Stokes became the first Black mayors of major American cities (O’Hara, 138). The most rapid periods of population and economic decline occurred immediately after Richard Hatcher was inaugurated on January 1, 1968 and after the inauguration under similar circumstances, of Detroit’s first African American Mayor, Coleman Young, on January 1, 1974. In retrospect, one might inquire whether Hatcher, Stokes, and Young’s mayoral victories were tantamount to that of being promoted to captain of the Titanic moments after the iceberg incident. As O’Hara declares in the title of his publication, Gary is *The Most American of All American Cities*. Metaphorically, it should be understood that elected officials in all “sacrifice zones,” in all post-industrial, post-developing, physically, socially, and institutionally abandoned Fourth World spaces throughout this Fourth Nation are guiding the steering gears of sinking ships and distorting facts to minimize panic among the passengers, and keeping the steerage separated and locked away in the bowels of these vessels.

4.1 Richard Gordon Hatcher: Captain of The Titanic After The Iceberg Incident

When newly elected Mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher arrived at City Hall in Gary, Indiana at 10:30 A.M. on January 2, 1968 (Poinsett, 110), he found offices ramshackled, equipment was in

deplorable condition, much of the systems had been deliberately sabotaged, and the city's financial accounts had been depleted. The city's General Fund held a scant \$15,000, a sharp contrast to the \$400,000 to \$500,000 year-end balances usually left to city administrations in the past and also a sharp contrast to the \$95,000 that would be in the Fund a year later (Ibid., 110). A substantial number of his predecessor's hall staff had left so abruptly that the new Mayor had to find replacements immediately for tasks as routine as manning the switchboard. And those replacements, many with no prior administrative experience let alone city hall knowhow, had to learn on the job by trial and error (Ibid., 111). Hatcher inherited graft, corruption, neglect, de facto segregation of neighborhoods, unprecedented environmental degradation, inadequate housing, slum conditions, and impatience among Black residents who expected immediate change.

Hatcher had been elected Mayor of a soon-to-be Fourth World city, with a school system that (despite the fact that nearly two decades had passed since the Indiana General Assembly passed the *Indiana School Desegregation Act of 1949*⁶⁹ and at a federal level with *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*),⁷⁰ remained 83 percent (Ibid., 124) segregated. Five years earlier, Hatcher had been

⁶⁹ In 1949, the Indiana General Assembly enacted a law prohibiting segregation and discrimination "in the public kindergartens, common schools, colleges, and universities of the state." This law provided a time-span of five years during which no segregated schools could be built, and Black children starting school in 1949 could attend White schools within the district they resided. In addition, the law made it illegal to "discriminate in hiring, upgrading tenure or placement of any teacher on the basis of race, creed or color." Indiana, Senate Journal, 1949, 506, 508, 711-12, 814. Indiana, Laws of Indiana, 1949, 603-07 as cited by the article

"African-American Education in Indiana" State of Indiana, by John Taylor
https://www.in.gov/history/files/African-American_Education_in_Indiana.pdf

⁷⁰ *Brown v. Board of Education* was the consolidation of several cases relating to the segregation of public schools on the basis of race. African American students had been denied admittance to certain public schools based on laws allowing public education to be segregated by race. The plaintiffs argued that "separate but equal" segregation violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

involved in an unsuccessful federal lawsuit, *Bell v. School City of Gary, Indiana*, 213 F. Supp. 819 (N.D. Ind. 1963) to desegregate Gary's schools. An excerpt from the Federal Lawsuit cited statistics that including the fact that in the school year 1961-62, 10,710 of the students enrolled in the Gary school system attended fourteen schools which were 100% White; 16,242 students attended twelve schools which were populated from 99 to 100 per cent by Negroes (Justia US Law). The U.S. Court Appeals ruling against the lawsuit supported the premise that De Facto Segregation was the basis for the segregated school environment in Gary. In other words, the racial make-up of Gary schools was allegedly due to residential neighborhood patterns and not deliberate efforts by Gary Schools to segregate. Comparable lawsuits were filed in cities throughout Indiana including *Copeland v. South Bend Community School Corporation* in 1967; *Banks v. Muncie Community Schools* in 1970; and *Martin et. al. v. Evansville-Vanderburgh School Corporation*, in 1972. There were also challenges in Kokomo and other Indiana cities and towns. Not only was Indiana one of the last so-called former non-slave holding states to statutorily remove segregation, since its founding, its atrocious record with regard to equal access to quality education for African American children has been, and continues to be, a matter of public record. The only moment when schools were truly integrated in Indiana, was the very moment that the number of Black students entering a particular school equaled the number of Whites fleeing said school.

This phenomenon is not unique to Indiana; is a consistent pattern throughout this Fourth World Nation. According to *ProPublica* and its "Segregation Now" discourse on the re-segregation of U.S. Schools, from 1993 to 2011 the number of Black students in schools where 90 percent of the student population are minorities rose from 2.3 million to over 2.9 million.⁷¹ Federal Courts have

⁷¹ www.propublica.org/article/segregation-now-the-resegregation-of-americas-schools

relaxed or all but eliminated desegregation orders in Indiana and throughout the nation. A principal concern with the roll back lies in a national neoliberal agenda to revert to an institutionally supported *separate but equal* environment. As public schools and their respective district's primary funding mechanisms are directly linked to local property taxes, severely distressed inner-cities suffering from substantial amounts of residential and commercial abandonment, combined with depressed real estate values, are invariably impacted.

According to Nikole Hannah-Jones of *ProPublica*, and consistent with the abovementioned lack of will from local, state, and federal court systems, few communities seem able to summon the political determination to continue integration efforts.⁷² At the federal level, while suggesting that integration and “diversity” is important, there are almost no incentives that would entice school districts to increase it. Instead, districts have typically gerrymandered to segregate, particularly Whites from Blacks, and that gerrymandering is getting worse over time as federal oversight diminishes (Hannah-Jones).

According to an analysis by *ProPublica* cited in the Hannah-Jones article, the number of apartheid schools nationwide has mushroomed from 2,762 in 1988 (which was the national peak of school integration) to 6,727 in 2011. High-poverty, segregated Black and Latino schools, like those found in cities like Gary, Flint, and Camden account for the majority of the roughly 1,400 high schools nationwide that Jonathan Kozol and others classify as “dropout factories.” Often, school teachers and administrators cite poverty as the principal detriment to academic performance; however, as Hannah-Jones would argue and quantitative and qualitative studies conclude, the

⁷² When school officials make decisions that funnel poor children of color into their own schools, they promise to make those separate schools equal. But that promise is as false today as it was in 1954 (Hannah-Jones).

concentration of poor, disadvantaged students in the same school environment is a primary factor. Low-income students placed in middle-income schools show marked academic progress (Hannah-Jones). Teacher turnover at these segregated schools is consistently well above local or national averages. Generally, students in distressed inner-city school systems are far less likely to have access to advanced placement classes, adequate counseling, or college preparatory courses; thus, the achievement gap continues to grow.

During his January 14, 1963 Inaugural Address from the portico of the Alabama State Capital, where Jefferson Davis had been sworn in a century earlier,⁷³ newly elected Governor George Wallace proclaimed, “. . . segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.” In retrospect, his speech may have been more prophetic than America is prepared to accept. The United States has yet to come to grips with the idea of integration. In the case of late 1960s Gary, and Richard Hatcher’s inheritance of this racially toxic atmosphere, yet another school boycott had been organized. Unlike previous and aforementioned boycotts supporting segregation of Gary’s schools in 1927, 1945, and 1947 respectively, this boycott was organized in May 1968 by “The Concerned Citizens for Quality Education,” a group of parents and civil rights activist who’s sought a clear statement from the school board supporting school integration (Poinsett, 124). The group took over the Gary Public Schools Administration Building and its switchboard prompting a counter, all-White group, “Citizens to Save our Schools,” to enter the equation by issuing threats and announcing that

⁷³ Michael J. Klarman (March–April 2004). "Brown v. Board: 50 Years Later". *Humanities: the Magazine of the National Endowment for the Humanities*.

they were going to march on the City of Gary in response to the boycott.⁷⁴ As indicated in the footnote below, the City of Gary was on the brink of massive, Bostonian-ish violence over the prospect of school desegregation. Hatcher intervened, the boycott was terminated, and the school board complied with the demands of the boycotters. Although this may represent a positive development with respect to school desegregation, for all practical purposes, in lieu of embracing the concept of integration, the response of the White population of Gary was to exercise “exit,” pack bags, and leave - taking institutions and businesses with them. This represented a pivotal moment in the development of the city and its trajectory toward becoming a Fourth World city, in a Fourth World Nation.

In her publication *Golden Gulag*, Ruth Wilson Gilmore suggests that even while urban and rural boundaries highlight distinction between such places, they are also invariably connected by a metaphorical device often referred to as a “pipeline.” The symbiotic relationship between under-resourced, poorly performing urban interdependent systems and the prison industrial complex form two interdependent institutional spaces that, under a neoliberal construct, have become co-dependent and interwoven by means beyond conventional geographical definitions. This arrangement reinforces what Michelle Alexander identifies as a reinvigorated caste system.

⁷⁴ Poinsett documented a conversation with Hatcher as paraphrased herein, “Then they (Citizens to Save Our Schools) went back and announced to the press that they were going to march 1,000 strong down to City Hall . . . postponed to have more people on hand . . . Then we received this intelligence out of the Black community that there was a group that was organizing and they were going to come down with guns and knives and interpose themselves between us and these people. They were not going to permit them to come down there. What we were going to have on our hands could very well be a bloody mess. It was at that point that I felt both sides had reached a point where it was going to be a physical kind of fight and the well-being of the city was in jeopardy.” Richard Hatcher quoted in *Black Power Gary Style*.

While attempting to process the writings of Ruth Wilson Gilmore, I was compelled to pause and reflect on the notion of *Golden Gulag* as a critical geography of the prison industrial complex and its symbiotic relationship with this Fourth World Nation. I was drawn to the poetry and prose of Dolores Hayden and her publication, *A Field Guide to Sprawl*. Hayden illustrates the scale and magnitude of the sprawl phenomenon through the lens of an aerial photojournalist Jim Wark accompanied by her alphabetical, poignant, cynical, poetic and at times, disturbing vignetted descriptions. For all practical purposes, *A Field Guide to Sprawl* is in essence, a troubling coffee table picture book designed to alert the masses to the geographical development of the United States of America. From the demonization and virtual eradication of indigenous peoples; the justification and defense of chattel slavery to its abolition; followed by the establishment of Jim Crow Laws and institutionalized segregation to its dismantlement; followed by its reconfiguration and manifestation as the *New Jim Crow* under the opaque veil of the prison industrial complex -- and its symbiotic, co-dependent relationship with the inner-city, Hayden labeled one of the vignettes, “Rural slammer.”⁷⁵

The award winning, critically acclaimed independent film by Ava DuVernay, *Middle of Nowhere* attempts in part, to capture this intersection by filming on location through sparsely organized public transportation systems that somehow manage to navigate from South Central Los

⁷⁵ Across the country, the construction of remote prisons is a growth industry involving concrete, steel, and lock-down hardware. Rural slammers connect sprawl with inner-city African American and Latino populations who have endured bad housing, failing schools, and few opportunities for employment in older neighborhoods disadvantaged by infrastructure subsidies to affluent new suburbs. Prisons are an expensive corrective for urban joblessness and poverty. It costs taxpayers more to lock up someone in a prison like Soledad in California, surrounded by farm fields, than to send someone to a university. The Justice Department reported 2,019,234 people incarcerated in the United States in 2002. The United States has one of the highest rates of imprisonment in the world, and the number of inmates is four times what it was in the mid-1970s (Hayden, 88).

Angeles, through automobile dominated sprawling urban, suburban, and rural landscapes, to a correctional facility near Victorville, California. All sense of time, place, and space is lost as if one is transported through a black hole into a parallel universe -- a co-dependent space whose existence relies on the presence of the other. Angela Davis delineates this space as simultaneously present and absent. Gilmore refers to this interface as being in the “middle of the muddle,” a repository for “undesirables” and the *Wretched of the Earth*.

At times, it becomes difficult to differentiate the physically, socially, and institutionally abandoned, racially oppressed spaces that characterize American inner-cities from the interconnected isolated spaces marked by “authoritarian regimes, violence, disease, and technologies of seclusion” (Davis, 10). Perhaps the only noteworthy difference may lie in the illusion of freedom possessed when on the “outside” often overshadowed by dissolution upon comprehending that the entire construct is one singular geographical interface. The realization of this innerconnectivity is overwhelming and has the capacity to contribute to, generate, and reinforce varying degrees of mental instability.

Loïc Wacquant, in an article entitled, “Deadly symbiosis: When ghetto and prison meet and mesh” explores this innerconnectivity between the prison industrial complex, or what Davis refers to as the “Punishment Industry,” with innercity space by examining historical developments leading to the current system of mass incarceration. Wacquant argues that the astounding upsurge in Black incarceration is a direct result of the obsolescence of the ghetto “as a device for caste control and the correlative need for a substitute apparatus for keeping (unskilled) African Americans ‘in their place’, i.e. in a subordinate and confined position in physical, social, and symbolic space” (Wacquant, 97). He adds that, “in the post-Civil Rights era, the remnants of the dark ghetto and the fast-expanding

carceral system of the United States have become tightly linked by a triple relationship of functional equivalency, structural homology, and cultural fusion: (Ibid., 97).

During a visit to Camden, New Jersey, a Fourth World city graphically depicted and formally classified as a “sacrifice zone.” I stood outside the barricaded fortress of Ulysses S. Wiggins⁷⁶ Elementary School. I observed razor wire and fortified metal-sheathed openings encased with chain link cages welded in a convex triangulated configuration to each window. The skin of the building is virtually of the same twisted aesthetic commonly found in correctional facilities; thus, assuring the conscious, the unconscious, and all of the sensory faculties, of the interdependent connection to the prison industrial complex. The places where prisons are built share many similarities with the places prisoners come from (Gilmore, 247). The school building seemed to be somehow designed

⁷⁶Dr. Ulysses Simpson Wiggins was born on a farm near Andersonville, GA on November 7, 1895. He was a 1914 graduate of the Americus Institute in Georgia, and a 1918 graduate of Lincoln University. He was residing in Andersonville when he registered for the draft in 1917. After serving as a Corporal in the United States Army in 1918 and 1919, he returned to college, and graduated from the University of Michigan Medical School in 1924. Dr. Wiggins interned at Mercy Hospital in Philadelphia in 1925.

In 1928 Dr. Wiggins came to Camden. He set up a general medical practice, and was affiliated with Cooper Hospital. He was a member of the Camden County and South Jersey Medical Societies, and the American Medical Association. Active nationally in the civil rights movement, Dr. Wiggins was on January 3, 1949 elected to the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The focus of his work with the NAACP was to integrate public schools and public accommodations. The school system in Camden, which was partially segregated, i.e. only in the elementary school grades, where integrated after World War II, while Camden's public housing projects were integrated in the early 1950s.

