2-28-2018

Networks of Survival in Kinshasa, Mumbai, Detroit, and Comparison Cities; an Empirical Perspective

Beryl S. Powell
Salve Regina University, beryl.powell@salve.edu

Salve Regina University

Networks of Survival in Kinshasa, Mumbai, Detroit,

and Comparison Cities; an Empirical Perspective

A Dissertation Submitted to

the Humanities Program

in Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Beryl S. Powell

Newport, Rhode Island

February 2018

SALVE REGINA UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE STUDIES

This dissertation of <u>Beryl S. Powell</u> entitled "<u>Networks of Survival in Kinshasa, Mumbai, Detroit, and Comparison Cities; an Empirical Perspective</u>", submitted to the Ph.D. Program in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Salve Regina University", has been read and approved by the following individuals:

Reader: <u>Reader Signature</u>   <u>Date</u>   4/18/2018
Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, Ph.D.

Reader: <u>Reader Signature</u>   <u>Date</u> 4\24\18
Stephen Trainor, Ph.D.

Mentor: <u>Mentor Signature</u>   <u>Date</u>   4/26/18
Daniel Cowdin, Ph.D.

Director,
Ph.D. Program: <u>Signature</u>   4/26/18
Michael A. Budd, Ph.D.   <u>Date</u>

Provost: <u>Signature</u>   4.26.18
J. David Arnold, Ph.D.   <u>Date</u>

To my father, John J. Slocum, 1914-1997,

Who encouraged scholarship;

And to my sons, Adam C. Powell IV and Sherman Scott Powell,

From whom I learned more than I taught.

And to the others . . .

Appreciation also to Dr. Daniel Cowdin and

Dr. Carolyn Fluehr Lobban,

For their extensive assistance with this dissertation;

and to Dr. Stephen Trainor,

who enabled the final process.

Contents

Illustrations

1. **General Alexander Macomb**, born in Detroit, fought in the War of 1812 as field commander at the Battle of Plattsburgh, and was the Commanding General of the U.S. from 1828 to 1841.

2-3. The **Underground Railroad** lasted from about 1800 to 1860. It is estimated that about 100,000 slaves escaped by this method from slavery in the south to freedom in the north and Canada. Secret routes, sympathizers and safe houses, helped the slaves to escape.

4. **General Alpheus Williams** moved to Detroit in 1836. He fought in the Civil War, especially at Gettysburgh. This statue is located at Belle Isle, which is off the coast of Detroit, and was designed by Frederick Law Olmstead.

5. **Stevens T. Mason** was appointed Secretary of the Michigan Territory by President Andrew Jackson in 1831. He became governor of the Michigan Territory in 1835 (to 1836), and then of Michigan State, from 1837-40. Mason died in 1843 at the age of 31 (The Northwest Territory became the Michigan Territory in 1805.)

6. **Hazen Pingree** served for four terms as mayor of Detroit, and for one as governor. He lowered the cost of utilities and streetcars, and initiated garden farming in empty lots during the Panic and subsequent Depression of 1893. In 1993, numerous scholars concluded that he ranked as the fourth best mayor in American history (Holli: 1999).

7. The **Eastern Market** opened in the 1850s, following a Farmers' Market at Cadillac Square, which opened in 1841.

8. The **Central United Methodist Church**, which now sponsors a Noah project to assist the homeless, first opened in 1866.

9. The **Detroit Institute of Arts** opened in 1927.

10. The **Fisher Building** was constructed in 1928. Five Fisher brothers from Ohio created the Fisher Body Company in 1908. After creating Cadillac auto body chassis for sixteen years, they sold the business to GM in 1926.

11. **Motown** became a recording studio and record company in 1959. It was founded by Berry Gordy, Jr. Motown combines "motor and town," and became "a nickname for Detroit" (Whitaker, 2011: 614). Motown combined soul music and pop. Groups such as the Vandellas, the Miracles, the Temptations and the Jackson Five recorded with this label..

12. The **Charles Wright Museum of African American History** has many historical relics and exhibits, from ancient African civilizations to modern culture.

13. View from the **Renaissance Center,** the world headquarters of GM; known as the RenCen. Seven skyscrapers are interconnected in this center. The Detroit Marriott is in the central tower, with six surrounding office towers. Construction was completed in 1981.

14. **Merle Watts**.

15. **Abba Elethea.**

16. The **Michigan Urban Farming Initiative** at 7432 Brush Street.

17. A **Statue of Henry Ford**, 1863-1947, in Dearborn, MI.

18. An example of **modern architecture in downtown Detroit, beside Campus Martius Park**, which is named after a district of Rome where many public buildings were located.

19. **Banganga Tank, 1127 –** According to legend, Ram, a Hindu god, was pursuing Ravana, a demon king, to rescue Siga, his wife. Being thirsty, "he shot an arrow," and a tributary of the Ganges River, 1,000 miles away, appeared (*New World Encyclopedia*). According to popular belief, if someone's ashes are sprinkled in the Ganges River, and by association in the Banganga, they can be reborn and cleansed of their past sins.

20. **Haji Ali Dargah** (1431) – The causeway is flooded at high tide. At low tide, people with missing arms or legs or both, sit along the causeway to collect a few coins.

21. The **Afghan Church** was built to commemorate the deaths of British soldiers in the First Afghan War (1839-1842). Out of 16,000 British and Imperial troops, only one returned alive.

22-4. **Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (and inside the terminus)**, 1887 - Shivaji was a seventeenth century warrior king of Maharashtra. Bombay became the capital of Maharashtra state in 1960.

25. The **Bombay Municipal Corporation** was moved to this central location in 1893. City government for Mumbai is located in this building.

26. **The Adishwarji Jain Temple** was built in 1904. The Jain religion emphasizes non-violence and reincarnation.

27-8. **Mani Bhavan** near Malabar Hill in southern Mumbai. Gandhi stayed in this house, belonging to a friend, from 1917 to 1934, while he led the movement for Indian independence.

29. **Art Deco buildings along Marine Drive** in Mumbai.

30. **Gateway of India, 1924**

31**. A dhobi ghat for laundry.**

32-4. Mankhurd Slum in New Bombay. Also, **Market in Mankhurd Slum, Square,** and **Alley with Laundry.**

Network Diagram Sources

Abstract

People in impoverished cities, for example in Kinshasa, lend small quantities of food to neighbors when requested, to prevent starvation. In Mumbai, they share their living space with others who are homeless. In Detroit, churches and the Detroit Urban League have helped poor residents to obtain jobs, meals, and housing. Rather than mere self-interest, this expression of generosity is an outstanding human quality. Networks of survival also include the lessons of history, good economic and political policies, human rights, equal opportunity, and culture.

Introduction

Urban prosperity depends on justice, human rights, and cooperation. Cities fail when moral values fail. In Mumbai (formerly Bombay), many members of every branch of city government, including most policemen, solicit bribes, according to Sekutu Mehta. And politicians fail to appoint judges to many empty seats of the judiciary, amounting to some 40 percent of the total (176). As a result, many people, including one judge, have turned to organized crime to solve legal issues (144, 176, 236-237). In present Kinshasa, "health, education, food security, clean drinking water, public transport and housing are simply beyond the reach of most Kinois" (residents of Kinshasa), according to Trefon (8). Much of Congo was taken by agents of Leopold II of Belgium from local chiefs, and years of brutal, enforced labor in the rubber plantations followed (Meredith, 2005: 96). Kinshasa and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) would doubtless be better off today without that dark period of exploitation. And, Detroit experienced a century of prejudice in jobs and housing. Executive pay in the United States leaves some very wealthy, and many very poor, with blighted opportunities.

Aristotle, among other philosophers, opposed greed, endorsing instead "courage, temperance, justice, and wisdom"; previously listed by Plato as "cardinal" virtues (Stumpf and Fiser, 2003: 94). Modern extremes of executive pay could be considered as greed.

My dissertation includes observations by several modern philosophers, including Lewis Mumford, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, John Rawls, and Giorgio Agamben. Agamben emphasized the importance of every individual human being,

and Solzhenitsyn accused Americans of excessive materialism (both discussed in my chapter on "Community and Urban Theory"). Mumford believed that cities can be improved by "cooperation", versus "parasitic and predatory" relationships. In 1938, he criticized income inequality, which had increased since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and has increased even further by the twenty-first. (See my chapters on "Morality" and "Conclusion".)

In modern cities that are seriously failing, principal causes of failure include local history, poverty, inadequate enforcement of law, crime and corruption, ethnic conflict, changing patterns of trade, and dysfunctional equilibrium: equilibrium, as described by Francis Fukuyama (2011: 454-7), caused by entrenched interests, which can destroy a city, province or nation. All or most of these causes can be found at present in the cities of Kinshasa, Mumbai, and Detroit, among many others. And yet, cooperation and 'solidarity' in Kinshasa is enabling people to survive, according to Trefon, Nzeza, and Tollens, although its population is living in extreme poverty. Kate Abbey-Lambertz of the Huffington Post reported in April 2012 that unemployment in Detroit stood at 17.8 percent. Other reports, however, note that many of those employed have part-time jobs and are underemployed, and many have stopped looking.

Nonetheless, impoverished cities find alternative solutions for survival. Thus, market forces are rebuilding Detroit; cash from overseas relatives, job sharing and solidarity assist residents of Kinshasa; and the determination of residents rebuilds slums in Mumbai.

From a moral dimension, which is also a theoretical claim ("proposed explanation"), we can see how poverty is often caused by exploitation: in the DR Congo by the exploitation of Leopold II, and subsequently by the Belgian government, and then by President Mobutu. In India, by the Mughal and subsequent British rulers. African Americans, exploited during slavery in southern American states, were helped by means of the Underground Railroad. In Detroit and other north-eastern cities, many encountered housing and job discrimination. Most transcended this discrimination by their labor. Generous individuals helped, as well as the Detroit Urban League, and other sources.

Geography can also be a cause of poverty, for example when harvests fail, as happens frequently in India.

Morality involves helping those who are suffering, rather than merely accumulating more wealth and personal property. It is endorsed by most religions.

One can imagine an "end of poverty", envisioned by Jeffrey Sachs, or a global transformation of moral values. Theoretically, a solution to abuse and exploitation, which necessitate networks of survival, is unlikely. For example, in spite of efforts to create a more democratic government in Syria in recent years, dictator Bashir al-Assad remains firmly entrenched, about 400,000 Syrians have died in their quest for democracy, and millions have fled from their homes and country. Russia helped Syria, because they wanted an ally in the region.

Secondly, millions of people around the world, mostly in Africa and Asia, have been kidnapped and sold into slavery in recent years; an example of crass exploitation. Global moral standards are not always accepted. ISIS is active in the Middle East and

beyond, al-Shabab in Sudan, and Boko Haram in Nigeria. On a 'micro level', abuse and exploitation even exist within some families: the 'myth' of Cinderella represents discrimination in a family; and between co-workers, in business, or military service.

Therefore, networks of survival will probably always be needed. These are provided by many individuals, by means of organizations such as CARE, Doctors without Borders, the International Rescue Committee, and Hospital Albert Schweitzer, among others.

Neighbors helping neighbors represents informal networks of survival, versus economic, political, and (less so) cultural networks, which represent more formal networks.

My **question** is: what are the principle challenges and resources of Kinshasa, Mumbai, and Detroit; and solutions for survival?

And my **thesis**: Impoverished communities cope with adversity by means of diligence, frugality, culture, and cooperation; focusing on Kinshasa, Mumbai, Detroit and comparison cities.

My dissertation has been influenced by the Salve Regina graduate studies program, which includes books on ethics, modern culture (including volumes edited by John Storey), Michel Foucault's challenging lectures on *Security, Territory, Population*; Mike Davis's *Planet of Slums,* and many others. The importance of every individual is especially emphasized by ethics, and secondly by culture, and human communication. Presentations by students in every class were a good exercise in communication.

And, including a book on technology in every class was beneficial for twenty-first century students; including an entire class on the history of technology, and one on the philosophy of technology.

One cannot completely understand networks of survival when they are taken out of context. They are amazing solutions in which people survive by helping each other, but they don't always occur. Sometimes instead a person will try to destroy his or her neighbor, in order to benefit, as happens in Katherine Boo's research, in *Behind the Beautiful Forevers*.

Their context also includes their regional history, which created the poverty which necessitated networks of survival. These networks also include culture, and sometimes religion. Therefore, I will include adequate context to describe the subject in depth.

As the population of our planet increases, and with it the stress on global resources, cooperation will be increasingly important.

Economics, government, education, and technology are likewise significant as means for creating prosperity and for sharing it among all residents. They too are potential networks of survival, representing cooperation when properly developed.

Many medieval cities were developed in Europe during the tenth century, according to Lewis Mumford (1938). Cities depend on agriculture from rural areas. They are "a product of the earth," and represent settled life, which originated with agriculture. They concentrate "the power and culture of a community". Leading institutions of religion, the market, justice, and learning are located in cities. Systems

5

of conduct and order transform human experience. Walled towns promoted

"commercial zeal" (3-4, 17-18). Elements of the countryside become transformed by

the city "into durable elements in the human heritage". These promote the economic

existence of cities. The "essence" of rural labor becomes concentrated in cities,

providing "greater possibilities" for trade, beyond rural isolation. Cities orchestrate

"time and space," and have learned to preserve the past in museums (3-4).

In 1938, Mumford refers to feudal lords as "gang-leaders" (16), while Francis

Fukuyama referred to Europe's "upper nobility", c. 17th to 18th centuries, as

"warlords" (2011: 423). In Mumbai, Mehta describes the leaders of organized crime

in this category as "gang lords" (204).

By the later Middle Ages, the universal Church was weakening in relation to

the development of capitalism, "based on the supremacy of the physical world and

material goods" (Mumford 71).

Mumford writes that the megalopolis began to develop between 1850 and

1875. "Urban agglomeration" was promoted by railroad and shipping lines, which

brought "raw materials and foods". The development and centralization of

administration also contributed, as well as the enlargement of political and business

bureaucracies. The metropolitan scene became dominated by "finance, insurance,

[and] advertising." It was important for "investors and manufacturers" to be close to

the metropolis, the source of credit capital (224, 226, 228).

Cities, according to Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes, represent "regional

life," as well as the civilization "in which each particular city is a constituent element"

(Mumford 7). In the case of Detroit, American civilization, between 1865 and 1960,

when many African Americans arrived and settled in Detroit, was not especially friendly to these people.

Mumford believes that mechanical and symbolic monuments should be limited. The former hinder progress and the latter celebrate death (441). However, some monuments celebrate life and achievement; for example, the occasional statues in towns of Gandhi, and many quotations of him, carved or painted over the ticket booths of train stations in India, a tribute to the great humanitarian, which I read with interest in 1998.

Developing countries differ from more prosperous ones. Richard Arnott writes that most poor people "in developing countries work in the informal sector . . ." Therefore, their exact income is unknown. Most "of the most needy households [reside] in unauthorized housing, [which] governments are reluctant to subsidize . . ." Governments endeavor to create more formal housing, as this permits them to collect higher taxes (169-70).

Common characteristics of Mumbai, Kinshasa, and Detroit to be discussed include: background, government, law and order, including human rights; economics and employment; health, education, housing, culture, nutrition, water, poverty, and resources.

Chapter I: History: The Distant View

Kinshasa

The first Bantu, or proto-Bantu, arrived in Congo from Nigeria ca. 2000 B.C. Kuba and Luba people became separated, and reunified some 2,500 years later (Gondola xxi).

Checkh Anta Diop considers Egypt as integral to Africa, rather than as part of the Middle East. Egypt is to Africa, he writes, "as Greece is to Europe." Nubian and Egyptian arts and civilization were dispersed to "all parts of the continent as a result" of the invasions of Alexander the Great and of Arabs in the "fourth century B.C." and "the seventh century A.D.," respectively; which created dispersions (1971: 21-24; quoted by M. and K. Asante 1985: 5).

In 1076, weakened by feuding vassals, Ghana "was conquered by Almoravids from Morocco"; in 1087 by the original Soninkés; and in 1240 by "Sundiata, a Manding conqueror," who established the Mali Empire on the defeated remnants of Ghana (Yansane, 1996: 44). David Lamb moves the Almoravid warriors further south and two centuries later, noting that "the Ghana Empire was destroyed in the thirteenth century by Almoravid warriors from Senegal". In addition, "the Mali Empire began to crumble in 1430 under pressure from the nomadic Tuaregs; and the Songhai Empire was broken up in 1591 when its troops were defeated by an invading Moroccan army" (8). (The Songhai Empire occupied much of Mali, half of Niger, half of Burkina Faso, and some of Senegal.)

Focusing more closely on our first region of interest, the Kingdom of Kongo was founded circa 1275 by Nimi Lukeni Ntinu Wene (Mukenge 2002: xi). In 1482, explorer Diego Gao (usually Cão) arrived from Portugal. Portuguese emissaries waited for several years before they secretly began to capture "citizens of Kongo," and sent them "to work as slaves on plantations on the Atlantic islands of São Tomé and Principé," beginning in 1491 (xi, xii, 19).

Flemish-Belgian author David Van Reybrouck, however, believes that a Kongolese ruler assisted with the capture of slaves. When requested for slaves by the Portuguese, Bakongo King Alfonso I, who ruled from 1506-1543, sent raids to "neighboring districts" for people. From "the mouth of the Congo" river region, "an estimated four million people," roughly one third "of the entire Atlantic slave trade," travelled west as slaves (2014: 22-23). From the wider West African region, about eleven and a half million Africans were taken from West Africa for the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and about the same number by African and Arab traders via the "trans-Saharan and Indian Ocean routes" (Chazan 1999: 252).

Thousands of African slaves were brought to the West Indies and the Americas after 1650. "The commercial supremacy of England and France" was based on "the immense profits" of the triangular trade between Europe, Africa, and the "new world". Resulting "plantations worked by slave labor" as well as "wealth extracted from India," also enriched Western Europe and North America (Chandra 54).

In 1878, agent Henry Morton Stanley acquired the 'signatures' of many African chiefs on treaties from Belgian King Leopold II's International Association of the Congo. They marked their 'X's on treaties which they could not read, believing

that "they were agreeing to nothing more than a pact of friendship." Instead, they were giving up the perpetual sovereignty of their territories (Gondola 2002: 17). Ultimately, some four hundred signed.

In the "early 1880s," Leopoldville was composed of several small villages (Trefon 7-8). In 1885, Leopold II acquired the Congo Free State as "his personal empire," with "international approval," at the Berlin Conference, which distributed large parts of Africa to European rule. At the conference, the International Association of the Congo (AIC) became the Congo Free State (Mukenge xii). The state covered "nearly one million square miles," with resources including "ivory, palm oil, timber," copper, uranium, cobalt, diamonds, and coltan (Meredith 2005: 95).

During the rule of Leopold II, "black and white districts" in the city were strictly segregated (Trefon 7-8).

Leopold II ruled the Congo from 1885 to 1908. His military forces, the Forces Publiques, as well as large concessionary companies, managed and exploited the region for his benefit. If natives did not harvest wild rubber fast enough on his plantations, they could lose a hand, as an example to the others. Baskets of hands were collected (Gondola xxiii). This rivals British treatment of the Kikuyu in Kenya, and German treatment of the Herero and the Nama in Namibia, for brutality.

Since many villagers were taken from their farms, "an endemic state of famine" existed during this period. Millions of native deaths occurred. Pressured by "other European colonial powers," which learned of Leopold's brutal rule from "missionaries, activists, and diplomats," the Belgian government voted to annex Congo in 1908 (Gondola: 18).

While less lethal, Belgian government rule was also harsh. In Katanga province, hours were long, and workers were often beaten. Village chieftans were bribed to supply workers, who were sold to others. One worker reported that "the misery we suffered was unimaginable: we slept on the ground, were bitten by snakes, by mosquitoes, by all kinds of insects". "The exhausted workers were forced to live under harsh and unsanitary conditions . . . Drinking water was scarce. . . . During the dry season, workers drank from stagnant ponds or muddy streams." They came down with diseases: "dysentery, enteritis, typhoid fever, influenza, pneumonia, tuberculosis" (Van Reybrouck 122, 124-5).

Nzeza adds that during the late years of Belgian rule, thousands of Congolese died in the process of forced labor, breaking stones for the Kinshasa-Matadi railway line (20).

Chazan et al write that independence for African colonies began in the 1950s, beginning with North Africa, followed by Ghana. Numerous countries acquired independence in the 1960s, and others followed several years later. Countries controlled by Portugal first acquired freedom in 1974, and "Spain withdrew" from Western Sahara one year later. Rhodesia became free in 1980, Namibia in 1990, and South Africa in 1994 (1999: 6).

"In the early postcolonial years, most African leaders, in an effort to gain control centralized power," by creating "one-party states". Several states, however, diverged from this trend, including Nigeria, which created a federal state. Botswana, Gambia, and Mauritius developed multi-party states. Senegal soon engaged in competitive elections. Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Tanzania, and Zambia all engaged in

socialism during the 1960s. Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique tried Marxism in the following decade (Chazan et al: 12).

Besides one-party rule, corruption and graft by rulers and elite officials were also customary. Eighteen African rulers have been accused of being mass murderers, including Sani Abacha in Nigeria, Omar al Bashir in the Sudan (the only one charged by the International Criminal Court), Idi Amin in Uganda, General Babangida in Nigeria, Siyad Barré in Somalia, Jean-Bedel Bokassa in the Central African Republic (CAR), Samuel Doe in Liberia, General Habyarimana in Rwanda, Hissan Habré in Chad, Laurent Kabila in Congo-Kinshasa, General Kayabanda in Rwanda, Major Karoma in Sierra Leone, Haili Mengistu in Ethiopia, President Micombera in Burundi, General Mobutu in Zaire, President Mugabe in Zimbabwe, President Macias Nguema in Equatorial Guinea, and Charles Taylor in Liberia, according to Martin Meredith (2005: 218-248, ff).

Mugabe, for example, slaughtered 10-20,000 Ndebeles, among others (Guest 36).   Clearly, these do not represent networks of survival. The Mugabes, Mobutus, and Idi Amins of Africa had no interest in national prosperity; they focused on their own individual wealth and power.

Many post-independence African rulers engaged in profligate government spending and economic mismanagement, and impoverished their nations, including Nkrumah in Ghana, Mobutu in Zaire, Mugabe in Zimbabwe, Bokassa in CAR, Houphouët Boigny in Côte d'Ivoire, and Omar Bongo in Gabon. In Zaire, President Mobutu pocketed approximately $5 billion. "In Gabon, Omar Bongo . . . presided over the country's oil wealth for twenty-two years, making him one of the world's richest men." In Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda engaged in "catastrophic . . . economic

mismanagement" during his "twenty-five years in office. . . . In the 1980s [he] was estimated to control 40,000 patronage positions in Lusaka alone" (Meredith: 172, 297-300, 380-81).

Corrupt governments, in which rulers and other officials pocket large amounts of national wealth, leaving many in poverty, represent networks of death and destruction.

My **network diagram for "Government Exploitation Increases Poverty"** pictures two larger circles. Smaller circles Nos. 1-6 in the left larger circle represent rulers and other officials, who pocket large amounts of national wealth. Smaller circles Nos. 7-12 in the right larger circle represent the many who are left in poverty. An arrow from the left larger circle to the right larger circle is labelled "resulting in poverty".

In 1960, the Belgian Congo became Congo Léopoldville, and the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1964. The DRC's First Republic lasted from 1960-65, the Second from 1965-1997, and the Third from 2006 continues to exist in 2016 (Van Reybrouck: 502). Joseph Kasa Vubu became president in 1960, followed by Joseph Mobutu in 1965. From 1965-1990, the U.S. aided Zaire and contributed "hundreds of millions of dollars in aid" (Gondola: xxvi). The Congo was renamed Zaire by Mobuto in 1971, and renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo by Laurent Kabila in 1997.

Until 1989, all Western states supported Mobutu. "His regime was characterized by violence, nepotism, personality cult, human rights abuses and the absence of freedom of expression" (Trefon 4). Jason Stearns writes that Mobutu was supported by Western governments "in their effort to make Zaire a bulwark against the

socialist states – Angola, the Republic of Congo, and Tanzania . . ." (113). This aimed

to support U.S. opposition to Communism during the Cold War. (See 'Government'.)

Post independence Congo "crumbled into chaos following the assassination of its

independence leader and first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba" (Stearns 61).

The Congo War(s), 1996 to 2011 were initially caused by "the Rwandan

genocide and the exodus of the *génocidaires* and refugees to Zaire". "At the height of

the war, there were upwards of forty Congolese armed groups in eastern Congo alone,

while nine different African states deployed troops" (xxii).

The First Congo War, which was fought from October 1996 to May 1997,

defeated President Mobutu. Laurent Kabila succeeded as president, and became

"increasingly authoritarian" (Van Reybrouck 431, 439). The Second Congo War,

August 1998-June 2003, is sometimes called the Great African War. According to

Jeffrey Gettleman, writing in the New York Times, more than five million died in the

war (15 December 2012). In July 1999, a "meeting to develop a cease fire agreement

(the Lusaka Accord) [was held] in Lusaka, Zambia." The Accord was signed by

"Congo, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, and Uganda". In August it was

signed by rebel groups. In 2000-01, "all parties continue[d] to violate" the Accord.

Officially the war ended in July 2003, but fighting continued in 2012 (Mukenge xx).

Laurent Kabila disbanded "preexisting political institutions with the exception

of the judiciary." He was assassinated in 2001, and was succeeded as president by his

son Joseph (Mukenge xix).

In summary, Leopold II, the Belgian government, President Mobutu, and Joseph Kabila have all exploited the people and resources of the Congo/DRC for their personal benefit, at the expense of the local population.

Bombay / Mumbai

Gurcharan Das writes that "the Indian state" gradually emerged from tribes in the "sixth century" B.C. Three empires ruled in India: the Maurya (fourth century B.C.), the Gupta (fourth to sixth century A.D.), and the Mughal (1526-1858; Das 2012: 60-1). "By the 13th century, . . . Brahmin priests encouraged obscurantism among India's elite. Rodents and insects could not be killed and vast amounts of foodstuffs were lost . . . The caste system choked initiative" (Smitha, 2009-2015). Alternate spiritual leaders, such as Buddha, or Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, created alternate religions, which reduced the influence of Hindu Brahmins (Das: 58).

Koenraad Elst, a German historian, wrote in "Negation in India" (1992) that

"the Muslim conquests, down to the sixteenth century, were for the Hindus a pure struggle of life and death. Entire cities were burned down and the populations massacred, with hundreds of thousands killed in every campaign, and similar numbers deported as slaves. Every new invader made (often literally) his hills of Hindu skulls. Thus, the conquest of Afghanistan was followed by the annihilation of the Hindu population: the region is still called the Hindu Kush, i.e. Hindu slaughter"

(quoted by Ayesha, 2006).

Hindu temples in India were destroyed by Muslims "while raiding . . . for plunder," during initial conquests, or for their choice locations. "The complex of the early twelfth century Quwwatu'l-Islam mosque, adjoining the giant minaret of Delhi, was built on the site of destroyed temples and utilized elements of the earlier

structures" (Metcalf 2012: 7-8. This will be significant eight centuries later in relation to the destruction by Hindus of the Babri Masjid mosque in Ayodhya, which added additional death and destruction, along with retaliation.

Mughal rule lasted from 1526-1858. The "greater Mughal emperors" included Babur, Humayun, Akbar the Great, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb. "The condition of the Indian peasant gradually worsened during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." Reckless grants of *jagirs* (land) and promotions by Aurangzeb (1658-1707) exhausted "the royal treasure". Mughal authority declined from 1700 to 1750. Extravagance increased, while self-discipline decreased (Chandra: 1-2, 14).

 "After Aurangzeb died in 1707, the empire" slowly declined in power. After the rule of Bahadur Shah, 1707-1712, Mughal nobles weakened "the unity of the empire by carving out their own private principalities" (14). Jahandar Shah (1712-1713)**,** with assistance from Zulfiqar Khan, "the most powerful noble" at that time, achieved succession. Khan initiated 'revenue farming', whereby tax collectors would pay a certain amount to the government, and collect whatever they could from peasants, which was more oppressive to the peasants (3-4). Shah was defeated by his nephew Farrukh Sihar, an incapable ruler, who was "cowardly, cruel, undependable and faithless." Efforts "to contain rebellions and to save the empire from administrative disintegration" failed, due to "constant political rivalry, quarrels, and conspiracies at the court" (4-5). Both Babur and Aurangzeb "destroyed [Hindu] temples in order to build mosques." Aurangzeb "is known to have treated Muslims harshly" (*New World Encyclopedia*).

Alain Danielou writes in *Histoire de l'Inde* (1983) that "from the time Muslims started arriving, around 632 AD, the history of India becomes a long, monotonous series of murders, massacres, spoliations, and destructions. It is, as usual, in the name of 'a holy war' of their faith, of their sole God, that the barbarians have destroyed civilizations, wiped out entire races" (Wordpress). Janet Levy adds that Muslim invasions of India commenced in 636 AD. "Muslim warriors desecrated Hindu places of worship and universities, slaughtered monks and priests, and unleashed a reign of terror to impose Islam and subjugate the majority Hindu population." K. S. Lal mentions that an expedition was sent by Caliph Umar in 636 "to pillage Thana on the coast of Maharashtra". Further expeditions were sent to Broach and Sind. Jihad was considered to be "a religious duty of every Muslim" (1992; quoted by Canelides, 2010).

Anestos Canelides finds additional information. After their "complete conquest of Persia . . . in 637 AD," Arab Muslims began their invasion of India in the south-western region of Sind. Due to "stiff" resistance, they shifted their approach to enter via Afghanistan. Muslims were encouraged by three sources to attack the Hindu "idol-worshippers: by the Koran, Hadith [traditions], and by the example of Muhammad." During invasions, "those who converted [were] spared and those who did not accept the religion of peace [were] massacred or enslaved" (2010).

An army under Muhammad bin Qasim attacked Debal in Sind in 711 or 712. The pattern of conquest was repeated by "all future invaders of Hindustan" [India]. Inhabitants "were invited to accept Islam. Those who converted were spared. Those who refused were massacred. Their women and children were enslaved and

17

converted. Temples were broken and on their sites and with their materials were constructed mosques, khanqahs [hospices], serais [caravanseries], and tombs." The women of Dahir immolated themselves, while 6,000 men were massacred by Qasim's army. Next, between 6- and 16,000 Hindus were killed in Brahmanabad (Lal, 1992; quoted by Voice of Dharma).

Will Durant wrote in 1935 that the "Mohammedan conquest of India is probably the bloodiest story in history. . . The Islamic historians and scholars have recorded with great glee and pride the slaughters of Hindus, forced conversions, abduction of Hindu women and children to slave markets and the destruction of temples carried out by the warriors of Islam during 800 AD to 1700 AD. Millions of Hindus were converted to Islam by sword during this period" (459; quoted by Wordpress, 2015).

Mahmud of Ghazna attacked frontier towns between 1000 and 1003. All inhabitants of Bhera, "except those who embraced Islam," were killed. Mahmud concentrated on destroying "renowned temples, . . . rather than waste time on small ones." Many were destroyed, "some of great antiquity." Great wealth was also captured from cities and residents. "Besides the treasures collected by Mahmud, his soldiers also looted independently." The theft of huge quantities of gold and silver resulted in the "debasement of [Indian] coinage," and "merchants lost their credit with foreign merchants," according to Muhammad Ufi (c. 1232; quoted by Lal, 1992).

Lal adds that "Mahmud's *jihad*, or the *jihad* of any invader or ruler, . . . was accompanied by extreme cruelty." In Thanesar (Kurukshetra), "the blood of the infidels [Hindus] flowed so copiously that the stream was discoloured, and people

were unable to drink it." In "Sirsawa near Saharanpur, . . . the Musulmans paid no regard to the booty till they had satiated themselves with the slaughter of the infidels." Muslim conquest of the Punjab replaced "peace and prosperity" with "despotism and exploitation".

Turkic Seljuk invaders, "who had converted to Islam were no less destructive [than Arabs] to India's largely Hindu and Buddhist population." Turkish chieftan Mahmud of Ghazna raided in 997, and "slaughtered the unprepared Hindus at Bhimnagar". He "pillaged their cities, and destroyed their temples, carrying away the accumulated treasures of centuries." In Somnath, he "murdered all 50,000 of its inhabitants, although at other times he spared the population to be taken to his capital as slaves" (Durant; quoted by Canelides, 2010).

Due to the Islamic massacres, "the Indian (subcontinent) population decreased by eighty million between 1000 (conquest of Afghanistan) and 1525 (end of the Delhi sultanate)", according to Elst. K.S. Lal (1973) modifies the decline in population to "about sixty to eighty million" according to Levy, which he believes indicate "perhaps the biggest ever holocaust in human history" (quoted by M. D. Deshpande, 2014). Sanskriti reports a smaller decline in population between 1000 and 1500: "All over the Islamic world, the conquered were castrated, including in India . . . [T]his possibly contributed to the decline in India's population from 200 million in 1000 CE to 170 million in 1500 CE" (2014). (Thirty million would also be a large quantity.)

Nearly two centuries after Mahmud Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ghauri (Ghori, Ghuri) began his invasion of India, as described by Canelides. In 1180 he captured Peshawar, and Lahore by 1187. The Ghaznavi dynasty was annihilated by the

Ghauris. "The Bahmani sultans (1347-1480) in central India made it a rule to kill 100,000 captives in a single day, and many more on other occasions" (Elst, 1992). Rajiv Varma writes (2009-2015) that Timur (Tamerlane), a Turco-Mongol invader, born in Uzbekistan, "had captured 100,000 Hindus" by 1399 AD, before his capture of Delhi. "As he prepared for battle against the Tughlaz [Turkic dynasty in Delhi], after crossing the Yamuna, his Amirs [princes] advised him "that on the great day of battle these 100,000 prisoners could not be left with the baggage, and that it would be entirely opposed to the rule of war to set these idolaters and enemies of Islam at liberty". Therefore, "no other course remained but that of making them all food for the sword". Timur continued: "I proclaimed throughout the camp that every man who had infidel [Hindu] prisoners should put them to death, and whoever neglected to do so should himself be executed and his property given to the informer."

Elst writes that "the conquest of the Vijayanagar empire in 1564 left the capital plus large areas of Karnataka depopulated." And from Crowther et al: in several Rajput Hindu kingdoms, such as Chittorgarh, defeated by Akbar in 1567, resident "women and children" would die by fire, while men "rode out from the fort to certain death," rather than submit to slavery by invading Muslims (1993: 585).

When people are shocked that the sixteenth century Babri Masjid mosque in Ayodhya was destroyed by Hindu nationalists in 1992, perhaps they have forgotten that thousands of Hindu temples were destroyed by Muslim invaders over the centuries, and much of India's great wealth was taken. Millions of wives immolated themselves, and many children; while millions of men rode out to fight and die. Many were castrated, and many Hindus became slaves, or were forced to convert.

20

Perhaps this explains the vehemence of some Hindu nationalism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and why Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslim leader, insisted on having an independent state (Pakistan) prior to independence. Perhaps he foresaw that after Mughal and British rule had ended, Hindus would remember previous centuries of conquest. However, it is important to forgive. Networks of survival require that people forgive, and concentrate on reconstruction, tolerance, equal rights, and justice.

The East India Company received a royal charter from Queen Elizabeth I in 1600 to trade with India. Britain focused on conquest, acquisition, and exploitation. Britain "acquired trading bases at Madras in 1639, Bombay in 1664, . . . and Calcutta in 1696" (James: 15). Directors of the East India Company ordered the British governor of Madras in 1687 to promote "secure English dominion in India for all time to come" (Chandra 57-59).

Bombay was named by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, after "Bom Bahia, Buon Bahia, or Bombaim," meaning "good bay". It was later renamed after Sultan Kutb-ud-din, who demolished temples, and was considered a demon: "Mumba Rakshasa" (Mehta 15). Others consider that it was named after Mumbadevi, an earth-mother goddess, patron goddess of the city. Land between Bombay's seven islands was eventually filled in by the British in reclamation projects.

In the 1730s, the East India Company realized that the harbors of Bombay could be used for building ships, and for their deployment. From 1798 to 1805, Governor-General Lord Wellesley expanded British rule by "'subsidiary alliances', outright war, and the assumption of the territories of previously subordinated rulers."

In the early 19ᵗʰ century, his defeat of the Maratha's provided the Company with security in Bombay (Chandavarkar: 12; Chandra: 76). Employees of the Company amassed fortunes from "bribes and 'gifts' from Indian chiefs and zamindars" (landowners). The East India Company paid for its costly administration by "thousands of Englishmen" and for the conquest of India by heavily taxing Indian peasants (Chandra: 87, 102).

Sayyid Ahmad Khan, an Indian official, blamed the 1857 revolt, the so-called 'Sepoy Mutiny', on "British cultural policies, the severity of revenue assessments, and the degradation of landed and princely elites"; but above all on "the insolence and contempt for Indians [expressed] by the British" (Metcalf 100). The Revolt was begun by Indian soldiers (sepoys**),** lasted for more than a year, and involved "millions of peasants, artisans, and soldiers". The primary cause, according to Chandra, was "economic exploitation . . . by the British and the complete destruction of [India's] economic fabric. . . Land and land revenue policies" and "systems of law and administration" were additional causes of discontent (140).

Bombay acquired a university in 1857 and a High Court in 1862. In 1860, New York, Liverpool and Bombay were the world's largest cotton markets (Chandavarkar 12-13).

The massacre of a "peaceable" crowd at Amritsar by British troops in 1919, in which 370 died and "over 1,000" were wounded, preceded three civil disobedience campaigns: in 1920, 1930, and 1942. "Non-cooperation" was practiced in 1920. After the deaths of "twenty-two Indian policeman," set on fire in a police station by a peasant mob in Chauri Chauri, Gandhi called off his "non-cooperation movement".

He "turned his attention to spinning and Hindu education" for six years, 1922-28.

Gandhi rejected violence, technology, "industrialization, international trade and collectivism" (Metcalf 168; James 467, 490).

Lord Irwin, who later became Lord Halifax, became the Viceroy of India in 1926. The Government of India Acts, passed by the British Parliament, provided laws for the British government of India. Several of the later acts were opposed by a group "of determined conservatives who joined forces with former generals and civil servants to form the India Defence League." Irwin promised Dominion status, as a self-governing territory, for India in 1929. "The India Defense League's alternative to Dominion status" was occupation and rule "by the sword, . . . against the wishes of [india's] population" (James: 519, 523, 532, 534).

Gandhi's march to the sea in 1930 protested a British tax on salt, "The 1930 civil disobedience campaign" continued "the boycott of foreign textiles" and added "the disruption of the machinery of government" including "withholding taxes, picketing liquor stores and mass infractions of the forest laws". On August 8, 1942, "the All-India Congress Committee . . . invited the British to 'Quit India' and . . . called on its supporters to make the country ungovernable." Most of the subsequent disruption lasted for two months (Metcalf 182; James: 527, 564).

Some British officials were more interested in the well-being of Indians than others. Due to the persistence of Viceroy Sir Archibald Wavell, the starving peasants of Bengal finally received "a million tons of grain" by December 1944, although between 1.5 and 3 million had perished from starvation "between mid-1943 and mid-1944" (James: 579, 581).

Direct Action Day or the Great Calcutta killing of 1946 was promoted by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Muslim leader, to create a separate state for Muslims. He believed that Muslims would be abused as a minority population in a largely Hindu nation. An estimated four thousand in total from both populations died, and 10,000 were wounded (Metcalf 101, 217; James 601).

The Muslim League engaged in "a calculated use of terror . . . to secure complete dominance" in the Punjab. "Hundreds of thousands of lives" were lost due to "a weary and often disheartened police force, starved of soldiers and indifferently supported by Mountbatten . . . The Punjab imbroglio was an irritating distraction for [the Viceroy] who, from the announcement of his final plan, was solely concerned with its implementation before his ten-week deadline" (620-21, 623).

In August 1947, India achieved independence from Britain. "Ten million refugees" travelled between east and west during partition. "Later estimates" considered that "one million or more" had died during this transit. Gandhi's last fast occurred on January 13-18, 1948 to protest continuing "attacks on Muslims". He also protested that Pakistan was expelling "minorities from their territory". He wanted to promote peace between "Hindus and Muslims" in Delhi, and for Pakistan to protect its Hindu and Sikh minorities, and for India to pay Pakistan its share of the British payment of Indian (now partly Pakistani) "contributions to the Second World War" (Guha 2007: 31, 767, 36). He was assassinated by a Hindu extremist shortly after his fast ended. Today, he is remembered as India's greatest leader. Quotations of his words can be found above ticket desks in occasional train stations, as I discovered in

1998, and many statues of him have been erected. His principle of non-violence has spread to many nations, and has inspired other leaders and individuals.

Although about seven million Indians died due to Britain's abusive system of agricultural taxation, inherited from the Mughals and increased (Braudel: 232-3), British rule did provide some contributions. James notes that the Raj laid down infrastructures and foundations for transportation (railways), education, health care and law codes, both "criminal and civil," which continue to exist in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Guha: 645). India has also acquired the practice of democracy, although caste discrimination has not entirely ended.

Three major riots occurred in India, following independence: in 1984, 1992, and 2002. In 1984, Sikhs wanted independence. Indira Gandhi refused, and was assassinated. In December 1992, "Hindu militants demolished [the Babri Masjid mosque] in the Hindu holy town of Ayodhya," as previously mentioned. The mosque, named after Babur, the first Mughal emperor, was built in 1528. Following the destruction of the mosque, Hindu militants killed more than one thousand Muslims. In 2002, fifty-eight Hindu passengers were killed in a fire in a train compartment in Godhra, in Gujarat. It is not clear "how the fire was started," and yet Hindus retaliated with extensive death and destruction against local Muslims (Luce 157-8; Metcalfs 266, 280). Clearly, education is needed in the mutual virtues and benefits of toleran

Detroit

In 1694, Antoine de Cadillac was commanding officer "of the frontier fort at Michilimackinac," Fort Michilimackinac, between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron.

Cadillac provided security for "French fur traders," expelled the British, maintained

peace with the Iroquois confederation "to the east," and the local Chippewa. Cadillac

decided to move the fort to a more easily defended location, where he could keep a

better watch on travel routes, slightly to the south, which would also be a better

location for native villages, due to better soil for farming (Martelle 2012: 1-2).

Louis XIV agreed, and Cadillac travelled from Montreal in July 1701, with

fifty soldiers, fifty settlers, and two priests in "twenty-five large canoes". A French

settlement was established in 1701 on land that would eventually become the city of

Detroit (Martelle x). Mark Binelli adds that 'détroit' is the French word for strait, and

the settlement was named after the strait which connects Lake Erie and Lake Huron.

Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, French commander of Fort Michillimacinac from 1694-

1699, proposed a new fort at present Detroit to his patron, Count Pontchartrain. This,

he assured the count, would promote French interests and "cause the certain ruin of the

English colonies" (Martelle 1-2, Binelli 40). However, the French in Detroit were

later defeated by the British in 1760. Cadillac and his *ensemblage* constructed Fort

Pontchartrain before the first winter, in spite of occasional conflict with local Ottawa

and Miami tribes (Martelle 3-4).

Britain acquired Detroit from France in November 1760, as an outcome of the

Seven Years War between England and Prussia versus France, Austria, Russia, and

Sweden. The war lasted from 1756 to 1763, and was won by Britain and Prussia. In

the American colonies, it was known as the "French and Indian War". As a result of

the war, England acquired "all of France's claims east of the Mississippi" River (7).