Dr. Wiggins considered running for a spot on Camden's city commission as early as 1935. In 1954, Dr. Wiggins ran unsuccessfully for a seat on Camden's City Commission, the first African-American candidate to campaign for that office. Although he was far from the first African-American to be involved politically in Camden, he was the first to have campaigned in a city-wide election. Dr. Wiggins passed away in 1966. The park on Camden's Waterfront, where the Pennsylvania Railroad ferry once stood, at the foot of Mickle and Federal Streets, is named in his memory, as is the Ulysses S. Wiggins Elementary School at 400 Mount Vernon Street (Source: <http://www.dvrbs.com/people/CamdenPeople-DrUlyssesSWiggins.htm>).

to prepare the children for their statistical reality and provoke them to behave accordingly. Approaching the Wiggins complex and passing through the reinforced concrete barricades each day to attend classes is physiologically comparable to recidivism prep.

Wiggins Elementary School was named in honor of a prominent citizen of Camden, African American Physician and activist, the late Dr. Ulysses Simpson Wiggins. Today the school, which recently changed its name to Dr. Ulysses Simpson Wiggins College Preparatory Lab Family School, has a one 100% “minority” enrollment as all 432 students identify as “Hispanic” or “Black.” 12% of the U.S. Wiggins Elementary School students have “limited English proficiency.” 96% of the students are eligible for free or reduced lunch. According to state standards, 13% of students are considered proficient in reading. Math proficiency is somewhat higher at 24%, and the overall Great Schools rating for the school is a dismal “1” on a scale of “1 -to- 10.”⁷⁷ This rating, these conditions, and these statistics are not the exception. They are commonplace, not only for the entire Camden City School District, not only for Fourth World Cities like Gary, East St. Louis, Cairo, Flint, Braddock, Youngstown, and Detroit, but for all institutionally abandoned, Fourth World spaces and districts within cities.

When Michelle Alexander refers mass incarceration, the term is not limited to the criminal justice system, but as she argues, to the larger web of laws, rules, policies, and customs to control those labeled criminals both in and out of prison. Once released, former prisoners enter a hidden underworld of legalized discrimination and permanent social exclusion. They are members of America’s new undercaste (Alexander, 13). For example, in yet another former apartheid state, South Africa unlike the United States, the right to vote is constitutionally guaranteed and extended to

⁷⁷ www.greatschools.org/new-jersey/camden/262-U.S.-Wiggins-Elementary-School

former prisoners. Thus in reality, the incarcerated population in this Fourth World Nation is much greater, and more expansive than what is deemed statistically relevant. One might argue that it extends to the children attending poorly performing under-resourced urban schools like the aforementioned school named in honor of Dr. Ulysses Simpson Wiggins. Perhaps the symbiotic relationship is more substantive than a coincidence and greater than a pipeline. Could it be that such schools serve as an extension of the prison industrial complex, or that the prison industrial complex serves as an extension of such schools? Paraphrasing the Ronald Cohen's publication, *Children of the Mill: Schooling and Society in Gary, Indiana, 1906-1960*, and as Boggs encourages us to consider -- a century ago, urban schools were organized around preparing an immigrant population for factory work. A century later, the factories in Fourth World cities like Gary and Camden, have been replaced with a very profitable, highly lucrative, prison industry. Maybe there is no black hole after all.

4.2 A Conversation with Richard Gordon Hatcher

My election to utilize sociological oral history as a primary source has generated tremendous energy; for the opportunity to begin this research by conducting an introductory interview with former Gary Mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher has been crucial to the core principles of Fourth World Theory and its applicability to the city of Gary, and to this Fourth World Nation. It has been my intention that this aspect of the research would serve as a critical component of Fourth *World Nation: A Critical Geography of Decline*, by utilizing expanded research methodologies to further examine Gary's brief one hundred-year history, its ambitious rise to a major industrial center, and its unprecedented decline and institutional abandonment as Fourth World Theory clearly demonstrates that racism layered over de-industrialization is a perfect storm for disaster.

As the first African American in Indiana as well as the first to administer what was at the time, considered to be a major city in the United States, Hatcher is a pivotal character to this research effort. The initial research was submitted in December 2010 for Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval with Purdue Sociology Professor Dr. Richard Hogan serving as “Principal Investigator” (PI). The meeting with Richard Hatcher was held at Indiana University Northwest in Gary, Indiana on Monday, January 31, 2011. A summary of the meeting, which primarily focused on his childhood, school years, early involvement in various forms of activism, practice in law, and his reluctant yet effective transition into political life.

The Indiana University Northwest Calumet Regional Archives, which houses the *Richard Hatcher Collection*, traces Hatcher’s tenure as mayor of the City of Gary and chronicles his triumphs and struggles. In addition, the conversation has been utilized to expand the discourse on how race and class-based stratification was designed into the physical infrastructure of the city, and how the race-based actions and policies impacted the city Hatcher inherited and tried to manage during the early years of his tenure as mayor.

With the assistance of Dorothy Mockry of the Minority Studies Department in the Indiana University Northwest College of Arts and Sciences, I began my interview with Richard Hatcher following a brief, introductory conversation. Hatcher discussed events that led to his father, Carlton Hatcher essentially being forced to leave Macon, Georgia and how while migrating to Chicago where two of his sisters resided, he ran out of money and found himself in Michigan City, Indiana.

Prior to being forced to leave Macon, Carlton Hatcher worked for a saw mill where he transported lumber in a mule-drawn wagon. One day, an incident occurred when the wagon hit a depression in a road causing the lumber to shift and some units fell to the side of the road where a

small child was playing. Although the child was not harmed, his parents were alarmed and contacted the sheriff to apprehend Hatcher allegedly for deliberately attempting to injure or kill the child. With the assistance of his in-laws who disguised him as a woman, Hatcher fled Macon and traveled north by bus.

Upon arriving in Michigan City, Hatcher first found work in lawn care and later at the Pullman Standard factory where he worked for many years. Richard Hatcher recalled his father stating on many occasions, how a couple of days in Michigan City turned into forty-five years. Initially, the Hatcher family was restricted to living in an area in the near-eastside of Michigan City known as “The Patch.” As with the Patch in Gary, the Black Bottom and Paradise Valley in Detroit, and similar restricted spaces throughout the industrial north, the Patch in Michigan City was characterized by deplorable conditions. Hatcher described a constant and incredible stench in the area being downwind from an animal hair processing factory where his mother labored, along with many women, under atrocious conditions. He stated that his mother Katherine Hatcher, died of cancer when he was thirteen years old. He is convinced that the working conditions at the factory contributed to her death. He also noted that there were no paved streets in the district and that the streets were covered in an unknown industrial waste substance that the community referred to as “Pig Iron.”

The Hatcher family lived in a large, poorly constructed, dilapidated house with extended family members, boarders, and others. He recalled two of his brothers, who had served in the U.S. Army (one had been stationed in Alaska), providing Army-issued heavy coats which were used as blankets in the cold, uninsulated house. On occasions, Hatcher remembered, he would awake and find a light dusting of snow in his bed. The house featured two coal stoves, one in the rear and one

in the center of the living room. The young Hatcher was assigned the responsibility of bringing coal from the basement and starting the fires each morning.

Hatcher reflected on the collectivistic spirit of the community and how during difficult times, the community would cooperatively pool their resources as a means to survive. During periodic Pullman layoff periods, the Hatcher family would receive monthly “relief” through the Trustee’s Office including potatoes, chicken, fruits and vegetables. During these times, he would accompany his father to collect in a push cart, leftovers from alleys behind White retail establishments and restaurants including food which was consumed by the family, or items which could be resold to a junk yard. Hatcher remembered being proud and honored to join his father on such missions for he felt responsible to his family as a young man. As a child, he had no conceptual understanding or recollection of being poor and/or living in poverty.

There were seven surviving children in the Hatcher family. Richard Hatcher was the youngest boy. Several of the children, thirteen total, born in the south, and without medical care, died as infants or toddlers. Also, a set of Hatcher twins, born in the Patch, died of exposure in the cold, poorly insulated house at thirteen or fourteen months of age. Due to institutional segregation and discrimination, the notion of medical care or hospitalization was so foreign to Patch residents that many did not know such care existed.

On Friday nights, many of the adult residents in the Patch, including Hatcher’s older brothers, would frequent a tavern/pool hall. Hatcher recollected reports and rumors that on some nights, there may have been a fight at the establishment, and someone may have been “cut.” But never did he hear of a shooting or killing. Nevertheless, his mother was worried.

Hatcher recalled how he, and his siblings would walk out to Sheridan Beach from the Patch and shovel sand, paint, or perform other odd jobs for the residents to earn a few dollars during the summer months. They would also sift through for sand of Washington Park, under the playground equipment for coins. The Patch was approximately five square blocks and was patrolled by a single Black policeman, Mr. Kemp (the only Black policeman on the Michigan City Police force). Mr. Kemp knew everybody, and everybody knew Mr. Kemp. If you were out some place, doing something that you should not do, Mr. Kemp did not take you to jail. He called your mother or your father. ‘This boy’s over here into something that he doesn’t need to be into.’ He kept order.”

Hatcher mentioned how one of his brothers, who had been drafted by the Army, was stationed at Great Lakes, and how he on several occasions, would go AWOL and come home. Hatcher would ride with his father to return his brother to the military base, which was just north of Chicago. After checking him into the base and returning home to Michigan City, his brother would be back home when they arrived!

Years later, when Blacks were allowed to live in the near westside of the Michigan City (around 7th Street and Willard Avenue in an area formerly occupied by Syrian immigrants) Carlton Hatcher moved his family from the Patch and purchased a house on 7th Street. Although he had no formal education, could not read or write, Carlton Hatcher effectively managed his financial affairs. He also slowly acquired rental properties, often lent money to community members, and had a handshake relationship with the local bank through a gentleman known as Mr. Gerritsen. At age seventy-two, he endeavored to learn to read so that he could read the bible at family gatherings and at Mount Zion Baptist Church where he was fondly known as Deacon Hatcher. He discussed the tradition of prayer in the Black community and how his father was skilled in this regard. He reflected

on the barber in the patch Moses Wilson, who was a legendary “pray-er.” Barber ‘Mos’ Wilson, the champion of prayers would always open with:

*Father I stretch my hands to thee,
 No other help I know;
 If thou withdraw thyself from me,
 Ah! wither shall I go?
 On Jordan’s stormy banks I stand,
 And cast a wishful eve,
 To Canaan’s fair and happy land,
 Where my possessions lie.*

Upon reciting Wilson’s prayer opening, Hatcher emotionally reflected on how people in the community, regardless of their circumstances, had the capacity to improvise, and use the art of extemporization as a means to confront difficult challenges in their lives. “If you think people, who never had an education, never read history, never read Shakespeare, nor read about the great writers and philosophers, and yet they were absolutely poetic . . . they could go on for thirty minutes . . .” He regretted not recording the amazing prayers and other forms of engagement common in the small Black community of his childhood. Carlton Hatcher was a very religious man who upon becoming involved with the church, never drank or engaged in other forms of self-destructive behavior. He died at the age of ninety-nine.

Hatcher attended integrated schools in Michigan City including Michigan City Elston Jr. and Senior High Schools. He recalled having friendly relationships with many of the White students but cited the clearly defined physical limitations of their friendship with respect to place and space. He

only recalls one racial incident while growing up in Michigan City regarding a racial slur directed at a Black man in a downtown drug store. However, during his high school years, and as a popular athlete (track star), he had the opportunity to work as a dishwasher at an establishment known as Arnies, located at Michigan and Franklin Streets near the Courthouse. After six or seven months of working at Arnies, he observed a Black couple who had come into the restaurant, sat down and waited to be served; but the waitresses refused to serve them. The restaurant manager informed the couple that the restaurant did not serve Blacks. The couple promptly left the establishment. Hatcher confronted the manager who apologized by indicating that he was only doing his job and following the orders of the owner, Mr. Brown. Hatcher ripped off his apron, threw it on the floor, and stormed out of Arnies. Upon arriving at home, Hatcher's father was on the phone with Arnies. Afterward, father sat down with his son,

“ . . . you have a job up there because you hope that next year, you are going to go to college. One of the things that you have to learn about life is that sometimes, when someone has something that you need, in order to get it, you sometimes have to take things that you ordinarily would not have to take. Mr. Brown has a job, and that job will help you and help me, so that you can go to school.”

Thus, Carlton Hatcher persuaded his son Richard, to go back to his job for the remainder of the summer. The young Hatcher then went to Bloomington, Indiana and began his college education at Indiana University (IU).

At the time Richard Hatcher enrolled at Indiana University, after University President Herman B. Wells oversaw the ending of the practice of segregation within the university. IU was officially desegregated; however, roommates in dormitories were required to be of the same race. Hatcher discussed difficulties in getting a haircut in Bloomington and how Black students would travel to the other end of town, and enter the rear door of the house of a Black barber (who also cut

hair for White patrons and was afraid that he would lose his White customers if he allowed his Black customers to occupy the same space). He recalled a conversation with Vernon Jordan who was enrolled at DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana and how he had to travel a great distance to Bloomington to get his hair cut, at the same establishment.

Hatcher became involved with the campus chapter of the NAACP. The organization was involved in picketing Nicks Old English Hut, a dining establishment adjacent to the campus, engaged in discriminatory activities. Finally, and due to the activism of the students, Nick's ended their discriminatory practices. The university followed by issuing an edict to all businesses in Bloomington that if they could not serve all of the students, regardless of race, creed, or color, then they would not serve any of the students. Thus, institutional discrimination in Bloomington had all but ended. Upon graduating from Indiana University, Hatcher returned to northwest Indiana where he attended Law School at Valparaiso University.

Richard Hatcher mentioned that he had a sister Gladys, who resided in Muskegon, Michigan. She had worked as a secretary for a Black attorney in Michigan City and the exposure to her younger brother Richard, via running errands, etc., inspired him to pursue a career in law. Upon graduation from Valparaiso, and through networking, Gladys arranged interviews first with attorney Ben Wilson in Gary and then with attorney Henry Walker in East Chicago. Hatcher found Henry Walker particularly charming and chose to join his firm. Soon after, a major scandal was exposed in Gary resulting in the indictment of the entire Gary City Council (including Ben Wilson) and the Mayor, who was ultimately sent to prison. Thus, Hatcher was fortunate to have chosen to work with Walker and not be linked to the scandal, directly or indirectly, through Wilson's office. While working with Walker, Hatcher met State Senator James Hunter. Hunter owned a real estate business and shared

office space with Henry Walker. During his tenure with Walker's firm, he was introduced to many leading and well connected political officials. While working in East Chicago, Hatcher resided in Gary with his brother. Many approached to encourage him to run for State Senator against James Hunter. Hatcher refused.

Richard Hatcher indicated that the late John Grigsby was the person most responsible for his determination to campaign to serve on the Gary City Council. He stated that he had no intention to run for any political office and that he was focused on his law practice; and how John Grigsby strongly encouraged and ultimately convinced him to run for City Council despite the fact that he was considered an "outsider," being from Michigan City, Indiana and one who had not attended the "Velt."⁷⁸

What ultimately convinced Richard Hatcher to run was when John Grigsby came to his office and presented a three-ring binder filled with pages upon pages of signatures indicating that "I will support Richard Hatcher for City Council." Grigsby had personally and voluntarily gone door-to-door, unsolicited, to gain support by petition, for Hatcher to campaign for City Council.

Perhaps due to the fact that his election and tenure as Mayor of Gary is well documented, or perhaps due to the limited time, Richard Hatcher did not discuss his five-term service as Mayor, deindustrialization, institutional abandonment, or the general decline of the city. Instead, he chose to discuss other aspects of his legal and political activism.