Chief Pontiac and other Ottawa Indians then attacked English trading posts in the

region. Binelli sees this as setting the stage for future "danger, violence, and general mayhem" (42).

British colonists treated the 'natives' much more harshly than the French had. "The British saw the natives as savages, rather than trading partners, and as a vanquished people whom they were intent on driving from the territory." Ottawa chief Pontiac, who led a rebellion, and other chiefs were defeated by the British in 1764 (Martelle: 11-2; Bragg 45). In 1796, the British surrendered Detroit.

In January 1805, the region was renamed as the Michigan Territory. Six months later, much of Detroit was consumed by a fire. Detroit was briefly occupied by the British in the War of 1812 (14-5). In 1805, Detroit became the capital of the Michigan Territory of the United States. Detroit's Great Fire of 1805 occurred in the same year. Father Gabriel Richard, a parish priest, wrote at this time, "*Speramus meliora; resurget cineribus*": "We hope for better days, it shall arise from the ashes." This would become Detroit's motto, proclaimed on its flag. It continued to be useful, as different sections of Detroit burned down rather often (45).

Binelli describes Judge Augustus Woodward, the first territorial governor of the Michigan Territory, as Detroit's "first disaster capitalist," determined "to rebuild Detroit," following the Great Fire (46).

Completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 contributed to the growth of Detroit from 4,973 residents in 1834 to 21,000 in 1850 (Martelle 25, 31, 33). In 1836, Michigan "ceded Toledo to Ohio," and was admitted to the U.S. as the twenty-sixth state (Bragg: 75). Before the Civil War, Detroit was a major stop of the Underground Railroad,

sending slaves on to nearby Windsor, Ontario, across the Detroit River. Many African American homes were burned in the Detroit Riot of 1863 (Binelli 48).

In the late nineteenth century, following the American Civil War, 1861-65, southern American whites used poll taxes, voter examinations, property qualifications and sometimes violence to disenfranchise African-Americans . . . Increasing racial violence . . . contributed to difficult living conditions," according to Florette Henri, quoted by Martin (1993: 1). By 1870, Michigan's lumber industry employed over 18,000 people. Substantial industries in the manufacture of clothing and furniture also existed. Ten years later, Michigan was "becoming a center of heavy industry," investing in "iron, steel foundr[ies], and machine shops" (Martelle 58). Factories and manufacturing flourished by the 1890s, producing stoves, railroad cars, and bridges (55).

Also in the 1890s, Henry Ford began working on a horseless carriage in Detroit. In 1899, Ransom E. Olds began producing cars in Detroit, at the rate of two a day (69, 70). By 1901, Detroit had 1,387 factories, with 61, 237 workers. Nine years later, some 122,000 worked in manufacturing (71). In 1914, Ford doubled wages "to $5 for an eight-hour workday." This substantially increased productivity and reduced absenteeism (74-5).

Unions developed to relieve the hardship of workers in the late nineteenth century (101). Neil Heilbroner believes that U.S. executive compensation is excessive, and that this is one of two reasons that U.S. capitalism is "socially disastrous", besides the inadequacy of "upward mobility" for poor Americans (320).

Larger U.S. salaries have contributed to a loss of American jobs, as foreign workers are willing to work for lower salaries, and their cost of living is lower.

In opposition to increasing union influence, Detroit's leading manufacturers organized the Employers' Association of Detroit (EAD) in 1902. The EAD created the Detroit Free Employment Bureau, to locate qualified non-union workers. It "excluded African Americans," until state law required these to be included in 1949 (Martelle 83).

In 1916, Detroit employers extensively discriminated against black workers: hiring few, and for lower level jobs. And, housing conditions for black Americans were "deplorable" (88, 90). Chen et al note that "Detroit's black population . . . grew by some 600 percent between 1910 and 1920." The Great Migration of African Americans from south to north began around 1939 and lasted for a decade. "Segration on busses and in restaurants," as well as "prohibitions on voting" contributed to inspire this migration (195). Following the Civil War, the South had developed so-called Jim Crow regulations, which Chen et al define as "[a] set of laws and customs in the [southern] U.S. that enforced segregation and compromised civil rights" (193). Black Americans hoped to find better conditions in the North, but many places in the North also practiced job discrimination.

Many African Americans moved north in 1916 and following decades, most often to cities, and were often greeted by white hostility (Martin 2). Le Duff adds that "between 1920 and 1960 nearly half a million blacks came north [to Detroit] from the cotton fields of the South as part of . . . the Great Migration" (43). Martelle writes that many of the "hundreds of thousands of African Americans" who left the south and

headed north "were running for their lives. Between 1915 and 1922, at least four hundred and ninety African Americans were lynched, primarily in the Deep South, where everyday life for black Americans was marked by oppression [and] deep poverty" (107).

Not coincidentally, the Ku Klux Klan expanded its membership in Michigan and throughout the North as it sought to expand its base beyond the South in the twenties. The Ku Klux Klan was revived in 1915, and "by 1921 . . . had more than one hundred thousand dues-paying members around the country, with its biggest support coming from the Midwest." The Klan "grew to more than three million members," and eventually "backed Prohibition and opposed unions" (Martelle: 108). Their basic role was to threaten African Americans: not to move into white neighborhoods, not to take any jobs that whites wanted, not to enter white restaurants, not to fraternize with white women, and so forth. They had not yet accepted a basic principle of American democracy: that "all men [and women] are created equal".

The Great Migration led to a "backlash against black migrants," and

"*all* blacks . . . found themselves confined to relatively small areas of the city. The resulting ghettoes came to occupy otherwise undesirable areas that were near industry, prone to flooding, or had some other objectionable feature. The behavior of ghetto landlords made the neighborhoods even less desirable. Recognizing that blacks had little choice but to live in ghetto areas, landlords could charge high prices while investing little in improvements or upkeep. Buildings were subdivided into ever-smaller units, leading to overcrowding" (Chen et al 196).

Some towns refused to accept any African Americans at all (196).

"Historian James Loewen has documented the proliferation of **sundown towns,** small towns that prohibited African Americans from residing within their municipal boundaries. The name refers to laws and customs that permitted blacks to work in town but required that they be gone by sundown . . . In some cases, a smaller black municipality might develop adjacent to a sundown town, similar to the townships of South Africa during Apartheid . . . These rules kept blacks from settling in rural areas, particularly in the Midwest and West . . . As sundown practices increasingly spread during the early twentieth century they encouraged blacks who had initially settled in rural areas to make their way to cities" (Loewen 2006, quoted by Chen et al, 196).

"Restrictive real estate covenants" prevented blacks from living in most neighborhoods, and so they were crowded into derelict slums (Le Duff: 43-4). Landlords charged "exorbitant rents" in African-American neighborhoods, often higher than those exacted in newer white neighborhoods," (Spear, 1967: 23-24: quoted by Martin: 4). Derelict and unsanitary conditions promoted "crime and disease," (Henri, 1975: 150; quoted by Martin: 4). David Katzman (1973: 106; quoted by Martin: 15) notes that before World War I, "many factories excluded blacks entirely." Towards the end of the brief recession of 1920-21, "not more than one thousand black workers [in Detroit] held steady jobs" (Detroit Urban League Papers, 13 Jan. 1921; quoted by Martin: 18). Between 1910 and 1925, "the number of blacks employed in Detroit industries had risen from only twenty-five to more than thirty thousand individuals [Detroit Urban League Papers, 21 Nov. 1925; quoted by Martin: 22]. . . . Thousands upon thousands of African-American migrants, however, remained without any jobs at all" (Haynes, 1918: 18; quoted by Martin: 22). Black migrants from the South were only able to find new homes that were in "horrible" condition. However, they were better off than remaining "in the South, where there [had been] no security from harm and mob violence" (Detroit Urban League Papers, 9 October 1919; quoted by Martin: 26).

Chen et al write that black migrants often arrived poor and uneducated, and were "used as strike breakers during a time when the American labor movement was otherwise making strong strides." As they "were excluded from many labor unions, they often had no choice but to work as non-union replacements." Besides often receiving menial and low paid jobs (Martelle: 88), they "took on especially hazardous

31

jobs [in the automotive industry], such as spray painting and foundry work" (Kevin
Boyle 2004, quoted by Chen et al, 196).

At its peak Henry Ford's Highland Park plant, opened in 1910, produced two
million cars annually. Both Highland Park and Hamtramck, site of a Dodge plant,
although within Detroit city limits, maintained their independence of Detroit, and
avoided Detroit city taxes. Eventually, Ford moved construction to his Rouge plant,
but Chrysler head-quarters were established in Highland Park as of 1925. Eventually
Chrysler moved to Auburn Hills, and Highland Park, merely "three square miles,"
became impoverished (Binelli 181-3).

Martelle notes that Ford's invention of the assembly line in 1913
"revolutionized manufacturing worldwide . . ." By 1929, Detroit had become
America's fourth largest city, trailing behind "New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia."
(71). General Motors opened factories overseas, beginning with Denmark, followed by
France, Germany, Argentina, Brazil, India and China, between 1923 and 1929
(Martelle 100).

Detroit, especially the African-American community, experienced great
hardship, including starvation, during the Great Depression, 1929-39. This ended
when Detroit shifted from the production of automobiles to that of armaments during
World War II.

As black ghettoes developed in northern cities, southern cities became more
segregated, according to Chen et al. Baltimore, MD and Jacksonville, FL, previously
"well-integrated", were "highly segregated" by 1940; likewise, Chicago, St. Louis,
and Cleveland. Sociologists would describe their separation as "social isolation" (196,

198). "Detroit's African American population doubled between 1940 and 1950," and was "packed [into] slum housing". In 1946 "129 acres" of the Black Bottom slum were condemned, "uprooting nearly two thousand black families" (Binelli 93-4). Deed clauses prevented "racial/ethnic and religious minorities" from purchasing houses in many white neighborhoods until 1948. It was also much more difficult for African Americans to purchase houses in "mixed or minority" neighborhoods. Chen et al note that minority neighborhoods provide "*identity, community,* and *security*" for residents, but otherwise were often less than adequate. Public services were lower, housing values appreciated less, and housing was often "substandard and unsanitary" (198, 201).

In August 1942, an article in *Life* magazine entitled "Detroit is Dynamite" mentioned that the city was "seeth[ing] with racial, religious, political, and economic unrest," according to Binelli. Race riots occurred in 1943, 1967, and 1992. In 1943, "a race riot on Belle Isle [left] thirty-four dead and more than a thousand injured" (Clemens 11), as the result of decades of prejudice against black residents of Detroit in their efforts to obtain jobs and housing. Earl Brown, a journalist, wrote that "the determination of Negroes to hold the war jobs they had won was matched by the determination of numerous white groups to oust them" (Martelle: 147-8).

The 1967 riot in Detroit began when police raided "a party for a pair of soldiers just returned from Vietnam. Eighty-five people were arrested . . . After five days of unrest and a mobilizing of the National Guard and federal troops, forty-three people were dead and over seven thousand arrested. Nearly three thousand buildings

33

burned." Federal troops remained for six months to calm the violence (Binelli: 30, 110).

After the 1967 riots, according to Le Duff, white residents of Detroit rapidly departed to surrounding suburbs (44). In 1981, Martin writes that, "African-American neighborhoods in Detroit remain[ed] segregated; poverty and unemployment [were] deplorable, and crime [was] rampant." However, "without the assistance of the Urban League, African-American churches, and other concerned institutions, the conditions of the migrants would have been immeasurably worse" (58).

In the 1980s, hundreds of buildings were burned down by the residents of Detroit on "Devil's Night," the night before Halloween, including "an estimated eight hundred" in 1984 (Binelli 8). It was sad to think that the people of a once great American city were burning down its buildings. In 2008, 90,000 fires occurred in Detroit, or twice as many as in New York City, which had a population eleven times larger (8).

When author Mark Binelli moved back to Detroit in 2009, a new neighbor on Service Street advised him that if he heard a "noise or commotion" outside, he should investigate "and help out", because "this is where we live". And, if he comes across someone "break[ing] into a car," he should "chase them down" (37).

In the spring of 2012,

> "the *Detroit Free Press* reported on the Bing administration's stealth attempts at coerced shrinkage, by quietly denying the most distressed neighborhoods basic services (new streetlights, home improvement grants, tax breaks for developers, abandoned property demolitions, road repair) in order to entice those residents to decamp to more stable locations . . . According to the report, developers were being informed that if they chose to build new properties in certain neighborhoods, 'the city will not provide sewer lines, sidewalks, lighting or any other amenities" (292).

Unfortunately, this could be necessary to balance the city's budget.

Equal opportunity was denied to African Americans when they arrived from the South, creating hardship and injustice. However, networks of survival were gradually created in Detroit in the form of new industries, and by the 1960s, many Americans began to realize the importance of civil rights.

Chapter II: National Structure

National and Local Context

<u>Bombay/Mumbai</u> is located just west of the Konkan coast. Its seven islands, from north to south, include Sion/Wadala/Parel, Worli, Mahim, Mazagon, Mumba Devi, Old Woman / Al Omani, and Colaba. In 1670, the length of these islands was about eight miles (Desai 1995: 21, 92).

Bombay's seven islands were initially "covered by pestilential swamps," which promoted the spread of malaria (Chandavarkar: 34). Eventually, the islands were connected by means of reclamation projects.

Bombay's Native Town tolerated "open drains" along both sides of its streets. These drains soaked "into the foundations of the whole street-frontage of each house." A plague epidemic struck from 1896-1900, and an influenza epidemic from 1918-1919. During the influenza, malaria, cholera, and other epidemics, British and Indian efforts at improvements of sanitation were "directed at improving the condition of the rich and muscling the poor into their segregated enclaves." British officials blamed the miserable conditions of poor neighborhoods on "the low castes and filthy habits of [their] inhabitants," rather than on the shortcomings of public policy (Chandavarkar: 36, 43, 44, 48).

In November 2008, attacks by Pakistani terrorist group Lashkar E Taiba on Mumbai (formerly Bombay) lasted for three days, killing "at least 164 civilians and police personnel". Bombs were detonated at the Taj Mahal Hotel, the Chhatrapati Shivaji Train Station, the Trident Hotel, the Leopold Café, and Nariman House, a Jewish Center (Prakash 2010: 17). A principal cause of these attacks is Pakistan's

belief that it should have acquired Kashmir at the time of partition, as Kashmir had a larger population of Muslims than Hindus. (On the other hand, when Muslims invaded India in the eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and established an empire (1526-1858), there were more Hindus than Muslims. Millions of Hindus were slaughtered in massacres during Muslim conquests, millions of women died by self-immolation, to avoid slavery, many Hindu men and boys were castrated, and forced conversions occurred. It is highly debatable whether Pakistan should have received Kashmir after partition in 1947.)

Detroit has 139 square miles of land. About "forty square miles" were vacant in 2010, according to Gallagher (23, 61). Following its great prosperity prior to 1950, Le Duff writes that Detroit has become a "place of deserted factories and homes and forgotten people (5).

Government

While exploiting colonies, the West nonetheless introduced the concepts (if not the example) of democracies and market economies.

Properly democratic governments are networks of survival. They provide justice, equal rights, equal opportunities, and safety nets for the less fortunate. However, when government leaders become corrupt, and enrich themselves and their cronies at the expense of others, adversity occurs. Income inequality increases, along with slums, hunger, and malnutrition.

Chazan et al write that "institutional problems" in Africa have "contribute[d] to economic stagnation. . . . Dysfunctional administration[s], ubiquitous corruption, decaying infrastructure, fragmented markets, [uncertain] property rights, and the lack

of stable legal systems all pose obstacles to economic progress" (1999: 328). Barbara and Thomas Metcalf add that Hindu nationalism and economic liberalization have increased since the government of Narasimha Rao in 1991 (xiv). Liberalism includes a market economy, freedom of speech, multiple political parties, and democracy.

Stearns writes that the state in Congo "has been eroded over centuries" – by slavery, exploitation and slaughter by the forces of Leopold II of Belgium (1885-1908), and the rule of President Mobutu (6).

In 1960, Belgium relinquished authority over the Belgian Congo. Joseph Kasavubu as president and Patrice Lumumba as prime minister formed a coalition government, and ruled as the DRC's First Republic, as a civil war raged. General Mobutu staged a coup in November 1965, initiating the Second Republic, which lasted until 1997. From 1965 to 1990, the U.S. aided Zaire, contributing "hundreds of millions of dollars in aid" (Gondola 2002: 19, xxv, xxvi). This aimed to support U.S. opposition to Communism during the Cold War. In 1949, the Soviet Comintern had called for "revolutionary uprisings throughout the world" (Cohen 2001: 270). This posed a direct threat to western governments, with their free market, capitalist economies. Considering that Mobutu pillaged national wealth for his personal interest, U.S. aid was not exactly beneficial to the resident populations.

In 1997, Mobutu's government was overthrown by former warlord Laurent-Désiré Kabila. The Third Republic in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) lasted from 1997 to 2006. In 2002, "rebel factions . . . [held] sway over most of the northern and eastern provinces" (Gondola: 5).

Kabila's new government became "extremely authoritarian". The First Congo War (October 1996 to May 1997) had defeated Mobutu. The Second Congo War, August 1998 to June 2003, is sometimes called the Great African War. Unofficially, the war continued to simmer in the spring of 2010 (Van Reybrouck: 431, 439).

After the assassination of President Laurent Kabila in January 2001, "his son Joseph was sworn into office" as his successor. This succession was confirmed by the elections of 2006, which initiated the Third Republic. Following the elections, the Parliament (500 representatives and a senate with 108 members chosen by provincial councils) raised its "own monthly salaries [to] forty-five hundred dollars in 2007 and then to six thousand dollars in 2008" (Van Reybrouck: 504, -5, -8), in spite of an annual per capita income for the DRC of $300 at that time, according to the CIA World Factbook in 2008. Mukenge finds elements of participatory democracy in the Congo's social and political traditions (2002: 10). However, Tollens writes that Congo is a failed state, and that its "formal private sector" has also failed (2004: 58-9).

Kinois consider that the lack of democratic institutions in Congo is detrimental to "social and economic" progress. Political mobilization "would require even more sacrifice, but provides no guarantees of success" (Maractho and Trefon 31).

Political corruption has contributed to the poverty of Kinshasa and the DRC. Stearns writes that

> "in the run-up to [the 2011 presidential] elections, the government sold shares in mining concessions worth around $5.8 billion . . . . The companies that bought stakes in these mines paid around one-tenth of that price, only to turn around and resell their shares on the international market for the full value, making a fortune . . . Many of the companies were linked to . . . Dan Gertler, a close associate of [incumbent] President Kabila. Although it is impossible to prove profits from these sales benefitted Kabila's campaign, a presidential aide

confided to [Stearns] that similar sales, also involving Gertler, had helped finance their 2006 campaign" (xxiii-iv).

The state provides little service for the Kinois (people of Kinshasa). They rely on "solidarity networks" (unity and cooperation), as they no longer rely on their governments to improve urban conditions (Trefon 1-2, 9). Formal and informal sectors work together "in order to beat the predatory state system whenever possible" (Tollens 63).

The DRC tied with Malawi and Burundi for the lowest per capita income out of one hundred and ninety-one countries in 2013 (Van Reybrouck 508). Carole Rakodi writes that state administration in Kinshasa functions by means of "dilapidated offices, massive absenteeism, [and] very poor filing". Local surveyors have appropriated cadastral maps, indicating boundaries and ownership, and sell their services as they wish (1997: 241, 248).

Mumbai

G.W.F. Hegel wrote that "if China must be regarded as nothing else but a State, Hindoo political existence presents us with a people but no state," (quoted by Gurcharan Das, 2012: 7). For several thousand years, Hindu caste leaders provided the rules for their individual castes. Thus, Hindu government was fragmented.

In 1950, there were "176 million Indians aged twenty-one or more, of whom about 85 percent could not read or write." Guha notes that "some 2.8 million women voters had finally to be struck off the list" for the "first general election" of 1952, as they identified themselves by a relationship, rather than by their own name (141, 143-

4); for example, as 'Ravi's mother', or 'Meena's wife', or 'Mahendra's daughter'. By the following election, they had learned to use their own names.

The Indian Civil Service (ICS) in British India "kept the peace ["in the countryside"] and collected the taxes, while in the Secretariat they oversaw policy and generally kept the machinery of the state well oiled." Some members of the Constituent Assembly felt that they had become too arrogant during colonialism. However, Vallabhbhai Patel, a leading member of the Indian National Congress, recommended that they be kept after independence. In 1967, their name was changed to the Indian Administrative Service (IAS; Guha: 746).

In 1967, journalist Neville Maxwell wrote about "India's Disintegrating Democracy" for the London *Times*. "The ruling Congress" party was opposed by "communist and socialist" parties on the left, and by nationalist groups on the right, including "Jana Sangh and Swatantra." The Communist Party of India (CPI) had split in 1963-64, creating the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Naxalites then created the CPI Marxist-Leninist (CPI-ML). Samyukta Vidhayak Dal (SVD, United Legislators party) represented "the rise of the backward castes," which existed "below the Brahmans, but above the untouchables" (Guha: 417, 419, 422, 426-7).

On 12 November 1969, "Mrs. Gandhi was expelled from the Congress [party] for indiscipline," for supporting a different candidate for president (V.V. Giri) than the party favorite (N. Sanjiva Reddy). "In December, rival Congress sessions were held: the parent [the 'Old' or 'Organization' Congress] met in Ahmedabad and its new challenger [the 'Requisitionist' or 'Reform' Congress] met in Bombay" (439). In

1971, Indira won the national election. Her Congress (R) party became Congress (I), for Indira (447).

"By 1972, the Indian Congress was subject to creeping nepotism, and to galloping corruption . . . Ministers were in collusion with civil servants, taking cuts on government projects. In the central government too, such projects were growing" (*Star,* August 1973 and P. N. Haksar Papers; quoted by Guha: 496). In March 1973, the government appointment of "a new chief justice of the Supreme Court" was "politically motivated" as the government increasingly wished "to control the judiciary" (472). Yet India is often referred to as the world's largest democracy.

On June 25, 1975 "a state of internal emergency" was drafted and signed by President F. A. Ahmad. On June 26th, several political leaders of Congress, "and many others" were taken by the police and jailed. India's "state-controlled radio" announced that "an emergency had been declared, and that all civil liberties were suspended." Guha adds that "thousands were arrested under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA)." Most "were sent to already overcrowded jails." By November, "an estimated 36,000 people were in jail under MISA, detained without trial." Freedom of the press ended during the emergency, and Parliament, led by Mrs. Gandhi, acquired powers above the Supreme Court (Guha: 489, 492, 496-8).

During the emergency, Sanjay Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi's second son, undertook two programs: of population control and slum clearance, which especially antagonized "Muslims and the poor". Several hundred thousand men, having two children, were often "forcibly sterilized"; and a large swath of "old Mughal Delhi" was bulldozed, dislocating "perhaps half a million people" (B. and T. Metcalf: 256-7). In January

1977, Mrs. Gandhi "announced that Parliament was to be dissolved and elections were to be held" (Guha: 516). Her emergency period ended. She ran for reelection, and was defeated. However, Indira Gandhi was reelected as prime minister three years later, in January 1980, and survived for four years, until October 1984.

Panchayati raj (the self-rule of villages) enabled "New Delhi to bypass [state governments] and deal directly with the grass roots, allocating it a portion of the funds previously transferred to the state administration" (D. Bandyopadhyay, S. Ghosh and B. Ghosh, 2003; quoted by Guha: 661). After Rajiv Gandhi's death in 1989, "the Congress [party] regained power at the Center." Decentralization reduced corruption and produced more relevant projects for villages. However, decentralization has also tightened the political control of the CPM (Communist Party of India, Marxist) over Kerala and West Bengal (661).

Guha finds that Dalits (formerly the 'untouchables') in some regions are more assertive, and participate in local *panchayat* governments. In other regions they are "more submissive," and "have been excluded from participation" (661).

"Some parts of Kashmir and the north-east are under the control of insurgents seeking political independence." And, "some forested districts in central India are in the grip of Maoist revolutions." This amounts to "less than one-fourth" of India's "total land mass" (Guha: 751).

After 2010, according to Gurcharan Das, red tape, "crony capitalism," and obsolete bureaucracies have hindered growth. 'Dharma' in India, meaning "duty, virtue, and righteousness, . . . placed limits on the king's power" since early Indian history. It is "rooted in culture and religion," and expresses "the moral law that

43

sustains an individual, society, and the cosmos." Kings were "expected to uphold [the law] for the benefit of the people." Das believes that dharma is not being "enforced by the power of the state". The "real danger" for India is "decaying institutions of the state which are responsible for rampant corruption" (2012: 11, 60, 91, 40, 42).

Detroit

Coleman Young, mayor of Detroit from 1974-1994 grew up on Antietam Avenue in Black Bottom slum (Binelli). Young's administration managed to integrate city hall and the police department, and government contracts contributed an increase in "minority-owned businesses". However, Detroit's decline continued, including "the Devil's Night fires, . . . skyrocketing murder and unemployment rates, . . . [and a] crack cocaine epidemic" (127).

Kwame Kilpatrick, elected mayor of Detroit in 2002, was charged in March 2008 with "perjury and obstruction of justice." The "whistle-blowing lawsuit" of Gary Brown, "an ousted police officer," resulted in "the toppling of Kilpatrick" (233). His administration was "accused of perjury, kickbacks, embezzlement, blatant cronyism, and running the city like mafia capos". Moreover, Kilpatrick had agreed "to settle a police whistle-blower lawsuit with nearly nine million dollars of taxpayer money in order to prevent a series of suggestive text messages from seeing the light of day" (Binelli 229). Kilpatrick, the mayor of Detroit from January 2002 to September 2008, was sentenced to prison in October 2013 for twenty-eight years; for extortion, fraud, and bribery.

Law and Order, Including Human Rights

Kinois consider that the lack of democratic institutions in Congo is detrimental to "social and economic" progress. However, political mobilization "would require even more sacrifice, [and] provides no guarantees of success" (Nzeza 31). Years of brutal dictatorship under President Mobutu have discouraged the Kinois from social protest. By 2004, they relied on solidarity networks, rather than on government assistance (32).

Trefon describes "law enforcement agents" in Kinshasa as "discredited" (18).

According to Nzeza, Kinois accept petty theft as necessary for survival (21; unlike the harsh penalties of Muslim *sharia* law, which cut off people's hands for theft. They support the petty crime of petrol speculators. However, they actively oppose official crime, for example when city officials endeavor to take free trips in taxis. Nzeza sees this as "elements of order in the broader disorder" (29).

While actual looting occurred in Kinshasa in 1991 and 1993, Nzeza compares "bargaining activities to looting because they are both manifestations of despair solidarity" (22).

Mumbai

Sekutu Mehta finds evidence of corruption in every branch of Indian public service, including the police. He notes that payments (bribery) occur constantly in Mumbai: "to unions, to the police, to the government, to your enemies in return for not extracting vengeance" (2004: 85).

"In the 1970s," according to Guha, "politicians began demanding a commission when contracting arms deals with foreign suppliers." By 1980, "political

corruption had shifted from the institutional to the personal level." Centre and state ministers collected kickbacks "from government contracts, from postings of officials," and other corruption. "The Planning Commission estimates that 70% to 90% of rural development funds are siphoned off by a web extending up from the panchayat head to the local member of Parliament, with officials too claiming their share. One reason city roads are in such poor shape is that much of the money allocated to them is spent elsewhere. . . . Politicians and officials" collect 40 % and 20 %, respectively. Only forty out of every 100 rupees "will be spent on the job, which is done either badly or not at all," according to Peter deSouza (2004) and Prem Jha (2006); quoted by Guha: (672-3).

Edward Luce writes that India's Mafia dons, both Hindu and Muslim, acquired their greatest wealth in the 1970s and 80s, smuggling goods into Mumbai that were forbidden due to import controls. After working as 'srongmen' and strikebreakers, by 2007 they were engaged in less lucrative protection rackets and prostitution rings. Their leaders, by then, such as Dawood Ibrahim (Muslim) and Chhota Rajan (Hindu) had fled to Karachi and Dubai, respectively, and managed their businesses in Mumbai by means of proxy dons, by remote control (2007: 98, 102).

The U.S. equivalent of Mumbai's organized Hindu and Muslim ethnic groups, which extort money from businesses, has been organized crime families, such as the Gambinos, Colombos, Luccheses, Bonannos, and Genoveses. These organizations had fortunately declined in power by 2000 due to diligent FBI and police efforts.

Guha describes two of the worst incidents of violence as the religious riots in Delhi in 1984, and in Gujarat in 2002, in which many Muslims were killed, and much

Muslim property was destroyed. Guha believes that the location of an Islamic state (Pakistan) due west of India has especially provoked the inclination for Hindu dominance in India (740), but it is more likely that the violence of Muslim invasions in past centuries was a lingering grievance. Hopefully, these invasions will be forgiven and forgotten eventually, as populations conquered by the Persians and Romans have forgiven those earlier conquests.

Rioting occurred in Mumbai and other parts of India in 1992-3, when Hindus tore down the Babri Masjid mosque, which had been built by Mughal general Mir Banki in 1528, in honor of Emperor Babur, possibly on the site of an ancient Hindu shrine, the birthplace of the Hindu god Rama. Like Americans refusing to pay taxation to Britain "without representation" in Parliament, prior to the American Revolution, taking the law into their own hands, so Hindu nationals removed the mosque that had been placed on top of their historic religious site by Mogul invaders; an insult to their culture and religion. Subsequent rioting and violence, however, was not acceptable, and should be punished according to legal principles.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) instigated "the Babri Masjid demolition," and is "the Shiv Sena's coalition partner" (Mehta 51).

Maharashtra state, which includes Mumbai, "had the highest number of custodial deaths in the whole country in 1997: . . . Two hundred people tortured to death in police custody!" (162-3). To be "encountered" is to be shot by the police "without benefit of trial, an extrajudicial killing." This usually focuses on gang members. Otherwise, the guilty will threaten witnesses, who then retract their testimony, and the guilty will proceed "to kill again" (169-70, 175).

Guha writes that in the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh the police invariably favor the Hindus, encouraging and sometimes even participating in the looting of homes and shops. "Whoever started the quarrel, . . . it [is] the Muslims and the poor who [are the] main victims" (559). Mehta comments that Judge Srikrishna's report on the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1992-93, issued five years later, blamed Bal Thackeray, leader the Shiv Sena (Hindu) political party for starting the Hindu riots, which provoked the subsequent Muslim riots; and city police. "1,400 murders" had occurred. However, no one would go to jail. The commission was not authorized to prosecute anyone (81, 109).

Politicians who have "assets 'disproportionate' to their positions" have been investigated by the CBI (Central Bureau of Investigation) since the 1990s (672).

Residents of a Bengali village described their very low opinion of Indian politicians to a Norwegian anthropologist in 2000. "This was not always so, said the villagers. Once, soon after independence, politicians were honest, hard-working, and dedicated, but now every party was peopled with 'scheming, plotting [and] unprincipled individuals'" (Ruud 2000: 116-118; quoted by Guha: 676). "A survey conducted by Gallup in sixty countries found that lack of confidence in politicians was highest in India, where 91 % of those polled felt that their elected representatives were dishonest" (Gallup Poll, 2004 : quoted by Guha: 676).

"While in power at the Centre, the Congress [Party] and the BJP have systematically milked the system . . . Meanwhile, to get to power in the states, and to retain it, parties such as the SP [Samajwadi Party], the BSP [Bahujan Samaj Party], and the RJD [Rashtriya Janata Dal have] come to rely heavily on criminals" (674).

Competition in Mumbai limits individual rights. Mehta describes the

gathering of a group of rickshaw wallahs to prevent residents in a low-income housing

development from hiring a minicab to get to the station daily, which would be cheaper

for them. Both "the police and the local assemblyman" agree with the rickshaw

wallahs (462).

Plumbers bribed city officials to reduce water outlets in poor neighborhoods,

so residents were obliged to unite and bribe the plumbers to replace the outlets. Slum

residents marched on city administration departments to demand more water (Mehta

54). Workmen of the city's telephone department must also be "bribed" to repair

telephones. "It is in their interest to have a lousy phone system" (22).

Friction and occasional conflict between Hindu and Muslim citizens continues.

After the Hindu and Muslim riots in 1992 and '93, respectively, "hundreds of people

started dying every year in police shootouts, gunfights between rival gangs, and

extortion-related killings" (140). Mehta adds that Muslim gangs are more powerful

than Hindu gangs because Muslim gangs don't have to pay for their own weapons;

Pakistan pays. They refer to themselves as companies, rather than gangs (139, 143).

Mumbai has a shortage of policemen. The number of policemen "per thousand

people" declined from 4.3 in 1951 to 2.6 in 2004 (161). Muslim gangs fight for

control of "lucrative rackets" in Mumbai (139-40). Like the population of Kinshasa,

gangs in Mumbai have "a minute specialization of labor" (143). They collect revenue

from "protection rackets, extortion, money laundering, gambling, bootlegging, film

financing, upscale prostitution, and drugs. . ." Hawala networks launder money in

Mumbai, so that it can be delivered to Dubai and elsewhere (142). Thus, networks of survival in Mumbai are often hindered by special interests, and require bribery.

By 2004, gangs were buying weapons from terrorist groups in Sri Lanka, Assam, and Andhra Pradesh (142). Mehta describes gangsters from Muslim and Hindu crime syndicates. Some are completely lacking in moral scruples, and some have occasional scruples (224). They are eventually wanted by the police, and are obliged to flee to Dubai or Pakistan (239). They mourn their exile from Mumbai, and often telephone their distant fellow criminals (207, 239). Syndicates, which collect considerable extortion from businesses, bail out their members from jail, pay for their family weddings, if needed; and pay for rent and pensions for their most dedicated members, and other expenses (240-1).

One member explains that he began to steal, and eventually joined a gang, because he was so poor. He did not wish to walk from school; he wanted to ride in a rickshaw (228). This does not represent the Protestant work ethic.

Young men who arrive from villages to work in factories under miserable conditions can be drawn into gangs quite easily, and can become paid assassins (164).

Many residents, however, are very honest. Mehta describes an incident when the car of a well-to-do couple broke down in a slum one night. Two members of the slum watched the car overnight, so that it would not be stripped of parts (145).

"Many judicial appointments [in India] are unfulfilled at any time". Applicants engage in extensive "lobbying and giftgiving". The collegium, which selects judges, is "afraid of being accused of corruption, or bias or incompetence in whom they appoint." Due to the shortage of judges, India had a backlog of "27

million cases" in 2006 (Luce: 91, 93). Mehta notes that gangs are successful because

India's justice system is so slow. According to the Additional Commissioner of Police,

"a dispute over a flat, which takes twenty years in court, is taken care of in a week or a

month by the underworld" (144).

> "Forty percent of the judgeships in the [Mumbai] High Court are vacant; each
> judge has over three thousand cases pending. Qualified lawyers do not want to
> be behind the bench, because the pay is too low compared to what they can
> earn in private practice. There are no costs associated with filing lawsuits, so
> the overwhelming majority are frivolous" (176).

Bribery to obtain employment means that the most qualified individual will not

be hired, and in law enforcement, it means that justice will often not occur. Ethics

should be included for all students in early and later education classes.

Detroit

In 1924, Detroit was "among the most violent and crime-ridden cities in the

country." By 1930, Detroit had up to "thirty-thousand 'gangsters'" (Martelle**:** 109).

The Ossian Sweet case in 1927 involved an African American doctor and his

wife, who had moved into a white neighborhood of Detroit. A white man, one of a

mob throwing stones through the Sweets' windows, was shot dead by one out of

eleven black individuals in the house. Judge Frank Murphy ruled that the Sweets, and

thus all African Americans, were entitled to defend their homes against an attack

(Bates, 2012: 105-09). This ruling represents another network of survival.

"All Americans May Defend Themselves" is my **network diagram** based on

the Ossian Sweet case in 1927, described by Bates, 105-09. A large left circle has five

smaller circles, representing Whites, Blacks, Native Americans, Muslims, and Other

Americans. An arrow points from this larger circle to a right-side larger circle,

containing five smaller circles, representing "Attackers". An arrow from the right large circle to the left large circle is labelled "attacking", and from the left large circle towards the right one is labelled "Defending themselves".

After this ruling, black Americans realized that they too could use the American legal system to defend their equal rights and opportunities in America. The American legal system thus became a network for improving their survival, which led in 1954 to the Brown v. Board of Education ruling (109), which determined that segregated education is "inherently unequal" and unconstitutional.

As the auto industry declined and moved elsewhere, poverty increased in Detroit. From 1985 to 1987, "Detroit was the homicide capital of the United States". Besides murders by gangs and the general population, Detroit led "the nation in fatal shootings by police officers for the eight-year period beginning in 1990" (Binelli 206). Martelle notes that poverty in Detroit led to increasing crime. In 1987, Detroit experienced "686 homicides, or a rate of about 63 per 100,000 residents . . . In its worst year, 1990, New York City had 31 murders per 100,000, half of Detroit's peak rate" (226). Binelli adds that in 2004, "Detroit had the highest murder rate in the country (40.7 homicides per 100,000 residents . . .) and was ranked by *Forbes* as the most dangerous U.S. city overall based in part on a stunning 1,220 violent crimes per 100,000 residents. Yet the police department's entire crime lab had been shut down the previous fall, after a state audit found egregious levels of systemic error" (8).

Between 2005 and 2010, the number of police in Detroit decreased by one thousand, despite the quantity of crime. "Short of fundamentally changing the underlying conditions producing such high levels of violence and illegal activity in the

first place," Binelli comments, "policing could do only so much, so the best-case scenario amounted to hoping the criminals stuck to killing one another and kept the collateral damage to a minimum" (207, 223).

Warren Evans, Detroit's police chief, discussed shootings in Detroit in 2008. "Over 1,100 people being shot [out of a population of 800,000] is getting kind of Third World to me" (27).

After a robber broke into the Westside Bible Church in 2009, an Associated Press report mentioned that the Reverend William Revely of Holy Hope Heritage occasionally wore his .357 while preaching, and bishop Charles Ellis III of Greater Grace Temple mentioned that major functions were protected by "its own armed eighteen-member Ministry of Defense" (75).

Binelli writes that

"Detroit's notoriety for violence and general mayhem scares off new residents and businesses and makes it exceedingly difficult to retain old ones. By 2011, as Mayor Bing was trying to maintain focus on positive, upscale – demographically luring new developments, the members of the permanent underclass inconveniently refused to stop killing one another" (205).

Economics and Employment

Economics and employment can represent networks of more or less survival, more or less adequate nutrition and housing. In developing countries, 'less' is the usual condition.

The global economy is structured by means of two "sets of institutions": transnational corporations and major national and international financial institutions and agencies (Rakodi: 555). "Development in most newly independent countries" was

described as "neo-colonialism," considering that "economic growth depended so heavily on external conditions of demand and foreign capital," according to S. Amin (1971), G. Williams (1981: 45-86), V. Jamal and J. Weeks (1993); quoted by Rakodi (31). "Globalizing cities tend to provide the working class with service-oriented jobs that are non-union, short term, and insecure and have lower wages than manufacturing jobs of the past" (Kramer: 43).

Robert Guest compares socialism with capitalism. He notes that Kenneth Kaunda impoverished Zambia by means of socialism (26). Martin Meredith adds that socialism also failed under Sekou Touré in Guinea (274), Nkrumah in Ghana and Nyerere in Tanzania (145), plus dos Santos in Angola, Samora Machel in Mozambique, and Mengistu in Ethiopia. Guest describes the relative power of capitalism. Due to capitalism, West Germany became four times richer than East Germany in the twentieth century, and "North Koreans [were] at least ten times poorer than their southern cousins" in 2003 (25).

We can describe capitalism as a network of survival, but it must be accompanied by welfare of a safety net, lest people starve during periods of hardship.

Due to economic crises in "the late 1970s," which increased by the "mid-1980s, most African regimes" were obliged to accept "'structural adjustment' loans" from the IMF. According to the 1985 Baker Plan of U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker, the World Bank would manage the "structural adjustment programs" of the "Washington Consensus" (Gordons: 83; Davis: 153). Most SA Programs (SAPs) require that countries:

1) Devalue their currencies "so that exports will be cheaper to foreign buyers";

2) Freeze government salaries (to reduce deficits);

3) Eliminate urban subsidies and agricultural price-fixing;

4) "End import restrictions";

5) "Privatize state-owned enterprises";

 and 6) "Increase bank interest rates to encourage savings to generate capital investment" (A. and G. Gordon 2001: 83-4).

Mike Davis comments that SAPs increased "Third World" poverty, hardship, and income inequality. "Local safety nets disappeared". In addition, "the IMF and World Bank . . . promoted regressive taxation through public-service user fees for the poor, but made no counterpart effort to . . . tax the incomes or real-estate of the rich." The result, according to Carole Rakodi (quoted by Davis), "includes capital flight, collapse of manufacturers, marginal or negative increase in export incomes, drastic cutbacks in urban public services, soaring prices, and a steep decline in real wages" (Davis 2007: 152, 15, 155). Economic growth is a remote possibility for most African countries, due to "international agency policy conditionality," establishment of conditions, such as SAPs. Moreover, a "drastic decline in urban infrastructural standards . . . followed recession and structural adjustment in the 1980s" (Rakodi 555, 576).

David Lamb writes that by 1983, "with an external debt exceeding $35 billion, black Africa had become a cluster of welfare states, surviving at the whim of foreign donors and aid agencies" (1987 [1983]: 23).

In 1993, "the IMF and the World Bank" withdrew from Zaire/the DRC, as it "was no longer [participating in] the formal world economy" (De Boeck: 35).

Beyond SAPs, Robert Guest writes that informal African trade barriers are a disadvantage. These include "muddy roads, bad ports, crooked customs officials, and policemen who specialize in highway robbery" (171).

Many people in "the global South" join the informal economy due to "a lack of education, money, or connections". In 2004, Mike Davis estimated the "global informal working class" at nearly "one billion" individuals (5-34; quoted by Kramer: 121). By then, "governments [were] beginning to partner with the informal sector to improve homes and working conditions and [to] reform markets to better accommodate the urban poor." Besides "street vendors, . . . informal workers include brick makers, construction workers, cleaners, pedicab drivers, small artisans, [and] furniture makers . . . The informal workforce has, in fact, built the cities – the skyscrapers, highways, and infrastructure – of the global South" (Kramer:120-2).

"Modernization theorists" in the 1960s embraced the "Todaro model" of informal economies, which claimed that "the informal sector is simply a school of urban skills from which most rural immigrants eventually graduate to formal sector jobs." However, "instead of upward mobility, there is seemingly only a down staircase by which redundant formal-sector workers and sacked public employees descend into the black economy" (Davis: 178-9).

By subcontracting, labor conditions become "difficult to monitor." Thus, "regional companies and transnational corporations subcontract with companies that subcontract with informal workers who don't work in a regulated environment". Boundaries between "the formal and informal sectors" are not rigid. "Often workers and residents shuttle between the two sectors, or simultaneously work and live in each

56

of them," according to Dominick Enste and Friedrich Schneider (2002; quoted by Kramer: 123). Like the formal sector, informal sectors also require "general morals and ethics. . . . Any outside interventions must . . . negotiate with regulatory frameworks already in place in informal sectors," according to Erhard Berner (2000: 4; quoted by Kramer: 124). According to Enste and Schneider (2002), "informal businesses in Thailand account for . . . 70 percent" of its GDP, which is the highest such percentage in Asia (quoted by Kramer: 133).