Hatcher discussed when he served as an attorney to help secure voting rights on behalf of African American citizens of Mississippi. He described traveling from town-to-town and how the courthouse squares in each town were virtually identical as were the intimidating men in pick-up

⁷⁸ Slang term for Theodore Roosevelt High School in Gary, Indiana.

trucks with rifles mounted in the rear windows that slowly circled the town squares like buzzards, during his visits.

I asked if he was ever afraid. He responded by mentioning an incident where as he was photographing “White Only” signs at a public facility, he turned and his two colleagues (both White) had left the scene. At that moment Hatcher continued, he was approached by two large, armed sheriff deputies. His first instinct was to turn and run, but then he reminded himself of the importance of his dignity and upon one of the sheriffs yelling, “Boy, what are you doing?” He slowly walked away and rejoined his colleagues, who were waiting in the car. Hatcher described how the word would spread about “troublemakers from up north coming to town” but they continued traveling to the towns, surveying and documenting conditions so that evidence could be compiled that would ultimately result in a class action desegregation suits against illegal restriction of access to courthouses, school, libraries, and other public facilities and institutions. He reflected on the marveled at the bravery of the many Black residents of Mississippi how put their jobs, livelihoods, and personal safety on the line and how some paid the ultimate price for “challenging the order of things.” He recalled periodically visiting Durant, Mississippi, home to his stepmother Georgia Hatcher, and how all of the White businesses were located on a main thoroughfare through the city and how the Black businesses – often the businesses that Whites did not want to be bothered with -- were located on an alleyway, fronted the alleyway, at the rear of the White businesses.

Hatcher mentioned a recent gathering in Las Vegas at a “Richard Hatcher Day” event and his meeting with Charlie Evers. Recalling his conversation with Charlie Evers about serving on his campaign for Governor of Mississippi and how terrified he was to travel with Evers on the campaign trail, Hatcher recalled in incident when Evers publically fearlessly taunted a White mayor of a small

town rally in Mississippi proclaiming that if elected governor, he would endeavor to bring an end to all of the race-based intimidation and institutional hatred.⁷⁹

Hatcher shared his experience of serving as chairman of Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign for President of the United States. He talked about his relationship with Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm who had chosen to run for President years earlier, how he encouraged her to attend a National Black Political Convention (NBPC) in Gary in 1972, and how she declined the invitation citing fear that if she attended, she would be at risk of not being accepted by the masses. Nevertheless, the convention represented a political milestone and launched the ambitions of many African Americans to effectuate change through elected office. Hatcher maintains the position that the NBPC marked a "transition from marching and demonstrating in the streets to moving into the political arena." According to Hatcher, following the NBPC in 1972, the number of Black elected officials increased from approximately 300 to more than 4,000 by 1974.

By 1978, Black political officials began to explore the notion of supporting a Black candidate for President. During a meeting held in Chicago attended by approximately twenty-five political officials and prominent citizens including, but not limited to Joseph Lowery (SCLC), Benjamin Hooks (NAACP), John Johnson (Ebony Magazine), Andy Young (Ambassador to the UN), and Rev. Jesse Jackson (PUSH) who ultimately agreed to run for President of the United States. Hatcher was

⁷⁹ James Charles Evers (born September 11, 1922), the older brother of slain civil rights activist Medgar Evers, is a leading civil rights spokesman within the Republican Party in his native Mississippi. In 1969, he became the first African American since the Reconstruction era to have been elected as mayor in a Mississippi city, Fayette in Jefferson County. Thereafter, he ran for governor in 1971 and the United States Senate in 1978, both times as an Independent candidate.

quoted as stating during the meeting, “If not now, when? If not Jesse, who?” Subsequently, Jackson requested Hatcher to serve as campaign chairman.

During his 1984 presidential campaign, Jackson received much of his financial support from Black churches fostered by his relationship with the clergy. The press also paid fees to travel with Jackson which helped to compensate for the cost and use of charter planes. The United States Secret Service provided security during Jackson’s 1984 and 1988 campaigns for President. Hatcher found Jesse Jackson to be a brilliant man and an incredible candidate. He recalled during “Super Tuesday” of the 1988 Democratic Primary and how Jackson had either won or came in close second in several states. The upcoming primary was to be held in Illinois, also home to Senator Paul Simon and his struggling candidacy. Simon was encouraged by the political machine to remain in the race until after the Illinois Primary which he won, which jeopardized the Jackson campaign – although he carried Michigan in a subsequent primary. Former New York Mayor and campaign manager for the Al Gore campaign, Ed Koch, accused Jackson of antisemitism which undermined his campaign in New York. Ultimately, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis won the Democratic Nomination for President of the United States of America.

I was truly honored to have had the opportunity to meet former Gary Mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher. Despite the fact that our limited time prevented my exploration of his reflections on the unprecedented abandonment and subsequent decline of the city, Hatcher’s thoughts in this regard have been discussed and well-documented through numerous sources. In less than a decade following his historic election, the city of Gary was on the brink of physical, social, and institutional abandonment. As the tax-base eroded, resources were depleted, Black flight followed White flight. Written just a few years after the above-referenced, cautiously optimistic publication, *Black Power*

Gary Style, a 1978 *New York Times* article by Roger Wilkins was published entitled, “Gary Mayor’s Lessons in Racial Hostility, Urban Woes and Keeping Faith.” What is clearly apparent in the article is that after just a few years in office, Hatcher had begun to become reflective about the realities of race and space in the United States of America.

“The first thing,” the Mayor reflected, “is that I’ve come to a full appreciation of the pervasiveness and the intensity of the racial hostilities that exist in this country. A lot of decisions that have affected this city adversely that seem on their face irrational become understandable only when the racial issue is factored in” (Wilkins, “Gary Mayor’s Lessons” in *New York Times*, 1978).

In the *Times* article, Hatcher described the “tremendous” flight of business, investments and White people from Gary” (Wilkins) in addition to exceptions to laws that had been granted by the Indiana State Legislature exempting Gary from the protection given against the creation of new municipalities within a three-mile belt surrounding the city. The creation of the town of Merrillville, a formerly unincorporated village with infrastructure financed in part, with Gary tax dollars, established a haven for fleeing Whites to relocate en masse. In addition to the aforementioned school integration challenges, the Black community of Gary had essentially been restricted to, and overcrowded in the Midtown (formerly, “The Patch”) area of the city. When Hatcher was able to secure enough City Council votes to pass anti-discriminatory housing laws (after six attempts), a massive White evacuation was in order.

“Every time it came up for a vote the council chambers would be packed with screaming and yelling. I liken them to the Tea Partiers today,” Hatcher told WBEZ. “They were yelling and all kinds of racial slurs and they would intimidate. I introduced that bill at least six times. It was defeated five times. That 6th time was the charm.”⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Race: Out Loud, “Hurt feelings continue over Northwest Indiana town’s creation” by Michael Puente on WBEZ91.5, August 31, 2012. www.wbez.org/shows/race-out-loud/hurt-feelings-continue-over-northwest-indiana-towns-creation/8dc2da6d-57fe-4b9b-b46f-f8798a693e1

To serve in the capacity as the first African American to be elected Mayor over what at the time was considered to be a major city in the United States of America, and to struggle, witness, and be powerless to the ills associated with blatant and systemic acts of hatred and discrimination based solely on the social construction of race, combined simultaneously with the disappearance of work resulting from automation, deindustrialization, and globalization, must be disheartening at the least. As falls Gary, so falls, Detroit; so falls Camden; so falls East St. Louis; so falls Flint; and so falls the United States of America.

CHAPTER 5. GARY: A CRITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF A FOURTH WORLD CITY

5.1 Introduction: In Memory of John Thadis Dotson

Only one storefront shows signs of activity on the square surrounding the Leake County Courthouse in Carthage, Mississippi. Once a thriving block of retail establishments, institutions and offices, all that remains is the stately County Courthouse which was erected in 1935⁸¹, and a bridal shop. The balance of the buildings are vacant, boarded, or inactive. A country mile to the west, on State Highway 16, a Super Wal-Mart bustles with patrons, crushes its remaining competition, and serves as the center for the limited physical and social interaction among African Americans, Native Americans (Choctaws), and White Americans for the entire county. Former school teacher and administrator Mary Ann Wilder Vivians, was recently elected to serve as Carthage's first African American woman Mayor.

One of my fondest memories as a child was "goin' to town" with my grandfather, Olon Dotson. After feeding the chickens and cows at the crack of dawn, driving through what were at times, virtually impassable dirt and graveled roads to collect the children (some who came to school only in a pair of overalls with no shoes, living on 'commodities,' residing in clapboard shacks resting on brick or block crawl spaces, with rolled tar or rusted tin roofs, potbelly stoves, wells, pumps, and outhouses) he would drop them off at the Harmony Community Center. He would then park the

⁸¹ According to the City of Carthage Chamber of Commerce, the first courthouse was built in 1836 and, after forty-one years, was replaced by a brick structure. In 1910, a new courthouse was erected. After a fire during the early 1930's, a new and the current Leake County Courthouse was constructed in 1935.

yellow Head Start bus, which was covered in red clay dust, and transfer belongings to his pick-up truck. On occasions, we would ride in his sister's 1965 Plymouth Belvedere II; however, I was always more excited when we rode to town in the pick-up.

“Can I ride in the back Daddy Olon?”

“Why sure little Freddy” he would reply, “But you gotta sit down back there and be still.”

During the journey to town, I would inhale the fragrance of the Mississippi pines, admire the beauty of the flowering mimosa, contemplate the impressive dust cloud generated by the speeding truck, study the peculiar erosion patterns in the moist stark red clay formations on the side of the road, count fence posts, try to visualize who might live at the end of each long driveway, and gaze toward the ridges and valleys in the distance at the fine new brick ranch homes with carports – and the shacks behind the new homes still standing as a reminder of what *was*. Often, I noticed that the residents of the new homes, would sit on the porch of their old shacks, for the new modern ranch homes did not have porches.

About half way to town, Daddy Olon would stop at a general store/gas station in the heart of the community of Freeny. Through the store's wooden screen entrance door, I would observe his humble and polite mannerisms with the White store clerk. The Freeny clerk would always engage in *small talk*.

“Who's that little fella yo got there Olon?”

“This here is Freddy. He's Cloice C's second boy” as he handed me a vanilla ice cream sandwich. “He lives way up yonder there in Indian-napolis. My other two boys live up in Gary, Indiana and work with my brother Thadis . . . well, he retired from the steel plant.”

“He's a cute little rascal.”

Our journey to town continued. I observed a family perched on the sandy banks of the Pearl River, fishing with cane poles as we slowly passed over the bridge. I waved, and they all waved back. Suddenly, the pick-up came to a stop on the side of the road. Daddy Olon slowly walked along the side the truck, lifted me over the t-gate, and gently placed me on the road side. He removed his hat, tossed it into the cab, and held my hand without saying a word. After the funeral procession passed, I climbed into the cab of the truck and rode into town next to my grandfather. I was familiar with the degree of respect commonly demonstrated upon encountering a funeral procession; however, never had I experienced such a demonstration of the esteemed southern tradition as exhibited by ‘Daddy Olon’.

I recall the local Piggly Wiggly, Myricks’s haberdasheries, buying bags of feed from an unremarkable establishment on Highway 35, the Carthage Bank, and “The Rag Shop,” a fabric store where customers would travel from great distances to rummage through miscellaneous textiles, threads, yarn and patterns for clothing, and quilt making. In “The Rag Shop,” I was mesmerized with the large tins of buttons of all shapes, sizes, and colors and enjoyed the feel of inserting my hands deep into the depths of ‘buttonland.’ My imagination soared while in “The Rag Shop.”

Upon finishing our business at the Carthage bank, and strolling through a quaint park with a gazebo and toward the town square, an older White gentleman approached us.

“Hey here Olon! Who you got there witchya?” “Oh,
this here is my grandson.”

“Young man,” he said, bending over and tapping my upper arm with his trembling, wrinkled hands, “your grand pappy is one of the finest darkies this community has everknown.”

At the age of seven, I was incapable of understanding the gravity of such a statement. Nor could I begin to comprehend the depths of the racial antagonism, hatred and violence which had recently occurred in and near the community. Under direction of Medgar Evers, my grandmother, Clara Dotson, served as first President of the NAACP in Leake County in 1961 (Mississippi Harmony 58). Freedom Summer had occurred only six years prior to my encounter in the courthouse square. I was not aware of the fact that members of my family had hosted James Cheney and Michael Schwerner⁸² along with eleven other activists during that fateful season. I was protected, insulated from the ills of disenfranchisement, institutional segregation and the widespread vehemence toward African Americans throughout the communities in Leake County, in Mississippi, and the entire nation. As I stood in the courthouse square, I was unaware of the fact that my family's resistance resulted in one of the first U.S. Justice Department investigations into voting irregularities.

So we kept going to the NAACP meetings and telling about how we was being harassed, and testifying about the bad voting problems for Black people in Leake County, and we were reporting to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and finally, in 1962, the Justice Department sent down lawyers Bob Owen and Frank Schewlb. We met with them several times and after that Frank met with the circuit clerk and so me other officials in Carthage. Then, Frank told us to go and try to register again. We went and there wasn't no Klansmen around, and this time, the circuit clerk gave us the form about interpreting an article of the constitution, and I wrote down the article that he gave me, and then when it came to interpret it, I said, "It said what it meant and it meant what it said." The next day I went back and they told me, "Winson you passed," and Dovie passed too (Anger Winson Gates Hudson in *Mississippi Harmony*, 44).

⁸² In the early sixties, civil rights groups in Mississippi formed the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) and organized Freedom Summer. Student workers included Annie Pearl Clay, Pam Gerould, Jane Adams, and Carole Grosse Michael Schwerner, and James Chaney. In June, at the beginning of the project, three of the workers, Schwerner, Chaney, and Andrew Goodman were murdered in Neshoba County, thirteen miles from Harmony. Source: *Mississippi, Harmony*.

Nearly one hundred years after emancipation and subsequent reconstruction, the struggle for legal emancipation and reconstruction continued. Reinforced by the “except as punishment for a crime” provision for slavery and involuntary servitude, the principles of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution, which were ratified in 1865, 1868, and 1870 respectively⁸³ had limited consequence relative to the oppressive environment in the southern slave and later sharecropping states. Thus, a century of circumscribed progress from emancipation to the failures of reconstruction, subsequent Jim Crow ‘laws,’ lynching, and institutional segregation clearly demonstrates that the ratifications were not enforceable. Notwithstanding atrocities including genocide against the indigenous, gender discrimination, and international imperialism, this lengthy sequence calls to question the structural integrity of the entire existence of the United States of America and its Constitution. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 should not have been necessary.

Carthage serves as the seat of the County that was the birthplace of racist and segregationist Mississippi Governor, Ross Barnett who once in a courtroom, in the presence of recently widowed and grieving Myrlie Evers, interrupted the all-White jury deliberation to shake the hand of Medgar Evers’ murderer Byron De La Beckwith. Nevertheless, in Leake County Mississippi, as in thousands of other counties throughout the South, Black folk endured and endeavored while thousands logically

⁸³ Three new Constitutional amendments, known as the Reconstruction Amendments, were adopted. The 13th Amendment abolished slavery and was ratified in 1865. The 14th Amendment was proposed in 1866 and ratified in 1868, guaranteeing United States citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States (except Native Americans), and granting them federal civil rights. The 15th Amendment, proposed in late February 1869 and passed in early February 1870, decreeing that the right to vote could not be denied because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Source: *A Political History of the United States during the Period of Reconstruction*.

and rationally chose exit rather than voice. As Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy poetically chronicle in their publication, *Anyplace But Here*:

Old people too tired to move, young ones who enjoyed a favor or two in the South, and others who were just plain scared to leave stayed at home, watched their friends slip away, and tried to understand the thing they saw before their eyes. The impulse to go, as it appeared to them, seemed to work like a fever. It had progressive symptoms. The first might be anger, disappointment, hope, or just a tendency to dream, but the second was always discontent and restlessness. Then eyes that swept the horizon. Finally flight (Bontemps 3).

The above-quoted Freedom Fighter Winson with her husband Cleo Hudson chose, on two occasions during the 1940s, to exercise exit to the *Black Metropolis*; however, and as with many, she ultimately returned to the battlefields of Mississippi. My great-uncle John Thadis Dotson, along with tens of thousands of African American dreamers, arrived in Gary, Indiana in circa 1920. He had been born to Robert and Callie Dotson in the Harmony Community near Carthage, Mississippi, on June 18, 1890⁸⁴ and enlisted in the military during WWI along with his younger brother Herbert who was killed in action and is buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Upon his arrival in Gary, Thadis labored in the foundries of United States Steel for more than forty years until his retirement in the 1960's. During his tenure at U.S. Steel, he earned comfortable wages and often returned “home” to Carthage, Mississippi to visit family and friends. He was known for even during casual and informal visits, always dressing in suit and tie. His sense of style, professionalism, and fine cars inspired his nephews, Robert, Cloice’ and later, James Wendell Dotson to pursue formal education, exercise exit, and ultimately relocate to Gary, Indiana. Upon their arrival, Uncle Thadis assisted them with employment at United States Steel Corporation. John Thadis Dotson died in June of 1971 at

⁸⁴ Birth and death records for John Thadis Dotson were collected through family oral histories, verified through FamilySearch.org, and will be confirmed through the Office of Vital Statistics of the City of Gary, Indiana.

the age of eighty-one. He was survived by his wife Fannie Dotson (b. August 6, 1895, d. September 1976).⁸⁵ The couple had no children.

5.2 Journey to the Funeral of Uncle Thadis

During June of the year following my aforementioned encounter at the Carthage Town Square, our family received notice of the death of Daddy Olon's older brother, Uncle Thadis. Early on a beautiful, sunny Saturday morning, we crowded in the family vehicle and began our two and one-half hour drive from Indianapolis to Gary for the memorial services. Gazing through the passenger rear window at the endless fields of corn and soybeans, I fixated my eyes on the glimpses of soil between each row of plantings which appeared to flicker like a film reel at the instant when my cone of vision was perpendicular to each row. After crossing the Wabash River, I began to dose as the landscape returned to flat monotony. I was awakened by the odorous stench of industry and noticed that the beautiful clear blue sky had been filtered by a deep gray haze of smoke. In the distance, I saw a sweeping skyline in a complex composition of vertical stacks billowing white, gray and black clouds of foulness into the air. As we exited toward Broadway, I observed a large billboard ironically proclaiming, "Welcome to Gary R 'City on the Move' R Richard Hatcher, Mayor."

We proceeded onto Broadway, the primary north-south thoroughfare and commercial corridor through the city. Retail establishments were present and active, but many appeared to be in a state of disrepair and distress. Lee's Chicken Shack was a visible, active establishment. On my right, I noticed a Burger Chef sign which had been modified to read, "Dotson's Auto Repair." Automobiles and automobile parts littered the front of what had once been a family friendly fast food

⁸⁵ Birth and death records for Fannie Dotson were collected through family oral histories, verified through FamilySearch.org, and were confirmed through the Office of Vital Statistics of the City of Gary, Indiana.

establishment. As we approached the central business district, the streets became crowded with Black people everywhere. The brick buildings and their large windows appeared to be covered in a light coat of soot. I could not determine if the Sears Department Store was open or closed; however, Lyttons, H.C. Gordon & Sons, Goldblatt's, and Fairs had clearly been either vacated, or were in the process of vacating. On axis with the end of Broadway loomed Gary Steel Works over the entire scene reminiscent of the trailer I had recently seen for the forthcoming, soon to be released *Willie Wonka and the Chocolate Factory*, starring Gene Wilder.

“What is that smell Daddy? It is getting worser and worser.” I complained.

“First of all, its ‘worse’ boy,” my father replied as he passed the Gary National Bank building. “They used to tell me that it was the ‘smell of money.’”

As we neared the northern terminus of Broadway, I discovered two virtually identical, domed neoclassical buildings flanking either side of the street and a statue of the city’s fonder, Elbert H. Gary⁸⁶ saluting the source of the odor. We passed under a series of overpasses and approached the gateway to the factory where my father once labored, and his brother Robert continued to earn his living, I noticed the Train Station Building, looking abandoned and on the brink of closure.

⁸⁶ Elbert H. Gary was the principal founder of the United States Steel Corporation in 1901. His major partners included J. Pierpont Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, and Charles M. Schwab. The city of Gary, Indiana, a steel town, was named in his honor when it was founded in 1906. As Chairman of the Board, United States Steel Corporation, initiated what contemporaries called "the industrial wonder of the world." U.S. Steel's Gary Works was, indeed, a monumental achievement. Along with building the world's largest integrated steelmaking complex, the Corporation also saw an opportunity to build a model company-built town. Thirty-seven local residents approved a petition to incorporate the Town of Gary on July 14, 1906. Two years and \$42,000,000 later, Gary became known as the "Magic City" and the "City of the Century". Source: E. H. Gary Bibliography - <http://gdynets.webng.com/bio.htm>.

Steelworkers Prayer (Gary Bio)

<i>Our founding father, who art in New York City,</i>	<i>Give us this day our daily wage,</i>
<i>"Not Louisiana, Paris, France or Rome." And</i>	<i>And forgive us our transgressions,</i>
<i>definitely not in the city we call home!</i>	<i>Just as we forgive Superintendent Gleason</i>
<i>Elbert be thy name.</i>	<i>and the other bosses,</i>
<i>Thy mill has come.</i>	<i>Who transgress against us daily.</i>
<i>And thy will has been done,</i>	<i>Lead us not into "The Patch," and temptation,</i>
<i>On the southern shore of Lake Michigan;</i>	<i>But do deliver us from evil.</i>
<i>Upon both the wilds of nature and the laboring</i>	<i>And keep us on the straight and narrow path,</i>
<i>man.</i>	<i>For thine is the company,</i>
<i>Just as you have ordained.</i>	<i>U. S. Steel, glorious U. S. Steel,</i>
	<i>forever and ever —</i>

5.3 The Cow, the Lantern, and the White City

The exact cause of the fire remains unknown and will most likely be forever shrouded in mystery. The rumor of a cow kicking over a lantern in a barn, which remains a common urban legend, was admittedly fabricated by a *Chicago Republican* reporter, Michael Ahern.⁸⁷ Other hypotheses include, but were not limited to the notion of a meteor shower, two boys sneaking a smoke, an international Parisian-based terrorist plot, and various conspiracy theories. More recently,

⁸⁷ On the fortieth anniversary of the great conflagration a police reporter named Michael Ahern, who was working for the *Chicago Republican* at the time of the fire, boasted in the *Tribune* that he and two now-deceased cronies made the whole thing up. Source: *The O'Leary Legend*, www.chicagohistory.org.

amateur historian Richard Bales has come to believe it was actually started when Daniel "Pegleg" Sullivan, who first reported the fire, ignited some hay in the barn while trying to steal some milk (Bales, 57). Much of the blame directed at Catherine O'Leary⁸⁸ was ground in the fact that she was an Irish immigrant, Catholic, and a woman. Hostilities toward the Irish immigrants were particularly common in Chicago during the late nineteenth century. The story laid the blame for conflagration and chaos at the feet of a person that more elite Chicagoans would readily recognize as a member of (in this case quite literally) a "dangerous class" of their city (Sawislak, 44). David Harvey in *Spaces of Capital*, credits Charles Loring Brace with the term.

The PBS documentary, *Chicago: City of the Century* identifies the new poor Irish arrivals as at the bottom of the European immigrant social structure, often relegated to slum environments and incredibly dangerous working conditions. The documentary suggests that in some cases, African Americans chose to relocate upon the arrival of Irish immigrants. A descendant of Catherine O'Leary stated that she spent the rest of her life in the public eye, in which she was constantly blamed for starting the fire. Overcome with much sadness and regret, she "died heartbroken." This much is beyond dispute – the fire started in Mrs. O'Leary's cow barn on DeKoven Street, and went on from there. As for the cause, no one knows for sure. It is likely that no one ever will (Cromie, 31).

Regardless of the theory and irrespective of the cause, the fact remains that a substantial portion of the city of Chicago, including virtually the entire central business district, burned to ashes

⁸⁸ The fire started at about 9 p.m. on Sunday, October 8, in or around a small shed that bordered the alley behind 137 DeKoven Street. The traditional account of the origin of the fire is that it was started by a cow kicking over a lantern in the barn owned by Patrick and Catherine O'Leary. Catherine O'Leary seemed the perfect scapegoat: she was a woman, an immigrant and Catholic, a combination which did not fare well in the political climate of the time in Chicago. This story was circulating in Chicago even before the flames had died out, and it was noted in the Chicago Tribune's first post-fire issue. Source: *Did the Cow Do It?* www.thechicagofire.com.

and ruins in what was to become known as the *Great Chicago Fire of 1871*. However, the immediate and ambitious rebuilding effort catapulted the city toward becoming a major population and commerce center. As part of the rebuilding effort, many industrial concerns, deemed incompatible with retail, commercial, and residential development, were relocated to areas south of the core of the city. The rapid evolution in industry and technology, the introduction of rail freight systems, and the availability and manipulation of capital and labor fueled an unparalleled expansion in the physical development patterns of the city.

The renaissance of Chicago was on full display at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. Master planned by Frederick Law Olmsted, referred to as the "Father of American Landscape Architecture" and architect Daniel Burnham, referred to as the "Father of City Planning," the exposition site covered more than six hundred acres featuring nearly two hundred new buildings of neoclassical beaux-arts architecture, canals, lagoons, and with some exceptions, people and cultures from around the world. These "fathers" along with other renown architects and designers created a complex of a scale and grandeur that far exceeded other world's fairs, became a symbol of the emerging American Exceptionalism "and was designed to advance the causes of nationalism, imperialism, and consumerism" (Wells, xi). The attendance total exceeded what would be equivalent to over half the population of the United States at the time.

Not all of those memories were positive however. For many African Americans, the Dream City, as the World's Columbian Exposition was sometimes known, turned into a nightmare. African Americans were denied a voice in the fair's creation and most African American exhibits had to be approved by all-White screening committees before they were accepted for display. Equally disturbing were displays by private companies that ridiculed Blacks and so-called living ethnological exhibits of "primitive" human beings that reinforced the impression among Whites that Blacks were closer to "savagery" than to "civilization." As the racist underpinnings of the utopia projected by the fair became clear, many African Americans concluded that the World's Columbian Exposition, with its radiant White City, had become nothing less than a Frankenstein, the cultural counterpart to the lynchings that claimed 161 African-American lives in 1892 alone. If, as the sponsors of the Chicago fair proclaimed, the exposition offered a blueprint for the future course of American "civilization," then there was little doubt that this vision for the future had to be contested. The question was how (xiii).

Frederick Douglass did not allow the watermelon stands which were installed solely for "Jubilee Day," a.k.a. "Darkies Day," at the White City, or the jeering Whites in the crowd, or the national and complex divisions within the African American community to dissuade him as he delivered his brief and powerful speech at Festival Hall. Meanwhile, Ida B. Wells led a boycott of the World's Fair and distributed the pamphlet, *The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition*, which included an introduction by Douglass. The principal purpose of the pamphlet was to draw national and international attention to the progress of African Americans since emancipation, which was clearly absent in the White City, juxtaposed with the increasingly oppressive atmosphere of lynching and other forms of violence as well as blatant and focused resistance to the upward mobility of people of color.

The Reason Why was an appeal to the masses to contemplate the ramifications with respect to how such discriminatory practices impede the overall progress of the nation. Nevertheless, with the exception of the assigination of Mayor, Carter Harrison,⁸⁹ two days before the closing of the fair, which resulted in the cancellation of the closing ceremonies, the exposition was deemed a major success. For all practical purposes, *The Reason Why* was of little relevance

to the bourgeois fair organizers nor was it of any consequence to the continued and unprecedented massive unregulated accumulation of capital and manipulation of labor or the contradictions of the capitalist city.

5.4 The Source of the Odor

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, a new principle of industrial organization began to become prevalent. The principle of “integration” emerged. Prior to the emergence of integration, “function” was the primary organizational structure of industry. Integration involved consolidation of multiple functions, absorptions and consolidations as a means to improve efficiency, manipulate capital markets, dominate competition, maximize profit and most importantly, achieve all of the above while operating in a manner which skirts around antitrust challenges. In the case of the competitive struggle in the steel industry, four groups of men, J.P. Morgan, the Rockefellers, the Moore brothers of Chicago, and Andrew Carnegie⁹⁰ led the charge.

The key men working with Morgan were George Perkins and Judge Elbert H. Gary. Gary, a Chicago lawyer had gained fame and fortune as counsel for the Illinois Steel Company and the partner of the daring and unscrupulous promoter, “Bet-a-Million” Gates, in the organization of the American Steel and Wire Company. In 1898 he had persuaded Morgan to finance and organize

⁸⁹ The World’s Columbian Exposition quietly closed its gates on 31 October, the elaborate closing ceremonies cancelled because of the assignation of Chicago’s mayor, Carter H. Harrison, just three days earlier. Source: *Chicago’s Great World’s Fair*.

⁹⁰ In 1942, Isaac James Quillen submitted a dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University entitled, *Industrial City: A History of Gary, Indiana to 1929*. The first portion of the dissertation outlines, in great detail, the industrial climate in the late 1890's which led to the formation of U.S. Steel and ultimately, the founding of the city of Gary, Indiana.

the Federal Steel Company, merging ore, railroad, steamship, and iron and steel manufacturing interests. Then at Morgan's request, Gary became president of Federal Steel and moved to New York City where he was known as a major leader in the steel industry and one of J.P. Morgan's most trusted men (Quillen 7).

On the other side of the competitive equation was Andrew Carnegie of Pittsburgh and his confidants Henry Frick, Charles Schwab, and Henry Phipps.

Frick continued as an enemy of union labor to the end of his life and developed the policy of employing southern European immigrants in the steel mills, partly in an effort to break the unions. Charles Schwab was the brilliant young production man who reorganized the Homestead plant after the strike and later became president of Carnegie Steel Company at a reported salary of a million dollars a year when only thirty-eight years old (Ibid., 8).