Some developments in sub-Saharan Africa are more positive, such as the development of technology (see "Technology Promotes Prosperity"). "Diaspora remittances" from abroad bring $21.5 billion to sub-Saharan Africa every year (Olopade 86). "About 80 percent" of Africans do not use banks, and most sub-Saharan Africans "have no access to credit." They can wire funds "by using their phone number," and store funds in Safaricom accounts. Trade "creates and reinforces social ties and provides an alternative to state-citizen relationships" (95, 101, 127).

"Commercial enterprises" are appearing in "growth sectors like real estate, telecommunications, and cosmetics. . . . Massmart, the big-box retailer operating in twelve African countries, was acquired by Wal-Mart in 2011 – evidence of a coming tsunami of high-volume, low-margin retail opportunities." "Private solutions," such as the Bridge Academies and Kick Start, which sells "foot-powered pumps" for water, are improving "education and agriculture" (103, 126-7).

The informal economy is "unregistered, undocumented, and partially excluded from official GDP statistics." Globally, according to Dayo Olopade, "the grey

[informal] economy is estimated to be worth $10 trillion . . . More than half of all economic activity" in sub-Saharan Africa is informal (2014: 28-9).

In 2003, principal problems for entrepreneurs in Africa included "poor infrastructure, poor customers, and obstructive officials." Inflation in Zimbabwe "reached 526 percent by late 2003" (Guest 191, 36).

Kinshasa

According to Anastase Nzeza Bilakila, people survive by means of "corruption, theft, extortion, collusion, embezzlement, fraud, counterfeiting or prostitution . . ." René Lemarchand adds that they make "the most of whatever opportunities arise to avoid starvation (Nzeza 10).

In 2004, Kinshasa's economy was almost entirely informal; "practically no formal economy" existed (Trefon 1). Nzeza does not provide the percentage of unemployed, only that the number is "overwhelming". Tollens agrees that Congo's state and "formal private sector" have failed (58-9).   People search every day for small jobs, for example in food distribution (Nzeza 24, Tollens 63). "Hordes of people" walk briskly between "the Central Market, the principle business and administrative district of the city (Gombé) and ports along Avenue des Poids Lourds . . . These economic spaces, like the post office, the university classroom or municipal offices, provide excellent opportunities to earn a few francs" (Nzeza 24). *Chayeurs* find clients for food purchases, and *drogadeurs* "load and unload boats in the many makeshift phantom ports that lie beyond the control of official port authorities" (Tollens 60). *Mamans manoeuvres* (maneuvering mothers) work as intermediaries to offload incoming shipments of food onto smaller boats, to be sold in local markets

(Nzeza 25-6). Tollens adds that these *mamans* will collect cash from several buyers, and then purchase a sackful of cassava *cossettes* (chips) for the buyers, with a portion withheld for their families (59). Nzeza describes *khadafis*, petrol speculators, as "elements of order [and solidarity] in the broader disorder" (29).

Kinois distribution systems and intermediaries "almost always employ large numbers of people and are based on trust and solidarity networks" (63). Commission agents can send and receive money to any part of the DRC within 24 hours. This system is also based on trust and often on ethnic groups. It has replaced the formal banking system, which has largely failed. Tollens notes that these agents are an example of "socio-economic innovation". They collect and send food to different regions, organize group transportation for travelers, facilitate communication, and handle cash transmissions. (This transmission costs about 10 percent of the amount; 59). Official exchange of currency is complex and dysfunctional, and so unofficial changers flourish (Nzeza 27).

Trefon believes that solidarity between people is limited, due to "financial and material constraints". Gauthier de Villers prefers the term 'reciprocity' to 'solidarity'. Assistance results in pragmatic exchange. "Debt, whether it be in the form of a loan, a service rendered or a favor, will ultimately have to be redeemed." Interdependence is necessary in a precarious region, and bargaining occurs continuously. Intermediaries in transactions expect "motivation": a "tip or bribe" (10). Informal banking and personal loans also represent networks of survival.

My **network diagram for survival in Kinshasa** is described as follows: **"Survival in Kinshasa depends on Borrowing and Lending."** A left circle is

labelled 'L' ('lender'), and a right circle is labelled 'B' ('borrower'). An arrow from left to right is labelled 'Lends', and one from right to left is labelled 'Repayment of same amount' (derived from Trefon: 10).

The modern innovation of mobile phones facilitates many "new intermediary services"; "mobile phone kiosques" now provide phone rentals "by the minute". Tollens adds that Telecel, created in 1985 in Kinshasa, "was the first mobile telephone company in Africa" (60, 64).

The DRC Congo has substantial mineral resources, which have been actively looted by neighboring countries in the past four decades, and sold by officials to finance their own political campaigns. In 1999 to 2000, according to Van Reybrouck, Rwanda earned $480 million from the sale of coltan mined in Congo. Coltan contains columbium and tantalum. Tantalum has a "high melting point (almost 3,000 ° C)," and is used "for superconductors in the aerospace industry and capacitors in electronic equipment." "Multinational mining companies," notorious "arms dealers, and crooked businessmen in Switzerland, Russia, Kazakhstan, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany" earned a fortune "by selling Congo's stolen raw materials" (456-7).

Van Reybrouck believes that "European-American relations may have been the most important intercontinental contacts of the twentieth century, but Sino-African relations will be those of the twenty-first." China is providing substantial investment in Congo's infrastructure, in exchange for mineral resources (551).

Piermay is pessimistic. He believes that the derelict condition of Kinshasa "seems to be a forerunner of what one can begin to detect elsewhere in Africa and maybe the rest of the world" (224). "Without access to finance, . . . millions of

families build homes literally one brick at a time." Unemployment is widespread. "Typically, a single wage-earner in sub-Saharan Africa supports a household of half-a-dozen other people" (Olopade: 143-4).

Efforts by residents of Kinshasa and other regional cities to survive include villagization, urban farming, patience, frugality, and sharing. By 2009, Kinshasa had bypassed and rejected "the (neo) colonial logics that were stamped onto its surface". It was "rejoining its earlier rural roots." Motivated "by an unending political and economic crisis," Kinshasa is experiencing "a large scale process of informal villagization," with a "new type of agrarian urbanity". Kinshasa is fed by the countryside. Its identity blends with "the village's traditions, moralities and pasts" (De Boeck 2014: 34, 40). De Boeck recommends Devisch (1996) for a discussion of villagization (263). African cities are also engaging in the farming of "unused urban land" (De Boeck: 564).

De Boeck writes that Kinshasa possesses "an infrastructure of paucity": many shops have no walls. "Under the trees along most of the city's main roads and boulevards one finds all kinds of activities: garages, carpenters' workshops, showrooms for sofas, beds and other furniture, barber shops, cement factories, public scribes, florists, [and] churches, [along with] other commercial activities and services." An auto repair shop exists as designated open space beside a main road. Notice of the business is a name painted on a tire, that of a famous garage owner who lived during the era of Belgian rule: *Quado*. Likewise, folded newspapers are draped over ropes, attached to trees or poles, in another open space. Many people read each newspaper (235).

While state authority sometimes resents church influence, church efforts remain vital in many social spheres. Businessmen are also involved in local projects, and many universities in Kinshasa are functioning (Rakodi 248).

Diaspora remittances and villagization are networks of survival: relatives living in wealthier countries send money back to those living in poverty; and those living in cities maintain a connection with those in rural areas, with access to farm products. Slow construction – "one brick at a time" – represents patience, frugality, and hope. And sharing newspapers enables many to acquire information.

Mumbai

Mumbai (formerly Bombay) "has been India's financial market since the Victorian era [1837-1901], and is home to the oldest stock market in Asia" (Luce: 37). Cotton mills first appeared in Bombay in the 1850s. Strikes began in Girangaon (the mill district) in the 1880s, and accelerated by 1908. Eight strikes occurred "between 1918 and 1940". Repression by millowners in the 1920s and '30s increased the militancy of workers' discontent. The strike of 1928-29 lasted for eighteen months, and "the strike of 1982" was terminal. The textile industry in Bombay/Mumbai closed in the 1990s. "Faced with rising land prices, sustained industrial action, severe competitive pressure and a hostile fiscal regime, the millowners diversified, outsourced, and withdrew from the industry" (Chandavarkar: 32, 125, 144, 145, 26, 28).

Excessive fragmentation of landholdings was reported in Konkan – a strip of western India along the coast, including Mumbai – in 1923, "where a single coconut tree [could be] . . . jointly owned by several persons". (This surely represents an

'innovative network for survival'.) As in Kinshasa, retaining a connection with their village base provided an essential link with "networks of material provision which were vital in the urban and industrial setting" (Chandavarkar: 64).

Edward Luce notes that Bombay's textile industry crumbled "in the 1980s" and '90s, due to "excessive regulation and militant trade unions". He adds that Mumbai's Mafia began as 'strongmen', hired in the 1980s as strike-breakers at the mills (102).

Although India is a democracy, it does not exactly have a free-market economy. Mehta notes that traditional rules of "supply and demand" are often not relevant. "Millworkers demand that mills be kept open at a loss to provide them with employment. Slum dwellers demand water and power connections for illegal constructions on public land. Government employees demand the right to keep working long past when they're needed, at taxpayer expense. [And,] commuters demand further subsidies for train fares, which are already the lowest in the world" (119).

Chandavarkar concludes that "nothing undermined the political culture of the city more seriously than the continuing failure of its cross-communal ["mercantile and landed"] elite to accommodate the poor and manage labor more generously" (187).

During India's initial four decades of independence, the government of Jawaharlal Nehru set up "a massive, inefficient and monopolistic public sector"; "overregulated private enterprise"; "pampered organized labor," which became unproductive; and "ignored the education of half its children, especially of girls" (Das

2002: xii). During the minority government of Narasimha Rao, beginning in 1991,

Finance Minister Manmohan Singh modernized Nehru's centralized socialist

government, and introduced a free market economy. Das writes that "licensing

controls in private investment" were "virtually abolished," tax rates were lowered, and

"public sector monopolies" ended (x).

Not all of Nehru's regulations ended, including very strict labor laws, which

make "it virtually impossible to sack an employee, even if the person you wanted to

fire was a chronic absentee" (Luce: 50).   Das adds that bribes to "excise, customs,

labor or factory inspector[s]" are costly. By 2010, "unprecedented corruption," an

economic crisis, high inflation, and "unsustainable subsidies" battered the economy

(2012: 36, 32). Mehta notes that payments (bribery) occur constantly in Mumbai: " to

unions, to the police, to the government, to your enemies in return for not extracting

vengeance." Businessmen who do not pay demands for extortion can be "shot dead".

In business, extortion has become "so entrenched . . . that the Bombay High Court . . .

ruled [before 2004] that extortion payments are tax deductible as a legitimate business

expense" (85, 147, 173).

Mehta writes that "most Bollywood productions do not get bank loans, they are

funded privately. The banks do not understand or trust Bollywood." Only organized

crime, "the underworld," is capable of raising such large sums. "Without underworld

financing, the Hindi film industry would collapse overnight." Moreover, bankers and

stockbrokers would not support such "extravagant," "violent," or "passionate" dreams

as the dons of organized crime (420-21). Bollywood employs many people, and is

also a network of survival.

Film producers hold a meeting to discuss demands from gangsters for extortion payments. The Additional Commissioner of Police advises one producer in advance not to talk freely at the meeting, as "even the government officials at the meeting [will] have ties to the gangs" (422).

General Electric (GE) initiated "India as an offshore market in the late 1980s, when it set up . . . [a] call center near Delhi" (Luce: 36). India's software industry also attracts foreign business. By 2004, it employed some "400,000" Indians (Guest: 206). In 2002, "around forty thousand Indians [were] employed in online 'remote services' – transcribing medical records, editing books, making digital maps, [and] doing payroll accounts for customers around the world" (Das 2002: xv). Nandan Nilekani, CEO of Infosys, points out that India cannot modernize agriculture, because mechanization would result in fewer jobs (Luce 56-7).

Like Kinshasa, Mumbai also has a shortage of jobs. Mehta writes that in Mumbai, "there are fifty eaters" behind "every earner" (275), versus a six-to-one ratio in sub-Saharan Africa, as mentioned.

Dharavi slum, within Mumbai's northern boundary, is Asia's second largest slum, after Orangi, in Karachi. "Prior to the late nineteenth century, Dharavi was a swamp inhabited by the Koli fishing community. Gyan Prakash notes that the "ingenuity and spirit [of migrants] have transformed Dharavi into a thriving economy amid poverty and squalor." Migrants "come from everywhere in India . . . to work in Dharavi's amazing variety of trades, legal and illegal" (337-9).

Das is optimistic about the economic future of India. With the help of technology, globalization, and its intellectual capital, India looks forward to conquering its "pervasive poverty" in the twenty-first century (2002: 357).

Detroit

In the nineteenth century, German, Irish, and Scandinavian immigrants arrived. Lumber was plentiful, and many factories were built along the Detroit River for the production of ships and railway cars (Binelli). Before automobiles, Detroit produced "stoves, lumber, salt, ships, spirits, tobacco, pharmaceuticals and more." (Bragg: 115). Copper mines were discovered in the Upper Peninsula, as well as "iron and lead deposits," which promoted the manufacture of stoves, steam engines, varnish, and "lead-based paint". Shoes, matches, pharmaceuticals, and soap were also produced in Detroit (47). "The depression of 1893," however, "left one-third of Detroiters unemployed" (Binelli 237).

The Erie Canal opened in October 1825. It linked Lake Erie to the Hudson River; Buffalo in the West to Albany in the East. The Canal promoted trade from the East to the Middle West. In 1855, locks at Sault Sainte Marie opened "Lake Superior to ship traffic." This increased the prosperity of Detroit and surrounding regions (Martelle: 25, 54). These contributions were developed by technology. Additional connection by means of the Detroit River (strait) was also helpful to Detroit.

In 1884, Detroit had "264 'mechanic'shops," an omen of future developments. Black residents George de Babtiste and William Lambert, a tailor, helped "hundreds, if not thousands of escaped slaves find freedom in Canada," by means of the 'underground railroad'. A "metalworking factory" in Detroit created "blades for

Union lances". Other factories produced stoves, bridges, and railroad cars. Factories were powered by steam boilers. These exploded occasionally, killing dozens of people. By 1880, Michigan was "becoming a center of heavy industry," investing in "iron, steel, foundr[ies], and machine shops" (40, 55, 57-58).

The railroad industry experienced a contraction in 1873, which caused a "lengthy national depression". In 1889, Hazen S. Pingree was elected Republican mayor of Detroit. He endeavored "to rid the city of corruption, cancelling contracts with crooked contractors who held monopolies on the city street-paving and sewage projects, routing questionable managers, and reducing the overall size and cost of the city patronage system." Pingree created city loans "in unorthodox (and probably unconstitutional ways)," to assist impoverished citizens. And, he created gardens for the poor, networks of survival, on "empty land". Other cities soon followed this example. The depression of 1895-96 was again caused by the excessive construction of railroads. Many banks also failed (77-78, 81-2). In 1924, Detroit was "among the most violent and crime-ridden cities in the country." By 1930, Detroit had up to "thirty-thousand 'gangsters'" (109).

In the 1890s, Henry Ford began working on a horseless carriage in Detroit. By the end of the decade, in 1899, Ransom Olds began producing cars in Detroit, at the rate of two a day. David Buick and Packard brothers William and James created additional factories several years later. By 1901, Detroit had 1,387 factories, with 61,237 workers. By 1929, Detroit had become America's fourth largest city, following behind "New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia."

Martelle notes that Ford's invention of the assembly line "revolutionized manufacturing worldwide". In 1914, Ford doubled wages "to $5 for an eight-hour work day." This substantially increased productivity and reduced absenteeism. It represented higher wages for fewer hours than other industries were paying. "By the early 1920s," Detroit focused almost entirely on auto factories (69-71, 74-6, 114).

Olds Motor Works was followed by Ford, Dodge, and Cadillac, developed by Henry Leland. Louis Chevrolet and Walter Chrysler followed (Binelli 141).

Henry Ford endorsed the "Protestant work ethic, in which satisfaction in the production of something with one's own hands provided a substantial part of the reward" (Binelli). Meanwhile, the Big Three automakers – GM, Chrysler, and Ford skimped in the "pay, health care, and safety [of their workers] whenever possible" (172).

"In the fall of 1931," in the midst of the Great Depression, "it was estimated that one person was dying of starvation every seventeen hours and fifteen minutes in Detroit." In 1933, "two banking organizations . . . controlled almost all banking in Michigan:" the Union Guardian Group and the Detroit Bankers Company. These holding companies provided group banking. "Edsel Ford; Ernest Kanzler," vice president of Ford Motor Company; Roy Chapin, founder of the Hudson Motor Company; Charles Stewart Mott, vice president of G.M., "and other automobile executives paid themselves dividends [from the Guardian Group], even as they borrowed funds to support their failing bank group." They "controlled other people's money that they used for their own purposes" (Lumley 2009: 84, 11, 96,151).

On February 13, Henry Ford refused to subordinate "all Ford Motor Company deposits" in the Guardian Group, totaling about $7 million, which would have saved the Group, plus the Detroit Bankers Company, plus other banks in Michigan and the U.S. The entire U.S. banking system was threatened. Subordinating his debt would have given it a lower priority for collection. Unlike J. P. Morgan, who had used "his influence to loan money to the government," Henry Ford, who had earned a fortune in U. S. industry, refused to help the country in this time of crisis (98, 53, 96). Rather than networks of survival, these were networks of self-interest. (Nonetheless, these networks produced a thriving middle class, with hundreds of thousands of jobs, for generations; although many of these jobs are now located in states beyond Michigan.)

"All banks in Michigan" were temporarily closed on February 14th, and soon, on March 4th, all U.S. banks were closed. "The ripple effect of the bank holiday in suspending auto production was incalculable." Advertising agencies, newspaper and magazine publishers, "suppliers of newsprint and so on were directly affected" (Lumley 1, 136). In 1933, the volume of auto production "was down by 75 percent for 1929," according to Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. (1941: 176; quoted by Lumley: 136).

Detroit experienced considerable hardship following its bank closures. "In addition to the bankruptcy of the city, the inability to pay salaries of public employees, the loss of individual bank deposits, the scarcity of cash, and the privations of individual citizens, the shareholders and officers of the Guardian Group and First National Group suffered significant financial losses" (Lumley: 146).

After agriculture and railroads, "the auto industry was the biggest industrial enterprise in the U.S.," according to *Time*, "Business," 18 January 1932. Henry Ford

had chosen not "to subordinate his deposits in the Guardian Group" not due to "a lack of capital . . . in February 1933," but due to a lack of responsibility. Alfred Sloan, Jr. and Walter Chrysler also failed to "step up when they could have prevented a very chaotic situation." Sloan and Chrysler did, however, eventually help "to restart the financial system in Detroit" (Lumley: 136, 144).

The national "closure of banks" on 4 March 1933 "was the first in a series of actions by which the federal government acquired power formerly held by the individual states as well as [by] private, industrial and financial interests." This was the result of "failed decision making by the leaders of the auto industry," which caused "the Detroit banking crisis of February 1933". Not only Henry Ford and U.S. Senator James Couzens should be blamed for the failure of the Detroit banks, according to Lumley. "The collective automobile industry leadership" failed to solve their banking problems, and to limit the problems to Detroit (158, 155).

"After the closure of the banks" for a 'bank holiday' on February 14, 1933," two new banks" were formed: "one [associated] with GM and Chrysler and the other with Ford." Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. (GM); Donaldson Brown, vice president of GM; and Walter Chrysler became directors of the First National Bank. The second bank, the Manufacturers National Bank, was "founded by Henry and Edsel Ford," and Edsel Ford would become the director (111).

By the end of America's Great Depression, 1929-39, the U.S. stock market had lost "90 percent of its value." By July 1930, "a third of Detroit's auto jobs had disappeared, leaving more than 150,000 men idle and without incomes" (Martelle: 114). In the Battle of the Overpass in 1937, labor activist Walter Reuther and several

associates were attacked by Ford company security guards (Binelli, 158). Gallagher adds that "union-management struggles" in Detroit "erupted into prolonged strikes" in the 1940s and later (2010: 37).

Lumley concludes that the auto industry and its executives regained their status during World War II as they participated in the production of armaments. By June 1941, before the attack on Pearl Harbor, according to Martelle, Detroit was shifting to the production of military vehicles: "trucks, engines for boats and submarines, machine guns and anti-aircraft weapons." Lumley adds that "the mobilization of the productive powers and organizational acumen of the auto industry were critical in the victory of the United States and its allies." Gallagher notes that Detroit became an "arsenal of democracy," producing "tanks and airplanes" (155, 157; Martelle: 139; Gallagher 2010: 1).

Thomas Sugrue writes that "labor-saving technologies" in the 1920s and "capital flight," beginning in the 1970s, both devastated American cities. "In 1959, nearly 18.5 percent of black men [in Detroit] had no income at all, compared with 8.5 percent of white men" (Martelle 179). He attributes the decline and poverty of Detroit to the "persistent housing and workplace discrimination" that have occurred since World War II. Between 1950 and 2002, "Detroit had lost nearly half its population" due to "industrial decline, racial conflict, and disinvestment". "Political institutions, markets, and public policies [promoted] . . . white racial privilege." Sugrue adds that "poverty rates among people of color in major American cities are staggeringly high." Beyond Detroit, American cities have been transformed by three factors: "the flight of jobs," "the persistence of workplace discrimination," and "racial

discrimination in housing" (2005 [1996]: xxi, 271, xvi, xx, xvii, xviii). Gallagher adds

that all U.S. cities declined in population following World War II, as people moved to

the suburbs (8).

Charlie Le Duff identifies two principle causes for the decline of Detroit,

including the administration of Mayor Coleman Young (1974-94), who created a

"culture of corruption and cronyism"; and "the UAW [United Auto Workers Union],

which demanded things like near-full pay for idle workers" (2013: 80). Unions had

developed to relieve the hardships of workers in the late nineteenth century (Martelle:

101), and some auto manufacturers, including Ford, strongly resisted their growth.

Martelle notes that "a solid middle class" arose in Detroit due to the efforts of the

UAW (136-8). However, the larger salaries which they established eventually caused

a loss of American jobs, as foreign workers were willing to work for lower salaries in

order to acquire jobs. Automakers viewed the UAW as a costly disadvantage of

operating in Detroit. Thus, the Big Three (Ford, GM, and Chrysler) built plants in

other cities in the years after World War II. Outsourcing of auto jobs began in the

1980s (139). This began the decline of Detroit's prosperity. As the auto industry

declined and moved elsewhere, poverty increased in Detroit (175, 177, 223).

A security factor also exists: After World War II, the Pentagon preferred the

decentralization of manufacturing, which would make industry less vulnerable to "air

or missile attack" (Martelle: 161).

By 2009, Michigan had developed a film industry, offering "a 40 percent

rebate of all money spent on a particular production". As a result, the Detroit suburb

of Pontiac, which "had outsourced its police and fire departments and announced it

would be selling city hall, the library, and two cemeteries" – acquired "Raleigh Studios, a $120 million facility on twenty-two acres of land, encompassing a vacant GM office building that once housed three thousand engineers" (Binelli 258-9).

In May 2009, Chrysler declared bankruptcy, followed in June by GM (Le Duff: 171). These major U.S. companies and others were saved, thanks to the astute efforts of Timothy Geithner (president of the Federal Reserve Bank and Secretary of the Treasury) and Ben Bernanke (chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve), supported by President Obama.

In 2009, Michigan had its highest unemployment rate of about 750,000 (Binelli 26). And yet, Detroit boasted "875 farms and community gardens," providing work and vegetables for industrious residents. This endeavor was promoted by the Greening of Detroit, Earthworks, and other organizations (56). I recall the description by author Frank McCourt in *Angela's Ashes* of the time that impoverished residents of Limerick were granted small plots of land to grow vegetables outside of the city limits. Every weekend for several months Frank, his alcoholic father, and his brothers would trudge to their plot, and carefully tend their vegetables. At the end of the summer, the little family trudged to their plot to harvest their vegetables. However, local residents had picked every one of their vegetables; nothing was left. I hope that the people of Detroit have better luck with harvesting their own vegetables.

Besides cheap housing, a second advantage for Detroit in 2009 was low labor costs. Tim Bryan mentions that labor costs in Detroit were "only 5 percent" higher than out-sourcing to Brazil. By 2010, Bryan had hired 110 employees for

GalaxE.Systems, an information technology business. "Outsource to Detroit," he recommends (Binelli 174).

Besides a few jobs, however, no commerce remained in Detroit in 2010, including no grocery stores or significant "retail shopping" (Martelle 67). However, Binelli notes Detroit's spirit of revitalization this same year. One volunteer demolition team "tore down unsalvageable abandoned homes," and a guerrilla landscaper, "the Lawn Mower Brigade, . . . went around trimming the grass in vacant lots" (54).

Union leader John Zimmick mentioned in 2011 that "the drug business was the only one booming in metropolitan Detroit" (176). He suggested that "there needs to be a wake-up call, or a revolution" (176). Actually, more interracial harmony and cooperation would be a better solution. And, perhaps union costs are excessive for some businesses.

By 2012 the city debt of Detroit had reached $12 billion, and the possibility of a state takeover, with an emergency manager, loomed on the horizon. Instead, the city and state agreed that "the mayor and council would retain their power, though their budgets would now be subject to final approval by the nine-person financial oversight board. Mayor and council would solely or jointly appoint five of the board's members; the board would not have an emergency manager's power to discard union contracts completely. Still, the city was basically agreeing to work with the state to slash payrolls, sell off city assets, and outsource departments" (Binelli 243, 250).

Considering the power of unions to prevent the hiring of temporary workers for Sundays and holidays at lesser wages, rather than obliging companies to offer the work to union members as overtime at double their higher wages (Binelli 159), it is

understandable that many industries are moving to southern "Right to Work" states. Moreover, Binelli notes that after one thousand hours of work for a unionized company, temps are obliged "to become union members" (160).

Martelle summarizes Detroit's current "core problem [as] disinvestment and abandonment propelled by corporate decisions and aided by government policies, from housing to free trade, with an overlay of stubbornly persistent racism" (234). Many impoverished residents nowadays even lack "the personal resources to leave" (xiii). Free trade will be further discussed below.

Binelli comments on the irony of a set for the Tom Cruise remake of *Red Dawn*, a 1980's movie, in Detroit: "Detroit being after all, not merely a set designed to resemble a ruined American city but an actual ruined American city" (259-60).

In July 2013, Detroit filed for bankruptcy. Davy and Walsh write that the city's debt was estimated at $18 or $20 billion, according to emergency manager Kevyn Orr. By then, the city had "tens of thousands of abandoned buildings, vacant lots and unlit streets"; and less than half of its 1950 population of 1.8 million, down to 700,000. State officials argued that "representatives of city workers and municipal retirees ought to settle for less than they once expected" (2013).

Technology Promotes Prosperity in Developing and Advanced Countries

Overall, according to Dayo Olopade, technology in Africa has brought "smart, lean solutions in health, financial services, and retail distribution." Beginning in "the 1980s, satellites have offered Internet and mobile telephone access around the world." This connectivity "touches every element of contemporary life." Since 1997, Africa

"has become a $56 billion mobile ecosystem, with over half a billion subscribers; there are now ten times as many cell phones as landlines south of the Sahara." Competing "multinational telecoms" include Bharti Artel, MTN (which is African), Orange, Tigo, and Vodaphone (which are British). Safaricom, a Kenyan telecom service, had "seventeen million subscribers" by 2013. Rappers and other musicians in Mali store their "MP3 stylings" on memory cards (2014: 92-3, 95).

In 2009, a SEACOM "fiber optic cable" was stretched for 10,000 miles along Africa's east coast, connecting numerous countries, and another cable has connected countries along the west coast. Internet capacity also increased substantially in the early twenty-first century, and the continent has acquired broadband access (93).

Technology, according to Olopade, "is democratic, market-based, innovative, and increasingly effective for development." Mobile web access provides great quantities of information for less affluent communities. "Mo Ibrahim, the first African billionaire," earned his fortune "from a cell phone company" (99).

By means of Kenya's M-Pesa, customers "can deposit cash onto their mobile phones" at kiosks, and withdraw it elsewhere. Phone credit can be swapped "to settle debts or trade favors," and, funds can be stored in Safaricom accounts. "About 80" percent of Africans do not use banks, and most subSaharan Africans "have no access to credit" (100-01).

Medic Mobile helps with communication between doctors and patients via cell phone. Mxit, a "virtual social network," provides "cloud-based medical services – symptom checkers and live chats with practitioners" to users of "its Hello Doctor application". In 2000, Canadian Gerry Douglas acquired "low-frill computer

monitors" that were being discarded. He bought two hundred "for $20 apiece," and brought them to Lilongwe in Malawi, where programmers at Baobab Health, a non-profit, upcycled them. These monitors have been deployed in hospitals to store patient records and instructions. This "electronic data system (EDS)" also permits "'point of care' use" (110-11).

Besides its contributions for transportation, modern technology also assists in medical and agricultural developments. Adam Powell III describes additional uses for cell phones, developed in India and Asia (2014 a). In Africa and Asia, cell phones can be "used as medical instruments," for example, "to screen for cataracts, glaucoma, and diabetes," according to a team from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, or for "parasitic worm infections," according to Daniel Fletcher. Fletcher, a professor of bioengineering at UC Berkeley, was "able to image blood cells, malaria parasites and the bacteria that causes tuberculosis," using a Nokia phone, with "clip-on lenses," costing less than one dollar; whereas "traditional bulky equipment" costs "over $100,000, according to a BBC report" (1).

Android mobile cell phones can collect the "sounds of insects" in a field, which can then be analyzed and targeted. Three versions of the Pest app can be used with "advanced smart phones," lower cost smart phones, and even lower cost "low-end and 'dumb' cell phones." This app is being developed by the National University of Singapore (NUS), the Nanyang Technology University (NTU), also in Singapore, and the Indian Institute of Technology Bombay (IITB), in Mumbai. The University of California at Riverside is endeavoring to develop this "tool to fight malaria more effectively" (Powell: 2014 b, 1).

Roger Zimmermann, an associate professor at NUS, mentioned at a forum in July 2015 that "agricultural pests can reduce production by 35 percent in India to 38 percent in China" (2). Considering the extensive poverty in India, albeit less in China, this app could be considered as a network of survival.

Faced with medicine that is diluted or contains toxic chemicals, new medications include an "encrypted code on every product". Prior to this system, developed by Bright Simons from Ghana, 48 percent of drugs "sold in Lagos and Abuja" from the World Health Organization's "essential drug list . . . did not have enough of the active ingredient". Olopade adds that "up to 30 percent of medicines sold in developing countries are counterfeit" or very inadequate (116).

Olopade describes "cluster economies" as "specialized zones where proximity accelerates progress." Thus, Milan promoted shoemaking, Detroit promoted cars, and Las Vegas promoted gambling. Cameroon possesses "a tech cluster," ActivSpaces. "Dreamers can rent a desk on the open-plan office," and try out their ideas on each other. Similar spaces exist at Akendewa (Côte d'Ivoire), Jokkolabs (Dakar), EtriLabs (Benin), iLab (Liberia), Hive Colab (Uganda), and at Co-Creation and Wennovation (Nigeria). Members use these "coworking spaces" and "information neighborhood[s] . . . to learn from one another" (103-5).

Clearly, the development and use of new technologies is a network of survival for many individuals in developing countries.

In contrast with the horse and carriage, automobiles possess internal combustion engines (which are also measured in terms of horse power). According to Paul Lagasssé, Christian Huygens, a Dutch physicist, first experimented with internal combustion engines, circa 1680. Such engines consume fuel internally (versus externally). Nearly two centuries later, "J.J. Étienne Lenoir built a double-acting, spark-ignition engine that could be operated continuously." In 1868, Nikolaus Otto

"built a successful four-stroke engine". Seventeen years later, Gottlieb Daimler created ""the prototype of the modern gas engine," having "a vertical cylinder, [which] used gasoline injected through a carburetor." Four years later, in 1889, "Daimler introduced a four-stroke engine with mushroom-shaped valves and two cylinders arranged in a 'V', having a much higher power to weight ratio". Electric starters would follow in 1924 (2012).

Blender Guy 2008 describes the performance of a four-stroke internal combustion engine. "Piston rods are attached to [a] crankshaft," which is attached by a belt to a camshaft. The camshaft opens and closes valves. A "fuel-air mixture" is provided by a valve. A spark plug ignites "the fuel-air mixture," creating power. Exhaust gas is removed by an exhaust valve (2008).

History.com Staff (HCS) describes the evolution of automobile technology. The "first modern motorcar," produced in 1901, was "designed by Wilhelm Maybach for Daimler Motor Gesellschaft". A Mercedes, it could travel at "53 miles per hour," with a "thirty-five horsepower engine" (2010: 1). A modern Mercedes-Benz S-550 Sedan, in contrast, has 449 horsepower (www.mbusa.com; 2016).

In 1899, "the Olds Motor Works became the first factory to mass-produce automobiles in the United States." Combustion engines won out over steam power and "electric car batteries . . . [in] the early twentieth century". Detroit's background experience in industrial production, for example in "carriage, ship-engine, and railroad-car" construction, created local talent to be employed by the new auto industry. And the Detroit River (Strait) facilitated the shipment of incoming materials, including lumber, copper, and iron ore, and of outgoing vehicles (Binelli: 140-1).

The technology of Maybach's 1901 Mercedes was superior to Ransom Olds's "one-cylinder, three-horsepower, tiller-steered" Oldsmobile, produced in 1901-06, and sold for $650. In 1904 Olds produced "5,508 units". Frank and Charles Duryea, residents of Springfield, Massachusetts, had produced a gasoline-powered automobile eleven years earlier, and by 1899 "thirty American manufacturers produced 2,500 motor vehicles". By 1999 "some 485 companies [had] entered the business". Henry Ford's Model T appeared in 1908, along with General Motors, founded by William C. Durant. An "absence of tariff barriers" between states in the U.S. lowered the cost of products. "In 1913, the United States produced some 485,000 of the world total of 606,124 motor vehicles" (HCS: 2-3).

The Ford Motor Company excelled in design and price. By 1906, it produced "a hundred cars a day". Ford's Model T, with four cylinders and twenty horsepower, "sold for $825". His Highland Park plant "innovated modern mass production techniques," and "15 million units" were sold by 1927. Detroit was the central hub of the auto industry, and thus of American industry, for about fifty years, from 1908 to 1958. In 1913-14, Ford introduced a "moving assembly line". Due to the higher cost of production, forty-four automobile manufacturers remained in 1929, including Chrysler, which emerged from Maxwell in 1925. Many failed during the Great Depression, while "Nash, Hudson, Studebaker, and Packard" failed after World War II (3-4).

In 1916, "installment sales" were initiated. This became a new feature of America's middle class, "and a mainstay of the American economy." By the 1920s, autos possessed self-starters, "closed all-steel" bodies, "higher compression engine[s],

80

hydraulic brakes, syncromesh transmission[s], and low-pressure balloon tires." These endured into the 1950s, along with most construction techniques. "Automatic transmission[s] and drop-frame construction" began in the 1930s (5).

Style and "planned obsolescence" were promoted by Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. of General Motors in the 1920s and 1930s, to increase sales. After World War II, "engineering was subordinated to the questionable aesthetics of nonfunctional styling at the expense of economy and safety. . . . By the mid-1960s, American made cars were being delivered to retail buyers with an average of twenty-four defects a unit, many of them safety-related." In 1966, "federal standards of automotive safety" were introduced, followed by standards for the "emission of pollutants" in 1965 and 1970, and for "energy consumption" in 1975 (6-7).

Between 1978 and 1982, "imports increased their share of the U.S. Market from 17.7 percent to 27.9 percent." By 1985, "functional aerodynamic design replaced styling in Detroit studios . . . Cars became smaller, more fuel-efficient, less polluting, and safer." By 1982, the auto industry "provided one out of every six jobs in the United States." (By 1980, however, Japan had become the world's leading auto producer, a position it continues to hold; 8.)

"The automobile ended rural isolation and brought urban amenities – most important, better medical care and schools – to rural America (while paradoxically the farm tractor made the traditional family farm obsolete)." However, according to HCS, the automobile is less "a progressive force for change" than it was in the past century. Electronics, such as "the electronic media, the laser, the computer, and the robot" are becoming more influential in "charting the future" (9).

While the auto industry has declined from its peak in the 1950s, it has not entirely vanished. The Detroit Regional Chamber reports that Detroit "currently produces more cars and trucks than any other state in the country. In 2014, more than 2.3 million cars and trucks rolled off Michigan assembly lines – over 1.5 million at assembly lines in the Detroit region. The state is home to thirteen original equipment manufacturer (OEM) assembly plants and thirty-five OEM component plants. Including suppliers, there are over 1,700 automotive-related manufacturing establishments in Michigan" (2016).

A significant relationship exists between **technology and the humanities**. For example, the prosperity that occurred in Detroit in the twentieth century, as a result of the development of the auto industry by numerous manufacturers, and of the assembly line by Henry Ford, resulted in the creation of majestic architectural structures. These included the Eastown Theater, the Broderick Tower, the Grand Army of the Republic building, the Michigan Central Station, with its Beaux-Arts façade; the Michigan Theater, with its "palatial lobby" (Austin 123); and other elegant landmarks.

Considering that the Detroit "captains of industry" earned large fortunes from their endeavors, they turned to the construction of mansions and the collection of art, just as the so-called 'robber barons' had done in Newport, RI in the nineteenth century. For example, in Newport, Cornelius Vanderbilt collected terracotta statuaries by Della Robbia, and paintings by Turner, Constable, and Henri Rousseau.

Prosperity derived from technology and industry often supports the arts and humanities. In Detroit, for example, this is represented by the Detroit Institute of Arts

and the Motown Historical Museum. The former includes collections of European, American, African, and Asian art; and the latter presents the history of distinguished local musicians, such as Aretha Franklin. The Eastown and Michigan Theaters, mentioned above, were the venues of theatrical productions, which flourished, due to local prosperity, based on industry, which was based on technology.

Education

By 2010, "not quite half" of African schools had "abolished school fees". However, even with lowered fees, many parents were still obliged to pay for "uniforms, books, school feeding, and, sometimes, bribing administrators. Over six years in Moshi, Tanzania, the cost of 'free' schooling rose by 64 percent – faster than inflation." Moreover, "state schools are often terrible at preparing kids for the future." Approximately 75 percent of students in Kinshasa, in the slums of Kenya, in Lagos State (Nigeria), and Uganda are attending private school. Many of these private schools are "low-cost, mom-and pop operations. . . . Almost one in four schools is unregistered – and thus technically illegal. . . . African parents are eager to exit the inefficient public system whenever possible – and they will pay to do it" (Olopade 2014: 130).

Bridge International Academies are especially popular. "Schoolhouses are usually made of plywood and corrugated tin, with neither plumbing nor electrification. . . . The predatory governments that spirit away money for roads and other public services often do the same for education. For years in Uganda, just 13 percent of discretionary government funds reached the schools they were intended to support.

83

Blessings, the teacher [whom Olopade] met in Malawi, described unpredictable shortfalls in his salary, despite foreign aid earmarked as a hardship allowance for teachers" (131).

"According to annual third party evaluations, even the lowest-performing Bridge students are beating out their peers at government and other private schools. In reading fluency, the gap is as high as 205 percent." Many African families live "on less than $2 per day," and Bridge Academies charge "something like $5 per pupil per month; . . . payable on flexible terms".
Olopade comments that having a decent education for their children is very important to African parents (131-2, 134).

Kinshasa

Jean-Luc Piermay writes that "many private and local church-run universities" exist in Kinshasa. "Today in Zaire, the sum total of these isolated initiatives adds up to a dynamic city" (1997: 248). However, most writers describe Kinshasa as dysfunctional and precarious.

Télésphore Tsakala Munikengi and Willy Bongo-Pasi Moke Sangol write that teachers and staff at the University of Kinshasa (UNIKIN) are usually unpaid. Financially, the university was largely sustained by "students and parents" in 2004. During the rule of President Laurent Kabila (1997-2001), no government assistance was provided to UNIKIN, as "it was argued that all available financial resources were needed for the war effort." State funding, however, did not improve during the subsequent rule of Joseph Kabila, his successor, when the country's military budget decreased (82, 85, 87). In the 1996-97 academic year, however, $2.3 million was

provided for the University's 26,000 students, and $1.8 million the following academic year. Together with student fees, this amounted to "approximately $200 per student." UNESCO, however, recommends a minimum of $1,000 per student in "African universities" (86).

In 2002, full professors at UNIKIN received "approximately $170 per month" in salary. $30 per month was paid by the state, and $140 per month by student fees. Teachers are obliged to find secondary jobs, due to their small salaries at universities in the DRC. Some engage as well in non-academic jobs, including trade. After 1990, retiring professors no longer received government pensions (Tsakala and Bongo-Pasi 87, 90).

Decisions regarding "tenure and promotion" since 1990 have been "politically motivated," rather than based on "academic credentials and seniority" (86). Law and medicine were the most popular subjects in the academic year 1999-2000, with 7,212 students registered in the former and 6,338 registered in the latter. Economics was chosen by 3,285 students, and the liberal arts received 1,139 (92).

By 2004, UNIKIN had a "high drop-out rate." Those who could afford to attend were "not necessarily the most motivated." Tsakala and Bongo-Pasi write that "the decreasing quality of secondary-school education and the poor quality of instruction at the university itself also contribute[d]." And for graduates, there was a "low probability of finding salaried work in one's field of study" (91-2).

Out of "80,000 students" in Kinshasa's twelve universities, "90 percent live off-campus." UNIKIN provides "room for 2000 residents". Rooms are crowded, and "frequently house four or five times the number of [students] officially allowed." For

Congolese students "studying in Europe or North America," families "urge their graduates to find jobs abroad so they can send money home" (92-3).

Like many aspects of "public life" in the DRC, "Congo's higher education system . . . has miraculously avoided bankruptcy." Tsakala and Bongo-Pasi believe that involvement of the state with universities is not "a system well adapted to the pressing needs of Congo's future" (97-8).

Mumbai and Elsewhere in India

As British governor of the Bombay Presidency (1819-1827), Mountstuart "Elphinstone was the chief promoter of the Bombay Native School Book and School Society established in 1822." Numerous other educational institutions followed with a "substantial" European contribution, and the considerable participation of "indigenous Bombay scholars" (Naik 2003 [1995]: 62).

Prime Minister Nehru's government (1947-1964) created "five elite universities of engineering, the Indian Institutes of Technology," which were valuable for employment and industry (Luce 2007: 31). However, Guha writes that while college and professional courses had increased and expanded by 1972, "basic education had done poorly. There were more illiterates in 1972 than there had been in 1947. While thousands of new schools opened, there had been scarcely any attempt to bring literacy to the millions of adults who could not read or write." And among all students, "only a small proportion graduated; the dropout rates were alarmingly high, especially among girls and students of low castes" (Naik 1977 and Singh 1973: quoted by Guha: 467).

Gurcharan Das wrote in 2002 that "four out of ten Indians [were] illiterate" (xiii).

<u>Detroit</u>

In his chapter on schools, John Gallagher wrote in 2013 that students in elementary school in Detroit were not learning how to read. Peter Karmanos, Jr.'s son received an 'A' in elementary school for reading ability, but couldn't read at all. The Karmanos family was obliged to move to West Bloomfield, where Nick's new teacher agreed that the child could not read at all. Gallagher comments that "worries about schools explain why the only people who seem to move into Detroit today are either the young and childless or the empty nesters . . . At the end of 2012, the Detroit public schools' performance . . . showed that the district continued to rank worst among large cities in reading and math" (2013: 79-80).

However, progress is possible. Teacher and then principal Thomas Maridada, from Brazil, turned around failing Baylor-Woodson Elementary School in Inkster, "on the outskirts of Detroit," by setting high standards for the students, and by rigorous "teacher tenure and evaluation reforms". Gallagher adds that important solutions include "teacher quality and school leadership" (80-1, 83).

Numerous schools have found that an "emphasis on high-quality teachers" increases the learning abilities and achievements of students. "Nelson Henry, program director at Baylor-Woodson," commented that "if you have dynamic teachers in front of students, they will learn . . . The relatively new Excellent Schools Detroit [program], a non-profit effort that encourages and popularizes school improvement

strategies, has set a goal of placing every Detroit student in an excellent school by 2020" (85-6).

Some teacher unions fail to introduce better "teacher evaluations and other reforms." Nelson Henry comments that this has to change (Gallagher: 87).

Additional training for teachers at the Charlotte Teachers Institute, based on the Yale Teachers Institute program, provides "intensive content training" for teachers "during summer breaks". Testing student proficiency also enables schools to find and reinforce better teaching methods. Thus, schools in Detroit and elsewhere, including the Frederick Douglass Academy in Harlem, are endeavoring to improve the education of their students (85; a network for survival), and thus their future potential opportunities.

Resources

Kinshasa

Many civil society associations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) were created in the "early 1990s." Ethnicity has become less important. "The association phenomenon is a clear example of people-based social organization driven by pragmatism and the will to survive." Assistance cannot always be extended to ones extended family, as had been traditional, due to poverty. The Kinois' "commitment to . . . individual and collective survival" is creating positive change (Trefon 11-12).

An important source of revenue is cash from Congolese nationals working overseas, sent via "Western Union and similar . . . services". Remittances are used to start businesses, and for other essential expenses (12).

Bargaining is an aspect of "despair solidarity", which promotes survival

(Nzeza 22, 31).   In an "unimaginable and unpredictable situation," the people of

Kinshasa continuously "get things done" (Trefon 9).

Mumbai

Mehta provides many example of cooperation in Mumbai, including the

following:

> "If you are late for work in the morning in Bombay, and you reach the station
> just as the train is leaving the platform, you can run up to the packed
> compartments and find many hands stretching out to grab you on board,
> unfolding outward from the train like petals. As you run alongside the train,
> you will be picked up and some tiny space will be made for your feet on the
> edge of the open doorway. The rest is up to you. You will probably have to
> hang on to the door frame with your fingertips, being careful not to lean out
> too far lest you get decapitated by a pole placed too close to the tracks. But
> consider what has happened. Your fellow passengers, already drenched in
> sweat in the badly ventilated compartment, having stood like this for hours,
> retain an empathy for you, know that your boss might yell at you or cut your
> pay if you miss this train, and will make space where none exists to take one
> more person with them. And at the moment of contact, they do not know if the
> hand that is reaching for theirs belongs to a Hindu or Muslim or Christian or
> Brahmin or untouchable or whether you were born in this city or arrived only
> this morning or whether you live in Malabar Hill or New York or Jogeshwari;
> whether you're from Bombay or Mumbai or New York. All they know is that
> you're trying to get to the city of gold, and that's enough. Come on board,
> they say. We'll adjust" (496).

However, many examples of greed and theft are also provided, for example the

theft of a young man's pail of bath water (481).

Mehta writes that "property is always communal in Bombay: there is a

constant circulation of sleeping space." People lend their apartments, or invite

houseguests (385). This generosity is also seen in Kinshasa's spirit of solidarity, and

mutual support.

<u>Detroit</u>

Due to the U.S. "safety net," a network of survival, education and nutrition for residents of Detroit are provided by public schools and Food Stamps.

Governor Jennifer Granholm (1999-2003) endeavored to rebrand Detroit as "a cool city", to promote prosperity. Binelli comments that "cool is an amorphous term, but stretching its definition to include 'public education', 'employment', and 'not being murdered on the way to work' struck me as – how would a cool person put this? – 'diluting the brand, dude'" (258).

Chapter III: Residents, Populations, and Poverty

In 2004, Bombay's population of nineteen million was "bigger than that of 173 countries in the world." The population density of some regions of Bombay was "one million people per square mile" – greater than anywhere else world-wide (Mehta: 16).

In 2011, Kinshasa had a population of nine million (Stearns xxiii). In sub-Saharan Africa, it is second in the size of its population to Lagos. And after Paris, it is "the second largest French-speaking city in the world" (Trefon: 7). In 2014, Africa had "nearly one billion people" in fifty-four countries (Olopade 2014: 14).

The 2015 population of Kinshasa was approximately twelve million, while that of Mumbai was approximately ten million, with an additional eight million in its metropolitan area. Thus, both would be considered megacities. By 2025, according to Margaret Rhodes, "well over half of the world's population will be living" in megacities, having populations greater than ten million. And, according to Pedro Gadanho, who created a program on "Uneven Growth: Tactical Urbanisms for Growing Megacities," at the Museum of Modern Art, in New York City, "two-thirds of that population will be poor."

Gadanho worked on "tactical urbanisms, or urban planning solutions," for related problems. His plans, along with teams of specialists, depended on "municipal cooperation" and "the availability of funds for construction."

The Global Economic Symposium Team notes that by 2050, when "the urban population," it is estimated, will have doubled, increases in demand for "water, land, food, and energy" will "put pressure on natural ecosystems . . . Rising sea levels, or extreme weather events [will] pose additional threats to cities. Infrastructure failure,

such as electricity grid disruptions, flooding, diseases, and large scale pollution [will be some of] the potential consequences." Hopefully, networks of survival will be found to deal with these future problems.

Detroit, down from its 1950 peak of 1.86 million, according to Forbes.com, had about 677,116 residents in 2015, according to the *World Almanac and Book of Facts* (2017). In September 2015, World Population Review numbered the Metro Detroit area population as 5.2 million residents. Thus, Detroit can be counted as a city, or as Metro Detroit.

Improvements in living conditions and employment for 'untouchables'/Dalits in India after Independence represent networks of survival. Indian princes ultimately lost their allowances and their authority, but retained their titles. Residents of Dharavi slum in Mumbai have become very creative in producing salable arts and crafts.

In the relationships between individuals in slums, one can observe the operation of Thomas Hobbes' two "Laws of Nature," described in *Leviathan*, as interpreted by Stumpf and Fieser (2003). To promote one's own survival, "the first law of nature is therefore that everyone ought to 'seek peace and follow it'." And secondly, that individuals should respect the rights of others, to the extent that others do likewise (218). This contrasts with Spencer's "survival of the fittest," and the "law of the jungle". While gangs, violence, and extortion by the police exist in many slums, one can also find many examples of neighbors helping each other.

Martin Meredith writes that the population of Africa increased "from a little over 200 million in 1960" to 450 million in 1990 (2005: 490). By 2014, Africa's population had reached "nearly one billion" in fifty-four countries (Olopade 2014: 14).

Kinshasa

Tshilemalema Mukenge writes that prior to colonization, societies in present Congo were organized into "bands, lineages, chiefdoms, kingdoms and empires." Only bands "were egalitarian," but the other "forms of political organization . . . had in common a high degree of democratic participation" (2002: 10).

Anjan Sundaram abandoned work on a Ph.D. in mathematics at Yale in 2005, and travelled to the DR Congo for a year, to work eventually as a journalist. Bentley, who worked for the *Guardian*, referred him to the Associated Press (75). In 2014, he wrote that Kinshasa was "unable to assure even the survival of its nine million people. But still the dispossessed come in floods from the villages. . . . Children born [in DR Congo] have the bleakest futures. It is the most diseased, the most corrupt, and the least habitable – the country heads every conceivable" list of negative qualities (3, 6).

The Congo War began in 1996, when Laurent Kabila "was the front man of a Rwandan invasion that toppled Mobutu." But when Kabila "then spurned his Rwandan backers, a power grab followed that saw another invasion by Rwanda, drew in armies from nine different countries, and engulfed Congo" (22).

Sundaram visited the "mouth of the Congo River. . . . Twenty-five miles of coast" were coated by oil. "Was the ocean being poisoned, emptied of fish? How much had the petroleum company paid the oil minister?" (41-2). Is this how impoverished countries will destroy the environment? He interviews a rebel militia leader, General Mathieu, who was fighting because his family had been killed. Eventually Mathieu was imprisoned by the government and sent to the Hague "to face

war crimes charges". Sundaram describes Radio Trottoir as "the underground news network"; news from the 'sidewalk' (215, 11).

He describes "custom" in poor neighborhoods of Kinshasa. Marcel, for example, wanted to build "an office cabin." He cleared his yard, and bought some cement. But, "requests came in from the neighborhood – for a wall, a toilet, a sick child. The requests were deemed more urgent than his outhouse office." So he loaned "out his cement . . . Ragged men hauled out his sacks. Marcel was not paid. He did not expect to be: the implicit agreement was that when he needed help . . . [they would] return the favor" (242).

After the Second Civil War was ended in 2003 by the Pretoria Accord, signed in July 2002, war resumed in 2009. M (March) 23 rebels finally surrendered in November 2013. More than five million died in the Great African War, according to Jeffrey Gettleman (15 December 2012). Violence by "armed groups" continued in 2015, according to the CIA (30 September 2015).

India

Beginning circa 1800, Bombay's elites "dominated local institutions" and were active "in local and provincial government." They obtained significant local power far more readily than did the elites of Calcutta or Madras. By 1890, they became a "determining influence within the Indian National Congress." Hindus, Muslims, and Parsis "were divided by sect and caste, doctrine and language." The Bombay Improvement Trust, created to improve sanitary conditions after the plague epidemic (1896-1900), became "another mechanism for transferring resources to the city's propertied elites and its millowners" (Chandavarkar: 15-17, 20).

According to Guha: Gandhi, Nehru, and Rabindranath Tagore (the Bengali poet) are considered "the Holy Trinity of Indian nationalism" (502). All three represent networks of survival, endeavoring to create better lives for India's masses by means of non-violence, democracy, and education. Gandhi (1869-1948) opposed colonialism by means of *swadeshi* (self reliance), *satyagraha* (truth and "mutual respect"), noncooperation (1920), *swaraj* (self-rule; Chandra: xxiii), and *ahimsa* (non-violence). In 1930, a Civil Disobedience Movement began with Gandhi's "salt march to the sea," to protest Britain's tax on salt. The Quit India Movement, initiated by Congress in August 1942, was crushed by the British in about six weeks (B. and T. Metcalf: 191, 205, 207).

My **network diagram for "Nonviolence in India Promoted Independence"** pictures a left circle, in which is written "Gandhi, Nehru, and Rabindranath Tagore". An arrow points from the left circle to a right circle, in which is written "Independence". Five arrows, representing 'independence', branch out from the right circle in all directions.

Guha believes that "some of [Muhammad Ali] Jinnah's political turns [were based on] personal ambition." After the 1930s, he was in control as the leader of India's Muslims, and "had no reason" to compromise with India's Hindu majority. In 1946, he called for "direct Action Day, [which] set off the bloody violence and counter-violence that finally made partition inevitable" (42-3).

Guha describes the diligence with which Sikh and Hindu refugees from West Punjab adjusted to the inferior land of East Punjab after partition. "With characteristic ingenuity and enterprise, they set to work, digging new wells, building new houses,

planting their crops." Meanwhile, "almost 500,000 refugees came to settle in Delhi . . . Like their counterparts who had settled on the farms of East Punjab, the refugees in Delhi displayed much thrift and drive" (100-102).

"By July 1948," eleven months after independence, "there were 500,000 refugees in Bombay, arriving from Sind, Punjab, and the North-West Frontier." An acute housing shortage already existed in Bombay. Including the additional refugees, "almost one million people were now sleeping in the streets." According to an article in *Swatantra,* "people lived fifteen or twenty to a room" in "crowded tenements" (Anon., 1948; quoted by Guha: 102).

Guha adds that about "1.7 million refugees" arrived in West Bengal due to "communal riots," following "about 400,000 refugees" in previous years. Taya Zinkin wrote about the hardship that these people endured: "Some stayed with relatives. Others made a home in the city's railroad stations, where their beds, boxes, and other accessories lay spread out on the platforms. Here, 'families lived, slept, mated, defecated and ate on the concrete amidst flies, lice, infants, and diarrhea. Victims of cholera would lie exhausted staring at their vomit, women were kept busy delousing each other, beggars begged.' Still others lived on the street, 'with the stray cattle, [and] like the stray cattle, drinking gutter water, eating garbage, sleeping on the curb'," (1962, 25-26, 31; quoted by Guha: 104).

"Whereas some refugees took possession of empty houses," according to Joya Chatterji, "others colonized vacant land along roads and railway lines, as well as freshly cleared shrub jungle and recently drained marshes. The squatters 'would stealthily enter these plots at night, and under cover of darkness rapidly put up

makeshift shelters. They would then refuse to leave, while offering in many instances to pay a fair price for the land'" (2001: 99; quoted by Guha, 104-5).

Historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar "compared the migration of East Bengal Hindus to the flight of French Huguenots in the time of Louis XIV. He urged the people of West Bengal to absorb and integrate the migrants, and thus to nourish their culture and economy" (1948; quoted by Guha: 105). We can also compare the flood of refugees to that heading for Europe and beyond, especially from Syria; and some from other Middle Eastern and North African countries, due to war and related hardship, presently, in 2015-16.

Guha writes that nearly eight million refugees moved to India from Pakistan after independence (113).

During British rule, approximately half of India was ruled by princes, who controlled the princely states. At the time of partition, Guha notes that there were between 521 and 565 such states (historians disagree). By independence (15 August 1947), the princes were asked by the government to "merge with the Union of India. . . They would be allowed to retain their titles and would be offered an annual allowance in perpetuity" (53, -6, -8). Princely states that decided between India and Pakistan included Travancore, Bhopal, Jodhpur, Junagadh, Hyderabad, and Jammu/Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir, the most important princely state in 1947, had a population of more than four million, while Hyderabad had "more than sixteen million". Jammu was 53 percent Muslim, and Kashmir had a larger Muslim majority (53, 56, 60, 74, 66). Although Pakistan wanted both provinces, due to their larger Muslim majority,

Prince Hari Singh of Kashmir decided to join India. This inspired subsequent acts of violence by Pakistani groups against India.

In the autumn of 1970, the Lok Sabh (Lower House of Parliament) accepted Y. B. Chavan's "constitutional amendment annulling the privileges of the princes." However, the Supreme Court ruled on September 11th "that the order was arbitrary and against the spirit of the constitution" (Guha: 441-2).

In 1958, Premier Chou En-Lai seized a portion of Ladakh, Uttar Pradesh, and the North-East Frontier Agency, claimed by India, on behalf of China. "12,000 square miles" of India's territory were threatened by China. In March 1959, the Delai Lama crossed the border from Tibet into India, seeking refuge. Tibet had been seized by China in 1950 (306-7, 310, 330).

"Gandhi had redesignated the untouchables as Harijans, 'children of God'." After partition, their opportunities slowly improved. "In some areas the low castes were refusing to perform tasks that they considered defiling. No longer would they carry loads free, or submissively allow upper-caste males to violate their women. More daringly, they were beginning to ask for higher wages, and for land to cultivate". In 1953, lower caste municipal sweepers in Delhi "formed a union of their own," encouraged by the CPI (Communist Party of India), and focused on "better pay and work conditions" (377).

Caste divisions in India as a feature of Hinduism have been significant for centuries. Dr. Fluehr-Lobban adds that they have indeed been "central" in Hindu culture. As of independence, 15 August 1947, "Muslims and untouchables constituted one-fourth of the population in free India" (Guha: 365). In the 1950s, "caste prejudice

and caste discrimination were rampant, but no longer were they accepted so willingly." One estimate reported that "while the school population doubled in the first decade of independence, the number of former untouchables in schools swelled eightfold or tenfold. There were also many more Scheduled Caste students at universities than ever before," according to Harold Isaacs (1965: 80-81; quoted by Guha: 378).

Besides in education, "15 percent of all jobs in state-aided institutions were reserved for the Scheduled Castes." As a result, "it is likely that several million jobs were created for Scheduled Castes in the state sector in the first two decades after independence. . . In theory, such reserved positions existed at all levels of government; in practice, those at the lower levels tended to be filled first and fastest." Reservations "in Parliament and in state assemblies [also existed], where 15 percent of all seats were filled by Scheduled Caste candidates" (378).

"Industrialization and urbanization" after independence also provided additional opportunities for the scheduled castes. In 1957, "nearly one in four members of Parliament came from a 'disprivileged' background," as a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe member. "Yet the members of Jawaharlal Nehru's cabinet were overwhelmingly upper-caste." In contrast, "Muslims had no seats reserved for them in the Secretariat or in Parliament." After independence many Scheduled Caste members began to ask for equal rights. Formerly upper caste members sometimes reacted with abuse (379-80, 382-3).

"A Scheduled Caste member of the Constituent Assembly" mentioned after independence that "state law was one thing and social practice quite another."

According to H. J. Khandekar, "not an inch of untouchability has been removed by these laws. . . . It is now up to the Hindu society not to observe untouchability in any shape or form" (1949: Vol. 11, 736-737; quoted by Guha: 384).

Editor D. F. Karaka wrote in 1959 that "Nehru's two greatest achievements [were]: the creation of a secular state and the granting of equal rights to untouchables." His failures, according to Karaka, were his "inability to root out corruption and nepotism, and the foolishness of trusting Communist China" (1959; quoted by Guha: 385).

In the 1970s, "rising 'backward castes'" involved with agriculture included "the Jats in Uttar Pradesh, the Kurmis and Yadavs in Bihar, the Marathas in Maharashtra, and the Vellalas in Tamil Nadu. The upper or forward castes, who once owned much land, had relocated to the cities. . . . The Scheduled Castes who were at the bottom of the rural hierarchy, [such as 'the Musahars of Bihar',] had gained little from such rural development as had taken place in the 1960s and 1970s" (Guha: 528).

"Slowly, the pressures of representative democracy advanced the claims of those lower in status but more numerous." In 1977, Karpoori Thakur decided to implement a recommendation that preceded the Emergency, which would provide more jobs for "the backward castes." As a result, "Rajput and Bhumihar students burned buses and trains and vandalized government buildings" (530).

Scheduled castes (Harijans) were lower than backward castes. Backward castes "mostly owned the land," and Scheduled Castes / Harijans performed the labor. In Marathwada (in Maharashtra) in the 1970s, many Harijans changed their group-name to Dalit. "10,000 or more episodes of caste violence [were] reported in the first

year of Janata [Hindu nationalist] rule," beginning in March 1977. In "May 1977, nine Harijans [at Belchi in Bihar] were burned to death by an upper-caste mob" (531-2).

"In the 1960s and 1970s. . . . the 'backward castes', . . . intermediate between the Scheduled Castes at the bottom and the Brahmans and Rajputs at the top," increased in power and influence. Backward castes include "Yadavs in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, Jats in Punjab and Haryana, Marathas in Maharashtra, Vokkaligas in Karnataka, and Gounders in Tamil Nadu". According to Srinivas, these were the "'dominant caste[s]' in their localities: large in numbers, well organized, exercising economic and social power". He adds that "the power and activity of castes have increased in proportion as political power passed increasingly to the people from the rulers" (1957: Part 2, 123-142; quoted by Guha: 598).

The backward castes are also known as Other Backward Castes (OBCs) "to distinguish them from the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes." In 1978, the Janata party constituted a Backward Classes Commission (the Mandel Commission) to study the OBCs. In August 1990, the National Front Government of V. P. Singh issued an order "implementing the basic recommendations of the Mandel Report. Henceforth, 27 percent of all vacancies in the government of India would be reserved for candidates of the 'Socially and Economically Backward Classes' identified by the commission." Beginning in 1990, nearly 200 upper-caste students set themselves "on fire [to] protest against the acceptance of the Mandel Commission report," which would decrease their opportunities to acquire government jobs. "Sixty-two students" died as a result (599-601).

Kanshi Ram encouraged the rise of Dalits during the 1990s by means of his Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). After Dr. Ambedkar died in 1956, Jagjivan Ram became India's "most prominent untouchable leader" (Guha: 604).

In February 1981, "an entire village of Harijans in Tamil Nadu "converted to Islam. . . . One thousand residents of Meenakshipuram became Muslims." Besides their religion, they changed their names and the name of their village. Meenakshipuram would henceforth be Rehmatnagar. Hindu nationalists were furious. Besides listening to Islamic preachers, "Harijans were also reacting to continuing oppression by upper-caste landlords, and to the discrimination they faced in entering schools and obtaining government jobs." George Matthew concludes that they hoped to "escape social stigma by embracing a faith which believed in the equality of all its believers" (1982; quoted by Guha: 559-560).

During the 1990s, violent clashes occurred between "Thevars, a rising middle caste of landowners in Tamil Nadu, and the landless Dalits." Requests by Dalits for "better wages or for more humane treatment were seen by their presumed superiors as a sign that they needed to be quickly, and if necessary brutally, put back in their place." Dalit workers were especially oppressed in Bihar, one of "India's most populous states," along with Uttar Pradesh. Beginning in the 1970s, the self-respect and achievement of Dalits in Bihar improved, due to encouragement from leftist Naxalites. Forced labor was ended, and wages increased. A more destructive goal of the Naxalites was to eventually overthrow the Indian state. Besides the Naxalites, each landowning caste in Bihar also created its own private army (608-11, 602).

Guha believes that the Adivasis (among the Scheduled Tribes) were the "most neglected by the Indian state". Gradually, their collection of timber, honey, herbs, and other forest produce was restricted. "The colonial regime had designated an array of tribal communities as 'criminal'," simply because they migrated "in search of a living," rather than settling in villages (612).

Caste seems to have mellowed in recent decades. For example, only members of the Brahman caste were originally permitted to read. Now, everyone receives an education.

Secondly, the grandfather of a principal guide during my seventeen days in Mumbai in January 2017 was the grandson of an 'untouchable', originally a hereditary and unchangeable condition. 'Untouchables' were considered to be a source of pollution, and had to stay well away from Hindus. However, Gautam, as driver, sat beside Sunil, a Hindu guide, who was especially helpful, while we drove to many locations.

Moreover, the 'reservations' in modern India of proportional acceptance for education and for government jobs for Dalits/'untouchables' represent a major reform. Sunil mentioned that the issue of caste is not currently relevant in Mumbai, but it is still significant in the countryside, in villages. Further information on caste practices is available in my chapter on "Culture".

In the 1980s, according to Guha, "the extremes of wealth and poverty [in Bombay] were more striking than anywhere else in India" (546).

The "Sikh-majority province" of "Punjab was formed in 1966". The Akali Dal was "the major Sikh political party". Punjabis wanted more federal powers, and

103

control of Chandigarh, their capital city, ruled by the Union government; which they shared with Haryana. Nirankaris "thought of themselves as Sikhs, but since they believed in a living guru, they were regarded as heretics by the faithful" (553-4).

In June 1980, "a group of students . . . at the Golden Temple" in Amritsar "proclaimed an independent Sikh republic," Khalistan. Jagjit Singh Chauhan was named as president. Meanwhile, the Akalis chose a "new leader, Sant Harcharan Singh Longowal, [who] lodged himself in the Golden Temple, from where he would announce street protests on a variety of themes". Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, another Sikh leader, operated from elsewhere in the temple. "In April 1980 the Nirankari leader Baba Gur Charan Singh was shot dead in New Delhi." Seventeen months later, editor Lala Jagat Narain, a critic of Sikh extremism, was murdered (555, 558).

By April 1984, Sikh "attacks on Hindu civilians" had become frequent. The Golden Temple was increasingly fortified. Longowal planned to stop the export of grain from Punjab. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi decided to 'flush out' the militants. On June 6th, Major General Brar led an assault on the temple by several tanks. According to the government, "four officers, seventy-nine soldiers, and 492 terrorists" were killed. Other reports estimate that "perhaps five hundred or more troops and 3,000 others, including many pilgrims caught in the crossfire" were killed. Four months and nearly three weeks later, Mrs. Gandhi was shot and killed by two of her Sikh security guards, in retaliation (561-3, 565).

In reciprocal revenge, over 1,000 Sikhs were killed in Delhi, and hundreds elsewhere in the country; but none in Calcutta, where "the chief minister of West Bengal, Jyoti Basu, had **o**rdered the police to maintain peace" (565, 567).

Mumbai

In 1995, Patel and Thorner wrote that diversity had benefitted Bombay's economy and culture (2003 [1995]: xiii). This was before the riots between Hindus and Muslims, which followed the Hindu destruction of the Babri Masjid mosque in 1992, and continued with the Hindu killing of Muslims in 2002, who may not have set a train carriage on fire in Godhra (in Gujarat), killing about fifty Hindus.

One of the individuals in Katherine Boo's study of the Annawadi slum in Mumbai – one of many slums – is Abdul Hakim Husain, a young waste-picker. In Annawadi slum, some "three thousand people" live in or on the tops of "three hundred and fifty-five huts." Since residents of Mumbai discard some "eight thousand tons of garbage" daily, there is ample work for waste-pickers, although the work is arduous, and pays little, but enough to feed a family. Abdul categorizes waste collected by scavengers into "sixty kinds of paper, plastic, [and] metal," and resells it to nearby recycling plants (xi-xii). Waste scavengers endure theft and abuse from older waste scavengers (37).

Like Mehta, Boo also reports on police corruption in Mumbai. "When [local officers] learned that a family in the slum was making money, they visited every other day to extort some" (xviii).

Annawadi slum was transformed from a "snake-filled" bog by Tamil laborers in 1991. "Other poor citizens had seen the Tamils sweat to summon solid land from a bog, and that labor had earned a certain deference" (5).

Boo echoes Mehta's report that Bal Thackeray, founder of the Shiv Sena political party, which promoted Maharashtrians from the local state of Maharashtra, was a key instigator of ethnic violence in Mumbai. "Migrants from India's poor northern states" and Muslims were especially unwelcome to the Shiv Sena party. Employers for "many good jobs" excluded Muslims (12-13).

In 2002, Maharashtrians became more powerful in Annawadi slum, formerly cleared by the Tamil laborers. Six years later, however, the majority of residents were "North Indian migrants," such as Abdul Hakim Husain, whose family came from Uttar Pradesh. By 2008, mediators negotiated between groups "based on caste, ethnicity, and religion", and solved their problems. Such people work in "the fixing business". This has an element of corruption. Thus Asha, a 'fixer', tells her sister to tell her client that "the police are asking" for money, rather than she herself (18, 20, 23).

Boo describes an example of hospital corruption in Mumbai: "Mumbai's public hospitals were supposed to do [heart valve] operations for next to nothing, but the hospital's surgeons wanted under-the-table money. Sixty thousand rupees, said the surgeon at Sion Hospital. The doctor at Cooper Hospital wanted more" (24).

Asha participates "in a national game of make-believe, in which many of India's old problems – poverty, disease, illiteracy, child labor – were being aggressively addressed. Meanwhile the other old problems, corruption and exploitation of the weak by the less weak, continued with minimal interference" (28).

Corruption in India as described by Boo resembles theft in Kinshasa, as described by Nzeza. It steals opportunity. "Corruption was one of the genuine opportunities that remained" (Boo 28). However, corruption by people who already

have jobs, such as policemen, is hardly a matter of survival. Rather, it is a matter of greed.

Boo notes that policemen near the Annawadi slum "sometimes advised the road boys about nearby warehouses and construction sites where they might steal building materials. The cops then took a share of the proceeds" (45). Police and other corruption would eventually limit foreign investment and reduce national prosperity.

Beginning in February 2008, Maharashtrians in Mumbai began "beating up migrants from the North," due to the scarcity of jobs. "Small North Indian businesses" were ransacked, the taxis of their drivers were torched, and their wares confiscated (31).

Riots between Hindus and Muslims had occurred in 1992-93, and nine years later in neighboring Gujarat. The 2008 persecutions were promoted by a nephew of Bal Thackeray, who had founded Shiv Sena. The nephew had entered politics, and wished to enhance his campaign. No mention is made of additional police protection in North Indian neighborhoods (32).

In 2008, over 50 percent of Mumbai's citizens resided in "makeshift housing". Boo describes India's caste system, including "Dalits," formerly known as "untouchables", as "the most artfully oppressive division of labor ever devised" (42).

Boo illustrates the blatant injustice that befalls residents of Annawadi slum with the case of Fatima the One Leg, who accuses her neighbors of burning her, when she herself had poured kerosene over her head, and set herself on fire. "If a charge against the Husains was going to stick, and money from the family extracted, a more plausible victim statement was required." Thus, an executive government officer

visits Fatima in the hospital to "construct a new account" of Fatima's self-injury (101). Fatima also accuses the Husain's son Abdul, the waste-picker. "How could you bring down a family if you failed to name the boy in that family who did most of the work?" The executive officer plans to "make a handsome profit from the Husains," by means of extortion (102).

Medicine at the Cooper hospital, where Fatima is treated, is often "out of stock," according to the nurses. "Plundered and resold out of supply cabinets" was the unofficial explanation (103).

Abdul and his father are jailed, following the false accusation. "The idea [of the police] was to get terrified prisoners to pay everything they had, and everything they could secure from a money-lender, to stop a false criminal charge from being recorded." Abdul's mother describes the Indian justice system as "so malign it sank them all" (107, 115).

After an extended period in detention for a crime he didn't commit, Abdul is released, but has to lose three days of work every week, to report to a police station, to prove that he "hasn't absconded." "So when's my trial?" Abdul asks his mother. "When is my father's trial?" She replies that "No one knows . . ." (162). This impending trial of an innocent man reminds us of Kafka's classic novel, *The Trial*, in which Josef K. never learns the reason for his trial. In spite of the lying witnesses and corrupt officials, Abdul, his father, and sister are eventually found "not guilty". After three years of suspense, by the book's end, Abdul still awaited his verdict, and continued to report to the "Dongri detention facility" on three days every week (239, 242).

Katherine Boo concludes that:

"It is easy, from a safe distance, to overlook the fact that in undercities governed by corruption, where exhausted people vie on scant terrain for very little, it is blisteringly hard to be good. The astonishment is that some people *are* good, and that many people try to be – all those invisible individuals who every day find themselves faced with dilemmas not unlike the one Abdul confronted, stone slab in hand, one July afternoon when his life exploded. If the house is crooked and crumbling, and the land on which it sits uneven, is it possible to make anything lie straight?" (254).

Boo finds that "many people try to be" good in Mumbai. However, the many examples that she mentions – the exploitation of younger waste scavengers by older ones, exploitation by 'fixers', demand by hospitals for payments for what should be free procedures, exploitation of non-criminals by the prison system – imply that behavior in and towards residents of Annawadi slum is more predatory than benevolent. Asha, a 'fixer', for example is amazed that her daughter feels sympathy for Mr. Kamble, who cannot arrange an operation for his heart. She "considered it a failure of her parenting that Manju was sentimental" (26-7).

Police corruption is a network of obstruction and impoverishment in the lives of its victims.

America

In America, numerous laws protect the civil liberties of African-Americans. President Obama's election as president for two terms also indicates that prejudice against African Americans has mellowed since the 1950s.

Detroit

Amy Elliott Bragg describes prominent citizens of Detroit in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including Joseph Campau, Lewis Cass, General

109

Friend Palmer, Silas Farmer, Clarence Barton, and Steven Mason. Each contributed to the culture or government or economy of the city.

As most of Detroit's industries left the city in the 1950s, the residents who remain are living in considerable poverty.

Between 1950 and 2010, Detroit "lost roughly 50 percent of its population," as did Buffalo, Cleveland and Pittsburgh. St. Louis "lost even more" (Gallagher 2010: 22). In an episode for CNN, Anthony Bourdain quotes Charlie Le Duff: "feral hippies, older black folks, a couple of white folks, [and] some Arabs" now remain in Detroit. Al Hill now remains in the abandoned, derelict, former Packard plant. Parts of the plant that were made of steel were scavenged to be recycled. People come "to wallow in ruin porn." Bourdain estimates that "there [were] about 80,000 abandoned buildings" in Detroit in 2013. The Detroit Mower Gang "cleans up abandoned parks and playgrounds," for the sake of the community. Malik Yakini has started an organic farm to provide food for poor residents (2013).

Poverty

Poverty is a major feature of the adversity which necessitates networks of survival. Dr. Fluehr-Lobban adds that "maybe [it is] the most fundamental". Mike Davis writes that "absolute poverty" for one person is "one dollar or less per day" (25). In 1998, according to April and Donald Gordon, 291 million Africans lived in poverty. (They define "extreme poverty" as "less than one dollar per day"; 411). Das adds that "half the Indian people" in 2001 fell below the "international poverty line" of "one dollar per person per day," and "a third of the world's poor are in India." In addition, "two thirds of [India's] children suffer from malnutrition" (2002: xiii). A

110

United Nations Human Development Report in 2005 provides somewhat less (but still excessive) malnutrition, writing that "47 percent of India's children who are under five years are 'chronically malnourished by United Nations standards" (quoted by Luce: 81). In 2007, Guha added that some 300 million Indians lived below the poverty line (9). The government of India estimated that this represented 26 percent of its population, while other estimates varied from 15 to 35 percent (Guha: 691).

"In monetary terms," according to Kramer, "more than half of the world lives on less than US $2.00 a day and one in five people subsists on less than US $1.00 a day. . . Some people [who live in poverty] don't have an established, legal mailing address and are therefore [unable] to receive help" (2009: 30-1).

In January 2014, according to the National Alliance to End Homelessness, 4.8 million lived in poverty in America, which was 15.8 percent of the population (retrieved 3 February 2016). Poverty USA, however, reported that 47 million people in America lived in poverty in 2014, which was 15 percent of the population; which seems more accurate.

"Techniques of the 'green revolution' of the 1960s and 70s," according to Shereen El-Feki, "worked wonders in India and China and saved, by one estimate, a billion people from starving." These techniques included "high-yielding hybrid seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and weed-killers" (quoted by Guest: 198). Foreign aid would also seem to be useful for assuaging hunger and poverty. However, Guest writes that foreign aid "bankrolled tyrants, such as Gnassingbé Eyadéma in Togo, or idealists with hopeless economic policies, such as Julius Nyerere in Tanzania," in the second half of the twentieth century (20).

Poverty theory claims that many people are poor because they are lazy, they drink too much, or they take drugs. While drug and alcohol consumption are more prevalent in Detroit than in Kinshasa or Mumbai, these are not a major cause of poverty in 'developing cities', where colonial exploitation and subsequent disorder were/are greater problems. And laziness cannot be blamed when rulers often loot the national coffers.

Poverty has also increased the number of people in many countries who are living in slavery. According to Andrew Forrest, founder of the Walk Free Foundation, "more than forty-five million people" live in slavery, including eighteen million in India (2016). Numerous documentaries on CNN and the BBC have discussed slavery in recent years. Often, people borrow from moneylenders due to emergencies, such as an illness, and then must work to repay their debt. As their salaries are very low, and they must also pay for food and shelter, they continue their unpaid labor for decades and longer. Often their children are also obliged to work.

As mentioned, urban poverty is caused by a lack of resources, prejudice, conflict, extreme income inequality, and other factors. Monetary policies, such as interest rates for loans, and economic stimulus, also play a role. Devin Leonard describes this element in his review of *False Economy: A Surprising Economic History of the World*, by Alan Beattie.

> "Although there was a time when Argentina and the United States were serious economic rivals, that changed with the Great Depression. America recovered and became the world's richest nation. Argentina ended up a mess . . . . Alan Beattie writes that the answer had a lot to do with the two nations' radically different responses to the panic that followed the stock market crash of 1929.
> "The United States swiftly enacted the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Argentina ended up electing Juan Domingo Perón, who tried to

seal off Argentina from the rest of the world economically. Over the years, the country would endure huge deficits, runaway inflation and a host of other maladies that contributed to economic collapse. To this day Argentina has not recovered . . . .

"What if wealthy Americans had blocked the New Deal? What if the country had fallen under the sway of demagogues like Father Charles Coughlin, the radio show host who admired Hitler and Mussolini? What if we had never removed the trade barriers we erected to shelter our industries from the world economy? We might have ended up like Argentina, too. . . .

"In short, Mr. Beattie writes, countries choose their own economic destinies."

In 2015-17, however, business mogul, presidential candidate, and now President Donald Trump is encouraging the creation of trade barriers. Basic economic policy since 'first economist' Adam Smith, however, has encouraged free trade, to create economic prosperity.

In 2013, Detroit was the poorest city in the United States, Kinshasa is the poorest in Africa, and Mumbai has many slums, with open sewers and crowded conditions.

Kinshasa

In present Kinshasa, "health, education, food security, clean drinking water, public transport and housing are simply beyond the reach of most Kinois." For transportation, most people walk wherever they wish to go (4, 8). Filip de Boeck adds that people often walk for hours at night to get home from work, taking the "foot bus" (94). According to Trefon, the national mineral wealth of DRC Congo is not being used to assist the people, as war is occurring in the mining regions (18).

In her article on "the twenty-three poorest countries in the world," 13 July 2015, Barbara Tasch writes that "the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) [ranked]

as the poorest country in the world based on its GDP per capita over the 2009 – 2013

period, . . . with DRC citizens earning on average $394.25 a year".

Survival in Kinshasa is based on sacrifice. In Lingala (one of DRC's four

principal languages), sacrifice is expressed as *tokokufa*, literally translated as "we are

dying". Most "households in Kinshasa have less than $50 per month . . ." (4).

Political corruption has contributed to the poverty of Kinshasa and the DRC.

As mentioned, "the government sold shares in mining concessions worth around $5.8

billion," and lost "a fortune" when the shares were resold for their actual value.

Stearns writes that some of the income was apparently spent to win the 2011

presidential elections (xxiii-iv).

India

B. and T. Metcalf describe famines during British (East India Company and

government) rule of India; one caused by inexperience, and one by negligence.

> "As the British in India initially knew nothing of Indian rural society, their
> first attempts at revenue management, under Hastings, involved a series of
> disastrous experiments in leasing and auctioning the right to collect taxes.
> These chaotic experiments, along with British ignorance, worsened the impact
> of a famine that struck usually well-watered Bengal in 1770. Up to a quarter
> of Bengal's population may have died, and the provinces' available assets were
> reduced for decades to come. . . . Anxious to secure a share of the increased
> produce as the country prospered, everywhere outside Bengal [British rulers]
> retained the right to revise assessments every twenty or thirty years. Its
> demands pitched always at the highest level society could bear, the land
> revenue system generated an enduring discontent that erupted into rebellion
> throughout much of the north in 1857" (77-9).

Chandra adds to the Metcalfs' account of the famine of 1770, which killed

hundreds of thousands of people in Bengal: "failure of the rains" was aggravated by

the East India Company's "drain of wealth" (72). "The economic decline of the

peasantry" appears in "twelve major and numerous minor famines from 1770 to 1857" (141).

In 1896 and 1899, India's monsoon failed, and famine followed. "Extreme suffering" occurred, "poorly handled by administrative action." During several years of "famine and plague," British efforts were engaged in extending their control into "Assam and Manipur," to assist "British tea planters" (154).

In "the great Bengal famine of 1943," British negligence also played a role. "Precipitated by the stoppage of rice imports from Japanese-occupied Burma, the food shortage was allowed to worsen into a crisis by the government's decision to divert grain from the countryside to the city in order to make available ample food supplies for the military and the restive population of Calcutta" (209).

An impending famine in 1965-66 was averted by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's adoption of the "green revolution," promoted "by the American Ford and Rockefeller Foundations" (249-50). One source for the decline in poverty in India by the 1990s has been improvements in agriculture, which were initiated by American Norman Borlaug, and by other agronomists. Borlaug developed disease-resistant grains, including types of wheat. His "green revolution", along with better pesticides, greatly increased food production. For this, he received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1970.

Secondly, India is no longer being harshly taxed by the Mughal and British empires.

In the 1980s, according to Guha, "the extremes of wealth and poverty [in Bombay] were more striking than anywhere else in India" (546).

Improvement occurs occasionally. Guha writes that "virtually all scholars accept that in both absolute and relative terms poverty declined in the 1990s" (691).

However, "mechanisms for distribution were seriously inadequate; in times of scarcity, stocks did not move quickly enough to communities that needed them." And "terrific corruption" exists. "According to one estimate, only 20 percent of the grain released through the PDS [Public Distribution System] actually reached the intended recipients; the rest was sold on the black market. Hunger and malnutrition remained endemic, and deaths from starvation were reported when the rains fell," as discussed by Chand (2005); Dreze (2003); Swaminathan (2000); Gulati, Kåhkonen, Sharma (2000); and Sainath (1996; quoted by Guha: 692). In 2003, "herders in Bikaner had to buy water in the open market to save their livestock from dying. The price they paid was 166 times the price a consumer in Delhi was paying for his water" (Sivakuman and Kerbart, 2004 ; ibid.).

The forests of Orissa are "disappearing, and the rains sometimes failing". Thus, "the upland tribals" are increasingly impoverished, and occasionally die of starvation, according to De Haan and Dubey; Kumar; and Dreze (2005 and 2001; quoted by Guha: 697).

In 1971, economists V.M. Dandekar and Nilakantha Rath "concluded that 40 percent of the rural population and 50 percent of the urban population did not even have a 'minimum level of living' – defined as a per capita annual expenditure of 324 rupees [about US$4.81] in the villages and 489 rupees [about US$7.27] in the cities" (quoted by Guha: 467). Studies by Dantwala, Mukherjee, Bhattacharya, and Chatterjee have "found that the poor in rural India spent roughly 80 percent of their income on food and 10 percent on fuel, leaving only 10 percent for clothing and other items" (ibid.).

116

A tragic consequence of poverty in India is the large number of suicides by Indian farmers. Guha writes that "between 1995 and 2005 there were at least 10,000 suicides by famers in states as dispersed as Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan" (693).

Mumbai

As with much of the developing world, Bombay became overpopulated as the countryside became impoverished (Mehta 17). The air in Bombay "has ten times the maximum permissible levels of lead in the atmosphere," which stunts the mental growth of children (Mehta 29). In 2004, two million residents of Mumbai lacked toilets (53).

Detroit

On March 4th, 2013, Detroit was $14 billion in debt, with a $326 million deficit, according to "Bloomberg Surveillance".

Jeffrey Sachs Addresses Poverty

In his book *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time,* Jeffrey Sachs recommends that governments accept the United Nations' "eight millennium development goals" for the twenty-first century. A millennium declaration was agreed to by "one hundred forty-seven heads of state and government at a Millennium Assembly at the United Nations in New York City in September 2000. It was based on a document presented by Secretary-General Kofi Annan on *. . . The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century*." From this document, eight development goals were excerpted, aiming to:

"1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger,
 2. Achieve universal primary education,
 3. Promote gender equality by empowering women,
 4. Reduce childhood mortality,

5. Improve maternal health,
6. Combat HIV/Aids, malaria and other diseases,
7. Ensure environmental sustainability,
8. Develop a global partnership for development"

(2005: 210-11).

Sachs writes that in 2001, nearly "half of Africa's population . . . [lived] in extreme poverty." In 2005, "more than eight million people around the world died" of poverty. The U.S. spent $15 billion that year to assist the "world's poorest" members, but thirty times as much, or $450 billion, on military expenses (21, ix, 1). True, this is expensive, but without preserving the U.S. and other democracies, we would be unable to spend even $15 billion to assist the world's poorest citizens.