Ultimately, and in the spirit of integration, these men and their organizations joined forces in 1901 to establish the largest corporation ever created, United States Steel Corporation. Its capitalization of well over a billion dollars constituted a significant percentage of the total value of American manufacturing and a notable percentage of manufacturing for the entire planet.

The list of the original twenty-four members of the Board of Directors read like a roll of honor of the business leaders of the day: John D. Rockefeller, Senior and Junior, H. H. Rodgers, J. P. Morgan, W. H. Moore, P.A.B. Widener, H.C. Frick, G.W. Perkins, Marshall Field, Robert Bacon, Abram Hewitt were among those included. Judge Gary was chairman of the Finance Committee, and Charles Schwab was president (Ibid., 19).

Under the consolidation effort, it was ultimately determined that a physical consolidation of production facilities was also in order. With Elbert Gary at the helm, the company began a campaign to find a desirable site for a new plant. The officials of United States Steel who searched for a site for the new steel plant had certain minimum requirements set for them. Among these were:

1. The new factory was to be in the northern interior or (Midwest) of the country where raw materials could be easily assembled and the great western market was at hand.
2. A moderately priced, compact area of land either flat or capable of being leveled was required so that factories could be most strategically located for efficient production.
3. There was a need for adequate transportation facilities, including a lake harbor deep enough to accommodate the largest lake vessels in one fleet and railways connecting with the coal fields and markets.
4. There must be a large supply of clean, soft, water for steam, cooling, and gas washing.
5. The factory must be located where adequate labor could be secured or attracted (Ibid., 50).

In essence, the minimum requirements above limited the site search to the Chicago region and after exhaustive considerations and negotiations, a site at the southern tip of Lake Michigan in northwest Indiana was selected. Not only did the site selection meet all of the criteria above, it also featured relatively inexpensive land acquisition costs, lower taxes, and a general lack of municipal regulation. Thus, in 1905, U.S. Steel Corporation quietly began acquiring property. Within twelve months, A. F. Knots, working on behalf of U.S. Steel, “had purchased about 12,000 acres of land along the lake front from the Buffington plant on the west almost to Miller on the East, a distance of seven miles (Ibid., 84).

The lake front property acquired by U.S. Steel consisted of sandy beaches, dramatic swale and dune topography interwoven with marsh lands, bogs (wetlands), fens, prairies, oak savannas, and woodland forests. The natural environment featured one of the most diverse plant communities of any location in the United States with over a thousand vascular plant species including, many have which were obliterated. The site was particularly unique in that it contained both “Arctic and boreal plants such as the bearberry alongside desert plants such as the prickly pear cactus.”⁹¹ Thriving wildlife on land included white-tailed deer, fox, raccoons, opossums, cottontail rabbits, Canadian Geese, seagulls, indigenous squirrels, hawks, Turkey Vultures,

mallards, and Great Blue Herons. Local porcupines and river otters became extinct shortly after the development of the U.S. Steel plant. Remnant species from past climatic changes have managed to survive in sheltered habitats. The moderating effect of Lake Michigan, along with the great variety of habitats within a small area, explains much of the plant and animal diversity (Indiana Dunes). Nevertheless, and with absolutely no regard for environmental implications, the locations for the harbor and blast furnaces were determined, a grading contractor arrived with his “working crew to start to cut down the scrubby trees and tangled vines, level the dunes, fill the sloughs, excavate for the foundations of the harbor and blast furnaces, and fill in the shore of the lake out to the limit allowed by law (Quillen 99).

U.S. Steel Gary Works - Excavation and Foundation Systems - 1906



Figure 5.1 Destruction of the Indiana Dunes for the Construction of the U.S. Steel Plant

⁹¹ To the East of the U.S. Steel Gary Works plant, the National Park Service maintains the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. In addition, the Indiana Dunes State Park features protected dune land and pristine beach front. The descriptions of the lands acquired by U.S. Steel as described in Isaac Quillen’s *Industrial City* are consistent with the literature and references for the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore and Indiana Dunes State Park. www.nps.gov/indu/index.htm

A.F. Knotts was originally commissioned to purchase land specifically for the factory site; however, after assembling over fifteen-hundred acres, he approached Judge Gary with a proposal. “With the money you plan to set aside for this proposed great plant, and with the talent you have at your command, you can make it a model plant, and a model plant ought to have a model city nearby for its employees” (Ibid., 88). Recent memory and fear of a similar labor uprising in reaction by wage earners to the paternalistic model city program established by Pullman in which the houses, infrastructure, and retail establishments were owned by the corporation, generated reluctance. “Knotts suggested that a town could be constructed by United States Steel where workmen could be encouraged to buy their own homes and where retail business would be privately owned: in short, a town of free men” (Ibid., 89). Gary agreed and ultimately, the Gary Land Company, a subsidiary of U.S. Steel under Knotts, was established in 1906. Harvey states that capital accumulation requires “the creation of a physical landscape conducive to the organization of production in all of its aspects (including the specialized functions of exchange, banking, administration, planning and coordination, and the like, which typically possess a hierarchical structure and a particular form of spacial rationality)” (Harvey 81).

Management (Bourgeois Housing)



Worker Housing (Proletariat Housing)



Negro Subdivision (Sub-proletariat)



Figure 5.2 Housing Typologies

As a corporate town, developed entirely on capital, Gary constructed more than five hundred homes, a forty-room hotel, a post office and a school house within the first year. Stratification and hierarchical structures based on race and class were incorporated into the master plan from its conception. Unlike most racist northern cities that gradually developed and grew organically with periodic moments of rapid growth resulting from the introduction of industry or other capitalist ventures, Gary was essentially a clean slate. It represented an opportunity to establish a racially diverse, multiethnic society virtually from scratch. As with the foundation of the United States in general, such racist and capitalist stratification and hierarchical structures incorporated into its founding constitutes the primary basis for Gary's ultimate doom.⁹²

Consistent with ghetto formation and Afropessimism discourse, Wacquant articulates that fact that the new life in northern spaces, under the guise of what Richard Wright referred to as the *bosses of the buildings*, “did offer salutary relief from the harsh grip of Southern caste domination and significantly expand the life chances of the former sharecroppers, but it did not turn out to be the ‘promised land’ of racial equality, economic security, and full citizenship for which migrants yearned” (Wacquant, 102). He adds,

For, in the Northern metropolis, African Americans came upon yet another device designed to allow White society to exploit their labor power while keeping them confined to a separate Lebensraum: the ghetto. As the Negro population rose, so did the animosity of Whites toward a group they viewed as ‘physically and mentally unfit’, ‘unsanitary’, ‘entirely irresponsible’, and therefore ‘undesirable as neighbors’, in the terms reported to the 1920 Chicago Commission on Race Relations (Ibid., 120).

⁹²The entire construction process of the U.S. Steel Gary Works was well documented and photographed with over two-thousand high-resolution images and can be found under the Indiana University The Digital Library Program at <http://www.dlib.indiana.edu/collections/steel>.

Initially, Gary was populated primarily by the skilled and unskilled construction workers hired to build the plant and the community. Many of the workers were transient in nature and the population had a relatively high turnover rate. A significant percentage of the construction workforce remained in Gary to work for U.S. Steel in the mill. On June 1, 1906, the population was 334; by January 1, 1907, it was 5,550; by January 1, 1908, it was about 8,000; and by November 23, 1908, it was 10,246. The population figures for November 23, 1908 (See Table I) are based on a rough census taken by the Gary Land Company (Quillen, 162). James Lane's *City of the Century, A History of Gary, Indiana* explores how the non-beingness, nothingness, and nobody-ness of Blackness has been entrenched from the time the first permanent resident arrived in the anti-Black space of Gary. His writings relied heavily on the historical knowledge of Dolly Millender (1920 - 2015)⁹³ where he cites her words for a sub-chapter entitled, "Black Immigration: No Land of Milk and Honey." After providing numerous examples of injustices, Lane summarizes the fact that "Gary's first Black residents "suffered from substandard housing, job discrimination, inferior educational opportunities, inadequate hospital and recreation facilities, and inequitable law enforcement procedures (Lane, 71). Lane's summary was written to describe early 20th Century conditions that, in a Fourth World Nation, are congruent with 21st Century conditions. He continues by stating that the effects of racism in early Gary included, "high rates of infant mortality, tuberculosis, unemployment, and unsolved crimes committed against Black people" (Ibid., 71).

⁹³ Mrs. Dharathula H. "Dolly" Millender (1920 - 2015) was Founder/CEO (unpaid) of the Gary (IN) Historical and Cultural Society, Inc. in 1976. She dedicated her life to the preservation of Gary's history, as "Gary's Historian" with three books on Gary's history, numerous cultural, historical and civic activities and programs. Paraphrased from a personal telephone interview as and obituary published in the *Post Tribune* from Dec. 31, 2015 to Jan. 1, 2016.

Table 5.1 Gary Land Company Census in 1908

Nationality	Number
Irish, Scotch, English, Canadians and Americans	4,500
Poles (German and Russian).	1,100
Servians	1,000
Croatians	950
Montenegrans.	375
Italians.	350
Hungarians	325
Slavonians	300
Negroes	250
Russians	150
Germans	150
Jews.	150
Swedes	125
Bohemians.	125
Macedonians	100
Norwegians	75
Welsh	50
Greeks	40
Turks	40
Armenians	25
Finns.	20
Belgians.	15
Danes.	15
Japanese	10
French	<u>6</u>
	Total 10,246

The increased employment in the Gary mills came at a time when many workers had left Gary during the depression of 1913 to 1915 and when prosperity extended through practically all the industrial cities of the nation. With European immigration cut off by the war, the leaders of United States Steel had to find a new labor supply. They turned to the Negro from the agricultural South who was already coming to northern cities in large numbers. Negro workers had been employed on the first construction gangs in Gary, but most of these were transients. More than 200 Negro

construction workers helped lay out the town site and plant complex. According to Millender, most disliked being “forced to live like the animals they were thought to be” and did not become permanent residents (Lane, 69). A few Negroes were employed when Gary Works opened in 1909, and this number rose slowly, but because of the depression, there was a sharp drop in 1914 and 1915. Following these years, due to the need for a new labor supply, every effort was made to attract Negroes, and they came in large numbers as indicated by the employment figures at Gary Works shown in Table III (267).⁹⁴

Table 5.2 Employment of Negroes at Gary Works, 1909-1918

Year	Number Employed
1909	66
1910	105
1911	151
1912	287
1913	316
1914	220
1915	189
1916	407
1917	1072
1918	1295

Of the Negroes migrating from the South to work at United States Steel, John Thadis Dotson was added to the workforce in 1920. He had recently lost his brother, Herbert in the European War, and for what? Thadis chose to exercise exit, and be *anyplace* but Mississippi. As Sparrell Scott wrote in the *Chicago Defender*:⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Information compiled by Quillen from “A History of the growth of the Negro Population of Gary, Indiana” (unpublished Cornell Master’s Thesis) by John F. Potts.

WHEN I RETURN TO THE SOUTHLAND IT WILL BE

*When lions eat grass like oxen,
And an angleworm swallows a whale,
And a terrapin knits a woolen sock,
And a hare is outrun by a snail.*

*When serpents walk like men,
And doodle-bugs leap like frogs,
When grasshoppers feed on the hens,
And feathers grow on hogs.*

*When Tom cats swim in the air, And
elephants roost in the trees, When
insects in summer are rare, And
snuff can't make you sneeze.*

*When fish live on dry land, When
mules on velocipedes ride, And
foxes lay eggs in the sand,
And women in dress take no pride.*

*When a German drinks no beer, And
girls deck in plumes for a dime,
When billy goats buck from the rear, And
treason is no longer a crime.*

*When the mockingbird brays like an ass,
And Limburger smells like cologne,
When plowshares are made of glass, And
the hearts of true lovers are stone.*

*When ideas grow on trees.
And wool on cast-iron rams,
I then may return to the South,
But I'll travel there in a box.*

Sparrell Scott, in the *Chicago Defender*

⁵ This poignant poem appears in the chapter, "The Exodus Train" in Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy's *Anyplace But Here*. Chicago's Negro Population: 1910-44, 103 1920-109, 438.

Quillen observed that the “increased employment of Negroes meant that another large cultural group was added to those already in Gary and separated from them by color, prejudice, and custom. Between 1910 and 1920, the yearly average gain of Negroes in the city was about 500, with the gains in 1917 and 1918 being much greater.” He adds that the “number of Negroes in Gary increased from 393 in 1910 to 5,299 in 1920; this was an increase in percentage of Negroes from 2.3 to 9.6 percent.”⁶ Considering the racially stratified configuration, which had been inherently designed into the master plan of the city, such a significant increase in population by an ostracized group presented particular challenges to the social order of the city. As discussed in previous chapters regarding lack of equal access to education for example, when the first schools opened in Gary in 1908 the “thirty or so Black children, except for two in high school ... by year’s end were to be transferred to rented facilities in a Baptist Church” (Cohen, 8).

“This move, of the school board, which has always been included in its plans has met with the favor and better element of the negro residents of this city,” noted the *Gary Daily Tribune*, although there was some opposition to segregation. What bothered the “better element” was the church’s proximity to Dave Johnson’s saloon. Within a year, a segregated portable was erected a discreet distance from the evil influence, and a Black teacher was hired. For Wirt (Gary’s first Superintendent), “we believe that it is only in justice to the Negro children that they be segregated. There is naturally a feeling between the negroes and the Whites in the lower grades and we are sure the colored children will be better cared for in schools of their own, and they will take pride in their work and will consequently get better grades . . . it is certain that as soon as they become accustomed to the new situation the [Black] school children will become friendly rivals of the other children in their school work” (Ibid., 8).

⁶ Quillen, whose parents served as teachers in the first schools opened in Gary, Indiana, obtained statistical information from the Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States 1920-1932*, Washington D.C., 1935, p. 49.

Therefore, the die had been cast for “separate but equal” education in the new city.⁹⁷ As indicated by the Negro Subdivision example on Page 127, the City of Gary had also developed its residential neighborhoods in a context of “separate but equal.” What is clearly apparent by physical example, and in the case of the school and the saloon, is that in Gary, as in the balance of the United States, “separate but equal” is not equal. As Aristotle coined, Jefferson stole, and Slotkin cited, “There is nothing more unequal than the equal treatment of unequals.” The shiny new city of Gary, Indiana was no exception to Wacquant’s summation of ghetto formation in general terms with respect to patterns of ethnoracial discrimination and segregation. With respect to schools as described herein, housing as being restricted to “The Patch,” and a lack of access to theaters, retail establishments, hospitals, and public accommodations from parks to beaches, Gary was as segregated as any other southern Jim Crow city. Wacquant cites Katznelson, Drake, Cayton, and Wilson by taking us behind the scenes to demonstrate how life in restricted space generated peculiar social constructions:

“They were extended to the polity, where the promotion of a small cadre of Black politicians handpicked by party leaders served to rein in the community’s votes to the benefit of the White-controlled city machine. They were systematized in the economy, where a ‘job ceiling’ set conjointly by White employers and unions kept African Americans trapped in the lower reaches of the occupational structure, disproportionately concentrated in semi-skilled, manual, and servant work that made them especially vulnerable to business downturns” (Wacquant, 102).

⁹⁷ Ronald Cohen, in the publication, “Children of the Mill: Schooling and Society in Gary, Indiana, 1906-1960” writes that “Hereinafter, Black and White would be separate in the Gary Schools, but hardly ‘friendly rivals.’ While legal under the ‘separate but equal’ laws then comment in Indiana (adopted in 1877) and other northern states, school segregation was not automatic. Northern cities experienced various degrees of racial separation at the time, although most were moving in the direction of explicit segregation. Gary, somewhat early in joining the movement, was hardly different.” Cohen cites numerous sources for this position including, but not limited to: *The Separate Problem: Case Studies of Black Education in the North, 1900-1930* by Judy Jolley Mohraz.

Concurring with O'Hara's premise that Gary is *The Most American of All American Cities*, the structural formations of the early development of the city are consistent with the above patterns evolving from ethnoracial discrimination and segregation. With respect to the small cadre of Black so-called political leaders for example, The "Bow Tie Amalgamation" was a group of Negroes in Gary who, during attempts to gain access to political power and privilege, established an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan during the height of its influence in Indiana in the 1920's. The amalgamation engaged in undermining efforts of the local NAACP. The mayor had Klan support, the Black councilman and NAACP met with the mayor, and the whole combination was corrupt (Schneider, 347).

In the 1925 Republican city primary, both the Klan and the good-government faction endorsed undertaker Floyd E. Williams. So did three Black candidates for city council, giving rise to the rumor that Gary had a Black Klan chapter. Williams denied KKK membership but did not repudiate Klan doctrines. Not only did Williams win, with 9,349 votes compared to 7,988 for Fulton and 1,126 for C. Oliver Homes, but so did five Klan-supported councilman at-large. In November, after Republicans smoothed over their differences, Williams won more than 80 percent of the vote (Lane, 95).

Industrial production and capital accumulation during the early twentieth century depended on suppressed wages, and lack of regulation with respect to health and safety. Upon being hired as a last resort, Black bodies were relegated to bowels of factories like U.S. Steel. As Andrew Hurley describes in the opening chapters of his publication, *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945 - 1980*, the African American experience of work in the manufacturing sector involved laboring in the most dangerous and least desirable environments. Industrial corporations deliberately pitted White workers against Black workers – for example, by hiring African Americans as strikebreakers – in order to quash any incipient working-class solidarity.

Although industrialization did not create racism, industrialists hiring practices sustained and deepened it (Hurley, 4).

Compared to the civil unrest, domestic terrorism and violence that was directed toward African Americans during or shortly after World War I, in cities and towns throughout the United States, the brutality of an angry White mob in Gary directed toward a few Black strikebreakers on Saturday, October 4, 1919⁹⁸ seemed relatively mild. Two years earlier in East St. Louis, Illinois for example and under similar circumstances, days of atrocious and widespread anti-Black violence took place resulting in the slaughter of countless African American men, women, and children. Like Tulsa in 1921, the racist mob in East St. Louis included police officers and national guardsmen in addition to White civilians and their children. Atrocities included shootings, beatings, lynchings, druggings, stonings, burnings, and dismemberings. According to eyewitness Josie Nixon, a group of White men shot off a Black woman's tongue and killed her son before entering a house and murdering a mother and her newborn baby (Lumpkins, 116). Many observers reported that White women were particularly vile and far more creative and vicious with their savagery.

Some informed Queen (Hallie Queen) that they had witnessed women as they killed their victims, 'picking out their eyes with [hatpins] before they were quite dead.' And others reported watching two White teenage women, after severely pummeling a Black woman and staining themselves with her blood, walk away from the scene bragging about their deed. Eyewitnesses also related to Queen that women assailants often tore clothes off Black women and beat them with fists, shoes, or beer faucets (Ibid., 117).

Witnesses observed cases where a Black woman's house was set on fire and while trying to escape the blaze, the woman's newborn child was snatched from her arms and in amusement, thrown

⁹⁸ Violence erupted in Gary in October 1919 in part, as the result of U.S. Steel's manipulation of a labor by hiring Black strikebreakers during a steel strike.

back into the fire by the White mob. In another instance a Black woman had escaped a mob of White women with her baby wrapped in a towel, only to realize upon opening the towel, that the baby had been taken by the mobsters, never to be seen again. This anti-Black violent behavior by White women has been well-documented throughout the history of the United States including various Civil War incidents like the antidraft riots in New York and Boston, as well as food riots in Richmond, Virginia and other southern cities. Women predominated in and led later food riots, such as the Koshers Meat Boycott in 1902 in New York City (Ibid., 119). History reveals that there has been a legacy of White women instigating and/or engaging in anti-Black violence and ethnic cleansing.

Charles Lumpkins, in his detailed and scholarly account of the massacre entitled, *American Pogrom: The East St. Louis Race Riot and Black Politics*, questions the common historical discourse often attributing such clashes in cities like Gary, East St. Louis, Tulsa, Chicago, and Detroit to interracial competition for jobs. He supports the positions of Roberta Senechal and other historians who situate nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American race riots within the historical continuum of anti-Black violence by White groups seeking to end Black people's quest for equality (Ibid., xi). As a descendant of survivors of the unprecedented acts of anti-Black domestic terrorism in Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1921, as well as the anti-Black violence inflicted on my extended family in Gary, Indiana, I concur with Lumpkins' argument. As this Fourth World Nation continues to repeat history and fester in its enhanced legacy of anti-Black structures, as well as anti-indigenous, anti-muslim, anti-semitic, and an anti-latinx legacy into the twenty first-century, racist apartheid behavior from Australia and New Zealand, to Israel and South Africa; from Germany and France, to Canada and Argentina; are all inspired by the United States' model of anti-Blackness rhetoric and violence.

*“To Put the rope around the negro’s neck, one of the lynchers
stuck his fingers inside the gaping scalp and lifted the negro’s head by it,
literally bathing his hand in the man’s blood.
‘Get hold and pull for East St. Louis!’
The negro was lifted to a height of about seven feet
and the body left hanging there for hours.”*

Post-Dispatch Reporter Carlos Hurd’s eyewitness account (Theising, 172).

In *The Crisis*, W.E.B. DuBois shamed anti-Black President Woodrow Wilson for his silence and general lack of regard for the scores of lives lost in East St. Louis in 1917. He praised Theodore Roosevelt for having the courage to stand-up, speak-out, and condemn the murderous behavior of the White community, police, and National Guard in the massacre. During a welcome ceremony for Russian envoys on July 6 in New York, Roosevelt emphasized that the U.S. could not legitimately criticize Russia for human rights violations until the U.S. first ensured justice for all Americans.⁹⁹ Perhaps in the midst of the multitude of anti-Black acts of terrorism, violence and hostilities throughout the United States, DuBois had all but forgotten the irresponsible and barbaric anti-Black acts of Roosevelt during his presidency including, but not limited to the unwarranted dishonorable discharge of an entire one hundred sixty-seven member Twenty Fifth Infantry, Black Buffalo Soldier Battalion in Brownsville, Texas in 1906.

⁹⁹ From the Theodore Roosevelt Center at Dickinson State University, <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org> in regard to the 1917 East St. Louis race riot.

Although defensive of Roosevelt's integrity, despite his inherently racist and anti-Black political action, Harry Lembeck in his publication *Taking on Theodore Roosevelt: How One Senator Defied the President on Brownsville and Shook American Politics* discusses the circumstances of the Brownsville incident in great detail. He explores the hasty decision without investigation of the soldiers after they had been transferred to Fort Reno in Oklahoma. Gone was the need to learn what happened (Lembeck, 102). As a result of the dishonorable discharge, the men lost whatever pensions they had earned resulting from their service in battle to the United States. They were forever debarred from reenlisting in the Army or Navy as well as from employment in any civil capacity under the Government. During an interview with my maternal grandfather, the late Alfred S. Dennie, he discussed his relationship with Bud Porter, one of the former Buffalo Soldiers, and how the man carried a broken spirit, had lost his sense of pride, and simply wasted away. Nearly seven decades later in 1972, the United States Government under the Nixon Administration, pardoned the one hundred sixty-seven member TwentyFifth Infantry, Black Buffalo Soldier Battalion, and restored their records to show honorable discharges. However, as with any other forms of reparation discourse in anti-Black space, no provisions for retroactive compensation were offered to them or their descendants. At the time of the pardon, only one of the former soldiers, Dorsie Willis, remained alive. Congress passed an act to provide him with a tax-free pension of \$25,000. The remaining one hundred sixty-six soldiers who had been dishonorably discharged by Roosevelt all received posthumous honorable discharges. As with civil unrest in cities and towns throughout an anti-Black nation, yet another incident in Houston in 1917 resulted in hangings or life sentences for one hundred ten of the one hundred eighteen enlisted men.

5.5 Gainin' on Ya

In the powerful and compelling introduction to the original 1945 publication of *Black Metropolis*, by Richard Wright, he explores the contradictions of institutional segregation as he proceeds to plant the seeds of discourse on racial stratification.

Lodged in the innermost heart of America is the fatal division of being, a war of impulses. America knows that a split is in her, and that the split might cause her death; but she is powerless to pull the dangling ends together. An uneasiness haunts her conscience, taints her moral preachments, leading an air of uncertainty to her actions, and rendering ineffectual the good deeds she feels compelled to do in the world. America is a nation of a riven consciousness. But from where did the split, division come? (Drake, xxi).

Exiting the Jim Crow segregated South, migrating to a “separate but equal” North, the physical infrastructure of the city of Gary could not maintain the form of institutional segregation and racial stratification designed into its existence. Hurley states that between “1920 and 1930, more than 15,000 migrants, most from Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Georgia arrived in Gary to work on the mammoth lakefront factories . . . the following decade, another 20,000 African Americans came to the Steel City to fill industrial positions created by the wartime boom” (Hurley, 112 - 113). Sandra Barnes in her publication, *The Cost of Being Poor*, suggests that by 1950, about 75 percent of African American men in Gary worked in the industrial sector. She references the perceived benefit to African Americans by quoting Hurley:

The continued availability of manufacturing jobs through the 1950's and the 1960's made Gary somewhat of a mecca for Blacks. In 1956 *Ebony* magazine ranked Gary as the best place in the country for African Americans; by 1969, Gary's Blacks had a higher median income than their counterparts in any other U.S. city (Barnes, 21).

With a 1,213.6¹⁰⁰ percent growth rate of the African American population during the WWI decade followed by decades of comparable population explosions, the discriminatory practices woven into the fabric of Gary became increasingly threatened by the massive presence of skilled and unskilled African American industrial workers and their families. As demonstrated in the previous section and as Mohl and Betten state:

Like Gary's White immigrants, the Black newcomer arrived in the steel city hoping to fulfill economic aspirations and to achieve a new and better life for themselves and their children . . . But because they were Black, they faced persistent problems of discrimination and segregation which White immigrants did not have to contend.

The segregation of Gary's population did not develop accidentally out of housing patterns. Rather, discrimination and segregation in education, housing, employment, public services, and recreation was established and carried out by the city's White elite – businessmen, bankers, realtors, educators, steel company officials, and local government leaders. Indeed, the history of Gary provides an illumination case study for analyzing the evolution of racism against a background of working-class ethnic and racial conflict (26).

As discussed in the previous chapter, during the latter half of the twentieth century, two simultaneous developments occurred in Gary which led to Gary's devolution and to what can be classified as a Fourth World City, in a Fourth World Nation. The national out-migration of steel production at U.S. Steel rendered Gary as what Saskia Sassen refers to as "peripheralized." Thus, in a city boasting more than 70,000 steel manufacturing jobs in 1970 and only 6,000 by 1980, a former transnational distribution center which now operates outside of the global system, and has become a struggling manufacturing, production, and financial center, paints a portrait for the city of Gary. In addition, Gary's historic structural inequalities demonstrate that the city and a region

¹⁰⁰ Sandra Barnes cites the statistical data and research by Raymond Mohl and Neil Betten in, *Steel City: Urban and Ethnic Patterns in Gary, Indiana, 1906-1950* to support her position that discrimination combined with de-industrialization ultimately led to the rapid decline of Gary, Indiana.

founded on such principles, is apparently incapable of reconciling social stratification based primarily on the construction of race as a vehicle for physical separation and institutional abandonment. Therefore, the severe physical distress and institutional abandonment present throughout the entire city proper, resulting from de-industrialization, historic segregation and discrimination patterns, suburban sprawl, erosion of a viable tax base, racism, inability to embrace the concept of desegregation and civil rights legislation, fear, despair, crumbling infrastructure systems, disinvestment in urban school systems, and environmental justice issues, qualify *Gary, the Most American of all American Cities*, as *model* Fourth World City, in the midst of a post-industrial, post-developing, Fourth World Nation.

CHAPTER 6. MAKING A WAY OUT OF NO WAY

Adapted from a tribute given at his memorial services and contained in the “Forward” to *Said I Wasn’t Gonna Tell Nobody*, the chronicled memoirs of James H. Cone’s evolution as a theologian, Cornel West describes “an exemplary figure in a tradition of a people who have been traumatized for four hundred years but taught the world so much about healing; terrorized for four hundred years and taught the world so much about freedom; hated for four hundred years and taught the world so much about love and how to love” (Cone, ix). The trauma, the terror, and the hate that has been, and continues to be inflicted by the authoritarian regime; by “The Man”; by the oppressor; by the colonizers; by the industrialists, by the “lords of the land”; by the “bosses of the buildings”; by the micro aggressors and the macro aggressors; by the domestic terrorists; by the police; or by those who navigate through a Fourth World *Matrix* in silence, rendering themselves in complicity with that of the oppressor, accessories to crimes committed on a population that this Fourth World Nation has consistently deemed as “‘physically and mentally ‘unfit’, ‘unsanitary’, ‘entirely irresponsible’, ‘undesirable as neighbors;’” regarded as “*The Wretched of the Earth*”; or “superpredators”; or *Invisible*; or nobody; or simply not regarded as a being, and residing in non-being Fourth World space.

In the Introduction, I discuss the fact that in post-developing space, the primary challenge for the United States is to reimagine life as a means to heal humanity - a humanity that has been subjected to the ills of hatred, greed, and power for its entire existence. I briefly make reference to the writings and philosophy of the late theologian Cone and of his predecessor at Union Theological

Seminary, Reinhold Niebuhr. I also introduce late Grace Lee Boggs and how she dedicated her entire adult life to systemic change inspired by a philosophy of liberation, organic intellectualism, activism, and evolution in Fourth World space.

As part of this research effort, and with the support and assistance of Bill Mullen, I had the opportunity to meet with Grace Lee Boggs on numerous occasions. During each visit, she expressed the urgent need to seek liberation from the bondage of oppression by reimagining life as a means to heal humanity. On my first visit to the center she had established in her modest home on Field Street in East Detroit, she sat with me on the couch, turned on a television, and pressed the “Play” button on her dated VCR player. She shared a video of the memorial services held at a Detroit Universalist-Unitarian Church in honor of her late husband, Jimmy Boggs. As Ossie Davis began his remarks in the video, in a similar manner to the remarks he had made decades earlier for Malcolm, she turned down the volume began to reflect on how over time, her work had evolved from a revolutionary commitment to large-scale political, institutional, and societal change, to a revolutionary commitment to small-scale grassroots efforts. She found that the latter revolutionary commitment ultimately has the capacity for greater impact.