The world faces serious threats from terrorism. Al Shabab in Somalia has set off bombs in Kenya, killing many civilians. Terrorists are attacking Mali, Niger, Libya, Tunisia, Nigeria, Syria, Iraq, France, and Belgium. China is endeavoring to take over the South China Sea, building islands on top of reefs. Russian forces are attacking the Ukraine and Georgia.

Certainly, the U.S. needs to provide foreign aid to impoverished and democratic nation states, as a matter of principle, and lest they become havens for terrorists. But we also need to maintain a strong military to assist NATO against terrorist threats to democratic governments. Cooperation is necessary, in order for democracies to prevail against terrorism. Cooperation against terrorism is an essential network of survival against potential adversity.

Networks of Survival Save Lives in Impoverished Cities

Networks of survival exist when a neighbor lends some food to someone who hasn't eaten for several days; when they pull someone, who would otherwise be late for work, onto a train; when they share their small living space with someone who would otherwise sleep on the sidewalk; when they stay awake overnight to watch a car, which has broken down in a slum, for a stranger.

In American inner cities, churches, Urban Leagues, and other social organizations are networks of survival for impoverished residents and newcomers; assisting with food, shelter, job training, and references.

In international relations, networks of survival exist when democratic governments share information about terrorist activity with other democratic governments. Foreign aid in times of crisis – tsunamis, hurricanes, earthquakes, drought, foreign invasions – also represent networks of survival.

We need to distinguish between networks of survival and networks of greed.

If one element of the population takes an excess of resources, and leaves little for others, that would represent greed. If some work diligently, and others are absorbed in recreation and apathy, some would have earned more and some less.

We must also consider what advantages some are born with, and the initial disadvantages of others.

In Kinshasa, as mentioned, a network of survival is represented by Marcel's contribution of his bags of cement to neighbors who had more urgent needs than he at that time (Sundaram: 242).

Mumbai

Sekutu Mehta writes that "property is always communal in Bombay; there is a constant circulation of sleeping space." People lend their apartments or invite houseguests (395). Dalit poet Narayan Surve writes that "the poor in their utter desolation manage to maintain hope in the future by joining hands with others in a similar situation" (1985; quoted by Patel and Thorner, 1995: 119).

Chandavarkar writes that laborers in Bombay often contributed financially to their village relatives, and sometimes returned when unemployed. They found jobs in Bombay with the help of village relatives (61). Family economies were integrated between village and city, so that when a worker in Bombay died or became ill, a replacement from his or her village would take his or her place. The sick worker would be cared for in his or her family, in their village. "In this context, kinship [could] . . . reach beyond the extended family to include affinities of caste and village". Thus, widely based networks of "welfare provision" were created. "Rural connection[s]" supported "the 'proletarianization' of the working class." Those who migrated to work in cities were "men on the margins of peasant society," and migration "did not bring" wealth (62-3); merely survival.

"To surrender all claims upon a village base often amounted, for most urban workers, to the weakening of their position within networks of material provision, which were vital in the urban and industrial setting" (64-5).

Elsewhere

In **Guinea,** according to Robert Guest, not many people can afford to pay the price of a newspaper – about 50 cents. So vendors rent out the paper "for half an

hour" or so, for much less than fifty cents. "The editor of two newspapers" reckoned

that each copy "was read by thirty people" (2004: 252).

Harry Belafonte: singer, composer, lyricist, and civil rights activist, grew up in

poverty in **Harlem and Jamaica**, before becoming a successful musician. Belafonte

writes that "poor people share" (2011: disc 1, track 8). In his experience, they share

more than wealthy ones do.

Esteban Walther, a marketing director of Google, which has created maps of Rio de

Janeiro's favelas, commented on *Quest Means Business* (5 August 2016) that people in the

favelas help each other extensively; there is a "tight sense of community". Out of Brazil's

total population of twelve million, one million live in Rio's favelas.

Some Populations Are Lacking Networks of Survival

Networks of greed, violence, and suffering exist when some people will not

allow others to draw water from the village well, to walk down the main street, or to

use umbrellas because they were born in a different caste (Viswanath: 30); when they

will not permit them to enter a hospital or a restaurant, or to vote, because they belong

to a different race; when they destroy the historic monuments of others cultures; as

happened to the sixth century Bamyan statues of Buddha in Afghanistan, destroyed by

members of the Taliban in March 2001; to Hatra, a third century trading center in

northern Iraq, destroyed in March 2015**;** to the 2,000 year old temple of Baal Shamin

in Palmyra, destroyed in September 2015; as well as other ancient monuments and

manuscripts.

Networks of survival support other individuals, plus their art and culture,

celebrating their historic achievements. Millions of travelers arrive from other

countries to admire ancient architecture, built without our modern cranes and other equipment.

Chandavarkar provides examples of nationalism in India promoting hostility. By favoring upper-caste Hindus versus proportional opportunities, the BJP and Shiv Sena have promoted violence and hostility between ethnic groups and castes (115). Also, a "brutal pogrom against Muslims" occurred in December to January 1992-3, following "the destruction of the Babri Masjid [mosque] at Ayodhya" (121). And, "antagonisms and conflicts" often exist between neighborhoods. Nonetheless, "bonds of commonality . . . are forged within them" (124). Thus, friction occurs between neighborhoods, as happened during the past century in the U.S., in cities like Boston and Fall River, against Irish, French, Italian, or African American residents.

Alternative and Comparable Adversity

These represent situations in which networks of survival have decreased and networks of death and poverty have increased. This was often due to corrupt governments, rival ethnic groups, or the austerities imposed by the IMF and the World Bank in the 1980s. Adversity occurs in many developing cities and countries, as well as in many inner cities in the United States.

In 1958-60, "thirty million Chinese . . . died of starvation" during Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward. (Other sources consider that about twenty million died.) Julius Nyerere the leader of Tanganyika and subsequently Tanzania, 1960-85, "nationalized local industry, expropriated foreign businesses, [and] shut down Indian and Arab traders." Prosperity declined steeply. President Kaunda in Zambia likewise

122

practiced socialism after independence, and likewise impoverished his country. "Aid kept the treasury full, even as Kaunda destroyed most of the productive businesses in the country." In the 1980s, Robert Mugabe slaughtered "10,000 – 20,000 of the dissident Ndebele tribe in Zimbabwe". The national "election in June 2000" was "violently rigged," and inflation "reached 526 percent by late 2003" (Guest 2004: 89, 46-7, 26-153, 36, and 40).

In *Planet of Slums*, **Mike Davis** describes some of the hardships which structural adjustment programs, imposed by the IMF and the United States in the 1980s in exchange for loans, caused in developing countries. While government officials who survived staff reductions fared well due to the loans, millions of the less fortunate sank deeper into poverty.

"Although the debt collectors claim to be in the business of economic development, they seldom allow poor nations to play by the same rules that richer countries used to promote growth in the late nineteenth or earlier twentieth centuries." Ha-Joon Chang writes that "structural adjustment . . . 'kicked away the ladder' of protectionist tariffs and subsidies that the OECD nations had historically employed in their own climb from economies based on agriculture to those based on urban high-value goods and services" (2003: 21; quoted by Davis: 154). Stefan Andreasson adds that SAPs create "virtual democracy," preventing "public welfare provision[s] that social democratic projects elsewhere have entailed" (2003: 385; ibid.).

In the Nigeria of Police Inspector General Balogun, extreme poverty in numerous cities has "metastasized from 28 percent in 1980 to 66 percent in 1996."

Deborah Potts, a geographer, notes that "wages have fallen so low in African cities

that researchers can't figure how the poor

manage to survive: this is the so-called 'wage puzzle'" (World Bank 2003; Potts,

1997: 459; quoted by Davis: 156).

The International Labor Organization (ILO) reported that "urban poverty in

Latin America rose by . . . 50 percent just in the first half of the decade, 1980 to

1986," according to Potts (ibid.: quoted by Davis: ibid). "In Peru the 1980s ended in

an SAP-induced 'hyper-recession' that cut formal employment from 60 to 11 percent

of the urban workforce in three years and opened the doors of Lima's slums to the

occult revolution of Sendero Luminoso," according to Dietz (1998: 58-65; quoted by

Davis: 157). "The same adjustments that crushed the poor and the public-sector

middle class offered lucrative opportunities to privatizers, foreign importers,

narcotrafficantes, military brass and political insiders . . . Indices of inequality

reached record heights in the 1980s. In Buenos Aires the richest decile's share of

income increased from ten times that of the poorest in 1984 to twenty-three times in

1989, according to Luis Ainstein (1996: 139; quoted by Davis: ibid.).

Throughout "the Third World, . . . poor urban women under SAPs had to work

harder both inside and outside the house to compensate for cuts in social service

expenditures and male incomes; simultaneously new or increased user fees further

limited their access to education and healthcare," according to Sylvia Chant (2004:

214; quoted by Davis: 158).

> "In China in the industrializing cities of Southeast Asia, millions of young
> women indentured themselves to assembly lines and factory squalor. . .
> Deindustrialization and the decimation of male formal-sector jobs, often
> followed by male immigration, compelled women to improvise new

livelihoods as piece-workers, liquor sellers, street vendors, lottery ticket sellers, hairdressers, sewing operators, cleaners, washers, ragpickers, nannies, and prostitutes"

(Newton 2004: 12; quoted by Davis: 159).

"In Indio Guayas *barrio*, beside Guayquil, in Ecuador, Caroline Moser found that almost 80 percent of the . . . children suffered some symptom of malnutrition" (1993: 178-185; quoted by Davis: 159).

"As infant mortality doubled, AIDs spread and children's nutrition declined, desperate mothers in Harare sent young children back to the countryside or regrouped previously independent family members into extended households to save on rent and electricity. Tens of thousands of older children were forced to drop out of school in order to work or scavenge, with little hope of ever returning to education" (Kanji, 1995: 39, 48-50; Drakakis-Smith, 2000: 148; quoted by Davis: 161).

In support of their families, "slum-dwellers in the late 1970s and 1980s" engaged in food riots. "The slums of Africa, Latin America, and South Asia . . . exploded ; . . . John Walton and David Seddon catalogued 146 'IMF riots' in 39 debtor countries from 1976 to 1992" (1994: 39-45; quoted by Davis: 161).

Waves of "anti-IMF protests" occurred in the early 1980s, and later after 1989. In **Caracas**, early in 1989, "tens of thousands of poor people came down from their hillside *barrios*" to protest higher "fuel prices and transit fares," mandated by the IMF. They looted shopping centers, burned luxury cars, and built barricades. "At least 400 were killed. A month later **Lagos** erupted after student protests against the IMF: 50 died in three days of looting and street fighting" (Davis: 162).

The United Nations' *Human Development Report* of 2004 reported that "an unprecedented number of countries saw development slide backwards in the 1990s. In 46 countries people [were] poorer" in 2004 "than in 1990. [And] in 25 countries more people [were] hungry" than in the previous decade (132; quoted by Davis: 163).

> "Throughout the Third World, a new wave of SAPs and self-imposed neoliberal programs accelerated the demolition of state employment, local manufacturing, and home-market agriculture. The big industrial metropolises of Latin America – Mexico City, São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, and Buenos Aires – suffered massive losses of manufacturing jobs. . . . The cost of servicing debt . . . absorbed resources for social programs and housing assistance: it is the 'social abandonment' of the urban poor, in the words of Don Robotham"

(2003: 111-24; quoted by Davis: 163-4).

Export income often benefitted a minority. "One of the most extreme cases was **Angola**, a major producer of oil and diamonds. In Luanda, where in 1993 a staggering 84 percent of the population was jobless or unemployed, inequality between the highest and lowest income deciles increased from a factor of 10 to a factor of 37 between 1995 and 1998 alone," according to an article by Jenkins, Robson, and Cain (2002: 144: quoted by Davis: 164). "In **Mexico**, the percentage of the population living in extreme poverty increased from 16 percent in 1992 to 28 percent in 1999, despite the much-hyped 'success stories' of the border *maquiladoras* and NAFTA," according to Zanetta (2004: 194-96; quoted by Davis: 164-5).

Davis notes that "the drastic neoliberal restructuring of the Indian economy in 1991 produced a high-tech boom and stock-market bubble, [centered in] Bangalore, Pune, Hyderabad, and Chennai. GDP grew at 6 percent during the 1990s," and India acquired "one million new millionaires, many of them Indian engineers and computer scientists returned from Sunnyvale and Redmond. Less publicized, however, was the

accompanying growth in poverty: **India** gained 56 million more paupers on the course of the 'boom', as deregulated food grain prices soared 58 percent between 1991 and 1994," according to Seabrook (1996: 63; quoted by Davis: 171). This is also described by Mukhija in my housing section, which follows (eventually).

In Bangalore, according to Schenk, "there are more ragpickers and street children (90,000) than software geeks (about 60,000)." And "in an archipelago of ten slums [also in Bangalore], researchers found only 19 latrines for 102,000 residents" (2001: 23, 30-32, 44. 46; Ramachandran and Shastry, 2001: 54; quoted by Davis: 170, 172).

In India in 2004, in one state government out of twenty-nine, in Andhra Pradesh, five hundred farmers committed suicide "by drinking the pesticide that was purchased with debts they could not repay," according to Edward Luce, a journalist (2004; quoted by Davis: 171). Davis adds that "the defeated rural poor have been killing themselves in droves" (ibid.).

Sociology Relating to Poverty

Sociology considers that poverty is caused by an "unequal and inequitable distribution of income and wealth, [by] . . . the deindustrialization of Western societies, and the exploitative effect of global capitalism," according to Ashley Crossman (2017b). Besides the unequal distribution of wealth, others, including myself, believe that globalization has increased international trade and prosperity. Crossman adds that types of poverty include absolute, relative, and collective poverty. The latter focuses on a subgroup.

Theories exist for many subjects, including constructivism, cognitive dissonance, education, and communication. Likewise, sociology involves many theories. Major sociological theories include "symbolic interaction theory," "conflict theory," which involves "the role of coercion and power in producing social order," "functionalist theory," which considers "how social order is possible and how society remains relatively stable," "critical theory," which fosters "egalitarian social change," "labeling theory," which considers deviant behavior, "social learning theory," "gender theory," "rational choice theory," "game theory," "social exchange theory," "chaos theory," "social phenomenology," "disengagement theory," and several others (Crossman 2017a).

Sheldrick and Rucell note that sociologists relate social problems to social structure. They consider "the role of individual agency", and the unequal distribution of wealth (2015).

My basic question for this dissertation has been: how do people who are living in poverty manage to survive? And my thesis states that: "Impoverished communities cope with adversity by means of diligence, frugality, culture, and cooperation; focusing on Kinshasa, Mumbai, Detroit and comparison cities." Since my original topic is poverty, causes and solutions; and sociology focuses on "human society" and "social relations" (Barnhart 1957: 1146), there is clearly some overlap between these two concepts.

According to Bradshaw (2005), some "otherwise qualified people are commonly excluded from poverty-reducing opportunities by race, class, gender, or other factors not relevant to ability to perform." Public programs endeavor to remove

such barriers. Communities endeavor to develop "poor and disadvantaged areas hurt by regional isolation, economic backwardness, blight and disinvestment" (3-4). One method practiced in Detroit, described by Sarah Cox at a Catapult Pitch competition which I attended (see my chapter on "Field Research Reports: Detroit") has been the donation of derelict houses to authors who are willing to repair such houses, which they will eventually be permitted to keep.

Bradshaw describes a theory as "an explanation that links several concepts" (4).

Community-based programs sometimes limit welfare payments to families if their children fail to attend school regularly. Communities may create enterprise zones or other business attractions. Community development councils often provide "access to healthcare and social services". Thus, problems are often "addressed politically and structurally." Other problems require "spatially targeted benefits" (3-4).

The concept of a "poverty line" was begun in 1963. Mollie Orshansky, who worked at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, estimated the cost to feed a family. By 2000, "adjusted for inflation," it was estimated that "the poverty line for a family of four was $17,050". Some poverty experts believe that this definition ignores "treatment of taxes, special work related expenses, or regional differences in the cost of living," according to Blank (1997: 10) and Quigley (2003); quoted by Bradshaw (4-5).

While conservative theories concerning poverty root their cause in "individual deficiencies," "liberal or progressive" theories find "broader social" causes. M .R.

Rank, for example, blames "structural failings of the economic, political, and social system". In the nineteenth century, sterilization was rationalized for those with inferior intelligence (Bradshaw: 6).

Authors such as Gwartney and McCaleb in 1985 blamed welfare programs for penalizing self-improvement and accepting the poor choices of participants (7). The American value of individualism claimed that "anyone can succeed" by means of "focused goals and hard work" (Asen 2002: 29-34; Gwartney, McCaleb and Asen are quoted by Bradshaw: 7).

Bradshaw notes that "many contemporary anti-poverty programs are not designed with compassion in mind but use punishment and the threat of punishment in order to change behavior and get people off public assistance". Bradshaw refers readers to O'Connor (2001) and Quigley (2003). One method of this "is to limit the number of years people can be on family assistance and to require participation in work activities after two years on welfare (see Levitan et al 2003: 59-72)"; quoted by Bradshaw: 7. This seems not to involve punishment, or to lack in compassion. Provided that good child-care facilities are available for small children, and workers have no specific disabilities in relation to a particular job, and the job is neither dangerous or unhealthy, it is appropriate that he or she should work, rather than to take advantage of the work of others.

Bradshaw examines "the subculture of poverty," which Daniel Patrick Moynihan linked to "Black Poverty" in the 1960s. Moynihan and E. Franklin Frazier blamed "the disintegration of the black folk culture" to "the impact of urbanization," according to Valentine (1968: 20), quoted by Bradshaw (9). Bradshaw fails to

consider the history of exploitation (1619-1863) by many White slave holders in the American South of many Black slaves, and subsequent job and housing discrimination. How do many Black Americans feel about having been left in poverty after three centuries of hard labor, and then often relegated to the poorest jobs, such as house cleaners and foundry workers in Detroit factories? Moynihan suggested in 1970 that they should be treated with "benign neglect".

In the 1980s, many American universities tried to redress this past exploitation and neglect by means of affirmative action, accepting a certain percentage of minority students. President Trump, however, is presently (2017) trying to prevent affirmative action. More difficulties are also evolving in efforts to prevent African Americans from voting, and to gerrymander regions so that minority votes will count less.

W. P. Quigley (2003), among others, advocated "a constitutional amendment to guarantee a job to anyone who wants one and to guarantee that anyone working full time would be able to earn a living wage" (quoted by Bradshaw: 12). F. D. Roosevelt created a limited version of this in the Great Depression, providing one job for every family of four, which saved many from starvation. Thus, three million American men out of "ten million jobless" in 1935 received WPA jobs. These men built and repaired bridges, dams, airports, highways, and playgrounds (History.com, n. d.). This would again be a good idea, instead of giving large tax breaks to the wealthy, granted by President Trump's tax reform in December 2017.

(A 'living wage' in the United States implies that people should have their own homes, instead of sharing with their relatives, as they do in the 'Global South'.)

Poverty is affected by "geographical disparities" such as "proximity to natural resources" and "diffusion of innovation" (Merrill and Wohlenberg, 1971: 57-64); quoted by Bradshaw, 12). "Economic agglomeration theory" states that the proximity "of similar firms attracts supportive services and markets, which further attracts more firms." The opposite is also true: derelict buildings and poverty "generate more poverty" (Bradshaw, King, and Wahlstrom, 1998; quoted by Bradshaw: 12).

In order to build "stronger geographical areas" to increase prosperity, Blakeley and Bradshaw (2001) suggest "cluster development"; creating "enterprise zones", "inclusionary zoning [with] affordable housing," "downtown revitalization," and "infrastructure investment" (Bradshaw: 13). See my Chapter II: "National Structure"; "Economics and Employment" for mention of the development of a film industry in Michigan in 2009. The automobile industry, plus farms and community gardens in Detroit, represent "enterprise zones". And Tim Bryan's info-tech business, GalaxE.Systems, mentioned by Binelli (174) is part of Detroit's 'downtown revitalization'.

Poverty can also be caused by "cumulative and cyclical interdependencies". When a factory closes, people can migrate from a community. Factors are interdependent. "A lack of employment opportunities" can cause "outmigration" and the closing of retail stores, and the decline of "local tax revenues". When many individuals lack jobs, their self-confidence deteriorates, "leading to a culture of despair" (Bradshaw: 14-15).

Bradshaw recommends community development programs, which reminds me of the four such groups that I visited in Detroit in September 2016. These included the

Catapult Pitch Competition, which meets monthly, and awards grants. (Would-be winners describe their projects to benefit needy Detroit residents.) Detroit SOUP also meets monthly. Participants bring food, to be shared and contribute $5. Individuals describe their programs to benefit Detroit, and vote on who will win several hundred dollars-worth of contributions, which was matched by founder Amy Kaherl on the evening that I attended. I also attended a Workforce Readiness Symposium at the Dominican Literacy Center, at which Tinesha Cherry, the daughter of a heroin addict, described how she had pulled her life together. I listened to a lecture by Beverly Syler from the Michigan Work Office on resume advice and job interviews, and joined a table at the Capuchin Soup Kitchen, where two people in their approximate thirties and two somewhat older described tragedies and hardships they have survived (see my chapter on "Field Research Reports : Detroit").

All four represent leadership, community spirit, and initiative. Bradshaw notes that individuals and communities shape each other. Communities with strong social bonds are "more resilient to adversity". C. M. Duncan (1999) writes that better education promotes greater equality among individuals. Goldsmith and Blakey (1992) agree that "community institutions help to close the gap" between rich and poor communities (quoted by Bradshaw: 17).

Religions Consider Poverty

One theoretical solution for poverty can be found in Buddhism. Buddhism states that suffering is caused by craving due to ignorance, and is healed by right living and mental discipline. Thus, greed and exploitation, which cause poverty, would not be practiced by those engaged in 'right living.'

Christianity contributes "love your neighbor as yourself," and the example of "the good Samaritan." Islam adds that people should contribute 2% of their earnings to those living in poverty.

Compassion, encouraged by many religions, is also a solution for poverty.

Chapter IV: Living Conditions

Living conditions include housing, nutrition, and water. Poor living conditions – poor sanitation, polluted air and water – result in poor health, and therefore I include 'health' in this category.

Housing

Lewis Mumford writes that "since the fifteenth century, mechanical integration" (construction) and "social disintegration" have proceeded in tandem. "What followed was a crystallization of chaos: disorder hardened uncouthly in metropolitan slum and industrial factory districts . . ." (7). While orderly districts of many cities were created since then, many cities, including Kinshasa, Mumbai, and Detroit developed wretched slums.

"The reason for the widespread backwardness of housing throughout our civilization is that no fundamental change is possible except by means of a communal redistribution of income" (470). To what extent is Mumford advocating socialism? Many people would agree that capitalism requires regulation and a safety net, but many also believe that the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 demonstrated the failure of socialism.

Mumford adds that "the slum is the outward expression of physical impoverishment: slum demolition is poverty demolition, or it is nothing" (ibid.). However, slum demolition in Mumbai leads to the immediate rebuilding of the demolished structures (Mehta 79), and in Detroit it led to more people being squeezed into smaller remaining slum structures (Martelle 157).

The National Alliance to End Homelessness reports that in January 2014, 578,424 people in America were homeless. "They were sleeping outside or in an emergency shelter or transitional housing program." Davis adds that "Los Angeles is the First World capital of homelessness, with an estimated 100,000 homeless people" (36).

A UN Habitat report in 2008 defines slums as lacking five significant features, including safe drinking water, adequate sanitation, secure tenure, durable housing, and "sufficient living area," quoted by Myers (2011: 75). The report concluded "that about two-thirds of all urban Africans live[d] in slums and about half [were] employed primarily in the informal sector" (77).

Delhi, Dhaka, Karachi, Kolkata and Mumbai are "the five great metropolises of South Asia," according to Davis. These five cities "contain about 15,000 distinct slum communities," with their total slum population exceeding twenty million. Two-thirds of "Third World" urban "edge development" includes squatter settlements and "pirate urbanization". Squatters often "pay considerable bribes to politicians, gangsters, or police to gain access to sites," and to remain there. And pirate urbanization involves "the small scale, non-confrontational infiltration of edge or interstitial sites" (26, 37-9).

Bombay/Mumbai

During the 1850s and thereabouts, Bombay's "native town crept northwards," while wealthy Indians moved to "areas that had been occupied mostly by Europeans . . . Poorer parts of the native town were increasingly overcrowded and unsanitary." Milltown or Girangaon grew up around the mills. In l931, "the streets [were] used at

night as sleeping places," due to overcrowding in the chawls. At that time, "three-quarters of the city's population lived in single-room tenements." Urban improvements in Mumbai consistently favored the rich over the poor (Chandavarkar: 19, 58, 135).

Rent prices are frozen at 1940 levels, and rental leases can be inherited by children and grandchildren. Thus, landlords have no motivation to improve property. As tenants are more numerous than landlords, they are supporting this situation politically. Mehta adds that "the Rent Act was an institutionalized expropriation of private property" (115-16, 118).

We may recall that property rights is one of Niall Ferguson's six pillars of Western civilization, along with competition, science, medicine, the "consumer society", and the "work ethic"; which enabled it to dominate over other regions and eventually continents for five hundred years (2011: 13). Clearly, Mumbai's lack of respect for private property and its active crime syndicates are economic and political weaknesses.

Mehta notes that the deputy municipal commissioner in charge of slum demolition has torn down "285,000 structures" during his career, which has lasted for twenty years. Slum colonies are swiftly rebuilt, sometimes two or three times in a single day (79).

Property can be seized at any time by the state, which somewhat discourages construction. Mehta adds that this situation "keeps 60 percent of the people homeless." The homeless population of Mumbai increases by 45,000 households every year. Meanwhile, there are "400,000 *empty* residences in the city, empty

137

because the owners are afraid of losing them to tenants if they rent them out." Mehta notes that amending housing laws would solve this problem (117). Mumbai's housing regulations thwart the adequate survival and well being of many individuals.

Mehta provides an additional example of the inadequacy of property ownership. Residents who live in one sanitarium in Mumbai have to be moved every four months "back and forth" to another sanitarium, because "tenants who are allowed to stay on become de facto owners" (118).

Many slum residents prefer the closeness of slum life to more independent housing. They believe that new buildings create "too much aloneness," compared with the slums (51, 55).

According to the 1990 census, 73 percent of families in Mumbai, with an average of "4.7 persons," lived in one room. Sekutu Mehta comments that their "dream lives" are larger than their living space (452, 539). Gyan Prakash adds that immigrants; for example, taxi drivers, transcend their harsh "reality in the city by assembling . . . imaginary home[s] with objects" around them (335).

Dharavi and Comparisons

As of 2010, according to Gyan Prakash, "over 60 percent of Mumbai's population [lived] in slums." The density of [the city's] population is 29,000 per square km, the highest in the world – compared with 13,000 in Shanghai, 10,000 in New York City, and 5,000 in London" (330).

Some scholars, including "Gilbert (2007), Angotti (2006), and Arabindoo (2011)," lament the use of the word slum, which "ultimately stigmatizes the people who live in these settlements and can condone violent actions taken against them" in

the process of "slum clearance". Weinstein defined Dharavi as a "megaslum," as described by Mike Davis; having "economic and political power that their formal and informal leaders have amassed". This power is facing "more powerful opponents, backed by both global capital and national state power" (8-9, 11).

"Local observers in the mid-1860s observed that 'wretched rows of *cadjan* (thatched) huts' were 'hastily assembled by migrants to the city close to their places of work,'" according to Chandavarkar (1994:36; quoted by Weinstein: 33).

In 1867, Bombay built several slaughterhouses north of Dharavi, on "the northern shore" of Mahim creek, in Bandra. In 1914, Dharavi was a small fishing village. The Son Koli, a fishing caste, originally inhabited the region along "India's western coast," it is believed, "for tens of thousands of years". "A Parsi merchant soon set up a leather tannery in Dharavi to process and tan the animal hides and [to] facilitate their sale and distribution," according to Dwivedi and Mehotra, 2001; and Rajayashree, 1986; quoted by Weinstein (32). Other tanneries followed in Dharavi, which caused much pollution, along with "a thriving leather industry". In the early twentieth century, the region became "an illegal garbage dump". Eventually, "Bombay's unwanted populations of labor migrants, refugees and others with insecure land rights were discarded" into the region of Dharavi (25, 32). Migrants included many "Muslims and lower-caste Hindus" from Tamil Nadu, according to Lynch (1974 and 1979); and Sharma (2000); quoted by Weinstein (32). Additional "low-caste Hindus" from Tirunelveli arrived and found "work in Dharavi's tanneries and related leather-processing enterprises," according to Rajayashree, quoted by Weinstein (32). Dharavi grew beside "Bombay's colonial and post-colonial industrial and mercantile

economy . . . Local migrants, political parties, and neighborhood-level 'big men' constructed" this slum, and "made illegal housing the norm for the city as a whole" (22).

Dharavi was neglected by the state (Maharashtra), "because industry thrived and the commercial city grew under this arrangement." By the 1950s, Dharavi had acquired political power. However, institutional fragmentation prevented serious transformation. Nonetheless, it survived "demolition drives and resisted the effects of periodic redevelopment schemes." In recent decades, "institutional fragments . . . have traditionally undermined urban development efforts and slum housing schemes in Mumbai" (22).

During the 1950s and 60s, as Dharavi's "populations and polluting industries" increased, Dharavi became known as a slum, rather than as a village. Criminal activity in the district, such as "illicit liquor production and distribution," increased. By the 1980s, "Dharavi and its residents [had become] enmeshed in local political institutions – formal and informal, legal and illicit – that provided some protection from demolitions and displacement . . . Without a centralized node of sovereign authority, power in Dharavi has remained fragmented and diffuse" (26-7).

Dharavi's residents have developed industries within and between their housing. "Tanning and leather manufacturing industries" have been expanding for over eighty years, and garment manufacturing is another principal occupation. "More than a dozen ethnic, caste, and religious communities . . . have settled in Dharavi over the past century". By 2014, more than one million residents lived in 535 acres; less than one square mile (2-4).

Most buildings in Dharavi "are technically illegal constructions, built by squatters, on government-owned land." Dharavi's "residents, political representatives and community leaders" have rejected property developers for the moment. Marx and Engels' classic statement (1978:476) that "all that is solid melts into air" fails to account for the durability "and the solidity of structures [like Dharavi slum] that refuse to melt" (quoted by Weinstein: 7).

Institutionally embedded and politically entrenched, "Weinstein writes that Dharavi has simply become . . . 'too big to fail.'" In general, she adds "cities are sites of fragmented sovereignties, divided loyalties, and diffuse power." She quotes Davis (2011) and Brenner (also 2011): "Urban space comprises multiple distinct but overlapping jurisdictions". In Mumbai, especially in its slums, "numerous government agencies are responsible for aspects of land use, planning, and construction; each with incomplete authority and inadequate resources, and representing a distinct set of constituencies and interests" (20-1).

David Harvey characterized efforts to clear Dharavi as a "land grab," representing a "shift away from capital accumulation and toward growth based on displacement and dispossession" (2008: 35; quoted by Weinstein: 14).

Numerous agents are endeavoring to play a role in Dharavi's development, including "global property investors, the liberal reformers in India's central Planning Commission, the political party coalitions that govern at the state level, and the varied local actors struggling to get or retain their piece of the slum." The efforts of poor people "for urban-based rights in [India] have tended to be understood . . . as a series of daily transgressions – some quite unconscious – that challenge existing

configurations of space and power" (15-6). These resemble Asaf Bayat's "quiet

encroachment of the ordinary" (1997, 2004) more than Henri Lefebvre's "classic call

for a 'right to the city'" (1968; quoted by Weinstein: 15-6).

In 2014, a decade after her first visit to Mumbai's largest slum, and the second

largest slum in Asia, Dharavi, author Liza Weinstein began to see the slum's

"resilience. The cranes and bulldozers are still waiting just outside, along with the

global capital that propels them, but I now understand that a powerful set of interests,

actors, and institutions are working hard to keep them at bay" (2014:xi).

In *Squatters as Developers: Slum Redevelopment in Mumbai* (2003), **Vinit**

Mukhija writes that slum policy in developing countries usually includes two

possibilities: "slum clearance and slum upgrading." In the Markandaya Cooperative

Housing Society (MCHS) in Mumbai, "demolition of existing slums and

redevelopment at a higher density" was employed (xi).

In slum clearance and relocation of residents, residents often found that life in

"modern apartment block[s]" represented an "alien life style". Nor did they want a

Slum Upgrading Program (SUP), which would have provided "tenure legalization"

(legal titles to land). They actually preferred slum redevelopment, which would

provide a "cross subsidy," which would help with their rent payments (1-2).

By 1960, "many developing countries gained independence and embarked on

ambitious housing plans, including slum clearance." However, many countries "were

unsuccessful in building enough public housing." The World Bank "promoted" tenure

legalization, because residents would not improve their housing if they were

"concerned about demolition, displacement and relocation," according to Jimenez

(1983: 70-83; 1984: 556-67), Friedman, Jimenez and Mayo (1988: 185-198), and Malpezzi and Mayo (1987: 197-220); quoted by Mukhija (7).

In the late 1980s, "international development agencies" believed that market actors were more effective than the state in improving housing sectors. Their "key policy element" was "decentralization," which dispersed "power and responsibility," according to Litvack et al (1998). In 1993, the World Bank recommended that "governments must refrain from intervening in housing and land markets and allow the markets to function more efficiently." Mukhija, however, writes that decentralization might permit the "local elite" to control power undemocratically. "Mere deregulation can hardly be a solution. Deregulation has to be followed by new regulations." In addition, "well functioning . . . markets are unlikely to form automatically [without] government involvement. On the contrary, markets have to be created, at times with active government support" (8-11).

Thus, for this project in Mumbai, "the state government amended the land development regulations," because they expected to receive "a higher property tax collection" and political approval. Slum-dwellers would receive "a more secure and valuable housing asset." Land owners and private developers "expected to profit financially from the redevelopment." And "other city residents . . . expected Mumbai to gain physically through a more attractive building stock" (11).

For her study of *Community Participation and Slum Housing: A Study of Bombay*, in 1995, **Vandana Desai** focused on forty-six households in Wadala slum, thirty-six in Kurla slum, and fifty-three in Worli slum; for a total of one hundred and thirty-five households, all located in Bombay. Slums in Bombay (Mumbai) in 1970

143

were in a state of "deterioration". Some were "built of corrugated iron sheets." Others were squatter colonies, in which huts were "built with an assortment of materials," such as "pieces of wood, rags, tin sheets, mud bricks and any such things that [were] handy" (149-50, 20). These would represent kinetic versus static construction, according to architect Rahul Mehrotra, as discussed by Gyan Prakash (339).

Some slums were firmly "consolidated," with "a strong social and political life and identity," while others were "transitory." While some continuously improve, others continuously deteriorate (Desai: 20).

Most slum dwellers other than recent arrivals possess ration cards, which enable "poor people [to] buy rice, sugar, wheat and a minimum supply of kerosene oil at subsidized rates. The rice is of very poor quality and it has deteriorated over the years. With the recent IMF loan to India [circa 1995], structural reforms have been introduced which involve [the] cutting of these subsidies. This will hit the poor the hardest as there has been a 30 percent hike in [the] prices of rice and wheat which are the staple and often only diet of the poor" (186).

Desai notes that "low income resulting in undernutrition and malnutrition, lack of cleanliness, and . . . physical surroundings unworthy of human living conditions combine to [produce] a very sad state of health in the slums" (186).

During the Ganesh festival (August to September) and the Diwali festival (October to November), "the poorest slum dwellers" did not save their extra income. Poor slum dwellers were less aware of the amounts of their monthly incomes and expenses than rich ones (191-2).

144

When seeking "welfare or infrastructure" for a slum, officials often required a bribe from community leaders. "If a higher amount was demanded by higher officials, then [community leaders] would go back to the slum, and present it to the official concerned." Many slum dwellers engaged in extensive competition for political power and wealth. "Local [slum] elites" acquired "increased control . . . over political resources, to the exclusion of the poorer slum dwellers" (227-8).

NGOs especially contribute to the poor by means of "service delivery, advocacy in policy changes, and empowerment of the poor through participatory projects" (312).

Solomon Benjamin characterizes "the occupation of potentially valuable urban property as a direct challenge to the interests of global capital" (2008: 723-4; quoted by Weinstein: 16). And Ananya Roy describes "the militant refusal of poor female commuters in Kolkata to purchase railway tickets as the usurpation of space" (2004: 165; quoted by Weinstein: 16).

While some "middle-class movements to dismantle squatter settlements and evict illegal street vendors" have been successful, alternate efforts involving the state and local NGOs are promoting "secure housing and urban infrastructure for the urban poor in Mumbai" and elsewhere, according to Arjun Appadurai. These efforts promote "a kind of global urban democracy" (2001: 41; quoted by Weinstein: 18). Ananya Roy, however, criticizes some of these groups as representative of "populist mediation," and less than democratic (2009b: 168; quoted by Weinstein: 18).

While squatter housing represents mediated power, Weinstein believes that other democratic practices are "more deliberate". She prefers Chester Hartman's

concept of the "right to stay put" (1984) to Lefebvre's "right to the city," mentioned above. In 1974 and 1984, Hartman wrote that "government [should] plan housing and prevent displacement instead of simply compensating the victim after the fact". Weinstein adds that active "housing rights groups" in Mumbai live with a nearly "constant threat of eviction" (18-9).

"Democratic struggles" to "stay put" in Mumbai are waged by means of the "ballot box, the courtroom, … the government planning agency, and on the street . . . Regularly held, contested elections" prevent "more frequent" and violent displacements. Projects and evictions are suspended, "at least for the duration of the election season." Moreover, "public-interest litigations (PILS) . . . can hold projects up for decades" (19).

Megaslums can be empowering. "Seemingly marginal city residents make [their] homes and livelihoods in strategically important and potentially valuable locations." Yet sometimes these locations are dangerous and inadequate. Sometimes residents become "dependent on corrupt and extractive institutions and individuals." Often they achieve a "precarious stability" (21).

N. K. Bose, an anthropologist, believed that "Calcutta – and by extension other Indian cities – had appeared prematurely, in advance of the industrial revolution that would have naturally facilitated urbanization and urban growth." Evidence for this was that Indian cities "more closely resembled the traditional village in which caste, religion, and ethnicity were more consequential than social class" (1965; quoted by Weinstein: 28-9). Other studies, however, found that Indian slums included "capitalist institutions and modern ways of life" in the l970s (28-9).

John Turner's analysis of "**Peru**vian squatter settlements" reveals how social relationships and determination "enable the urban poor to build their own houses and social institutions in the face of government ineptitude." Their "antistate approach" enabled "the World Bank and other development aid agencies" to work directly "with nongovernmental agencies (NGOs)" and "self-help communities to implement slum improvement and upgrading programs" during the 1970s, '80s, and '90s, according to Werlin (1999) and Davis (2006); quoted by Weinstein (28). The "overurbanization" thesis of Davis and Golden (1954), in contrast, described the formation of slums as caused by agricultural uncertainties, as opposed to industrial opportunities; a "push" factor, versus a "pull" factor (28).

Howard Handelman noted that residents of squatter settlements in **Santiago** "develop their own civic institutions to deal with a variety of daily problems – maintenance of law and order, criminal justice, housing, local administration and the like" (1975:40; quoted by Weinstein: 29). By this method, "formal political systems became deeply enmeshed" (29).

Elected officials develop a firm connection with slums by means of "vote banks". By providing basic services to a slum, officials can count on their votes, according to Benjamin (2008) and Ramachandran (2003), quoted by Weinstein (29-30). Partha Chatterjee writes "that the Indian state withholds substantive rights by limiting legal access to housing and basic services." By seeking "unauthorized shelter," individuals can be criminalized and "denied equal treatment under the law." Some argue "that the state is directly aligned with the interests of capital against the

poor," while others demonstrate "a more benign form of administrative neglect" (29-30).

"While some measures were taken to construct worker housing . . . in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, . . . these efforts were undermined by a lack of political support and insufficient financial resources" (30).

Detroit

Besides miserable (substandard) housing, black employment lagged behind that of white Americans for decades, and continues to lag. Martelle notes that housing conditions for black Americans in the early nineteenth century "were deplorable." Sixty-three out of four hundred and seven black families lived in single rooms in slums. At this time, Forrester B. Washington, director of the Urban League, led in the endeavor to promote black employment and better housing conditions (88, 90).

Thomas Sugrue describes the difficulties of creating African-American housing in Detroit in the late 1930s and 1940s. "The result of wartime housing battles in Sojourner Truth, Dearborn, and Oakwood [neighborhoods] was that whites began to view public housing as 'Negro housing,' and grew increasingly skeptical of the federal agenda that called for the housing of America's poor. Erosion of support for public housing on grounds of race also eroded support more generally for New Deal programs. . . . Oakwood was but the first skirmish in an ongoing battle over public housing" (2005 [1962]: 81). White residents in the first half of the twentieth century were determined to maintain racially segregated neighborhoods. It was very difficult for black residents to find any space for their housing – public structures or individual houses (60-85).

Detroit slums grew worse over the years. In 1946, one hundred acres of low income housing were bulldozed, to build middle income housing, which would produce more tax revenue. With rare exceptions, land was not provided for low-income black housing, and blacks were not welcome in white neighborhoods (Martelle 110, 111,133-138, 141, 145, 150, 156-7, 162).

Binelli adds that neighborhoods on Detroit's east side (of Woodward Avenue), along the Detroit river, closer to Lake St. Clair, are the oldest, and have declined, whereas the west side is less impoverished (22). One advantage of Detroit in 2009 was its low-cost rent. "Adjacent to Campus Martius," the rent in a well designed "twenty-five-story office tower . . . at 1001 Woodward Avenue – between $14 and $17 per square foot – [was] rock-bottom for a major city" (174).

By 2012, more indications of growth were appearing (Binelli 264). "Midtown, the university district popular with young white newcomers to the city, was actually experiencing a scarcity of rental properties, with 96 percent of units occupied . . . A youth hostel opened down the street [from Cooley's prosperous barbecue restaurant] to accommodate all the visitors from Europe and hip North American cities like Montreal and Portland . . . An arts group in the Netherlands now sponsored nine-week arts residencies in Detroit" (264).

In 2013, Charlie Le Duff wrote that people in Detroit were homeless: "about one in thirty-five . . . at any given time" (119).

Housing, of course, is a network of survival. It can promote health and security, or disease and suffering.

149

Nutrition

See discussion by Gallagher on urban farming ('Solutions'); and the close relationship between Kinshasa and Mumbai with their agricultural hinterlands ('Background'). See Das and Guha for malnutrition ('Poverty'), and Desai on IMF regulations which cut food subsidies ('Housing').

Kinshasa

About 50 percent of residents eat one meal a day, and 25 percent eat one meal every other day. And yet, few are starving, due to extensive cooperation and small mutual loans. Cats and dogs are increasingly consumed as food. "More than half of most household budgets are spent on food" (Trefon 10, 12-13).

Commission agents are important in maintaining food supply, by means of distribution. The state enforces "artificial price regulations" on food, levies taxes, and exercises "extractive services". These "state predations" contribute to malnutrition. (Tollens 53, 59).

Mumbai

Since the 1970s, due to careful planning, famine has been abolished in India (Mehta 65), although Vandana Desai reports that many slum dwellers are affected by malnutrition (1995: 186).

Water

During "the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries," according to Chandavarkar, Bombay often suffered from scarce and unhygienic water supplies (18). Mehta adds that water has been polluted in Mumbai since "the great plague of 1896." By 2004, people often filtered tap water twice, and sometimes boiled it,

"especially in the rainy season." The city provided "some 800 million gallons a day." Poor neighborhoods steal water from municipal pipelines. Riots occur occasionally when there are water shortages (122, 124).