Boggs’ transformation, or what she affectionately referred to as “[r]evolution” developed with her involvement in various Environmental Justice movements throughout the United States. The conceptual framework embedded in the Environmental Justice Movement inspired the foundation of the “Youth Vision for a Healthy Detroit.” In *Living for Change, an Autobiography*, Boggs shares a preamble - essentially a manifesto, for a vision she generated from dialogue with young stakeholders sharing their dreams and hopes for a healthy Detroit.

We hold these values to be the foundation of a Healthy Detroit:

We believe in the inherent worth, dignity and equality of every person and in the right of every person to our basic needs as human beings: love, good housing, food, health care, a clean and nurturing environment, meaningful and purposeful work, quality education, recreation, safety of person and property.

We are proud of the rich ethnic and social diversity of our city and its environs and we pledge to promote mutual respect and cooperation and to build bridges between various ethnic groups and between Detroit and surrounding communities.

We are committed to live in harmony with one another in vibrant communities; to place special emphasis on the unique needs of our Youth and Elders; to respect our different beliefs; and to protect our natural environment for the sake of ourselves and future generations.

At the beginning of this century, Detroit pioneered mass production. In the 1930s we pioneered the labor movement. During World War II we were the "Arsenal of Democracy." Now we gladly accept the opportunity and the responsibility to pioneer in making Detroit the model of a 21st Century Healthy City (Boggs, 250).

As Niebuhr recited and Cone later critiqued and expanded upon from his life experiences in the trenches of Fourth World space, individuals and groups of individuals under cultural and structural systems of oppression, often find the capacity to confront problematic ultimate realities through the means of “sublime madness.” Cone argues that oppression in any form is a denial of people’s humanity, and the oppressed must use whatever power they have to defend their humanity. He cited Niebuhr from the publication, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study of Ethics in Politics*, where Niebuhr explored the constitution of a “sublime madness in the soul and how the oppressed have a higher moral right to challenge their oppressors than these have to maintain rule by force” (Cone cites Niebuhr, 53). Although Cone recognizes Niebuhr and other prominent White theologians in his writings, he is highly critical of the limitations to their progressivism. For example, he states that Niebuhr had expressed no moral outrage against lynching or segregation,

even though he lived during that era. What happened to Black people in the United States or in Africa was of little concern to his ethical value system (Cone, 74). Such criticism is at the foundation of Black Liberation Theology and it is as valid under current systems of oppression as it was during the mid-twentieth century. In his reflections, Cone declares that theology is a paradoxical, symbolic and poetic language, full of mystery, and seeking to comprehend what is beyond comprehension. Its truth is found in imagination, and it speaks more to the heart than to the mind. Imagination is the only way to talk about ultimate reality (Cone, 122).

Chris Hedges devotes an entire chapter to the humanity of sublime madness in the publication, *Wages of Rebellion: The Moral Imperative of Revolt*. He argues that those with sublime madness accept the possibility of death as the price paid for defending life. Hedges discusses the peculiar and absurd mixture of doom and gloom with hope and liberation in a manner comparable to reality-based Afropessimism discourse and the [r]evolutionary approaches embraced by Boggs. Hope lies in a liberation that rejects adhesion to systems of oppression, power and greed, and the undeniably attractive a level of opulence, comfort and privilege generated by said structural systems. In abandoned post-industrial, post-agrarian, and post-developing space, out of desperation and absolute necessity, individuals and groups of individuals are emerging through grass roots organizations and movements focused on transformation and survival and by means of sublime madness and making a way out of no way.

Contained in the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C. is an exhibit entitled, "Making A Way out of No Way." This exhibition is designed to demonstrate how African Americans, as individuals, groups of individuals, and communities, have managed to persevere and be resourceful in the midst of anti-Black space. In

making their own “way out of no way,” individuals have drawn inspiration from their inner-strength, from that of their ancestors, from families and communities, and/or from a higher power. The exhibit references the term resilience in describing not only survival techniques but capacity to thrive despite tremendous obstacles.

Originally, this chapter was devoted to the topic *resilience* as a process of recovery in physically, socially and institutionally abandoned Fourth World cities like Gary, Detroit, and East St. Louis that have, and continue to suffer from de-industrialization, historic segregation and discrimination patterns, suburban sprawl, erosion of a viable tax base, racism, inability to embrace the concept of desegregation and civil rights legislation, fear, despair, crumbling infrastructure systems, disinvestment in urban school systems, and environmental justice issues. However, from a historic and Afropessimistic perspective, I struggle with the term resilience, for it implies the process of recovery, restoration, or bouncing-back. In a context of the historic systems of oppression in the United States and before, from slavery, to Jim Crow, to *The New Jim Crow*, in a space of non-beingness, nothingness, and nobody-ness, the premise of resilience is a troubling proposition comparable to the phrase “Make America Great Again.” I argue, “Great Again” *Compared to What?* As many have proclaimed, generational experiences with various forms of oppression informed the oppressed that greatness does not necessarily translate to goodness. One can be in “great” pain.

6.1 Sublime Madness: Foot Soldiers and Stakeholders for Survival in a Fourth World Nation

The motto for the City of Detroit, written in Latin, ironically translates to, “We hope for better things; It shall rise from the ashes.” A Detroit-based documentary entitled, *DEFORCE: America’s Past, America’s Future, Detroit’s Present* by Daniel Falconer, captures candid

conversations with citizens residing and surviving in Fourth World space including a young man simply named “Will.”

I be all out in the burbs. My girl in the burbs. But you know; come to the hood, then look at the burbs, its like damn! I see what the situation is. It ain't like we wanna move out. We just wanna make our shit comfortable like that -- know what I'm sayin'. We want swimming pools and shit. We want clean parks for our kids and shit like that, and recreational shit to do. You just gotta do what you can do where you at . . . cause this is where its at, right here (*DEFORCE*).

As demonstrated by participant observation-based sociological works such as *Slim's Table: Race, Respectability, and Masculinity*, and later, *Sidewalk* by Mitchell Duneier, Falconer and his co-producer and former classmate Andrew Rodney, were particularly effective in their approach to eliciting candid dialogue with colonial subjects surviving on the streets of Detroit and residing in Fourth World space. Falconer, was born in Detroit and grew up in the nearby Oak Park, Berkley and Southfield areas and graduated from Groves High School in Beverly Hills, Michigan. In a 2012 *Detroit News Herald* article announcing the upcoming screening of the documentary at the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History, journalist Joe Ballor discusses the film maker's interviews with some of Detroit's innercity residents. According to Ballor, Falconer was surprised at how easily he was able to interact and communicate with the subjects surviving in the mist of abandonment, violence, and severe physical and social distress in Detroit. It also depressed him to realize how similar people are as individuals, but how disparate opportunities can affect their life choices.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ “Documentary looks at Detroit’s Modern History (Video)” by Joe Ballor in *The News-Herald*, <http://www.thenewsherald.com>, published March 13, 2012, accessed April 13, 2019.

Perhaps Falconer's ease of interaction was ground in an inherent ability to generate and facilitate a sense of agency and voice with the subjects. Ease of interaction is achieved in part, through the art of listening. Simultaneously, in St. Louis, Chad Freidrichs was preparing to release *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth: an urban History*. The documentary explores the design, development, social constructions, and ultimate demise of the massive short-lived Wendell O. Pruitt and Williams L. Igoe Public Housing development in St. Louis. Freidrichs conducts a historical and sociological analysis and critical geography of mid-20th Century St. Louis. He devotes considerable foci on the Black lives impacted by residing in what was arguably the most notorious housing development in the United States within the context of institutional segregation and anti-Black space. As with *DEFORCE*, Freidrichs relied heavily on the art of listening in order to collect and assemble candid interviews with human subjects including several former residents of Pruitt-Igoe. Former resident, journalist, and activist Sylvester Brown was prominently featured in the documentary.

Following the *Pruitt-Igoe Myth* experience, Brown embarked on founding the Sweet Potato Project through the North Area Community Development Corporation (NACDC). The mission of the organization is to restore economic activity in North St. Louis by creating alternative and progressive ways of producing and distributing locally grown products and to teach young men and women sustainable business and entrepreneurial skills that can change their lives.¹⁰² In the midst of a massive food desert, physical, social, and institutional abandonment, and limited employment opportunities, Brown envisioned the Sweet Potato Project as a vehicle to confront youth unemployment challenges and support systems of self-determination through urban farming on

¹⁰² The Mission Statement for the "Sweet Potato Project" can be found at www.sweetpotatoprojectstl.org.

strategically selected vacant properties throughout North St. Louis. The program offers a Project Curriculum grounded in a disciplined and cultural approach to motivating and educating “at-risk” youth on the benefits of entrepreneurship in the low-income disadvantaged communities in which the Sweet Potato Project is based. The program is based on the theory that poverty, unemployment, and lack of economic opportunities fuel illegal drug activity, disproportionate minority high school dropout rates, juvenile detention and incarceration, and ultimately, a path to the prison industrial complex.

Each year, The Sweet Potato Project begins with a ten-week summer program where students from the community learn about urban agriculture and sustainability and plant sweet potato seeds on selected parcels. Throughout the summer, in addition to developing agricultural skills needed to care for the growing sweet potatoes, the students participate in entrepreneurial and business skills training workshops and classes. The participants also travel to various locations in the St. Louis area to attend public lectures and events as necessary to gain the knowledge needed to actively participate in the second phase of the project. The summer program ends in October with the harvest of the sweet potatoes.

The second phase of the Sweet Potato Project begins in the fall and winter months. During this season, the students put their business and entrepreneurial skills into action and convert the produce into a product. The sweet potatoes become sweet potato cookies that can be marketed and sold throughout the Greater St. Louis area and beyond. During this phase of the project, the students work with chefs in the Saint Louis University Department of Nutrition and Dietetics to develop sweet potato cookie recipes and work in the kitchen to make the product. The students are also provided with the opportunity to utilize their newly acquired entrepreneurial and

business skills as they market and sell cookies through direct consumer interactions and Internet advertising and sales.

Once the final sweet potato is harvested and the last cookies are sold, the process begins again. Each year our goal is to add more students, more plots of land, and many more sweet potatoes. In the trenches of Fourth World Space, this initiative has inspired the creation of other creative uses of vacant property including, but not limited to The Sustainable Land Lab and its Sunflower+ Project through Washington University in partnership with the City of St, Louis. The Sunflower+ Project is engaged in remediating and making abandoned urban lots productive through the cultivation and planting of sunflowers and winter wheat. These hyper-accumulators have been shown to extract lead and other contaminants often contained in urban soils. The nine-week Sweet Potato Summer program is organized as follows:

WEEK ONE: GETTING TO KNOW YOU

Goals: Set tone; farming and neighborhood dynamics; urban farming and community ownership; youth interaction; Assess students' knowledge and strengths.

WEEK TWO: SELF DETERMINATION

Goals: Introduce youth to formal communication platforms; Introduce to varying economic factors in upper, middle and low-income areas; Focus on personal and professional communication.

WEEK THREE: CONFLICT EDUCATION

Goals: Identify ways to deescalate conflicts; Use Conflict education to get to unity and team interdependence; Encourage youth to see global and local roots of violence; Encourage self-responsibility in deescalating conflicts.

WEEK FOUR: PUBLIC SPEAKING/FINANCIAL LITERACY

Goals: Daily media-review; one-on-one interviews, stress importance of speaking publicly & confidently; Understanding banking necessities (checking and savings); Understanding predatory lending and establishing and maintaining "good credit."

WEEK FIVE: CULINARY ARTS

Goals: Understanding produce & products (value-added food); Understand nutritional value, cooking and food processing procedures; Introduction to current and new products and understanding of “product lines.”

WEEK SIX: MARKETING & BRANDING

Goals: Define concepts of “Branding” and “Marketing”; Introduce and discuss product development & distribution; Identify consumer and community branding and marketing; Introduce demographic marketing (what’s sold, how and why it sells).

WEEK SEVEN: BUSINESS PLAN/FINANCIAL LITERACY

Goals: Creating a basic business plan; Understanding business competition, financial management, profit & loss and “location, location, location!”

WEEK EIGHT: FOOD AS AN ECONOMIC ENGINE

Goals: Understanding produce & products (sweet potato-based products); Understand nutritional value, cooking and food processing and culinary safety procedures; Introduction to current and new products and understanding of “product lines.”

WEEK NINE & TEN: REVIEW, PRACTICE & PRESENTATIONS

Goals: Finalize new products; post-program evaluations; review of all lessons; plan & execute “End-of-Summer-Session” public event (Sweet Potato Project).

In early 2019, *When We Listen: Recognizing the Potential of Urban Youth* was published by Sylvester Brown. Proceeds from the publication are to benefit the Sweet Potato Project. Dedicated to the students of the Sweet Potato Project, the book explores the critical need to be receptive to listening as a key to accessing untapped potential in urban youth. Brown discusses how over time, through dynamic experiences working with young people trying to survive in Fourth World Space, who face tremendous challenges on a daily basis, he was able to learn to listen and evolve as a human being. He acknowledges that in many ways, the North St. Louis urban youth, mirrors his upbringing at Pruitt-Igoe. However, on a broader scale, America has done itself a disservice by not listening to the cries of all youth who speak out or act against

injustice, inhumanity, gun violence, war, greed, inequality and political malfeasance (Brown, 15). From listening, Brown was exposed to and processed the realities of intergenerational poverty, hunger, homelessness, post-traumatic stress, low sense of self, lack of all-encompassing love, and a general lack of regard for life and/or death under the weight of seemingly insurmountable and unimaginable odds. The primary mission of the book lies in Sylvester Brown's desire for the reader to transcend stereotypes and consider the potential of youth who are disproportionately targeted for the punishment industry.

My wish is that all of us who are determined to intervene in young people's lives consider alternative, unique, effective and grassroots methods to whittle away at the mountainous wedges that mute their chances for success, opportunities, happiness and hope . . . If we learn to listen and act on what they're trying to tell us, I have no doubt that the change we will seek will rise like a born-again phoenix with unlimited potential and possibilities (Brown 16, 18).

As part of the development of Fourth World Theory, I have had the pleasure and honor of meeting with Sylvester Brown on numerous occasions. He has shared tremendous success stories including the development of relationships with local schools and acquiring a 15-passenger van for transportation of students and delivery of Sweet Potato Project produce. Brown has also candidly shared many of the trials and tribulations that he and the organization have faced since its founding. As with all activists working in severely distressed environments, there have been instances during my encounters with Brown where he appeared to be discouraged, questioning the overall viability of his mission. Nevertheless, and for the sake of the hundreds of innercity youth who have benefitted from his efforts, and the thousands that ultimately will, Sylvester Brown, a devoted journalist raised in the deplorable conditions at Pruitt-Igoe, continues to make a way out of no way, from the trenches of Fourth World Space in St. Louis.

The Eads Bridge, which was constructed and opened shortly after the Civil War, traverses the Mississippi River and connects St. Louis, Missouri, to East St. Louis, Illinois. A century ago, as discussed in the previous chapter, African Americans fled East St. Louis by the thousands via the Eads Bridge, to escape the murderous anti-Black violence that had been inflicted upon them

According to research conducted by Charles Lumpkins and incorporated in the aforementioned publication, *American Pogrom*, most refugees, including Daisy Westbrook¹⁰³ and her family, streamed across the Eads and Free bridges into St. Louis.

According to a National Urban League report, 7,200 refugees entered St. Louis during the pogrom. At least 6,466 people stayed for several days at the St. Louis municipal lodging house, where black and white church and civic groups provided them with food and other assistance and eventually directed them to housing. Hundreds of refugees, including infants and children who “bore marks of the mob’s violence,” received medical care for their injuries (Lumpkins, 124).

Today East St. Louis is a racially segregated, physically, socially, institutionally, and economically abandoned wasteland suffering from de-industrialization, historic segregation and discrimination patterns, suburban sprawl, erosion of a viable tax base, racism, inability to embrace the concept of desegregation and civil rights legislation, fear, despair, crumbling infrastructure systems, disinvestment in urban school systems, and environmental justice issues. What was once the central business district of the city is rapidly disappearing as decaying structures frequently collapse and city government, as a direct result of an eroded tax base,

¹⁰³ On the eve of the July 2, 1917 Massacre and acts domestic terrorism against Black people in East St. Louis, and anonymous person telephoned Lincoln High School’s director of Music and drawing, Daisy Westbrook, to tell her that she had her family had better leave town immediately. Source: Lumpkins, Charles L., *American Pogrom: The East St. Louis Race Riot and Black Politics*, Athens. Ohio University Press. pp 112-113.

struggles to find the resources to remove the rubble from the buildings. The surrounding residential districts are comparable with respect to the degree of abandonment, decay, debris and architectural carnage, where homes, schools, and institutional structures once proudly stood. The city's tallest structure, the Spivey Building, is a transparent shell of itself and reminiscent of the city's glorious, racist and violent past. A 2018 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* article by journalist Joe Holleman discusses the interest of preservationists to restore the twelve-story building, and the colonial subjects remaining in the community who are concerned about the realities of their health and safety as large chunks of brick and terra cotta fall from its heights. In the article, Holleman quotes Rev. Johnny Scott who owns an accounting firm adjacent to the abandoned tower:

“Tear it down, or someone is going to end up getting hurt. Everybody, all these politicians, come into East St. Louis and tell us what they're going to do for us right before the elections,” said Scott, former head of the East St. Louis chapter of the NAACP. “Well, here you go. Do something about this,” Scott said.

Bill Mixon, who owns an insurance agency in the same building with Scott, said he twice has gone to court to sue for damages when bricks fell off the Spivey and onto cars in his parking lot (Holleman in *St. Louis Dispatch*).

In the midst of the despair is the East Side Health District. Established in 1937¹⁰⁴, the Health District has been devoted to improving public health and the environment of the residents of East St. Louis and surrounding areas by providing preventive health care and community and supportive services for low and moderate income residents and children. The Health District is

¹⁰⁴ Source: East Side Health District, Preventive Health & Education Services website, www.eastsidehealthdistrict.org. Accessed April 14, 2019.

led by Public Health Administrator (CEO) Dr. Elizabeth Patton-Whiteside. As part of my Fourth World Theory research, I had the opportunity to visit the East Side Health District in East St. Louis and met Dr. Patton-Whiteside. She shared her vision to go beyond the conventional wellness promotion offered by similar public health organizations by converting acreage adjacent to the East Side Health District facility into a “Healthy Campus.” Thus, under her leadership and in partnership with the Arthur M. Jackson Jr. M.D. Healthcare Foundation (AMJHCF), local and state institutions, local universities and citizens, the East Side Health District established the “F.R.E.S.H. Community Teaching Garden.” The primary mission of the garden is to serve as an educational tool for local families and individuals by creating sustainable, healthy and readily available community food sources. As we strolled through an oasis of hope in the midst of a vast forsaken desert of abandonment and desperation, Dr. Patton-Whiteside was profoundly energetic, proud, and hopeful about the mission of the F.R.E.S.H. Teaching Garden and its capacity to inspire, at an intergenerational level, individuals and families from the community to volunteer in the garden and/or start their own.

The F.R.E.S.H. Teaching Garden educates East St. Louis residents about the critical health benefits of locally grown fruits and vegetables for both individuals and the environment and the critical need to decrease dependency on highly processed and fast foods. With some minor exceptions, food desert space throughout this Fourth World Nation, offers what Malik Yakini argues can only nominally be classified as “food.” Dr. Patton-Whiteside also maintains the position that participation in garden-based activities by children results in improved academic performance and enhanced social interaction skills.

WHY DO WE MARCH?

We march because by the Grace of God and the force of truth, the dangerous, hampering walls of prejudice and inhuman injustice must fall.

We march because we want to make impossible a repetition of Waco, Memphis, and East St. Louis, by rousing the conscience of the country and bring the murders of our brothers, sisters, and innocent children to justice.

We march because we deem it a crime to be silent in the face of such barbaric acts.

We march because we are thoroughly opposed to Jim-crow Cars etc., Segregation, Discrimination, Disenfranchisement, LYNCHING and the host of evils that are forced on us. It is time that the Spirit of Christ should be manifested in the making and execution of laws.

We march because we want our children to live in a better land and enjoy fairer conditions than have fallen to our lot.

We march because in memory of our butchered dead, the massacre of the honest toilers who were removing the reproach of laziness and thriftlessness hurled at the entire race. They died to prove our worthiness to live. We live in spite of death shadowing us and ours. We prosper in the face of the most unwarranted and illegal oppression.

We march because the growing consciousness and solidarity of race coupled with sorrow and discrimination have made us one: a union that may never be dissolved in spite of shallow-brained agitations, scheming pundits and political tricksters who secure a fleeting popularity and uncertain financial support by promoting the disunion of a people who ought to consider themselves as one.

Be in line on Saturday and show that you have not become callous to the sorrows of your race. May God Bless you and every parader.¹⁰⁵

Yours in righteous indignation,

Rev. Chas. Martin, Secy.

On July 28, 1917, less than a month after the vicious anti-Black massacre in East St. Louis, nearly ten thousand black men, women, and children paraded in absolute silence on New York's Fifth Avenue. Silently marching to the beat of a drum, the throngs of protesters clutched picket signs declaring their purpose and demanding justice (NAACP). The Silent Protest Parade was organized by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to protest lynching and other forms of violence against Blacks, especially in response to the East St. Louis massacre, or as Lumpkins refers to as "The East St. Louis Pogrom." The silent marchers communicated their frustration to the nation by carrying banners, without uttering a single word. Children led the march, holding hands and wearing white. The children were followed by prominent NAACP members like including organizers Secretary Rev. Chas Martin, President Rev. Hutchens Bishop, and W.E.B Du Bois with a banner that read "Your Hands Are Full of Blood" (NAACP). The American flag was carried as a reminder of the democratic ideals that failed to protect African Americans. The march launched the NAACP's public campaign against lynching and racial violence.

In Montgomery, Alabama under the leadership of attorney and activist Bryan Stevenson, the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) has documented more than four thousand three hundred racial terror lynchings of African Americans in anti-Black spaces like East St. Louis and throughout the United States between the end of the Civil War and World War II. As discussed in EJI literature, lynching profoundly impacted race relations in the United States and shaped the geographic, political, social,

¹⁰⁵ Portion of flyer dated, July 24, 1917 "To The People of African Decent" to solicit participation in the *Negro Silent Protest Parade* in New York, organized by the NAACP in the aftermath of the East St. Louis Massacre of July 2, 1917. Source: *National Humanities Center*.

and economic conditions of African American in ways that continue to contribute to disparity and Fourth World conditions. Most critically, lynching reinforced a legacy of racial inequality that has never been adequately addressed in America (EJI).

As an attorney engaged in confronting the ills of the Prison Industrial Complex and the punishment industry, Stevenson argues that current issues like mass incarceration and inequality cannot be addressed until the truth of the United States' history of racial injustice is formally acknowledged and reconciled. His publication, *Just Mercy: A Story of Justice and Redemption*, chronicles various successes and failures he has experienced in confronting mass incarceration in this Fourth World Nation. As part of my Fourth World Theory research, my teaching and Ball State University, and my professional consulting work with my friend and colleague Clay Dorsey and his design firm, Dorsey Architects, I had the pleasure and honor of meeting and working with Bryan Stevenson and his Equal Justice Initiative for the design and implementation of the Center for Peace and Justice as part of the Memorial to Peace and Justice complexes in Montgomery. In my initial meeting with Stevenson,¹⁰⁶ he shared his mission of confronting mass incarceration and injustice and how it ultimately led to an interest in social justice-based cultural endeavors in Montgomery as a means to promote healing. He articulated the foundation of his activism by stating the fact that no prominent monument or memorial exists to commemorate the thousands of African Americans who were lynched during the era of racial terrorism in America despite the fact that in Montgomery alone, there are fifty-nine monuments and memorials to the Confederacy. Stevenson noted that the phenomenon of racial terror lynchings had not received much cultural recognition in contrast with the thousands of plaques, statues, and monuments that record, celebrate, and lionize the Confederacy and Confederate leaders. He added that in the American South, there are hundreds of memorials to the defenders of slavery,

and leaders who championed racial segregation and white supremacy, including many who perpetrated violent crimes against black citizens during this nation's perpetual legacy of racial terror.

The Memorial to Peace and Justice is a massive and ambitious superstructure designed to acknowledge the history of racial terror and lynching explored herein. The memorial rests on six acres of land atop a rise that overlooks the city of Montgomery and out to the American South, where terror and lynchings were most prevalent. Suspended from the superstructure are seven hundred corten steel markers, by county, in a configuration of *Strange Fruit*, bearing the names of the abovementioned four thousand three-hundred racial terror lynching victims in anti-Black spaces throughout the United States between the end of the Civil War and World War II. In addition to the seven hundred corten steel markers, are duplicate markers are carefully placed on the grounds. The markers are designed to be ultimately relocated to the respective counties where the terrorist acts of lynching took place.

The Peace and Justice Memorial Center was designed by Dorsey Architects. The facility provides an acoustically sound and state-of-the-art, auditorium for lectures, presentations, performances, with multimedia capabilities. In addition, meeting spaces and a book store/gift shop are contained within the facility to accommodate visitors to the Memorial to Peace and Justice as well as the Center. The Peace and Justice Center is carved into the existing landscape and features a raised terrace area that serves as a "porch" and provides a panoramic view of the Memorial to Peace and Justice and the Memorial Peace Garden, also designed by Dorsey Architects. Our primary charge from Stevenson was to propose an attractive, aesthetically

¹⁰⁶Notes from my initial meeting with Bryan Stevenson at the Equal Justice Initiative in Montgomery, Alabama, on May 24, 2017.

pleasing design proposal while simultaneously responding to, saluting, humbling, and respecting the power and critical importance of the Memorial to Peace and Justice. The overall design for the Peace and Justice Center and the use of light materials and illumination, serves as a beacon of hope and “making a way out of no way” in the midst of an otherwise dark reality for the lives of African Americans in this Fourth World Nation prior to, and since Emancipation.

As previously declared and supported herein by a plethora of evidence, the United States of America is a Fourth World Nation. It has earned this distinction as a direct result of the manner in which it was established, how it developed, and the fact that it has demonstratively failed to confront its ever-increasing disparity and unevenness. I have argued that in sharp contrast to the eloquent yet hypocritical prose of the *United States Constitution*, and braced by American Exceptionalism to support a structure of empire, disparity serves as reinforcement for a metaphoric uneven foundation, built on sand, and subject to differential settlement. As a Fourth World Nation, founded under a legacy of genocidal, racist, and sexist ordering systems, the United States is rendered helpless to exhibiting overwhelming evidence of multitudinous oppressive practices manifested through its blatant disparity. In the face of a trajectory toward nothingness, and from the trenches of Fourth World Space, the primary challenge is for the people to reimagine life as a means to heal humanity - a humanity that has been subjected to the ills of hatred, greed, and power for its entire existence. Out of desperation and absolute necessity, individuals sharing the conceptual and philosophical approaches of the late Grace Lee Boggs, including, but certainly not limited to Malik Yakini, Imhotep Adisa, Pam Dorr, David Elkins, Wayne Curtis, Myrtle Thompson, Sylvester Brown, Elizabeth Patton-Whiteside, and Bryan Stevenson, are emerging through grass roots organizations and movements focused on transformation, and survival. Whether through food justice, advocacy for the homeless, or the design and construction

of monuments or markers designed to acknowledge the root of the disparities, evidence has been provided that such individuals and groups of individuals exist and are interrogating the structural systems that challenge the possibility for such transformations. Markers can also be designed to acknowledge the triumphs over systems of injustice and oppression by celebrating how a people had the audacity to "make a way, out of no way" and confront problematic ultimate realities through the means of "sublime madness."

In June 2014, I traveled to Cleveland, Ohio to introduce the topic of Fourth World Theory at the Historic Preservation in America's Legacy Cities: An Interdisciplinary Convening at the Maxine Goodman Levin College of Urban Affairs at Cleveland State University. At the conference, I met another presenter, curator, historian, and archivist Susan L. Hall of the Western Reserve Historical Society and of her private consulting firm, Hall Creative Productions. Unfortunately, I had arrived shortly after the completion of her presentation. However, she shared her experience in working with City Councilman Zack Reed and Mt. Pleasant NOW Development Corporation on the development of the Mt. Pleasant Arts, Culture and Entertainment District in Cleveland's southeast side. She shared her mission and creative plan for the Historic Markers Project; to create an artistic history "street exhibit" about the development and history of Mt. Pleasant as a neighborhood and its diverse people and their stories. Hall noted that the charge was to uplift the residents and visitors with exhibit quality markers along the street telling the stories of the famous and unsung people who have lived, worked and worshiped in the Mt. Pleasant area of the city. She shared images of the markers and explained how each marker was intended to be a source of inspiration for youth and a means of fond reflections for the elders and serve as a means to communicate to visitors the rich history of the neighborhood.

Not only was I impressed with the mission and objectives of the Mt. Pleasant Historical Marker Project, I was captivated by the genuine commitment and enthusiasm Susan Hall demonstrated when she shared the proposal with me. There was a quiet dignity and humility embedded in her approach to the effort that was ground in respect and honor to the subjects to be displayed on the markers. The conditions of the Mt. Pleasant area of Cleveland are somewhat consistent with the severely distressed spaces explored in this research effort from Gary, to Detroit, to East St. Louis. In September 2015, the first marker was installed on the grounds of the A.J. Rickoff K-8 School at the northeast corner of Kinsman Road and East 147th Street. It was dedicated to the late Carl B. Stokes who, along with Richard Hatcher, had been elected as the first African American Mayor of a major city in the United States, in 1967. Cordell Stokes, the youngest son of Carl Stokes unveiled the historical marker devoted to his father. Other attendees at the event included Chuck Stokes, son of the late Louis Stokes, the 15-term U.S. Representative who had passed-away less than a month before the unveiling at the age of 90. The marker featured high resolution photographs gathered by, and text written and composed by Susan Hall.

As I began to follow the work of Susan Hall, I came to realize the congruous nature of our respective interests and endeavors. Eventually, I began to visit her on a regular basis. Ultimately, we fell in love - although I am convinced that I experienced love at first sight. On May 11, 2018, I proposed to Susan Hall. We were married on November 23, 2018 at the Indiana Historical Society in Indianapolis, where she now serves as Coordinator of African American History for the entire State of Indiana. Together, as a team in possession of Sublime Madness, we will navigate through the troubled landscape of this Fourth World Nation, and somehow, make a way out of no way.

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