Drinking water for the poor was greatly inferior to that for the rich (Chandavarkar: 44). Competition to reach scarce water taps in the *chawls* resulted in numerous assault cases. Chandavarkar adds that "water probably generated more feuding, enmity and violence than any other aspect of *chawl* life" (135).

Guha writes that Karnataka and Tamil Nadu have often competed since 1928 over how much water should be released in Karnataka, where the river originates, and afterwards in Tamil Nadu, where it subsequently flows (658). In June 1991, the Supreme Court directed "Karnataka to release 205 million cubic feet of water per year to Tamil Nadu," for the time being. Karnataka's assembly rejected this order. Chief Minister S. Bangarappa declared a "*bandh*" (a general strike). "All schools and colleges were closed and, with the administration looking on, protesters were allowed to go on a rampage in Tamil neighborhoods of the state capital, Bangalore. The violence continued for days, and an estimated 50,000 were forced to flee [from] the state" (658-9).

In retaliation, the administration of Chief Minister J. Jayalalithaa of Tamil Nadu "encouraged the targeting of Kannada and businesses in Tamil Nadu. All together property worth more than 200 million rupees was destroyed." Eventually, "the precise amount of water" released to each location was not made public (659).

In 2004, the Punjab assembly announced that it would take "as much of the Ravi and Beas rivers as it chose before allowing them to flow on to Haryana and Rajasthan" (Guha: 660).

According to CNN in February 2016, the state of Haryana was refusing to send the usual supply of water via canal to Delhi, because many Dalits were receiving government jobs and university education to compensate for centuries of discrimination in which they were deprived of such benefits and much else. Many Jat landowners, who discriminated against Dalits for centuries, now want to be reclassified as Dalits, so that they can receive more jobs and education benefits. Ananya Vajpeyi writes that "Patidars in Gujarat, Marathas in Maharashtra, and Kapus in Andhra Pradesh" also want to deprive Dalits of their constitutional right for affirmative action, by depriving them of these benefits. As of June 2016, Dalits were not adequately receiving their intended affirmative action.

Kinshasa

Although Kinshasa lies "along the banks of [the Congo,] the Earth's second most powerful river," and rainfall is plentiful, "water only trickles through Kinshasa's dilapidated distribution system during both dry and rainy seasons." Drinking water becomes contaminated by "wastewater and sewage," storage in stagnant conditions, chemicals, washing detergents, corroded pipes, and other conditions, which result in diseases. "Equipment and material" for a new pumping station beside the Lukaya River "were pillaged in 1991" (Maractho and Trefon, 33-34, 36, 41-3).

Water in Kinshasa is used carefully, due to "its cost in terms of time, money, fatigue and anxiety. Tap water, when available, is reserved first for drinking, for

washing food and then for cooking." In regions of the city with low water pressure, which is greater in the day, taps are kept on at night, to collect a little water in buckets. "Family members take turns" staying awake overnight, to be sure that "no water is wasted" (39, 41).

Children work as water carriers, selling small plastic bags of water (41).

Mumbai

Tap water in Mumbai is not drinkable. Drainage pipes "leak into the fresh-water pipes". As a result, children catch amoebic dysentery (17). "The water [comes] out in raw form; things [have] to be done to it. First it [is] filtered through a thin cloth to remove visible heavy dirt. It [is] further filtered in a large white receptacle with candle filters. Then it might be boiled, especially in the rainy season" (Mehta 123).

Water and nutrition, and the networks which provide them, are also networks of survival.

Elsewhere

Polluted water does not only occur in developing countries. It has also occurred, for example, in Flint, MI.

In 2016, Sara Ganim and Linh Tran reported that two years earlier Michigan "had decided to save money by switching Flint's water supply from Lake Huron (which they were paying the city of Detroit for) to the Flint River, a notorious tributary that runs through town known to locals for its filth." Corrosive water from the Flint River leached lead from household pipes. The existence of lead in drinking water is especially harmful to children. Several state workers and officials have been charged with crimes in this case.

Health

Ramachandra Guha reports that in the 1990s and later, health care in India was inadequate. "Hospitals owned and run by the central government were in a pathetic state: crowded, corrupt, and without basic facilities or qualified doctors." The middle class was increasingly cared for by privatized facilities. "Public expenditure on health" declined from "1.3 percent of GDP" in 1990 to 0.9 percent in 1999. "Infant mortality rates" are high in "many states". In 2001, "India had 60 percent of the world's leprosy cases (about 500,000). Fifteen million Indians suffered from tuberculosis," increasing "by 2 million every year." And "by 2004, more than 5 million Indians were HIV-positive," according to Subhadra Menon, quoted by Guha (693, 695). Some poor populations were cared for by "committed NGOs," while most "were left to their own devices, going to indigenous medicine men or village quacks to treat their illnesses" (695). Apparently, India is lacking an adequate 'network of survival' for health care.

Kinshasa

Persyn and Ladrière write that residents of Kinshasa suffer from "water-related diseases," malnutrition, malaria, leprosy, tuberculosis, polio, typhoid fever, haemorrhagic fever, sleeping sickness, cholera, and AIDS. When Kinois develop health problems, many wish to know "the supernatural cause" of their problem. This leads them to "alternative health systems". Many now turn to religious groups for healing (65, 74, 77) The first positive blood sample with HIV/AIDS was obtained in Kinshasa in 1959 (74).

"In the absence of decent working conditions and new training opportunities, [public sector] medical staff started to lose skills and motivation." The International Monetary Fund (IMF) required public sector salary cuts, which caused hardship for medical workers. Health workers have gradually become "indifferent administrators of medical know-how seeking to deal with their own survival problems" (70, 77). By the late 1980s, religious organizations, such as the Salvation Army, and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), for example Médecins sans Frontières, contributed health care to Kinshasa. "State health authorities" nonetheless insisted on "personal financial benefits" (kick-backs, extortion). After the expulsion of president Mobutu in 1997, many foreign NGO medical workers departed (71).

After years of slavery, colonial rule, and dictatorship, Persyn and Ladrière conclude that "the public health situation in Congo has never been worse" (81).

Chapter V: What Can Be Learned from the Achievements and Errors of Other Developing Cities?

Cairo is extending cities on "prime agricultural land" along the Nile, according to Yousry and Aboul, which necessitates large imports of food; and South Africa is improving opportunities for its Black majority citizens (Beavon). Lagos benefits from many skilled and educated inhabitants (Abiodun). The economies of Abidjan and the Côte d'Ivoire are less focused on agricultural exports since the 1980s (Dubresson)**,** and ethnic groups remain socially segregated, following British colonial rule (Obudho; 111-222, 252-336).

Mahmoud Yousry and Tarek Atta write that **Cairo**, with its population of "12 million inhabitants" has become "the largest city in Africa and the Middle East". Recent buildings in vast quarters of the city are poorly constructed, and roofs provide illegal residences. Infrastructure is insufficient, and pollution is constantly aggravating. Since 1990, however, infrastructure investments have improved the situation (abstract translated from French; 1997: 111-112).

"Informal and illegal housing" began in 1980, especially "in many areas on the outskirts of the city and in the City of the Dead" (118), which Muslim residents visit yearly, to live for several days among the tombs of their deceased ancestors and relatives. Yousry and Atta add that urbanization in Cairo was the "result of rural-urban migration" and a high birth rate (118).

After 1952, development efforts focused on Cairo and Alexandria, for reasons of efficiency, politics, and "sometimes prestige". Industrialization was centered on "urban centers, especially Cairo." Most urban development occurred "along the Nile

Valley and the Delta region, mostly on scarce agricultural land." This has caused a decline in "per capita food production". "Land reform laws . . . in 1952 and 1961 [promoted] . . . social justice." Thus land holdings above 38.2 hectares per owner were confiscated and redistributed. Fragmentation occurred when small parcels of land were distributed, due to inheritance. This resulted in "inefficiency and decreased productivity" (122-3).

Eddin Ibrahim adds that Cairo is "considered to be the cultural center of the Arab world by most Arab states" (1987; quoted by Yousry and Atta: 127).

In his article on **Johannesburg**, Keith Beavon writes that gold was discovered in Witwatersrand, a scarp (ridge) of quartzite rock running through Johannesburg, in 1886. By the twentieth century, Johannesburg had become "the largest city in subSaharan Africa." After 1948, when the National Party came to power, Soweto was constructed southwest of Johannesburg, and black residents were evicted from 'white' districts of Johannesburg (1997: 150-1).

"By the mid-1970s, regions south-west of Johannesburg had increased to one million or 1.5 million residents . . . The poor quality of housing, insufficient service and infrastructure . . . and restriction from many commercial activities created an impoverished and unhealthy region. Meager reforms followed the revolt of 1976 in Soweto" (abstract translated from French; 1997: 150-1). Hector Petersen, "a thirteen-year-old schoolboy," was the first casualty of the revolt (170). Students were protesting the government plan that they should study in Afrikaans, a seventeenth-century Dutch language spoken by about seven million people worldwide at that time,

including by South Africa's Afrikaner population. Beavon adds that additional

reforms occurred in the 1990s (151).

"The current urban crisis [of Johannesburg] centres on redressing the legacy of

the past whereby the indigenous population was consciously marginalized through a

process of creating ghettos within the fabric of what was conceived to be a whites-

only town" (152).

In the early twentieth century, "63,695 mine workers" arrived from China,

according to Richardson (1982; quoted by Beavon: 156). Most laborers, however,

came from Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, according to Crush et

al, 1991 (quoted by Beavon: 156). By 1997, it was "generally accepted" that South

Africa had "8.5 million illegal residents," according to CDE (1995) and van Niekirk

(1995); quoted by Beavon (156). Migration, of course, has been a network of survival

since our hunting and gathering ancestors migrated in search of additional edible

sources.

Johannesburg "has been the financial capital of the South African region for

more than 100 years". In 1945, the Witwatersrand region was producing "about 40

percent of the world total" of freshly mined gold. This dropped "to 3 percent" in

1980, as "the economically viable ores had largely been worked out". "By the 1990s,

[Johannesburg's] . . . trade and catering sector contributed 20 percent of the local GGP

[gross geographic product], and the finance and business services sector made up

nearly 30 percent" (157-8, 161). Johannesburg's Stock Exchange "is ranked twelfth in

the world on the basis of its market capitalization," and is "several orders of

magnitude larger than any other stock exchange in Africa," according to Katz (1994: 431-2; quoted by Beavon: 161).

Adjacent to the "opulent city" of Johannesburg "are hundreds of thousands of people living in deprived communities or townships, [and] tens of thousands living in informal settlements of shacks recently erected in the veld" (grassland). These communities have "stagnated". A Reconstruction and Development Programme began in the 1990s, to reallocate resources. "Water supply, sewerage, and garbage removal" would be provided. Additional housing, and safe, affordable mass transit are also planned (161-2).

Residents of Black townships increasingly declined to pay their rent and other taxes, viewing the state as "'illegal' and repressive". By 1994, a 'Chamber' had been organized to represent the interests of Black Soweto. The constituent municipalities of Johannesburg had been realigned into "seven new municipal substructures (or MSSs)." The National Party governed from 1948 to "the end of April 1994" (173-4, 178).

In the twentieth century, South Africa endeavored to transfer many people to the Bantustans, such as Lesotho, which were "puppet states," provided to reduce the number of Black people living "in the white metropoles." Attempts to reconstruct and develop the Johannesburg Metropolitan Area are under way (171, 177, 185).

Lagos "became an important slave-exporting port in the eighteenth century," perhaps because it "possesses the best harbor on the west coast of Africa" (Abiodun 1997: 193, 198). Between 1963 and 1990, it increased from a population of 665,000

inhabitants to 7.9 million inhabitants "by absorbing surrounding cities and villages" (192).

Lagos is the center of Nigerian manufacturing "and dominates commercial and financial activities. It is also the center of communication and transportation: ground, air, and maritime. . . . In 1914, Lagos became the center of political administration, and the capital of the country until 1990," when Abuja became the capital. Abiodun recommends "paying more attention to the improvement of local administrations" (abstract translated from French; 192-3). This would promote decentralization.

"Since the end of World War II urbanization in developing countries has accelerated greatly". Lagos grew extensively due to "its [central] position in the national economy and [in] transport networks," although many of its "infrastructure services" have failed partially or entirely (193). After Lagos, Ibadan and Kano are Nigeria's largest cities, respectively. Since 1967, Lagos increased its share of Nigeria's foreign trade from 70 to 90 percent. During the 1970s, most formal employment in Lagos was in manufacturing and administration, and one-quarter of employment was in public administration (196, 198-9).

Since 1979, "Lagos state has [participated] actively in trade fairs and exhibitions," which assists in commercial developments. "Owing to the inadequacy of foreign exchange to fund the Foreign Exchange Market (FEM) initiated in 1986 [as part of the SAP], there was continued devaluation of the national currency, which led to escalating costs for industrialists, especially those who depend heavily on foreign inputs" (200-01).

Another disadvantage of the SAP was "deregulation of foreign exchange activities, [as] most of the new finance institutions engaged primarily in foreign exchange trading," which adversely affected "the value of the naira," causing it to decline "relative to other international currencies". Inflation increased and "interest rates soared" (203).

Unemployment has increased since initiation of the SAP in 1986. "Area boys" harass people "for money in broad daylight." Efforts have been made to provide "vocational training and credit" for these young men, but some cannot accept the necessary discipline. They return to the streets, where they "add to the insecurity of life and property in the city." Thus, the SAP "brought severe economic stress . . . There is no doubt that the urban poor are experiencing untold levels of deprivation" (205).

In 1934, **Abidjan** was "a modest coastal town, with 17,000 inhabitants . . . After the opening of the Vridi channel" in 1950, it was possible to begin construction of an adequate harbor (Dubresson 1997: 254-5). For thirty years (1950-1980), it profited "from its plantation-related economy and from foreign investments." With an economic growth of "7 percent per annum from 1960-1978," Côte d'Ivoire experienced "an exceptional degree of political and economic stability [which] were essential for foreign stockholders. . . . Coffee and cocoa plantations [expanded] in the southern forests," as well as northern sugarcane plantations. Southern "palm oil, hevea [crude rubber], and pineapples" also promoted agro-industries. 90 percent of agricultural exports pass through Abidjan harbor (abstract translated from French: 252; 254-5, 260).

The industrial structure of Abidjan was "based mainly" on such industries, as well as on "chemicals and metal-processing for final consumption". By the early 1980s, however, income from agricultural exports plummeted. GDP had stagnated "for some time," and "decreased continuously since 1987. . . . Total foreign debt stood at US$19,146 million in 1943, i.e. more than 224 percent of the GNP." Structural adjustment caused "the closing of eighteen parastatals and the restructuring of public companies, to the loss of some 11,000 jobs, many of them in Abidjan" (261).

During ten years of industrial decline, 1983-1993, Abidjan's "'informal' sectors of crafts, service, and small scale trade" increased substantially; "from 40 percent of total jobs in 1978" to 63 percent in 1988, "with 15 percent of its total economically active population and 22.4 percent of its Ivoirian population unemployed" (263-4).

By 1988, "only 2 percent" of Abidjan's population were the indigenous Ebrie, while others had arrived as "better Senegalese and Dahomey citizens, . . . migrants from Upper Volta and the Sudan (Mali)," Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, France, Lebanon ("more than 48,000 [non-Africans] in 1978"). Other local Ivoirian cultural groups arrived after independence, including "Akan, Krou, Northern Mandé, Southern Mandé, and so called Voltaic groups". Local Ivoirians "were extremely mobile: 272,000 people arrived in Abidjan in 1978/79, but 192,000 left town . . . . City people's practices, lives, and beliefs always reflect their town and village background" (265-6).

The current recession in Abidjan (1990s) affects "all national chains of relationships" (266), creating a network of hardship. "Downward socio-economic

mobility" is occurring. "Income is generated by subletting parts of houses, by supplementary activities in crafts and small scale trade, by renegotiating contracts to reallocate incomes from husbands' and wives' work to prevent a downgrading of households, particularly in relation to schooling . . . Economies are also achieved . . . by 'inviting' relatives to go out to work or find alternative accommodation" (267).

In 1997, Abidjan had more than 2.5 million inhabitants. "Whether in Abidjan or in other urban areas, the powerful have . . . maintained or even increased their social distance not only from the middle classes, who have been the main victims of social downgrading." Dubresson adds that "decentralization . . . has created and increased social and economic inequalities between the ten districts of the city, whose financial bases are very different". Poorer districts include "Attécoubé and Yopougon," while "Plateau and Treichville" are the richest (252, 268, 287).

Before the British arrived, **Kenya** was settled by Arab and Portuguese traders and dynasties. Arabs settled in Eastern Africa circa in the eighth century, and by 1700 the sultans of Zanzibar controlled much of the region with a population of "at least 600,000 people" (Kramer: 60). "In 1888 the Imperial British East Africa Company established claims to territory in what is now Kenya, . . . and in 1895 the company's territory in Kenya was transferred to the crown as the East Africa Protectorate," which became "the Kenya Colony and the Kenya Protectorate" in 1920 (Britannica.com). "The site of **Nairobi** was chosen by the Kenya Uganda Railway (KUR) authorities because it offered a suitable stopping place between Mombasa and Kisumu; adequate water supply from the nearby Nairobi and Mbagathi rivers; ample level land for railway tracks and sidings; elevated cooler ground to the west suitable for residential

163

purposes; and apparently deserted land offering freedom for land appropriation." The railway reached the location by June 1899. Being elevated to the height "of about 5,500 m. above . . . sea level" protects the city from malaria (297). The population of Nairobi "increased from 8,000 in 1901 to 18,579 by 1948"; and approximately to 350,000 by 1963 (294).

Engineer R. W. Walmsley added that "on the higher ground there is a fairly good supply of water but reservoirs and tanks will have to be constructed" (1957: 18; quoted by Obudho, 1997: 297); water, of course, is a network of survival; as is the avoidance of malaria.

By 1906, "over 10,000 people resided" in "an urban center" at the location of "the original KUR depot and camp". Europeans mainly occupied "the cooler westlands, [with] Indians in the north," and "African workers mainly concentrated on the periphery" (299).

The "rapid growth of Nairobi since the 1950s" has promoted an increase of "urban poverty, inadequate access to housing and such basic services as primary health care and water supply, the proliferation of slums and squatter settlements, and urban environmental degradation," among other problems. To combat these problems, Nairobi has promoted "dormitory and satellite urban centers around it[self]," according to Obudho and Aduwo (1992; quoted by Obudho, 1997: 304). However, these government programmes were insufficient to offset market forces that overwhelmingly favor concentration of social and economic activities in large urban centers (304). (These activities represent networks of survival.)

My **network diagram for "Market Forces in Large Urban Centers,"** which favor "the concentration of social and economic activities," contains two circles. Three smaller circles in the left circle represent 1) Basketball, 2) Football, and 3) Dancing, which represent popular social activities. Four small circles in the larger right-hand circle represent 4) Bankers, 5) Lawyers, 6) Economists, and 7) Merchants. These represent economic interests, which promote "social and economic activities". The background of the left and right larger circles is covered with vertical lines, representing tall buildings. (Derived from Obudho 1997, 304).

Colonial rulers "made little provision for [the] accommodation of Africans in Nairobi. . . It was thought that the provision of extensive public housing would encourage an excessive influx of Africans into the city, resulting in increasing criminal activities and disease." Thus, many squatter settlements were built prior to independence, and subsequently (316).

Obudho believes that Nairobi's local government is inadequate. "Whether elected or appointed, the local government has failed to cope adequately with the growth of the city. The problem can *inter alia*, be attributed to a lack of resources, bureaucratic lethargy, corruption and indiscipline, lack of clear lines of authority, and disregard of public opinion." Established by British colonialism, native courts and customary laws in different sections of Kenya favor the dominant ethnic group in that section. "The British recruited Kamba, Kipsigis, and Kalenjin ethnic groups for army and police work against the Kikuyu, whom the British saw as the primary threat to colonial rule." Ethnic groups became quite segregated and lacked a "common language" (313-4). This segregation of ethnic groups and inadequate local

government represents a network of hardship for the people of Nairobi and Kenya. Local authoritarian governments were created, lacking in democracy.

My **network diagram for "Ethnic Segregation Creates Problems in Kenya"** is represented by two sets of circles. Circles 1-5 represent the ethnic groups of Kamba, Kipsigis, Kalengin, Kikuyu, and Luo. Five smaller circles within each represent inadequate local governments, and are labelled 'undemocratic' (based on a description by Obudho, 313-4).

At independence in 1963, "the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) came to be increasingly dominated by Kikuyu and Luo." Tension existed between them. Numerous public institutions "were no longer considered ethnically neutral . . . Inter-racial and interethnic conflict [had originated] to a large extent in the colonial period" (314).

Numerous "spatial and institutional characteristics" bear the imprint of colonial racial segregation, and "local authorities are structured according to the British model." 40 percent of the population of Nairobi are of European and Indian descent. This amount has decreased relatively but not absolutely since independence (i.e., the total population has increased; Obudho 1997: 292).

The "volatile political situation" of Nairobi "is connected with class and ethnic rivalries." Housing ownership is "usually perpetually held by the state, and can be rented from the state. . . For those who are not wealthy, or lack official connections," many live in overcrowded housing, lacking in basic services. Many live in a single room. 'Problems of sanitation and pollution worsen, infrastructure is increasingly inadequate, and poverty increases, while local and central administrations are

166

ineffective. Better administration and development of housing and services, and care

for the environment, are needed' (translated and summarized from French: 292-3).

"In 1983," according to Obudho, "60 percent [of Nairobi's residents] earned

less than KSh 2,300 per month". At KSh 101.10 per 1 USD, according to the Like

Forex currency converter, this would be $US 22.75 per month. "20 percent earned

between KSh 2,300 and 3,700 per month" or: $22.75 to $36.60 per month. And "the

remaining 20 percent had a monthly income of over KSh 3,700," or over $36.60 per

month. This would be considered as dire poverty, compared with our U.S. incomes.

Obudho adds that "the low-income group is comprised of drivers, watchmen, clerks,

and typists, among others, in formal sector employment. Those in the informal sector

include street hawkers, metal artisans, shoe shiners, construction workers, and street

cleaners." Since independence, "the growth of jobs has not kept pace with that of the

labor force." Moreover, "restructuring and privatization" in 1990 reduced Kenya's

public sector. Formal sector employment in Nairobi in 1992 included 66,600 jobs in

manufacturing, "36,300 in building and construction; 47,300 in trade, restaurants and

hotels; 41,300 in finance, insurance, real estate, and business services;" and 136,800 in

"community, social, and personal services", according to *Republic of Kenya* (1993, 55;

quoted by Obudho, 1997, 309).

In 1992, Nairobi's *Economic Survey* "showed that there were 141,877 persons

engaged in the informal sector (an apparent 27 percent increase over 1991; in *Republic

of Kenya*; quoted by ibid.). Activities in the informal "sector ranged from painting,

carpentry, shoe making, driving, and domestic service to petty trading and hawking of

various food commodities." These activities are "unregulated and unprotected," and

are performed by the more impoverished, having "relatively little capital . . . The formal and informal sectors are generally thought to be symbiotic, with the vitality of the informal sector depending on the wages and demand generated by [the] formal sector," according to W. J. House (1978; quoted by Obudho, 1997: 309).

The Mazingira Institute reported in 1993 to a Nairobi City Convention that "households in [Nairobi's low-income] group spent more than 56 percent of their income on food in 1983 . . ." As in Kinshasa, "they walk to their places of work because they cannot afford bus fares every day" (1993; quoted by Obudho, 310).

Urban residence in Kenya "has increased from 8 percent at independence to 20 percent in 1995." By 1989, 3.7 million residents lived in cities, representing "18 percent of the population, [and] . . . 139 urban centers" existed, with Nairobi having 36 percent "of the total". To the north and west of Nairobi are "the rich farming lands of the Rift Valley" (294), where humanity first evolved from our ape/simian ancestors, about ten million years ago. (Evolution is a network of survival.) Freeman (1991) and Lado (1990) write that it is illegal to cultivate agriculture "within the city limits," (quoted by Obudho: 294).

The combination of "urbanization and poverty" has created many "street children," according to Ayako (1994) and Aptekar et al (also 1994; quoted by Obudho, 1997: 311). "One of the major reasons for the increase in the number of street children in Nairobi is the stark poverty that drives parents to neglect, ignore, and finally abandon their children." Obudho recommends "rehabilitation centers for street children providing education, literacy, and vocational training [which would] be

located in their neighborhoods, where the children can identify with the community's aspirations" (311-12).

The "current growth rate" of Nairobi is "about 5 percent per annum," although Kenya is endeavoring to promote numerous "small and intermediate urban centers," according to Obudho (1992; quoted by Obudho in 1997: 296).

Jeffrey Gettleman descries the role of cooperation and trust in Kenya, and their importance. After travelling in Africa and endeavoring to become a journalist for several years, he became the "East Africa bureau chief for the New York Times". He writes that journalists find stories and sources by means of **networks of trust**. "Two essential qualities of [journalists are] . . . curiosity and empathy" (4, 120). One also has to be "reckless" (318).

"Trust, Curiosity, and Empathy in Relation to Journalism" is described in my **network diagram** by two circles. The left circle contains three smaller circles representing journalists. The right circle has three smaller circles representing natives. An arrow from the larger left circle ('journalists') to the larger right circle ('natives') is labelled 'Trust, curiosity and empathy'. An arrow from the right circle ('Natives') to the left circle ('Journalists') is labelled 'Stories and sources'. (Based on Gettleman's description, pp. 4, 120).

Arabs arrived in East Africa approximately in the year 1000. Swahili is "part Arab, mostly African, with bits of Hindi, Portuguese, Persian, English, and German" (19).

Gettleman observes that the New York Times "is run not so dissimilarly from an African dictatorship. The key thing is not how much the Big Man actually likes

169

you but how much other people *think* the Big Man likes you." He notes that Ethiopians had an especially ruthless government. The Ogaden Desert is the poorest region of Ethiopia (139, 2, 4).

Anthropologists claim that foreigners who settle in Africa are either mercenaries, missionaries, or misfits. Gettleman describes "profiteers" in Baghdad in 2004, who waged a parallel war to the actual war (142, 175).

Hugh Chalmondeley, Baron Delamere, discovered Kenya's highland region in 1897. He wished to turn the land into a region of 'gentle farmers'. "Thirty-two white settlers" were killed by Mau Mau fighters in the 1950s, protesting the appropriation of their land. As a result, "more than 1000" black Kenyans were hanged, and "tens of thousands" were jailed (183).

In 2006, Kenya had a higher crime rate than its poorer neighbors, due to the economic inequality of its white versus black residents, and its "corrupt and dysfunctional police service". Traffic policemen are always looking for "'a little something', the euphemistic code for a bribe" (189, 192).

Arriving in the DRC in 2007, Gettleman writes that he "could have written more about culture, the economy, sports, technology. But I instinctively skewed towards human rights abuse, and conflict . . . A story in our pages [the *New York Times*] really does have the power to put pressure on governments to adjust their policies or the United Nations to send in more peacekeepers, . . . or a non-profit to divert more of its resources to a specific area or need." In contrast with the *New York Times,* "the local journalists often lacked the resources – and the freedom – to cover conflicts or atrocities" (221)

After independence in 1964, President Jomo Kenyatta substantially favored his Kikuyu tribe and Moi, the next president, a Kalenjin, did likewise. Mwai Kibaki cheated in the December 2007 election versus Raila Odinga; a Kikuyu versus a Luo. Following the election, more than eleven hundred people were killed in the subsequent violence. To promote peace, a power-sharing government was devised, with Odinga serving as prime minister (270-2).

From 2009-2011, Gettleman covered news about Somali pirates. After capturing the crew of a ship off the coast of Somalia, pirates would wait "for months in their pirate dens . . . The multinational shipping and insurance companies paying for those blocks of shrink-wrapped cash were injecting resources into the world's neediest nation." Two hundred and fifty thousand people died in "Somalia's famine of 2011, . . . and most were children" (277-8, 288).

Returning to Evanston, Illinois with his wife and two sons after eleven years in Africa, Gettleman felt like an *mzungu* (Swahili for foreigner). However, he had called attention to starvation in Ethiopia, raised money to rescue a kidnapped teenager, plus shed the light of journalism on many other important stories (306).

In Africa, he commented that "people, even if they have so little, and so much stacked against them, usually help one another" (322). Once in the DR Congo, Gettleman and his wife Courtenay, a video journalist, were riding their motorcycles through a jungle, with guides, "to speak to militia fighters," for an article. A tree fell across their path, and four local men gathered to chop the tree with a "tiny ax," to clear the path (321). He was impressed by their helpfulness, even though they had so little.

In *Dispossessed: Life in Our World's Urban Slums*, **Mark Kramer** introduces us to individual people who live in urban slums; **in Manila, Nairobi, Mexico City, Bangkok, and Cairo.** About four million out of São Paulo's 19.5 million population in 2009 lived in slums, as well as about half of Mumbai's 12 million. He comments that "slums are not some easily summarized monolith of misery" (2009, 3-5).

Slums are known as *ciudades perdidas* in Spanish, or "lost cities," and *aashwai'i* in Egyptian Arabic, or "random". Kramer changes the names of residents for privacy, and sometimes for security (6, 8).

Kramer stayed with Aline, a mother in Mexico City; with Osama, who is a Coptic Christian, in Cairo; and with Sunee, also a mother, in Bangkok. Imbuni met him graciously in Kenya, and Yung in Thailand. Kramer believes that "generosity [is] . . . simply characteristic of people living in economic poverty" (9). Kramer describes the Esguerra families, living in **Balic-Balic, a district of Manila,** in the Philippines, which has "more than 7000 islands," with residents speaking nearly 170 languages. After 1967, gangs were formed in Balic-Balic, "around regional rivalries". Joanne Seares describes her budget: "You must try to buy only the things that you need. I don't buy anything that's not so important. So sometimes we borrow money, some from my bother or my sister or a money lender until [Sammy's] salary comes" (11-12, 22).

"Government evictions . . . in the Philippines and throughout the global South can be violent, even at gunpoint in the middle of the night . . . Officials have padlocked homes before families can retrieve belongings and burned or bulldozed entire neighborhoods" (23).

Malays from Malaya and present Indonesia arrived in the Philippines over "2,000 years ago." Trade with China began in the tenth century. "Muslims governed Manila" before Spanish rule of the Philippines, 1565-1821. The British ruled Manila briefly, from 1762-64; followed by American rule of the Philippines (1898-1946); and occupation by the Japanese from 1942-45. In 1946, the Philippines obtained independence (25-6).

Cairo, known by Egyptians as "um al-dunya" (mother of the world") was founded in 642. Its population in 2014 was about eighteen million. In 1325, Mexico City was established by Aztecs. By 2009, the population had reached nineteen million. Bangkok, in Thailand, (formerly Siam), was founded by King Rama I, a military commander who became ruler in 1782. A century later, "British imperialists" founded Nairobi in 1896, to link Mombassa with Kisimu and Uganda. Manila by 2015 had almost thirteen million inhabitants. Kramer notes that "urban growth leads to cultural vibrancy as well as to social stagnancy" (26-7).

"Many poor nations struggle with unstable governments, depleted and unproductive agricultural lands, overburdened bureaucracies, and deficient legal codes." Life in rural areas is more precarious, as agriculture depends on changes in weather, with occasional droughts, and infestations of locusts. Cities usually provide higher incomes. However, a shortage of housing and jobs often exists. "Most national leaders lack the will to work toward solutions, and corruption undermines the efforts of more dedicated leaders" (28-30).

"In trade deemed 'free', advanced nations have an advantage because of tariffs, subsidies, and wealth. . . Poverty and economic disparity [in many countries] are real

173

manifestations of a failing system of survival. . . Rich nations influence [global]

markets through tariffs and subsidies" (31-3).

"In **Manila**, Smokey Mountain, an eleven-storey landfill covering more than

fifty acres, houses 25,000 squatters living amidst disease, methane, and carcinogenic

emissions" (33). "In regions of India, essentially homeless people rent portions of a

shelter each day or night on an hourly basis so they can sleep while not working,

saving themselves the expense of maintaining or owning a home" (33-4).

"Governments are recognizing the contributions that illegal slums make to

society in housing and employment as informal markets are succeeding where the

formal sector fails. . . . One in every three urban residents lives in an informal

settlement." These "settlements provide formal businesses with labor. . . . Forty

percent of Metro Manila's 10.6 million inhabitants live in informal settlements, in

garbage dumps, along roads and waterways, wherever a sliver of land allows." Bing

Hornedo, who resides in Balic-Balic, worked as a child with his siblings, collecting

garbage and selling it to junk shops. Their father had been "killed by an addict." In

2009, Bing was in college, a student of mathematics (Kramer: 34-6); which indicates

that progress is possible.

"Fifteen families" in the Philippines "control 55 percent of all corporations,"

according to the World Bank (2000: 43; quoted by Kramer, 38). "Concentration of

wealth encourages monopolies, weak corporate governance, and cronyism . . .

Meanwhile, 40 percent of Filipinos live below the national poverty line," (38).

The Philippines was named after King Philip II, king of England and Ireland

(1554-58); of Sicily and Naples (1554-98); lord of the Netherlands (1555-98); king of

Spain (1556-98); and of Portugal (1581-98). During the Filipino war for independence against the United States in 1899, "at least 200,000 people died, . . . most of them Filipino civilians"(38-9).

Unlike the three centuries of Spanish neglect during its rule of the Philippines, "Americans pursued land reform, improved railways, roads, and ports. They renovated financial structures and introduced a tax system. They strengthened education and health care." However," the United States allowed power and control to remain with individuals and families who had enjoyed an elite status under the Spanish" (39).

Stanley Karnow writes that Americans "imposed trade patterns that retarded the economic growth of the islands, condemning them to reliance on the United States long after independence. The American monopoly on imports into the Philippines also dampened the development of a native industry" (1989: 198, 209; quoted by Kramer: 40). However, others believe that economic ties with the U.S. "helped the Philippines survive the 1997 Asian financial crisis" (Kramer: 40).

Kramer notes that **Kibera** is "Kenya's largest informal settlement" (slum), with a population of "at least 600,000 people". Kibera means "wilderness" in Nubian. The city emits a stench of "garbage and sewage" (53-4). It was established in 1912 by British colonial authorities as a retirement location for "Nubian military veterans from Sudan," whom the British had employed "in the King's African Rifles," their "East African colonial forces," according to Clark, 1972; Parsons, 1997: 87-122; Mbaria, 2002; and Makuku, 2002; 53-66; quoted by Kramer: 57. "Prior to this, the Maasai used the region for animal grazing" (57).

175

Makuku, a resident of Nairobi, comments that "colonizers . . . regularly hired soldiers from one tribe to subordinate other tribes, [as] 'walls of pacification'". Kikuyu militia members, especially "the Mau Mau freedom fighters," who agitated for independence in the 1950s, "fled into Kibera and other informal settlements seeking refuge and a safe haven where they could securely organize" (quoted by Kramer: 57-8).

In Nairobi, according to the U.N. Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), "60 percent of residents [in 2003 lived] in illegal settlements though they [occupied] only 5 percent of the land," according to a U.N. *Global Report on Human Settlements 2003* (219; quoted by Kramer: 58). "Colonial officials allocated most land [in Nairobi] for [their] personal benefit." Native Kenyans were mostly relegated to (slum) settlements. According to Mitullah and Kibwana, "Africans were restricted to African reserves located on the urban fringe [of Nairobi] where the necessary infrastructure and services were not provided" (1998: 193, 196; quoted by Kramer: 59).

"The [British] Vagrancy Act made it illegal to have 'no fixed abode', to beg or to have neither 'lawful employment nor lawful means of subsistence'," according to Yodon Thonden (1997). "Basically," Kramer adds, "Africans broke the law if they couldn't afford housing or find a job. . . . Colonizers forbade Kenyans from growing their own coffee crops, lest they compete against settler plantations, and British settlers extracted any material or economic wealth generated within Nairobi, widening the divide between secure foreign settlers and dispossessed native residents" (58-9).

The Kenyan government has failed to "develop a permanent, public water supply" for Kibera. "Flying toilets" exist, as people toss "bags of human [waste] . . . over roofs" or "into walkways". In 2009, Kibera had "at least 600,000 residents". Like slums in Detroit, the land area of Kibera has been reduced by the government. 4,198 acres in 1918 were reduced to 550 acres in 1971, and to "300 acres by 2002" (62-3). The British "government converted sections of Kibera into housing estates and the Royal Nairobi Golf Course" in the 1950s, according to Mbaria (2002; quoted by Kramer: 63).

Riots occurred in late 2001, in which twelve people died, and many more were wounded. Makuku attributes the violence to "tribal disputes and rent hikes". He has called for "regular tenure" rights for Kenyan slum communities. He also believes that "an improved affordable regional train system" would improve transportation for residents, and provide jobs. He praises "the dignity" of Kibera's residents, "beyond the dirt and squalor and filth of the slum culture" (2002; quoted by Kramer: 64-66, 53-66).

Mathare Valley, with a population of several hundred thousand, is another slum settlement of Nairobi; in the north-east (Kramer: 66). While "Kenya is the largest exporter of black tea in the world," this tea is processed and packaged in richer nations, such as the United Kingdom, before being shipped "back to Africa for local consumption. . . . Kenyan companies generally do not have the resources or capital to build processing plants, and they face punitive tariffs for selling value-added tea to many rich countries" (72).

Kramer describes the disadvantage of American subsidies for developing countries. "The U.S. government subsidizes the cotton industry with several billion dollars each year, enabling American cotton farmers to dump their produce on the international market and drive cotton prices down." Besides cotton farmers, the U.S. subsidizes "corn farmers in Iowa, dairy farmers in Wisconsin, [and] . . . catfish growers in Mississippi." To compensate for the hardships created by these subsidies for African farmers, the U.S. Congress passed the "African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) in 2000." This "reduced or eliminated tariffs and quotas on more than 6,000 items exported from Africa" (75-6).

While "rich nations provide developing nations with aid to the yearly tune of US $70 billion in development assistance, . . . these same rich nations allot more than US $300 billion a year for domestic farm subsidies, more than four times the amount of money given in foreign aid." European charity such as used clothes can harm the clothing industry in poor African countries. To protect its clothing industry, Kenya "imposed a 200 percent import duty on second-hand clothes" (77-8).

Local corruption is also costly for Kenya. It "pervades every sector, from judicial decisions to land usurpation to trade practices." Keeping "dead police officers . . . on the payroll [in the early 1990s] cost taxpayers about US $3 million." Another "investigation found that only 3 of 310 judges were 'neither corrupt nor incompetent,'" according to an article in *The Economist* in 2003 (quoted by Kramer: 78). Kramer concludes that "our global economic systems . . . have designers and decision makers perpetrating a legacy of dominance"; for example, by means of agricultural subsidies and trade (80).

Turning to **Mexico**, Kramer writes that "in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," Aztecs conquered "the Mayans and other tribes," and appropriated "much of their culture". Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821 (91-2). Mexico lost "roughly half of [its] land to the United States in the Mexican-American War" (1846-48), and additional land in "the 1853 Gadsden Purchase". In Lomas de San Isidro, a *colonia* in Chicoloapan, thousands of residents have squatted, or paid for land – without receiving title deeds – on top of a strip mine. Collective landownership was banned by the government during the Reform Era (84, 86, 92).

The "dictatorial regime of Porfirio Diaz . . . led to the Revolution of 1910," led by Emiliano Zapatista, who endeavored to reinstate "communal landownership". By 2009, "an estimated 400,000 Mexicans enter[ed] the U.S. illegally" each year (91-2). "As in much of the global South, overburdened bureaucracies, conflicting land claims, and poor records impede the Mexican government's efforts at land reform." "Like Mexico, many [developing countries] have weathered redistributive land reforms over decades and centuries, many of which have led to violence and even deeper inequality." In Kenya in 1964, the government contended "with increased litigation as a result of land disputes and confusion over conflicting rules based in either current law, which favors individual ownership, or tribal custom, which favors communal ownership." Likewise in the Philippines in 2009, many "rural landowners, bolstered by their own elitist pasts, blatantly mock reform and prevent land reforms by burning crops and threatening and murdering farmers." Kramer adds that "without secure land rights, no real economic development is possible" (94-6, 104).

"Many land reform programs fixate on individual private property as the end goal and ignore existing property rights, . . . [including] communal and customary land rights." Without "formal land rights," residents are unable "to utilize their assets as collateral for credit." And, the national base for taxation becomes lower. "Formal individual titles" are "known as freehold tenure". However, collective ownership may result in "greater leverage and security". Alternatively, "temporary rental agreements in Bangkok" provide security for squatters and income for landowners (106-7).

In Nairobi's Kibera slum, "the allocation of land depends more on illicit favors, bribes and ethnicity than on fair, legal land rights." However, "security from eviction" is more important than "formal land rights". Often, residents do receive rights to their land but then "cannot afford to pay the accompanying taxes or utility fees, . . . [and] quickly lose their homes." Concluding his study of Mexican settlements and several other cities, Kramer writes that "by not properly managing urban land and making it equally accessible to all, our world dispossesses millions of people of the right to lead a secure, healthy life on unpolluted soil in safe shelters . . .. Without good, fair land management, we cannot create equitable, life-giving cities" (108, 115-6).

Following his discussion of land tenure shortcomings, Kramer turns to social and economic problems in Thailand. According to Yardfon Booranapim and Lynn Mainwaring, "as many as 2.8 million people are involved in the sex trade in Thailand" (2002: 766-80; quoted by Kramer: 118). Twelve-year-old Ploey, who distributes drugs, "learned the drug trade from her heroin-addicted parents." In **Bangkok**, according to Louise Brown, "Jiap began her career as a prostitute at the age of

fourteen." Her parents "are very happy and proud that [she is] more successful than other girls [from her] village" (2000: 55-6; quoted by Kramer: 118). Eventually, she was caught by the police and sent to a shelter, which provided education. Drugs are "a major problem" in Bangkok's settlement of Klong Toey (118-9).

Most residents of Klong Toey settlement "lack the freedom to access formal lending agencies, legal help, housing markets, jobs, and education. . . . This insufficient access to the formal sector is also a form of poverty." In Lomas, Mexico, "Ana and Brijido . . . [were unable to] register their children in school because they didn't have birth certificates, . . . because they couldn't afford the government fees" (132). In many urban slums in South America, Africa, South Asia, and Asia, according to a report from the World Bank, quoted by Deepa Narayan (2009: 81; quoted by Kramer: 133), "the lack of identity cards or clear titles to land exposes the poor to the tyranny of 'slumlords', . . . money lenders and rich landlords, from whose clutches the poor often have great difficulty ever extricating themselves."

Without "legal property rights," slum and illegal settlement dwellers have no incentive to invest in their homes "as capital assets, [which are] the basic building blocks of capitalism," according to Hernando de Soto (2000, 40-67; quoted by Kramer: 141).

According to a U.N. Human Development Report (1977: 2), "of the world's 500 million poorest households, only 2 to 5 percent have access to formal or institutional credit" (quoted by Kramer: 142). "Group savings-and-loans plans," recently, have enabled people in developing countries to build houses, and to purchase "plots of land" or household items, according to Deepa Narayan (122; quoted by

Kramer: 142-3). In Balic-Balic, a "rice-purchasing cooperative" was established.

Thus, impoverished communities can achieve reforms by working collectively, and

forming associations. "In some cases [slum dwellers] take legal action, though

judicial success is rare" (Kramer: 143, 145).

Moving on to Egypt, Kramer reports that garbage is sorted in the slum of

Mokattam, in southeast **Cairo**. "Old clothes become woven rugs." Mark Huband

writes that "throughout Cairo, the garbage-collecting industry, worth an extimated US

$22 million, provides anywhere from 40,000 to 75,000 people with income" (1999: 5;

and Fahmi 2004: 4; quoted by Kramer: 159). Cairo's government wanted to move

"Mokattam's garbage operations more than eighteen miles outside of Cairo and into

the Qattamiya desert." This could have resulted in the relocation of workers, "loss of

services," and a loss of thousands of jobs (Kramer: 160).

Anwar Sadat, president of Egypt from 1970 to 1981, "initiated a policy of

'openness' or *infitah* [a precursor of Gorbachev's *glasnost* in 1986], setting a

trajectory toward free-market liberalism and away from government control and

provision." Following [the IMF's] structural adjustment programs in the 1980s, food

subsidies have decreased, and many Egyptians experience a shortage of food. "The

privatization of garbage collection [to foreign companies] threatens the livelihood of

thousands of people already living on the brink of abject poverty" (164-5).

In addition, "unwieldy bureaucracies and bad policies have led to a glut of

cheap and even dangerous housing in Cairo". According to the city's governor, "one

quarter of Cairo's buildings are 'about to collapse', . . . and 40 percent fail to meet

basic standards of hygiene" (Azza Khattab, 2002: 74-79; quoted by Kramer: 165).

"As a city grows, . . . land becomes unobtainable for the poor," who are often obliged to live in informal settlements (slums). Thus, "urban prosperity" can cause "environmental and social debasement," known by economists as "negative externalities". Successful "sustainable urban development . . . provide[s] people with necessary service without destroying the environment" (167, 169). Alternatively, "uncontrolled urban expansion haphazardly consumes agricultural land in peri-urban areas." Thus, "Egypt lost 10 percent of its most productive farmland to urban encroachment within just three decades," according to Jorge Hardoy and David Satterthwaite (1989: 208; quoted by Kramer: 171).

Returning to Bangkok: at one time, "an estimated fifty to one hundred tons of garbage ended up in [the city's] rivers and canals each day," according to Smith and Lee (1993: 176; quoted by Kramer: 173). "Thermal inversion . . . occurs when a blanket of warm air traps cool air and pollutants within a region," intensifying the pollution. This occurs in Cairo, Upper Egypt, Mexico City, and numerous other places every year (176). Alternatively, many cities become polluted by informal industries, such as "leather tanning, metalworking, and brick and tile making," according to Allen Blackman (2000: 2067-82; quoted by Kramer: 177).

Through our purchases, according to Kramer, we can affect people who live in poverty, by purchasing from countries and businesses which pay fair wages, and respect the environment. He provides a list of organizations that assist individuals in impoverished countries around the world, as well as the International Fair Trade Association, which lists organizations which sell "fair-trade tea," coffee, chocolate, and batiks. Kramer writes that he is interested in social justice, which he endeavors to

183

practice, by cultivating diverse friends and assisting needy individuals. He encourages

his readers to "cultivate compassion" for those who are suffering (186, 190-1, 216).

Chapter VI: Culture

Naomi Chazan et al write that Africans "speak more than 800 languages, belong to hundreds of ethnic groups," and live in "fifty-four states" (1999: 5). Dr. Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban writes that this quantity is "closer to several thousand different languages and ethnic groups, but this makes sense since Africa is where our species originated" (2017). India has fifteen official languages. Guha writes that Hindustani is an "amalgam of Hindi and Urdu." Hindi "drew heavily on Sanskrit, whereas Urdu, written in a modified Arabic script, drew on Persian and Arabic." Hindustani was "intelligible to speakers of Hindi and Urdu, but also to the speakers of most of the major dialects of the Indo-Gangetic plain . . . However, Hindustani, Hindi, and Urdu were all virtually unknown in eastern and southern India." Thus, eastern and southern Indians objected strongly to efforts by northern and western Indians to impose Hindi or Hindustani on them as a national language. Southern and eastern Indians spoke "Assamese, Bengali, Kannadu, Malayalam, Oriya, Tamil, and Telugu" (129-30).

Language, of course, is a network of survival. People need to speak to each other. "Under British rule, English had emerged as the language of higher education and administration" (130). Nehru had promoted English for commercial and national communication. Later efforts promoted Hindi or Hindustani, due to their largely national origin. In 1965, Hindi was due to replace English entirely as the language of "communication between the Centre and the states." Following numerous acts of violence, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri decided that "he would fully honor Nehru's assurance that English would be used as long as the people wanted" (393, 396).

In 1983, according to David Lamb, there were seven hundred and fifty **tribal languages** in Africa, "fifty of which [were] spoken by one million or more people." Swahili was spoken in East Africa "by twenty-five million people," and "Hausa in West Africa," also by the same number. "Seventy-five different languages" were spoken in Zaire (14). By 2014, Van Reybrouck writes that the Democratic Republic of Congo (known as Zaire from 1971 to 1997) had four official languages: Kikongo, Lingala, Tshiluba, and Swahili (15).

Beyond the bare necessities, our survival is enhanced by networks of culture, which contribute to our survival by means of art, music, literature, religion, cinema, and history, among other topics. Culture explains our predicaments, and suggests solutions. It presents descriptions of other times, people, and places, which enable us to understand our possibilities more fully. It enriches our experience, creates jobs, and promotes community.

Lewis Mumford rejects the "model community," utopia, or perfectionism, which results in a "totalitarian" state. Humans need significant "disharmony and conflict," a "contrapuntal order," which promotes "psychological growth." "Koheleth and Isaiah, Euripides and Shakespeare, Dante and Machiavelli, offer testimony to the higher disharmonies possible in Jerusalem and Athens and Florence and London." Variety is needed in cities: "varied groups: varied personalities: varied activities. . . The city with a single class, with a single social stratum, with a single type of industrial activity, offers fewer possibilities for the higher forms of human achievement than a many sided urban environment" (485-6). Social drama in cities

"comes into existence through the focusing and intensification of group activity" (480).

Individually, "mind *takes form* in the city; and in turn, urban forms condition mind." And, "through its complex orchestration of time and space, no less than through the social division of labor, life in the city takes on the character of a symphony: specialized human aptitudes, specialized instruments, give rise to sonorous results which, neither in volume nor in quality, could be achieved by any single piece" (4, 5).

"The culture of cities is ultimately the culture of life in its higher social manifestation" (492).

Mumford believes that cities should not have monuments:

"Against the fixed shell and the static monument, the new architecture places its faith in the powers of social adaptation and reproduction. The sign of the older order of architecture, in almost every culture, was the House of the Dead: in modern culture, it is the dwelling house, or House of the Living, renewable generation by generation" (433).

The "older" architecture of Hopi pueblos and Native American tents, however, was the home. Temples throughout history, which preserved and transmitted social and spiritual values, could be considered more oriented towards the living than the dead. When the spiritual values became obsolete, the temples were replaced by those of a new religion. Thus, the Celtic religion, which practiced sacrifice by Druid priests in sacred groves (their 'temple'), was replaced by the Roman religion of its conqueror in England in the first century, and later by Christianity.

Mumford adds that monuments represent "architectural mummification," a "respect for death which is essentially a fear of life." In their vanity, he notes:

"the eminent and the powerful . . . seek a petrified immortality: they write their boasts upon tombstones . . ." In later years, "civic communities . . .[also] tended to sacrifice life to the monument. In general, . . . the classic civilizations of the world, up to our own, have been oriented toward death and fixity: the immobilization of life . . . The burial ground encroaches on the city: . . . Civilizations of the past have sacrificed a good part of their life, their income, their ideologic energy to the monument" (434-5).

Indeed, should we create monuments for our new leaders and heroes, or feed the destitute and starving of Kinshasa and Mumbai, and provide some jobs for the unemployed in Detroit? Some of the earlier monuments, which Mumford deplores, are actually feeding the people of their lands today, as tourists journey to Agra to view the Taj Mahal, a token of love from Shah Jehan for his deceased wife in the seventeenth century; or travel to Luxor in Egypt, to see the ancient temple of Amenhotep III, statues of Ramses II, and tomb of Queen Hatshepsut, with beautiful wall paintings.

"Continuity for us," Mumford continues, "exists . . . [in] the social heritage, through which we are united to all mankind and to all nature . . . Instead of being oriented . . . toward death and fixity, we are oriented to the cycle of life, with its never-ending process of birth and growth and renewal and death . . ." (435).

Mumford's distaste for monuments can be excessive. For example, he condemns the monumental New York Public Library for "curb[ing] and confin[ing] the work of the living" (438), when one could rather see it as preserving and sharing the works of past and present authors. Versailles would probably be a better example of an overly monumental building, built during the reign of Louis XIV in the 17th century. Opulent palaces, gardens and fountains enhanced Versailles, at a time when most of the national population lived in great poverty.

Buildings, Mumford believed, should serve, rather than commemorate. Perhaps they can do both. Mumford concludes that "our cities must not be monuments, but self-renewing organisms: the dominating imagery should not be the cemetery, where the dead must not be disturbed, but the field, meadow, and parkland, with its durable cover of trees, its light boundary lines, its changing crops for which the fields are plowed every year" (438-40).

Describing colonial Mozambique, Henning Mankell writes in *A Treacherous Paradise* that "people [in the slums] supported one another even though they had virtually nothing that they could share. . . A lust for life [exists] among the poorest of the poor" (2013: d. 1, tr. 10).

African Culture

Writing about *African Culture and the Western World,* **Janheinz Jahn** mentions that "the origin of a human being" involves the "biological union of shadow and body according to the principle [of] buzima" (biological life). "The living man is happier than the departed," writes Alexis Kagame, quoted by Jahn, "because he is alive." But the dead, as "spiritual forces," are more powerful. "Intelligence flows into the living man from his ancestors (or orishas) without whose help there is little he can do." (The orishas are gods, embodied in voodoo.) "The task for African intelligence and culture is to teach rhythm to the dead world of machines and guns, . . . [to] utter the cry of joy to awaken the dead and the orphans at dawn, … [and to] restore the memory of life to the man of [eviscerated] hopes" (107, 116, 109, vii, 238).

Missionaries in 1889 opposed such native customs as "human sacrifices, trial by poison, slavery, and polygamy." They also opposed cannibalism, the consumption of slaves, which was practiced to celebrate special occasions (Van Reybrouck: 69-70).

Precolonial **Congolese kings** were considered to be "the link between the visible and the invisible worlds, between the community of the living and the supernatural sphere of the supreme creator and spirits, including the spirits of ancestors who were believed to bequeath protection to the community" (Gondola 2002: 15).

Congolese social and political structures "provide abundant original models of participatory democracy." In Congolese societies, individuals are born into "a hierarchy of descent groups". Everyone is expected to respect seniority and to share resources (Mukenge 2002: 179-80).

Oral art in Africa includes "oral literature (folklore), the priestly functions, okyeame in the Ashanti court, [and] the town crier" (Boadu 1996: 84). Carol Beckwith describes an Ashanti okyeame as an intermediary between an Ashanti king or chiefs or fetish priests and others. "An okyeame must come up with the words, proverb, saying, or metaphor that will most accurately express what the chief is saying or what is being said to the chief" (373-5).

"**Christian missionaries**" destroyed "statues of ancestor figures and masks representing initiation or divination spirits . . . in an effort to combat paganism" (Mukenge: 182). This reminds us of the destruction of the Bamyan Buddha in Afghanistan by the Taliban in the past century, and the destruction of classic structures in Hattra and Palmyra in Iraq and Syria by ISIS in 2014 and 2015.

Samuel Boadu notes that **a "cultural revolution"** occurred **in the 1950s**, to restore cultures that had been suppressed by colonialism. And John Clarke emphasizes that African Americans had an ample culture in folklore, art, and scholarship before they arrived in the U.S. Prior to "the Moroccan invasion in 1591," the University of Sankare in Timbuktu "in the Songhay Empire was the intellectual center of Africa." Ahmed Baba, a "chancellor of the university," was a great African scholar in the sixteenth century who wrote "more than forty books," before being exiled by the invaders to Morocco (M. and K. Asante: 88, 162, 163).

Kinshasa

While proud of their identity as Kinois, the people of Kinshasa also belong to their own ethnic groups as Pende, Ngbandi, Kongo, Yaka or otherwise when it is advantageous to do so. Other networks include neighborhood, profession, and religion (Nzeza 17).

"Cultural and political expression" in Kinshasa, according to Nzeza, include painting, music, and fashion (18). Trefon adds that the Kinois continuously "create, innovate, adapt, and continue their pursuit of well being" (9).

African modernization, in the light of African culture, will be "based" on "three traditional values," according to Janheinz Jahn, quoted by Molefi Kete Asante: "harmony with nature, humaneness, and rhythm" (7).

Dayo Olopade writes that transportation in Africa often requires diligence. "Hundreds of millions of Africans" start "walking to work . . . before dawn" every day "to provide for their families." Mutual assistance is expected; it binds Kanju culture, which involves creating solutions with whatever is available. Trade "creates and

reinforces social ties and provides an alternative to state-citizen relationships" (26, 70, 23, 127).

Jibrin Ibrahim, director of the Center for Democracy and Development in Abuja, believes that "both **Wahhabi Islam** [a conservative ideology from Saudi Arabia**] and Pentecostal Christianity** have removed the influence of the family," because these religions have emphasized that family is less important than religion. This has enabled terrorist groups like Boko Haram and Al-Shabab to become more powerful (Olopade: 77).

A "crisis of meaningfulness" has occurred in Kinshasa, according to Filip de Boeck. "Fact and fiction" have become interchangeable. The "daily context" of the lives of most people in the city "is an architecture of chaos and decay, . . . of lack and loss" (2014: 58-9, 84). Clashes between the followers of bands of musicians increase the violence in the streets. Churches likewise possess their "own forms of physical and symbolic violence". The "world of the living" contrasts with "the world of ancestors," reached by diviners; and dreams influence daily decisions. De Boeck believes that "slippage" has occurred between reality and its reflection or shadow in urban Kinshasa (55-57).

While state authority in Kinshasa sometimes resents church influence, Piermay believes that it remains vital in many social spheres (248). However, between 1885 and 1960, church influence did not prevent Belgian invaders from looting Congolese art. The ethnographic museum at Tervuren in Belgium contains a large collection of Congolese art, taken during colonialism (de Boeck: 82).

Mumbai

   Hinduism began circa 2000 B.C. It is the basis of India's caste system (Gold 2016). Four principal castes/varnas included Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Sudra. Brahmins controlled "spiritual and religious aspects of society," and were intellectuals, as they "were the only caste permitted to read and write." The Kshatriya were warriors and rulers. "If a new dynasty emerged from the wrong caste background, then the Brahmin priest would invent the necessary Kshatriya family tree for it". The "merchant Vaishya caste" fulfilled "the national needs of society." The Sudra were farmers and servants. The lowest people, not a caste, were the untouchables, who removed human waste and swept the streets (Luce 2007: 106).

   "Each Varna . . . has hundreds of jatis, or subcastes" (108).

   'Dharma' is a basic principle of the Hindu religion. It signifies "duty, virtue, and righteousness," and it "placed limits on the king's power" since early Indian history. It is "rooted in culture and religion," and expresses "the moral law that sustains an individual, society and the cosmos." In 2012, Gurcharan Das wrote that dharma was not being "enforced by the power of the state" (11, 60).

   The East India Company tolerated '**untouchability**' (pariahs, panchama) in their promotion of the concept of "gentle slavery," so as not to diminish their profits. During the 1920s, Indians decided that change would have to occur by "the gradual and voluntary transformation of society," rather than by state intervention (Viswanath 2014: 3, 7).

   In Madras in 1888, village landlords were allowed to claim "the sites where Pariah laborers lived," which opposed British regulation. Thus, they could threaten

individuals with eviction if they didn't work fast enough. While opposing caste cruelty, Protestant missionaries accepted the "social differentiation" of the caste system (13, 16).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, "untouchable laborers were forbidden the use of village wells, main thoroughfares, and clothing or accessories that conveyed status, such as slippers and umbrellas." While "equality before God" represented Christian dogma, missionaries accepted the "social inequality" of the caste system as socially beneficial (30, 54).

During the early twentieth century, the British government did little to assist the pariahs. They concluded that "the Pariah problem" was "domestic, rather than imperial". 'Reservations' in education and employment have existed for Dalits (formerly untouchables) since the early twentieth century (216, 253).

Under East India Company rule, commercial agriculture was encouraged. "A system of **law and property rights** [was] instituted." Social reforms were planned. "Indian commercial and banking elites" profited from British colonial developments, but were excluded from "the export sector" and confined to inland trade and agriculture. Indians were reduced to ancient "'customs' and tribes," researched and enforced by the British. Current local customs were rejected. Women could no longer inherit property. "Most historians . . . agree that the rigidities introduced by colonial policy decisively shaped, even distorted, modernity in India." Disadvantages of colonialism included "racism, militarism," and "economic exploitation" (Metcalf: 91, 93).

'**Subaltern studies**', championed by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in her article on "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988), suggested that oppressed people have difficulty talking back to their oppressors. Barbara and Thomas Metcalf add that modern 'subaltern studies' "challenge 'elitist' constructions of history [and] bring 'the people' back into account" (256).

The practice of **sati**, the burning of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres, was ended by British Governor-General William Bentinck in 1829. First, however, he checked with "a panel of Brahmin pundits," to be sure that "the practice was not required by 'scripture'." The Metcalfs note that "sati was not . . . widely practiced". At most "some eight hundred cases [occurred] annually throughout Bengal" (82). (Too many by any standard.)

Vinay Lal considers "the city as a site of imagination," of "art, music, theater, public performance, literature, popular culture, and street culture." However, Jain monks were obliged to vow not "to visit Bombay lest [their] spiritual discipline [should be shredded] to pieces" (xiv, xv, xxxviii).

Hindu nationalism began with B. G. Tilak's introduction of Ganesh/ Ganipati celebrations in 1893 and with "the cow protection movement," also in the late nineteenth century. The Hindu Mahasabha, which also promoted cow protection, plus use of the Hindi language, as well as "Sanskritized Hindi written in Devanagari script," was founded in 1915. In 1923, V.D. Sarvarkar initiated "'Hindutva' or 'Hinduness'," celebrating "the greatness and the unity of the Hindu people". The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), founded in 1925, promoted a more militant

Hinduism, with "India as a land of, and for Hindus." They were "stridently anti-Muslim" (Metcalfs: 151, 228-9).

Luce adds that "the Sangh Parivar (the RSS family of groups) controls India's largest trade union, its largest students' union, and the largest network of daily and weekly publications in India . . . Its basic aim . . . is to downgrade the status of India's religious minorities, through peaceful or violent means" (348). Shiv Sena, founded in Bombay by Bal Thackeray in 1966, is also hostile to Muslims, opposes labor migration to Maharashtra, and promotes violence against Muslims (Metcalfs: 278). In 1989, the Jana Sangh rightist political party was reborn as the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Parisad) according to the Metcalfs. Guha, however, dates this as 1980. He writes that the Jana Sangh was renamed to promote "the 'Hindu' interest. . . . Religious violence [followed] in northern and western India"; including riots in "Bombay in May-June 1984" (558). While patriotism promotes political progress and achievement, hostility to other ethnic and religious groups promotes violence and conflict, and is unworthy of human behavior.

Lal describes **Rabindranath Tagore** as a titan of Indian literature, a writer of novels and poetry, and composer of some two thousand and two hundred songs. He includes Tagore's essay on "City and Village" (1928) in his anthology. Tagore writes that "the individual life finds wider scope in the life of the community . . . The realization [comes] that in union there [is] not advantage alone but also satisfaction." We must "harmonize the divergence between village and town, between the classes and the masses, between the pride of power and the spirit of comradeship" (378, 112, 114).

The spinning wheel created clothing, " but also roused the sense of beauty which was to possess so much of [man's] life . . . Inequality of wealth [is] healthy only within a limited range . . . Steep mountains . . . retard the natural flow of communication." True democracy cannot exist in societies with uncontrolled greed (115, 118).

Dalit writers were first published in Bombay. Nineteenth century literature includes innovators and revivalists (reviving traditions). J. V Naik discusses the awakening of a native Indian press in the first half of the nineteenth century, with the appearance of numerous weekly and daily native Indian newspapers in English, Marathi, and Gujarati. These include the *Bombay Samachar* in Gujarati, in 1822; the *Bombay Durpan*, Anglo-Marathi, in 1832; *Prabhakar*, in Marathi, in 1841. *Jame-e-Jamshed* (1831), in Gujarati, is directed towards orthodox Parsis (Naik 1995: 61, 64).

Author Vidyut Bhagwat describes the experience for a Dalit (not himself) of moving "from the culture of feudalism and face-to-face repression in the village," to the city, Bombay, in his chapter on "Bombay in Dalit literature." The Dalit "soon realizes that once again he remains an unnoticed, expendable stone at the base of the edifice of modernity, the ugly city dominated by the rich and the powerful" (1995: 114-5).

Dalit poet **Narayan Surve**, as mentioned, reaches a more positive conclusion. He writes that "the poor in their utter desolation manage to maintain hope in the future by joining hands with others in a similar situation" (Bhagwat: 119).

Bhimrao Ambedkar considered the caste system to be "India's greatest social evil". Dalit means "oppressed" or "broken to pieces". He considered Gandhi's

appellation of this group as Harijan, "children of God," to be "patronizing".

Ambedkar was chosen by Prime Minister Nehru as "minister for law" (1947-51). In

1947-49, he drafted the constitution for modern India. Vallabhbhai Patel "as home

minister [1947-64] skillfully incorporated the five hundred or so princely states into

India" (Luce: 12, 110, 188).

Author **Salman Rushdie,** born and raised for fourteen years in Bombay, is

deeply interested in history, culture, imagination, and human rights, including "the

right of human beings to walk down the streets of their own country without fear"

(1998, quoted by Grant in 2012: xiii). Modern mass migrations, according to Rushdie,

have created "radically new types of beings," rooted "in ideas rather than places."

Considering that after Bombay, Rushdie spent his next seven years between Karachi

and England, where he studied at Rugby and Cambridge, the next thirty-two mostly in

London, with visits for months to India, Pakistan, Australia, and Nicaragua; the next

seven in New York, and the next four at Emory University in Atlanta, he has been

rooted and uprooted in numerous places. Along the way, he was married and divorced

four times, and fathered two sons (5, ix-xi).

At midnight on August 15, 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru proclaimed the

independence of India. In the following hours one thousand and one fictional (and

magical) children of Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* were born. Saleem Sinai is one of

these children, and he related the story of the novel to Padma, with whom he works in

a pickle factory (36).

Saleem, the son of a serving woman and an Englishman, was switched at birth

with Shiva, the son of wealthy parents (52). This switched-at-birth plotline had

occurred one century earlier, in Mark Twain's classic *The Prince and the Pauper*, among other examples. Rushdie, however, includes a great many original structural and conceptual variations.

In the novel, Saleem's voyage "of self-discovery interacts with, and is constrained by a public discourse of history and politics," according to Andrzej Gasiorek (1995: 167; quoted by Grant: 41). The tragedy of Hindu-Muslim conflict enters the novel in terms of Saleem's loss of numerous relatives. He comments that "the hidden purpose of the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965 was nothing more nor less than the elimination of my benighted family from the face of the earth" (*Midnight's Children* 327; quoted by Grant: 41). In addition, Saleem (fiction) becomes a victim of Sanjay Ghandi's "compulsory sterilization programme," which actually occurred in 1975-6, to limit population growth (41).

Grant believes that "birth" is "the central metaphor" of *Midnight's Children*. "It is . . . through birth that *newness enters the world*; and it is through a complex and elaborated system of metaphors of birth and rebirth that Rushdie moves from merely physical propagation outwards to psychological, cultural, and political formations." The novel ends with "the dissolution" of Saleem "into the mass, the undifferentiated energies of the new and always renewable nation" (51-2).

The "scaffolding" of *The Satanic Verses* is history. Two main characters, Gibreel and Saladin, are friends from India, mostly living in Britain. Gibreel also represents the archangel, "who dictates the word of God to the prophet". The novel focuses on "the nature of modern identity, [including] personal and national/ethnic [variations; and] the relationship between our instinct for good and evil," among other

topics (71, 72, 74). *The Satanic Verses* includes 21 and 22 of surah 53 of the Koran, accepted by Muslim scholars Ibn Sa'd (784-845 A.D.) and at-Tabari (839-923 A.D.), which presents an incident in the life of Mohammed that would have been considered blasphemous by later Islamic clerics (Hahn 2000).

After its publication in September 1988 in London, Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Voices* was "banned in India" as insulting to Islam; in October, in Bangladesh and Sudan in November; in Sri Lanka in December, and Pakistan in 1989. Soon, "it was proscribed throughout the Islamic world." In February 1989, "the Ayatollah Homeini of Iran . . . issued a fatwa . . . sentencing Salman Rushdie to death for blasphemy, under Islamic law; enjoining Muslims everywhere to carry out the sentence, offering the double incentive of martyrdom and a large material reward . . . Rushdie accepted the offer of police protection [from the U.K.], and went into hiding." He "remained a fugitive" for "ten years" (Grant 88).

Timothy Brennan describes Rushdie's novels as "metafictional," as they are more "novels about Third World novels" than merely novels themselves (1989: 85; quoted by Grant, 41). However, Rushdie's novels are not "*about* Third World novels"; they *are* partly Third World novels and partly First World novels.

Gyan Prakash discusses architecture and culture in *Mumbai Fables*. He notes that Rem Koolhaas, an "architect and urban theorist," predicts that future cities will be generic, lacking history, uniqueness, and tradition. Bombay represents "a kinetic city," as described by Rahul Mehrotra, an architect. A static city "is composed of architecture and monuments," but a kinetic city is composed of motion and temporary

200

materials. Dharavi slum in Mumbai survives as a "kinetic city, … under the looming shadow of the bulldozers of 'development'" (Prakash 2010: 21, 339).

Amidst the growing crime in Mumbai, and violence against Muslims promoted by Shiv Sena's Marathi Hindu bias, and Muslim counter-violence, and an often corrupt police force, a comic book series, *Doga*, has been published since 1993, according to Prakash, to represent the punishment of criminals. The series was conceived by Sanjay Gupta, Vivek Mohan, and Tarun Wahi, and produced by Raj comics. About seventy thousand copies are sold per issue. Doga, who wears the mask of a dog, kills evildoers with bullets and hand grenades. His intention is to annihilate criminals, not to reform them (28, 306, 289, 308).

Prakash comments that "Mumbai is no longer Mumbai when it loses the bond of humanity underlying religious difference . . . Caring for human beings, according to the comic book, is what holds an urban society together" (319). Thus, culture can promote social values, versus culture that glorifies crime.

In Mumbai's Chor Bazaar, a flea market, one can find items representing the city's earlier residents and history. "While modernity homogenizes urban life, . . . it also creates a strong desire for differentiation," style, and individuality. These can be acquired at the Chor Bazaar. "Mumbai's everyday practice . . . presents [history] as a tapestry of different, overlapping, and contradictory experiences, imaginations, and desires." This history creates the city as a modern society (335, 345, 348).

Anita Desai describes the experience of poverty in her novel *In Custody*. By his efforts to record and preserve the recital of the greatest living Urdu poet, Nur, Deven becomes his "custodian" and perhaps his successor. The poet and others in his

201

entourage want to be paid. They leave him with numerous bills to be paid. Deven may have lost his job as a lecturer at a college in the small town of Mirpore by spending days endeavoring to record the great poet. Urdu was the primary language during the Mughal empire, but it is not very popular under modern Hindu leadership (15).

The poet dies. Now Deven will be obliged to support the great poet's widows, and to "raise his son," besides supporting his own wife, and raising his own son. Deven also writes poetry (16). He is grateful that he has heard the poetry, and experienced friendship with Nur. "Soon the sun would be up and blazing. The day would begin, with its calamities. They would flash out of the sky and cut him down like swords. He would run to meet them. He ran, stopping only to pull a branch of thorns from under his foot" (1984: 204).

Sekutu Mehta notes that audience reaction to movies can be violent. If an audience is disappointed by the portrayal of the hero of a movie, it can ransack the theater, as happened at the première showing of *Fiza* in Ludhiana. Besides romance, films in India increasingly "deal with political issues" and terrorism. The riots during partition became a significant subject for the cinema (356, 364, 377).

The audience talks constantly during Indian movies. "Complex dialogue doesn't work, because most of the time the audience doesn't hear it." Eventually, "nine out of eleven films don't make back their investment." A leading director, Vidhu Vinod Chopra signs a contract for an actor in which payment will be based on a film's profit (366, 377).

Modern music in Mumbai "relies more on electronic instruments and on African rhythms and voices" than in the previous generation (Mehta: 373)

Detroit

After the "Great Fire of 1805," **Father Gabriel Richards** (1767 to 1832) proclaimed: "*Speramus meliora, resurget cineribus*": "we hope for better things; it shall arise from the ashes." Father Gabriel promoted the cultural growth of Detroit and Michigan. He brought "a printing press to Detroit in 1808," which printed the first items "other than business forms," including the first issue of Michigan's first newspaper. He imported Detroit's "first harpsichords, spinning wheels, and pipe organ." He recruited the teachers for "Detroit's first public schools". And in 1823, he ran for Congress, and became "the first priest" in the U.S. Congress (Bragg: 46, 51-2).

Binelli notes that organizations representing the development of black pride, such as **the Nation of Islam**, first appeared in Detroit. The 'Nation' was founded by Wallace Fard Muhammad in 1930, and then developed by Elijah Poole, later known as Elijah Muhammad. It was "taken to its apogee by **Malcolm X**, an ex-convict and Detroiter who preached emancipation 'by any means necessary'" (Le Duff 237).

Malcolm X was raised in nearby Lansing, and occasionally visited Detroit. The Reverend Albert Cleage Jr. preached at the Central Congregation Church, which he changed to the Shrine of the Black Madonna, and changed his own name to Jaramogi Abebe Agyeman. Agyeman preached "a revolutionary black liberation theology" (125-6).

In 1932, Mexican artist Diego Rivera arrived in Detroit with his companion and fellow artist Frida Kahlo. Rivera had been commissioned to paint murals for the

Detroit Institute of Arts, on the "Detroit Industry", for which Henry Ford's son Edsel paid slightly more than $20,000. Besides scenes of the factory and workers, Rivera included themes of "creation myth, Aztec statuary, . . . Soviet propaganda posters, the ceiling of the Sistine chapel," Mexican *retablo* art, and photos of the Rouge Ford plant (167).

Culture involving the auto industry largely represented white Detroiters, as African Americans were minimally hired for many years, and then largely for the least-paying jobs, such as janitor (Binelli 167, Martelle 88).

Binelli writes that Detroiters resent "ruin porn": scenes of "ravaged neighborhoods" featured in TV news accounts. Native nostalgia is acceptable, while exploitation is not. "Ignoring the blight altogether would have been reportorial malpractice akin to writing a travel piece about Malibu and failing to mention the Pacific Ocean". 'Urbexers', short for "urban explorers," usually white and "relatively privileged," explore abandoned buildings and post "videos of themselves, . . . set to aggressive heavy metal and hip-hop sound tracks" (272-3).

Friends of Binelli, Detroiters, staged gourmet meals for dinners "in abandoned buildings, . . . played ice hockey on the frozen floors of decrepit factories, and occasionally [listened to] Tigers games ["on the radio"] from the roofs of empty skyscrapers nearby." Another friend "was hired to shoot suburban wedding photographs in the ruins of the Packard plant . . ." (274).

In 1967, Chilean photographer Camilo José Vergara photographed Gary, Indiana, a formerly prosperous steel town, then descending into ruins (Binelli 269). Vergara went on to photograph the South Side of Chicago, Harlem, the South Bronx,

and in 1987, the "grand ruins" of Detroit. He began with prewar skyscrapers, located in the center of Detroit. In 1995, Vergara called for the stabilization of these central blocks "as an 'urban Monument Valley'," a "memorial of our throwaway cities" (270). Mumford would especially disapprove of this "respect for death which is essentially a fear of life" (434). "Our cities should not be monuments, but self-renewing organisms" (440). I would agree with Mumford's focus on life and the living. A collection of photographs by Vergara for the history of Detroit would be interesting, and then renovation or demolition of derelict buildings.

Thomas Sugrue attributes the decline and poverty of Detroit to the "persistent housing and workplace discrimination" that have occurred since World War II (2005 [1996]: 271). I include this with culture rather than with housing, 'discrimination' being a (misguided) aspect of culture. Between 1950 and 2002, according to Sugrue, "Detroit had lost nearly half its population" due to "industrial decline, racial conflict, and disinvestment". "Political institutions, markets, and public policies [promoted] . . . white racial privilege." Sugrue adds that "poverty rates among people of color in major American cities [were] staggeringly high." American cities were transformed by three factors: "the flight of jobs," "the persistence of workplace discrimination," and "racial discrimination in housing" (271, xvi, xx, xvii, xviii).

Heather Ann Thompson also discusses racial injustice in Detroit. President L. B. Johnson's Great Society in the 1960s aimed to defeat "poverty and discrimination". By the 1970s, African Americans in Detroit were hoping for equal opportunity, while white Detroiters were hoping for a return to their pre-World War II dominance. "Urban centers across the U.S. in the 1970s witnessed" a dramatic rise in "black

liberal political power" (2001: 4, 2, 219). Meanwhile, "black activism . . . forced the

UAW in Detroit to desegregate its upper leadership, and this phenomenon also played

out in other unions that had witnessed rank-and-file African-American dissent,"

according to Thomas Brooks (1970:10; quoted by Thompson 2001: 221).

Paul Clemens intersperses his memories of growing up in Detroit with

observations of Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, and black versus white perspectives

of the city. Clemens' father was especially interested in repairing cars and in car

magazines. The author, however, became very interested in books and ideas (2005:

26, 22, 15).

Coming from Detroit, after two race riots (by then) and an increasing black

majority, Clemens became interested in **Ralph Ellison,** the author of *Invisible Man,*

and **James Baldwin** at his unnamed college in western Michigan, to which he

received a full scholarship, beginning in 1991. He quotes James Baldwin's lines from

Notes from a Native Son (1955): "it goes without saying that injustice is a

commonplace." However, "one must never, in one's own life, accept these injustices

as commonplace but must fight them with all one's strength . . . This fight begins,

however, in the heart and it now had been laid to my charge to keep my own heart free

of hatred and despair." Having grown up as a Catholic, attending Catholic schools,

Clemens realized that "Church teaching and Baldwin agreed" on "freeing one's heart

of hatred and despair" (2005: 137, 132, 102, 138, 215, 216).

Sixto Rodriguez, a resident of Detroit, is a musician and composer. He has

worked for many years in excavation and demolition. His initial records, *Cold Fact*

(1969) and *Coming from Reality* (1971) sold poorly in the U.S., but became popular in

South Africa in the 1970s. At that time, "South Africa was a police state –

authoritarian, repressive, and conservative . . ." Many of Rodriguez's fans in South

Africa found "great inspirational value" in his "harsh but honest social commentary . .

. in those dark and difficult times." South African fans, who dearly loved his music,

had no idea that his "albums had failed in the U.S**."** He ran for political office in

Detroit, and received a B.A. in philosophy at Wayne State University in 1981

(Segerman 2008: 24-26; Howes 2008: 16-17).

In 1996, Craig Bartholomew, an advertising agent and freelance journalist,

contacted Stephen "Sugar" Segerman, likewise a fan of Rodriguez from Cape Town.

They agreed to search for Rodriguez, who continued to sing and play his guitar at bars

in Detroit. His recordings were duplicated, and revenue for the duplications was sent

to his producer in Los Angeles, who reports that he did not receive the revenue,

according to *Searching for Sugar Man*, a documentary about Rodriguez written and

directed by Malik Bendjelloul in 2012**.**   Eventually, after much searching ("seventy-

two telephone calls, forty-five faxes, one hundred and forty-two emails, and many a

long night scrounging through book-ends, dead-ends, [and] loose-ends"), Craig

Bartholomew managed to find Rodriguez, according to Segerman and Farell Russak.

In March 1998, Rodriguez played for "six concerts in five thousand-capacity arenas in

all the major centers [of South Africa], . . . and he filled them all . . . The bizarre

mismatch between his American obscurity and South African superstardom" surely

amazed him, and many others (2008: 27-29).

Several of Rodriguez' titles include: "Sugar Man," "The Establishment Blues,"

"Inner City Blues," "I Wonder," "Halfway Up the Stairs," and "Street Boy." His

music tells us that even amidst poverty, human life is important and interesting; a message for impoverished cities elsewhere as well. *Searching for Sugar Man* won the Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature in 2013, as well as Best Documentary at the 66th British Academy Film Awards, and twenty-two additional awards.

The **"Heidelberg Project,"** begun in the 1980s by African American artist Tyree Guyton, is "an entire residential block transformed into a sculptural installation" (Binelli 23). In the "late eighties and early nineties," techno music, developed by Juan Atkins, Derrick May, and Kevin Saunderson, three African-American Detroiters, became popular internationally. Binelli describes it as "driving music," "instrumental rhythm tracks," avant-garde dance music, "the imaginary sound track to a science fiction movie," and "forward-looking music" (265-6).

Binelli adds that "**Michigan Central Station**, the best-known Detroit ruin, . . . a towering eighteen-story Beaux-Arts Train station with a lavish waiting room of marble floors and a fifty-foot ceiling – was modeled after the Baths of Caracalla" in Rome. It "was built in 1913 by the same architectural firms that designed New York's Grand Central . . ." The present owner, "Matty" Maroun, is allowing the building to deteriorate (278). For the history of Detroit, it seems that some national organization of historic preservation should confiscate the building, if billionaire Maroun neglects to preserve it. With eighteen stories and "a lavish waiting room," the building must be usable for something.

Dave Bing was elected mayor of Detroit in 2009. Binelli was concerned that "ambitious urban planning initiative[s]" by his administration would fail to include such "cherished alchemic components" as the Sunday afternoon summer-time blues

concerts of Pete Barrow, a cousin of champion boxer Joe Louis, whose "fist" is proudly extended in a monument "at the intersection of Woodward and Jefferson" Avenues (Martelle x).

For a performance event adaptation of Norman Mailer's *Ancient Evenings* in 2009, museum and foundation directors, artists, and wealthy patrons visited Detroit. In one scene, workers impersonated the classic Ford assembly line to produce discordant musical instruments. Binelli speculates that "maybe one day the only factory work left in Detroit would be stylized performance art – manufacturing as historical reenactment!" (253, 255-6).

Culture, as mentioned, contributes to our emotional and intellectual well-being. Both culture and education enrich our survival, although appraisals of culture often differ.

Chapter VII: Community and Urban Theory

Community Theory

In the *Inoperative Community* (1991), **Jean-Luc Nancy** discusses mythology and "literary communism". He defines "community" as "what Heidegger would call the difference between the ontic and the ontological" (Fynsk x), i.e. between existing versus being in theory. Nancy emphasizes the importance of community. "A singular being may come into existence" only as a member of a community (x). Freedom is fundamentally social (xiii-xv).

Nancy criticizes democracy and prefers communism. He writes that "democracy [at present] more and more frequently serves only to assure a play of [expanding] economic and technical forces . . . [This] will destroy 'democracy' if 'democracy' persists in tolerating it" (Nancy xxxvii). All five chapters of the book were written before the failure of communism in the USSR in 1989, and the fragmentation of the USSR.

"Being-in-common" exists in community, and "gives rise to . . . being self." The modern world, Nancy continues, is responsible for "the dissolution, the dislocation, or the conflagration of community" (xxxvii). He believes that "'communism' stands as an emblem of the desire to discover or rediscover a place of community at once beyond social divisions and beyond subordination to technopolitical [and private] dominion" (1). Others (including myself) believe that communism would not provide the incentives for individuals to create sufficient businesses, industries, and employment for modern economies.

In *The Coming Community* (1990), **Georgio Agamben** emphasizes the importance of the individual human being; *every* individual human being. He defines "whatever being" as "being such that it . . . matters," rather than as "being indifferently". In the "coming community," he believes, "whatever being," every individual being, will be significant (1). This is an important message for slum landlords, abusive moneylenders, corrupt government officials, and terrorists who exploit others and practice intolerance. As 'significant beings', one might add that we are all entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as Thomas Jefferson wrote in June 1776.

While theories are "principles of explanation," Agamben's statement is more an expression of idealism than community theory: the world would be better if all people respected each other as significant beings.

In *Being Singular Plural*, 1996, Jean-Luc Nancy writes that being is the circulation of meaning by means of humanity. "There is no meaning if meaning is not shared." Birth involves "being with". We are not born into isolation, but into communities. Heidegger likewise believed that *dasein* (being) always involves "the one, each one, with one another"; involving community (Nancy: 2, 61, 36, 26).

Urban Theory

Dean Koontz writes in *The City* that the city is "a place of wonder, of magic dark and light. Sure, you need to have the office buildings and the parks and the night clubs and museums. But, more than anything, cities are people in the end, it's the people, and the kind of people they are, who make a city great or not. And if a city is

great, it has a soul of its own, one spun up from the threads of the millions of souls who have lived there in the past, and live there now" (2014: d.1, tr.3).

Colonial cities had "patterns of separation and segregation"; for example, in Delhi in the 19th century. Changes in Delhi in 1911 expressed the city's evolving "social and political hierarchy", as well as "racial hierarchies". In colonial cities, the arrangement of spaces and structures symbolized which "groups and institutions held power." For example, principal Latin American cities were arranged according to the Laws of the Indies, which called for principal municipal buildings, "institutions of colonial power", and principal church to be arranged around a central square. Theaters, museums and gardens became places for the wealthy to congregate (181-3), as well as clubs. Chen et al mention that competing views on the use of parks and other public spaces developed over the years (183).

Urban theory, according to Chen et al, began in the nineteenth century. Steam engines and factories had developed in the Industrial Revolution, and many workers lost their jobs, due to the enclosure of common lands by wealthy landowners, and moved to cities (30). In 1845, **Friedrich Engels** condemned urban conditions in Manchester, England. He described "the 'ruinous and miserable' living conditions of working-class city dwellers . . . Streets were filled with human and animal wastes . . ." Crime flourished, but "in the nest of thieves doors are superfluous, because there is nothing worth stealing" (Chen et al 31).

Observing human interaction, he notes that "everyone exploits his neighbor with the result that the stronger tramples the weaker under foot. The strongest of all, a tiny group of capitalists, monopolizes everything, while the weakest, who are in the

212

vast majority, succumb to the most abject poverty" (31). Together, Marx and Engels

endeavored "to address the atrocious living condition of the urban poor through

radical political and economic change" (31).

Social theorist **Ferdinand Tönnies** studied the difference between premodern

and modern social relationships; in towns, rural regions, and modern cities. Tönnies

focused on scale and social organization. For Tönnies, the concept of *Gemeinschaft*

describes community or "close and intimate" versus the "fleeting and impersonal

relationships . . ." of *Gesellschaft*, occurring in society. Tönnies believed that "close

and intimate" relationships, could be found in city neighborhoods, as well as in towns

and rural villages (Chen et al 32).

Georg Simmel, also German, considered city life as "impersonal and

anonymous", dealing with work and "business transaction[s]." People in cities think

in terms of "calculation and rationality." Simmel described "strangers" in cities as

people with whom we occasionally share "intimate details," because we will never see

them again. Simmel considers the stranger as "the embodiment of the modern world

and, in particular, the modern metropolis" (Chen et al 34).

Both Trefon and Sundaram, however, describe more personal and connected

neighborhoods within cities, in which people assist each other when hungry, and repay

each other when possible. In Mumbai, people are willing to share their meager

sleeping space with others (Mehta: 395). Simmel is perhaps describing modern

Western middle class and upscale neighborhoods, in which individuals are more self-

sufficient; and their friends may live in different neighborhoods, not necessarily

adjacent or nearby.

For sociologists at the University of Chicago in the 1890s, including **Robert Park, Louis Wirth and Ernest Burgess,** space was a more important theme than "time and history," which were dominant for Marx and Hegel. The organization of a city and the identity and representation of "social groups and institutions" were significant considerations. Social space, according to this Chicago School of Sociology, considers how residents shape and influence "the spatial patterns and areas of cities" (Chen et al 38-9).

Burgess and Park developed a theory of concentric zones. These radiate outwards from a central zone. According to Burgess, a city's "social map" indicates regions, neighborhoods, social and ethnic groups. Burgess located "dominant social institutions and forces" in concentric zones. The most important groups, they believed, live near the center. Chicago sociologists believed that biology and economics are the foundation of social institutions. They focused on "*populations of people*," and described their science as human ecology. These populations were composed of different ethnic groups – for example, Italians, or Irish. Several "dynamic mechanisms" motivated expansion and development, especially the "*competition for social space*" (Chen et al 39, 41).

This separation of ethnic groups was much less apparent when I moved back to New York City after college in 1967. Many of my friends of different descent were scattered throughout Manhattan. And yet, more of my African-American friends lived in Harlem, more of my Jewish friends on the West Side, and more of my Anglo American friends on the East Side. (We ourselves lived on the East Side for six years,

on the West Side for eight years, and then on Roosevelt Island, between Manhattan and Queens, for eight years.)

Chicago sociologists describe the arrival of a new ethnic group into an established ethnic area as an *invasion*. If the new group replaces the previous group, they have *succeeded* the previous group. These scholars believed that the central regions of a city are "most valuable", and, "major financial" institutions are located in the center (Chen et al 41). This is not at present the case in New York City, as Wall Street, the city's financial center, is far south of the center. However, when Wall Street was first created, named after early Dutch Walloon settlers, who first landed in present Manhattan in 1613, this may have been more accurate.

Like "plants and animals," according to the Chicago sociologists, "the institutions and groups best suited to a particular piece of land would flourish there, thus out-competing other institutions and groups who would, in turn, move elsewhere" (42).

Robert Moses worked as New York City Parks Commissioner from 1934-1960, and as an urban planner. Marshall Berman considers that Moses was a "Faustian developer" (1988: 75). He created Jones Beach on Long Island out of swamp and wasteland. However, the underpasses of his "Northern and Southern State parkways" to Jones Beach "were purposely built too low for buses to clear them, so that public transit could not bring masses of people out from the city to the beach." Thus, the beach was intended for wealthy New Yorkers, who arrived in their automobiles.

And New York City's Bronx was seriously damaged by his Cross Bronx Expressway, which caused thousands of residents to abandon their communities and neighborhoods. As a result, many buildings were emptied and burned out (biography.com).

He initiated numerous building programs in New York City, including Lincoln Center, "Shea Stadium, two hydroelectric dams, Jones Beach State Park, thirteen bridges, . . . thirty-five highways," and six hundred-plus playgrounds. Moses favored highways over mass transit (ibid).

Louis Wirth viewed "the city as the novel and central social form of the modern world". Like Tönnies and Simmel, he believed that people in cities "knew one another not in an intimate and personal fashion but rather in a secondary and impersonal one" (44). Wirth believed that people "become lost in the city" (44). Although many neighborhoods in New York City are not specifically ethnic nowadays, Brooklyn still has an Arab section, and Chinatown is largely Chinese. Considering that there are soup kitchens and homeless shelters, it would be possible for an impoverished person to arrive and work their way up, starting perhaps as a dish-washer, without becoming "lost". I would disagree with Wirth that "*security*" and "*community*" do not exist in cities (44). A substantial degree of security and community exists in New York City. True, my wallet was taken three times: twice in the subway and once on Riverside Drive; and my first car was stolen and damaged. However, it probably takes a few years for an individual to feel "at home" someplace, any place.

Rather than focusing on ethnic groups to understand modern cities, like Park and Burgess, **Manuel Castells** followed the message of **Karl Marx**, and claimed that "modern capitalism . . . dominated everything that took place within the city." The "dynamic mechanism" was not "competition for social space" (41); rather, "it was modern capitalism, . . . the single-minded pursuit of profit . . ." By the 1960s and 70s, one should understand the world "in terms of broad social structures," as recommended by new-Marxists "**Louis Althusser** and **Nicos Poulantzas**". Political and ideological structures raised the issue of human rights. We should function more on the process of *consumption*, Castells believed, rather than on "manufacturing and production". The focus of urban studies shifted from "factories and the exploitation of workers" to "new lifestyles" and the "new, and dominant, urban middle class" (Chen et al 51).

David Harvey, an English geographer, reminded readers in the late 20th century that capitalism can impose hardships on modern urban residents. Older districts in a city may decline, while speculators purchase cheaper land on the "periphery" (Ibid 51-2). However, when the older district declines sufficiently, free market enterprise will proceed to demolish the buildings, and produce more desirable structures – unless the older ones are desirable for 'historic preservation'.

Harvey adds that "uneven growth" could result, with deterioration in central areas, and modern constructions in outlying regions. "It is the very poorest residents of cities . . . who end up being charged the highest rates for their mortgages." And, he believed that "homeowners and renters are exploited in the transactions they carry out with bankers, developers, and real estate companies" (Chen et al 52-3).

217

Unlike the earlier Chicago School sociologists, **Harvey Molotch** believed that residents, housing commissioners, and planners should be considered as agents, instead of focusing primarily on ethnic groups as basic units. In 1976, he saw the city as "a growth machine". Cities have "growth coalitions," which include "the mayor and local government, as well as banks, real estate developers, and even the local media, such as newspapers." All members of this coalition favor growth, and "stand to benefit from such expansion." Growth provides both economic and political benefit (Chen et al 55).

Karl Marx had taught that products have both "use value" and "exchange value". Exchange value is realized when items are sold. Clashes occur "between neighborhood associations, seeking to protect the rights of residents, and local governments, backed by developers and seeking to find and develop new pieces of property in the city." Chen et al describe Marx as "the icon on which . . . socialism was built" (55-57). They note that urban renewal was undertaken in many older cities, to remove slums and other "blighted" areas. These were replaced by sports, business, and entertainment projects. Poorer people were not always happy to have their neighborhood communities removed. Sociologists at that time considered that many of these people were "socially disorganized", and therefore prone to "delinquency and crime" (Chen et al 58-9).

Jane Jacobs was a leader of opposition to radical slum clearance. She believed that "people and their neighborhoods" were more important than new highways and skyscrapers (59). Besides urban renewal, criticism of the status quo was also an important feature of the 1950s and '60s; contributing, for example, to the Civil

218

Rights movement, and Vietnam War protests (61). Jacob's theory describes how "neighborhoods develop small communities and provide . . . essential elements of security and safety" in cities, and "how streets, sidewalks and parks" also contribute (Chen et al 70).

In the early 1960s, Chen et al note that "many manufacturing businesses in the West" began to decline. Examples include Chicago, Barcelona, Detroit, and Manchester. Parts of cities were left abandoned. In some cities, "real estate developers along with shrewd city developers" renovated old buildings for new purposes, often involving consumption (61-2). However, as production moved to countries with lower wages, was the West increasingly consuming more than it produced? This situation, along with faulty banking and real estate practices – for example, the packaging and sale of defective mortgage-backed securities, eventually led to the Great Recession of 2008-2010.

Chen et al address this issue of decreasing production: "As spaces of production are lost, people with limited skills lose jobs, and, when spaces of consumption take their place, jobs pay less and housing is often unaffordable" (64). **Sharon Zukin,** an urban sociologist, studied "culture and consumption." In New York City, she noticed, many artists were living in "old factory warehouses". Rents in these warehouses rose, and wealthy tenants replaced the artists, creating 'gentrification'. When wealthy residents remained in the city, instead of moving to the suburbs, "fashion and lifestyle" moved upscale. "Artifice and invention" replaced nature, for example in Disneyland. Urban environments increasingly fulfilled fantasies (Chen et al 65).

219

Richard Florida describes a "creative economy" and "creative class" in modern cities. In the 1980s, **Saskia Sassen and John Friedman** recognized a new role of certain "global cities". The dispersed operations of multinational corporations required "a point where those operations could be coordinated." In 1968, **Roderick McKenzie** had suggested an early version of this concept. Cities such as "New York City, London, and Tokyo" combined financial, banking, and legal expertise. By the twenty-first century, "São Paulo and Shanghai" had also become global cities. Meanwhile, smaller or "primate cities" had become "national or regional centers" (Chen et al 66-7).

Sassen believes that the creation of "free trade zones and agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Act" (NAFTA), has liberated the economy "from its restrictions and regulations by the state" (67). However, considering that NAFTA was approved by the U.S. Congress, undoubtedly regulations and controls were included in this agreement. For example, U.S. companies would not be able to give or receive bribes. Chen describes the Washington Consensus, 1990, as "a set of directives designed to guide and shape economic activity among the states and key economic actors of the world" (Chen et al 68).

Philip Harrison writes that urban planning needs to recover "ways of thinking and forms of knowledge that were subalternized by colonialism". A "diversity of truth claims" exists. Northern urban planning is oriented towards institutionalism, whereas the African city, according to A. Simone (2001) is "a composite of highly fluid networks of social organization and economic transaction".

Rather than "tradition-constituted [Western] rationalities" (McIntyre, 1998), we are [now] confronted with multiple rationalities, providing different standards and modes of reasoning, . . . derived from [the sources] . . . of modern cultures".

Recent writers, including Gaonkar (2001), Robinson (2004), and Taylor (2004) believe that "modernity is global and multiple and no longer has a governing center and master-narrative" (Gaonkar, p. 4). For example, Afro-modernity innovates on the "precepts, forces and features" of Western modernity, according to Hanchard (2001, p. 274).

"Alternative modernities" are "unique and creative adaptations" by different "regions of the South" according to Harrison (p. 324). "Rationalities and practices . . . have emerged as the subalterns [of Africa, for example] have found ways to live in circumstances of marginality and domination." Hanchard notes that "whilst the colonial project involved creating boundaries between the self and the other, the post-colonial project is always one of border crossing" (1999).

Oranje (2003) writes that "in post-apartheid planning . . . a form of 'double consciousness' may be emerging that is bringing local histories into an engagement with global design and is allowing a subaltern rationality to find a place alongside the formal rationalities of planning."

Gupta and Ferguson (1992) and Henry *et al.* (2000) write that "population displacement and resultant 'reterritorialization' are producing cultural hybridity in many of the major cities of the North".

Thus, those who were repressed during colonialism are finding numerous ways to talk back in their era of liberty. Self-confidence and confidence in diversity promote survival.

Chen et al distinguish between 'space' and 'place'. 'Place' includes a person's abilities and economic opportunities. "Cities have, for centuries, been spaces where those of varying means and backgrounds have often lived vastly different lives" (179). Different neighborhoods in a city also have different characteristics. Wealthy individuals become secluded "in different neighborhoods and dwellings made inaccessible by physical or economic barriers." In some cities, different races and ethnic groups become separated, which has resulted in "immigrant enclave[s] and "ghetto neighborhood[s]" (180).

The authors mention that Tompkins Square Park, in Lower East Manhattan, initially intended for recreation, was eventually used also for protests during a "national depression". Therefore, the city began to use "the park as a military parade ground . . ." Residents, however, demanded to be able to use the park for free public assembly, according to Abu-Lughod, 1994 (Chen et al 183).

Suburbanization became a means for families to "retreat" from "social difference" (184). As the wealthy moved to the suburbs in the "nineteenth century", and "the middle class in the twentieth, . . . the central areas of cities became a mix of commercial and industrial spaces and residences for those with the fewest alternatives" (ibid.). "Immigrant enclaves provide[d] those new to a country with the social connections necessary to find housing and work" (187).

Chen et al believe that a good theory of urban systems should have "a few leading ideas," should be comprehensive, and "should be plausible" (italics omitted, 69). Urban and rural environments are frameworks which promote or hinder survival.

Garth Myers presents **Ed Soja**'s six varieties of modern cities as "the postfordist industrial metropolis," having "flexible specialization systems" following "the collapse of 'fordist' assembly-line industrialism"; the "cosmopolis," representing changes caused by globalization; the "exopolis," involving "the urbanization of suburbia and the growth of Outer Cities"; the "fractal city," involving a fragmented and decentered "social mosaic" with "socio-spatial polarity" (fragmentation due to economic and "ethnic segmentation"); the "carceral archipelago," having an "increasingly fortified character" due to "privatization, policing [and] surveillance"; and "simcities," which focus on "'the restructuring of the urban imaginary' in philosophy, urban studies, film, and computer games" (1989, 1996, 2000; quoted by Myers, 24). Myers quotes Theodore Trefon's description (2009: 3) of Kinshasa as representative of "piratic violence". Kinshasa, according to Trefon, is "often portrayed as a forsaken black hole of social cannibalism where society is its own prey" (Myers 144).

John Gallagher writes that all U.S. cities declined in population following World War II, as people moved to the suburbs (2010: 8).

In *Design after Decline: How America Rebuilds Shrinking Cities*, **Brent Ryan** discusses slum clearance and urban modernization. He presents five methods to repair shrinking cities, including "palliative planning, which argues that action is important even if full recovery is unlikely; interventionist policy, which argues that serious

223

problems demand equally serious responses . . . ; democratic decision making, which argues that planners must consider the needs of shrinking cities' least able and empowered residents as a central concern; projective design, which argues for rekindling the future oriented spirit of modernism while retaining" humanism; "and patchwork urbanism, [which] portrays the landscape of the future city as a patchwork of settled, partially empty, reconstructed, and empty areas" (2012: xiv, 17).

Urban theory is also a network of survival.

As mentioned above, **community** in Kinshasa is expressed by the willingness of neighbors to lend food to each other when hungry, to be repaid, as most of the population is very impoverished. Sundaram's example of Marcel, who contributes his bags of cement to more needy neighbors, which will be repaid when he in turn is needy, is another example of community (242**)**.

In pre-Mumbai Bombay, the connection of mill workers with their rural origins also represents community. This is emphasized by Monalisa's comment that for every earner in Bombay, there were fifty eaters (Mehta: 275). The earners didn't indulge their material wishes with their earnings, they fed their needy relatives. Likewise, as Olopade writes (143-4) six eaters existed for every earner in subSaharan Africa in 2014.

If a millworker lost his job, according to Chandavarkar, he could return to his village, and continue farming; which was, however, precarious, due to occasional years of drought (64). Thus, the urban connection was important. Sharing their living space with others, so that they would not have to sleep on the sidewalk (Mehta: 385) also represented community.

In later Mumbai, in the four slums which I visited in January 2017, the existence in these communities, living in considerable poverty, of numerous productive industries providing several million jobs for the city, is a tribute to community efforts. In the U.S.A., zoning regulations would not permit so many people to live and work in such relatively small spaces, and therefore these people would be living on welfare, or jobless and homeless.

The efforts by the Detroit Urban League, Detroit churches, and others organizations, especially between 1916 and 1960, to help former slaves who moved north during the Great Migration also represents the spirit of community.

In September, I was impressed with the three community meetings that I attended in Detroit: a Catapult Pitch Competition, a Workforce Readiness symposium, and a Detroit SOUP meeting; and with my visit to the Capuchin Soup Kitchen. All represented people caring for the well-being of others who are less fortunate. Jean-Luc Nancy, as mentioned, believed that communism is more concerned with the well-being of others, and that democracy is too supportive of "economic and technical forces" (1991: xxxvii). However, the three community meetings that I attended – and I am sure that other such organizations exist in Detroit – took place in a democracy, and were not involved with communism.

Besides Nancy, Nobel-prize winner **Alexander Solzhenitsyn**, the author of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* and *The Gulag Archipelago*, criticized Americans for excessive materialism in his Harvard commencement address in 1978. The West, he believed, had declined in courage. "The constant desire to have still more things and a still better life and the struggle to this end imprint many Western

faces with worry and even depression" (11,13). Today's "mass living habits," he

wrote, are "introduced . . . by the revolting invasion of commercial advertising, by TV

stupor, and by intolerable music" (35-7). As an author and not a businessman, he

forgot that television programs, including many providing culture and journalism,

available for rich and poor viewers alike, cost something to produce, necessitating the

"revolting" commercial advertisements.

Unlike Nancy, Solzhenitsyn did not prefer communism. He wrote that Russia

in 1978 existed in "Communist captivity" (5).

After four years in America, as a guest of Stanford University and then

resident in Montpelier, Vermont, Solzhenitsyn did not find a spirit of community.

Western society, he decided, is legalistic. "Legalistic relationships [result in] . . .

spiritual mediocrity . . . Human rights" have become more important than "human

obligations" (21). He criticizes the "decadence" and violence of Western cinema, and

its influence on Western youth. He considers that socialism, which is attracting many

in the West, is "a false and dangerous current," destructive "of the human spirit".

"Human personality" has become weaker in the West, which is experiencing "spiritual

exhaustion", and stronger in Eastern Europe, where people have survived greater

challenges. Americans, in contrast, have been living in "soulless legalism".   (21, 33,

35).

Solzhenitsyn believed that Far Eastern nations were threatened by Communism

with genocide, and the "U.S. antiwar movement" betrayed the region (41; he neglects

to mention that the U.S. lost 58,000 soldiers protecting South Vietnam against the

invading Communist north).

The West is engaged in "humanistic autonomy", viewing "man" as central. The Middle Ages had repressed "man's physical nature in favor of the spiritual one." In reaction, people "embraced all that is material, excessively and incommensurately". Solzhenitsyn considered that modern Americans had "no purpose" except their whims. He accuses the West of "moral poverty" (47, 49, 51).

Solzhenitsyn accuses Communism of "antireligious dictatorship". Like a democracy, it also focuses on "man . . . and his earthly happiness." Many "Western intellectuals . . . refused to see Communism's crimes . . . Our spiritual life," according to Solzhenitsyn, has been destroyed by materialism in the West, and by Communism in the East. We must experience moral and spiritual growth, becoming "better human being[s]" (53, 55, 59).

Presumably, with this moral and spiritual growth, we will provide more generously for the homeless, the refugees, and those living in poverty. Solzhenitsyn does not mention them, or community responsibility; urban or non-urban. But clearly moral and spiritual growth would include them.

In January 2005, I saved an op-ed article from the New York Times by Carol Adelman on "A High Quality of Mercy." Adelman writes that U.S. government foreign aid is criticized for ranking "last among developed countries as a percentage of gross national income." However, "our government gives the highest absolute amount in foreign aid – more than $16 billion in 2003. And this does not include the cost of our global military presence, which helps provide the stability needed for economic growth, or the billions spent on developing medicines that save millions of lives in poorer nations."

Moreover, individual Americans help both national and foreign individuals living in poverty "through private charities, religious organizations, foundations, corporations, universities and money sent to relatives. In 2000, all this came to more than $35 billion, more than three times what the government gave. And this did not include giving by local churches or by overseas affiliates of American corporations."

As with economic globalization, the globalization of mercy is also important for the well-being of our global community.

In **urban theory**, in summary, Dean Koontz focuses on the people in cities, rather than on buildings. People create the greatness of a city (2004, disc 1).

Friedrich Engels focused on the "'miserable' living conditions of working-class dwellers" during the industrial era, in the mid-nineteenth century, according to Xianming Chen et al (2013: 31). Ferdinand Tönnies, in contrast, focused on evolving social relationships in cities and elsewhere; and Georg Simmel focused on urban identities (34).

Robert Park, Louis Wirth and Ernest Burgess focused on social influence in urban space (38-9). Robert Moses initiated 1,700-plus building programs in New York City, beginning in 1933 (biography.com). Manuel Castells believed that capitalism dominates urban life (Chen, 50-1); while Louis Althusser and Nicos Poulantzas were interested in "broad social structures" and human rights (51). David Harvey considered the exploitation of the poorest urban resident and others by "bankers, developers, and real estate companies" (52-3). Harvey Molotch focused on individuals rather than on ethnic groups (55).

228

Jane Jacobs was more interested in "people and their neighborhoods" than in urban renewal (70), and Sharon Zukin was interested in gentrification and upscale growth (65). Richard Florida considered economic and class creativity (66). Robert McKenzie discussed the development of global cities (67), while Saskia Sassen and John Friedman considered global business coordination (66-67). Ed Soja analyzed types of modern cities (Myers: 2011, 24), and Brent Ryan focused on modern urbanization (2012: xiv, 17).

My field research in Detroit and Mumbai and my research in scholarship of Kinshasa and comparison cities focused on individuals and ethnic groups in the context of history and challenges of survival.

A "general theory of urbanization" would note that agriculture is not always dependable, due to the possibility of drought; or in some countries, of locusts. Therefore, people gather in cities, where Mumford notes that the possibility of capital investment exists. Also, people can combine their efforts to create small or larger industries, as was especially visible in the four slums that I visited in Mumbai. Other job possibilities also exist in cities.

Chapter VIII: A Brief Review of Additional Literature

Africa

    The Fate of Africa (2006), by **Martin Meredith**, presents the wider context for Kinshasa, in time and space. Meredith describes grievances that developed between colonial powers and African colonies, and the development of nationalist leaders, who ultimately became authoritarian. Political leaders in the late twentieth century pocketed large amounts of national wealth, and lived in great luxury. Nelson Mandela of South Africa was one of the few exceptions who refrained from looting the state coffers for personal wealth.

    Meredith includes an extensive description of the abuse and exploitation of the Congo Free State by King Léopold II of Belgium, from 1885-1908. From 1962, interventions by Britain and France, and from 1965 by African armies, became increasingly frequent in Africa (177). Meredith records the numerous army coups which occurred, to end government corruption. Yet army rulers, for example General Mobutu in Zaire (DRC Congo), could be equally corrupt (302-3).

    Meredith describes how Ernesto (Che) Guevara gave up on spreading revolutionary zeal to the Congo in 1965, because Congolese troops, led by Laurent Kabila, were decadent and exploited the local population (149-50).

India

    As the name of Bombay had been chosen by colonial Portuguese invaders in the 16th century**,** the Shiv Sena nationalist party changed the city's name to Mumbai in 1995, which was of national Indian origination.

In *A Concise Review of Modern India* (2012), **Barbara and Thomas Metcalf** discuss the decline of Mughal rule in the eighteenth century, the increasing power of the East India Company between 1772 and 1850, the transition to British rule in 1858, the Amritsar massacre in 1919, the achievement of Mahatma Gandhi, and Indian independence in 1947.

Harsh Mughal taxation of Indian peasants, continued during British rule, caused the death of millions of peasants, as they were left with no resources during years when the monsoon failed, along with crops and harvests (20).

Positive contributions by the British included the construction of an extensive railway system, which promoted trade; the ending of the custom of *sati,* which had caused the burning to death of some eight hundred widows annually in Bengal alone, on their husband's funeral pyres, by Governor General William Bentinck in 1829; and the eventual introduction of a democratic system of government, which went into effect as the British left in 1947 (82).

Kinshasa

Angéline Maractho Mudzo Mwacan and **Theodore Trefon,** in their article in *Reinventing Order in the Congo* (2004)*,* describe the daily challenge of finding clean water in Kinshasa (33-4).

And in *"Kinshasa: Tales of the Invisible City,"* **Filip de Boeck** discusses features of Kinshasa's informal economy, including the use of public space to display goods, such as furniture, for sale, and to perform services, such as carpentry and auto repairs (235).

Mumbai

In *History, Culture and the Indian City* (2009), **Rajnarayan Chandavarkar** discusses "peasants and proletarians in Bombay city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries," (vii). In the 1730s, the East India Company realized that the harbors of Bombay could be used for building ships, and for their deployment against Indian Ocean pirates. In the early nineteenth century, Richard Wellesley's defeat of the Marathas provided the Company with security in Bombay. In 1860, New York, Liverpool and Bombay were the world's largest cotton markets (12).

Beginning circa 1800, Bombay's elites "dominated local institutions" and were active "in local and provincial government." Bombay's elites obtained significant local power far more rapidly than did the leading citizens of Calcutta or Madras. "By the 1890s" they became "the determining influence within the Indian National Congress" (15, 17).

In 1966, Bal Thackeray founded Shiv Sena, a Hindu nationalist organization and political party. By 1980, Shiv Sena increased its "verbal and physical violence" towards Muslims, "whether Marathi-speaking or not" (26). (India has fourteen languages, besides Hindi, Hindustani, and English. The latter is widely used for "national, political, [and] commercial communication" (Janssen 785).

Chandavarkar also discusses friction between wealthy residents of Bombay, versus poor migrant mill workers, eventually supported by unions. After numerous strikes, the mills went out of business. Mill owners lost their mills, and workers lost their jobs (26, 28).

In *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy* (2007), Ramachandra Guha focuses on social conflicts in India, including caste, language, religion, and class, "and how they are sought [endeavored] to be resolved" (8).

Detroit

The Great Migration brought about one million African Americans from southern states to northeastern cities from about 1916 to 1960, including about half a million to Detroit. Following the Civil War, African Americans in the South had been abused by Jim Crow laws, which limited their housing possibilities, and employment. Several thousand were lynched, to discourage voting.

In *Detroit and the Great Migration: 1916—1929* (1993), Elizabeth Anne Martin writes that African Americans from the South moved into miserable slums in Detroit, and thousands were unable to find employment. However, "African-American churches and other concerned institutions" were very helpful in providing guidance, references, food, and shelter (58, ff.).

In *Detroit: An American Autopsy* (2013), Charlie Le Duff describes Detroit as "the birth place of mass production, the automobile, the cement road, the refrigerator, frozen peas [and frozen food in general], high-paid blue-collar jobs, home ownership, and credit on a mass scale." Detroit has gone from being "the nation's richest city" in the 1950s, when it was the center of U.S. industry and especially of auto production, to "its poorest" (4-6).

Kwame Kilpatrick, the mayor of Detroit from January 2002 to September 2008, was sentenced to prison in October 2013 for twenty-eight years, for the embezzlement of city money.

Urban Theory

Lewis Mumford's urban classic *The Culture of Cities* (1938) has no reference in its index to Africa, Cairo, the Congo, Johannesberg, Kinshasa, Marrakech, Nairobi, or India. The "Library-School at Alexandria," in Egypt, is mentioned in a discussion of early European universities, from Bologna, founded in 1100, to Paris (1150), Cambridge (1229), and Salamanca (1243; p. 34). Many European cities are discussed, and I found a picture of Germany's beautiful medieval walled city of Dinkelsbühl, which I visited in 1952.

Mumford describes the "*negative vitality*" of the metropolis of 1938, represented by James Joyce's Leopold Bloom, who lives "in a hell of unfulfilled desires, vague wishes, enfeebling anxieties, morbid compulsions, and dreary vacuities: a dissociated mind in a disintegrated city: perhaps the *normal* mind of the world metropolis" (271).

Mumford includes chapters on "protection and the medieval town," "court, parade, and capital," "the insensate industrial town," "rise and fall of [the] megalopolis," and [the] "social basis of the new urban order" (vii), among others.

Jane Jacobs, Paul Davidoff and others blamed urban planners for their confusion of "healthy, if congested and poor, urban neighborhoods with desperate slums that required rejuvenation" in the 1950s and '60s. **Brent Ryan** adds that "postmodern architects and social planners" became increasingly separated, and less able to deal with urban problems and "distressed neighborhoods" (20-1).

In *Planet of Slums,* **Mike Davis** describes urban networks and coalescing cities, such as Lagos, which is coalescing with two hundred and ninety-nine cities

234

"between Benin City and Accra" (6). He defines megacities as having "more than eight million inhabitants," and hypercities as having "more than twenty million inhabitants" (5). Davis adds that "since 1970, slum growth everywhere in the [global] South has outpaced urbanization *per se*" (17).

In *African Cities: Alternative Visions of Urban Theory and Practice*, **Garth Myers** focuses on five perspectives of African cities, including "post-colonialism, informality, governance, violence, and cosmopolitanism". "Colonial inheritances," according to Myers, include "poverty, underdevelopment and socio-spatial inequality" (15).

Philip Harrison (2006) engaged in urban planning in South Africa, and discovered ways in which "subalterns [excluded or marginalized people] have found ways to live in circumstances of marginality and domination" (15-6; quoted by Myers, 211).

Chapter VIII: Field Research: The Interaction of Poverty and Community

As Kinshasa has travel warnings from numerous governments and travel organizations at present, I will regretfully not visit that city at this time.

Detroit

In my field research in Detroit, in September 2016, I focused on discovering what networks of survival exist in the city, and how they are assisting people to cope with adversity. I am identifying people as African American (AA) or Caucasian (C), because African Americans were largely relegated to slum housing between 1916 and 1960, and also experienced extensive prejudice in acquiring jobs.

On Wednesday, **September 7th, Alexis Mitchell** (AA) sat on the dais at the Central United Methodist church, located at Grand Circus Park and Woodward Avenue in Detroit. She was working on a stack of papers. About twenty-five homeless people were stretched out, sleeping, on various pews of the church.

I introduced myself, and my research project. Alexis commented that she is twenty-three years old, in her last year at Wayne State University, in Detroit; studying social work.

Homeless people arrive at the church around 8:30 a.m., eat at 10:30 (a bag lunch), and then go upstairs to see a nurse, or to engage with their case manager. Movies or other entertainment follow, until 2:00 p.m. Then they sleep in the main church until 4:00 p.m.

From the 15th to the end of the month, people come for bus tickets, to go anywhere in Michigan. People who find sanctuary at the church are mostly middle-aged and older; not many are children.

Alexis noted that homeless people can store their documents at the church, and receive their mail there (which enables them to be contacted by possible employers). The arrangement is called the "Noah Project".

Alexis is uncertain about what she will do after college. She says that the city needs to do more about the homeless.

On **September 8th**, I telephoned **Mrs. Merle Watts** (AA), who was referred to me by a mutual friend, Michael Henry Adams, of New York City. (Mrs. Watts' children were friends of Michael for many years.) An hour later, Mrs. Watts and I met in downtown Detroit, at the Westin Hotel, and drove for three hours through many districts of Detroit, covering many neighborhoods. Some were newly constructed, others were deteriorating, with partially burned houses; and some, especially along Lake Shore Drive, were magnificent.

We drove north on Woodward Avenue, past the Tigers' stadium with its dramatic sculptures of tigers, past the Vietnam Vets of America center, west on Seven Mile Drive, along Wyoming, Outer Drive, Livernois, Dexter, and 14th Street, through the La Salle Gardens (where Mrs. Watts lives), along Mack Street and Gratiot, past the Second Baptist Church in Greektown, along Chrysler Street, and back to Washington Boulevard, among other locations.

As I had only visited Detroit for about ten minutes previously, to see the famous sculpture of Joe E. Lewis's "Fist", I felt a little less lost after Mrs. Watts' kind tour.

Over the years, Mrs. Watts lived in Virginia, Pittsburgh, and D.C., among other places, and moved to Detroit forty-five years ago. She held down three jobs at a time for twenty-five years after her husband, a pediatrician, was hit by a hit-and-run driver; to pay the family bills, and the college bills for their four children. Thus, she worked as a dental hygienist, a teacher, and a caterer.

Nowadays, she prepares one of her popular soup recipes once a month at a soup kitchen sponsored by one of the city's many churches: Spirit of Hope. She commented that many churches in Detroit provide food baskets once a week, which helps many people who are lacking food.

One of her children was struck on his head by a robber, and died. In spite of two family tragedies, Mrs. Watts was in very good health at the age of eighty-seven, and actively connected to friends, family, and community. As the matriarch of her family, she is heading to Pittsburgh this autumn for a family wedding.

Later that day, my son Sherman, who lives with his family in nearby Ann Arbor, arranged for us to join a Detroit Experience Factory tour of the midtown district, including the Cass Corridor and Canfield Street, which have numerous new shops, artists, and musicians. Among other shops, we visited Shinola, Third Man Records, City Bird and Nest, and Source Booksellers. Shinola, which monograms leather goods and diaries, and sells elegant watches, employs about three hundred people in retail sales and production. The owner of Source Booksellers, Janet Jones,

had worked for forty-one years as a schoolteacher, and specialized in speech pathologies.

We passed the Cultural Center, which has forty thousand students.

Kaylin Waterman (C), our tour guide, mentioned that the Sugar Hill District is not as segregated as other districts, and that Highland Park has lost a lot of resources.

The Detroit River, which is actually a strait connecting Lake Erie and Lake Huron, is "the narrowest point to cross from Canada". Detroit was far north on the Underground Railroad, which assisted slaves to escape from the South. The code for Detroit was 'midnight', and Canada was considered 'the promised land'. After the Civil War, former slaves who had escaped to Canada returned to the U.S.

On Sunday **September 11th**, my son Sherman, his twins Katherine and William, and I attended a service at Detroit's oldest African American church, the Second Baptist Church of Detroit. The first scripture, John 14, 22-27, discussed the Holy Ghost, which God will send, to teach "all things". The second scripture, Philippians 4, 6-9, recommended that we think about true, just, and virtuous things. The Celestial Handbell Choir contributed music from an upper balcony, and Pastor Turman (AA) delivered the sermon, welcoming numerous members returning to Detroit due to Homecoming Week for Detroit's football team, the Detroit Tigers.

That afternoon, I photographed the Wayne County Building, named after Major General Anthony Wayne, to whom the British surrendered in this region in 1796. The Mariners' Church on East Jefferson, which runs along the Detroit River, along with West Jefferson, was locked that afternoon, as was the Vets of America, Detroit Chapter 9, at 2951 Woodward, the following afternoon.

On Monday **September 12th**, I interviewed **Roe Peterhans** (C), the operations

and design manager of Third Man Records, cofounded by Jack White, a guitarist and

singer with 'White Stripes', which is headquartered in Nashville; and Ben Blackwell.

Peterhans grew up in the suburb of Birmingham, north of Detroit. He played with

bands in college.

Peterhans mentioned that politics and private investment have promoted the

growth of Detroit, as have lower property values. Dan Gilbert has created companies

in Detroit's urban core, and artists have created grass-root movements. New York

City, among other east-coast cities, has become too costly. The mid-west has a spirit

of reciprocal help, and the growth of Detroit has gained momentum,

Brightmore, in Detroit, promotes urban agriculture, as does Grow Detroit,

based on the Philadelphia model. They practice high turn-over crop rotation. Cass

Corridor and Canfield Street used to be a student ghetto, and Third Man Records was

an empty warehouse.

When I asked about crime in Detroit, Peterhans mentioned that his car and

those of his friends are broken into or stolen occasionally, but otherwise they have had

no serious problems. He kindly presented me with a poster of "Detroit, City of Light,"

designed by Jack White.

Later that day, I interviewed **Janet Jones** (AA), the owner of Source

Booksellers, at 4240 Cass Avenue.

Janet's (Caucasian) grandfather (she is about eighty-years-old) came from

Talbott County, Georgia. He managed one hundred acres of land, although he had

little education. She married at the age of twenty-five, and has two daughters. One is

a professor of history at Florida International University, and the other is a teacher and philosopher in Detroit.

She commented that slaves went "from survival in the South to living in the North. People figure out a way to survive." Chinese immigrants opened restaurants and Koreans opened cleaners. "A lot of information about Detroit," she said, "is not true."

Janet mentioned that the Housewives League of Detroit at one time had ten thousand members, with a banking system and a housing referral system. She was invited to recommend books on NPR once, along with three other bookstore owners. During the course of our conversation, she recommended five books, including *Collective Courage*, by Jessica Gordon Nembhard, about "the history of African American cooperative economic thought and practice"; *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*, by Matthew Desmond; *A Shining Thread of Hope*, by Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson; *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*, about "the intersection of race in class war at ivy league schools"; and one topic: Spelman College in Atlanta, which has educated many African American women.

She also recommended "universal basic income", and asked "what is the origin of the slogans 'America First' and 'Make America Great Again'," currently being proclaimed by Donald Trump.   I checked later. The former was first used by "an isolationist anti-Semitic group that once urged [the] U.S. to appease Adolf Hitler," according to Susan Dunn; and the latter was proclaimed by Ronald Reagan and G.H.W. Bush as their slogan in 1980.

On Tuesday, **September 13th**, I drove to the Detroit Institute of Arts, at 5200 Woodward Avenue. A white marble building, with two exterior Grecian-style clusters of figures and a copy of Rodin's "Thinker," the building faces Detroit's equally magnificent Public Library, carved from end to end about twenty feet high with the names of great thinkers, including Socrates-Plato, across Woodward Avenue.

I had met DIA's director last summer, and hoped to interview him about the museum's role in the modern culture of Detroit, and the fortunate survival of its collections during the brief bankruptcy of Detroit in 2013. Unfortunately, he was in meetings all that week due to "home-coming" at the museum.

However, I spent an hour visiting some of the museum's interesting art, including Lakota Indian carvings (wands); modern art, including Diego Rivera's murals of "Detroit Industry", Romare Bearden's mosaic of "Carolina Blues", several Picassos, and Francis Criss's colorful "Waterfront".

Afterwards, I visited the International Institute, just north of the museum, but no one was available for an interview. I also tried the Museum of Science, on John R Street, but it is not open on Tuesdays.

I chatted briefly with Pastor Edward L. Branch (AA) of the Third New Hope Baptist Church on Plymouth Road over dinner on the 56th floor of the Marriott Hotel (Concierge Dining Room), overlooking the Detroit River, Belle Isle, and a vast swath of Detroit and Windsor, Ontario.

Pastor Samuel Proctor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, founded by my late former father-in-law's father, Adam Clayton Powell I, was Pastor Branch's mentor for several years.

Pastor Branch grew up in Chicago, and moved to Detroit about thirty-five years ago. He said that people in Detroit are very good at adjusting to hardship and tragedies.

I arrived at the Second Baptist Church at 9 a.m., 11 a.m., and 12 p.m. on Wednesday **September 14ᵗʰ**. Their **Underground Railway program** is listed from 10 a.m. – 1:30 p.m. on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. I arrived early, at 9 a.m., as I wasn't sure how long it would take to find a parking space. (It had taken a half hour the day before when I was looking for a parking space near the main library, and I had wound up walking sixteen blocks back to 'my' car; actually a spare car, owned by my son Sherman.)

The front doors of the church were locked, but the affiliated book store, attached to the church, would be open at 11 a.m. I returned at 11 a.m. The store keeper noted that the only tour that day would begin at 1:30. I returned at 1:30, but it turned out that the tour was a private tour, providing its own bus, and they couldn't add another person.

An old man (AA) in an old black suit had been standing on the corner when I arrived at 9 a.m. and 11 a.m. He was leaning on a wall. At 11:30, he was seated on the curb with his head bowed. The top of his head was bleeding, as though he had scratched it. I gave him $2, and suggested that he walk over to the United Methodist Church at Grand Circus Park, about four blocks away. He acknowledged that he knew the location of the church.

But they are only open from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.; he needed more than that, especially with winter approaching.

I drove to Dearborn, located in metro (greater metropolitan) Detroit, for the Ford Rouge Factory tour. A bus from the Ford Museum drove about eighteen people, myself included, to one of the Ford factories, where Ford model 150 trucks were being constructed. Buses of tourists depart from the museum to the factory every fifteen minutes. About eight thousand people work in that four-storey building, producing 1,250 trucks daily, all of which are sold before they leave the building.

We viewed two movies: on the history of Henry Ford, and the history of his automobiles. We were told not to take any photographs of the assembly lines, or our cameras/cell phones would be confiscated.

The coordination of conveyor belts, moving parts in different directions and connecting parts, while workers added other parts, additional parts arrived and empty containers departed, was astounding. Steering wheels, airbags, windshields, moon roofs, fuel tanks, engines, tires, bumpers, seats, and doors were added, and a final test of the vehicle occurs. This represents a high degree of technical cooperation (a network of survival) to sustain economic production (also a network of survival).

Workers start at $16 per hour, and progress to $31. They have ten-hour shifts.

On **September 15th**, I visited the **Motown Museum**, at 2648 West Grand Boulevard. The museum celebrates Motown records, founded by Berry Gordy, Jr. with a loan from his family. A tour of the museum, which began with a movie narrated by Berry Gordy and others, was guided by Peggy.

Berry Gordy and his wife came from Sandersville Georgia. After serving in the army during the Korean War, Berry and his brother opened a music store. Berry then went to work at the Ford Motor Company.

The Motown Record label was established in 1960. Musicians, including the Vandellas, the Supremes, and the Temptations, sang and studied choreography at the Apollo Theater in Harlem. When music from Detroit reached the South, R & B (rhythm and blues) sang about hope and possibilities; not the blues. The Four Tops and Jackson Five also recorded with Motown. The Jackson Five, including Michael, began to record with Motown in 1969, and transferred, except for Jermain, in 1975 to Epic Records. Michael Jackson later sent a top hat, a cane, and a pair of elegant gloves to Motown. They remain on display in his memory.

The Miracles' "Shop Around" was Motown's first gold record. "My Mama told me you better shop around." Numerous other golds and platinums followed.

We viewed a room for master tapes, the control room, and the small apartment of Berry and his family. Studio A was originally a photographer's garage. Pops Gordy lined the studio, and a sound buffer was provided for the drums. Musicians often stayed at the Brewster's project.

Thus, several years after Rosa Parks refused to yield her seat and stand on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama (1955), during the era of the March on Selma (1965), Motown provided opportunities for many African American musicians to develop their talents. The company moved to California in 1982 and was sold to Universal Motown in 1988.

While taking photos of the beautiful L-shaped lobby, several stories high, of the Fisher building at 3011 West Grand Boulevard on **September 15th**, I met **Jack Butler** (C), by chance, and asked him for an interview. Jack works in interactive

media, including medical training and research, and education, and has worked on projects for NASA.

"Infrastructure in Detroit," he said, "has deteriorated grievously. It is hard to discover the most urgent things to be done. Buildings in Detroit used to be steam-heated, and steam heat has eroded tunnels and pipes." (I had noticed that construction was occurring on numerous streets in the city, and only two out of four lanes on many streets were passable.)

Government deficiencies and cronyism during the administrations of mayors Coleman Young and Kilpatrick "froze out many business opportunities." Mayor Duggan, however, is "more responsive to the wider community."

"Many early investors now have to pay exorbitant rents." Detroit has a "dynamic interactive economy. Three or four restaurants are opening and closing every week. Only about two out of two hundred restaurants are comfortably integrated, and job stratification exists. The IT infrastructure employs blacks and women." He believes that there is "no compelling way forward for integration."

Jack recommended that I visit the Charles Wright African-American Museum and the Capuchin Soup Kitchen. "Ninety percent of people at the opening of the former were African American," he added. And, "a cardboard city in the region of the Soup Kitchen was torn down for a new stadium."

"Drug taking," he added, "is subterranean, and not as hopeless as in Chicago." He believes that "Detroit is an international embarrassment," because "it is anti-intellectual. . . . Highland Park," he concluded, "was the site of Ford's original assembly plant."

Jack mentioned that **Jacob Jones**, a manager of Pure Detroit on the first floor of the same building, gives tours of the building, and so I proceeded to find him. "The Fisher Body Company," according to Jacob, "was fully bought out by General Motors by 1925. The architect Albert Khan designed nine hundred buildings in Detroit. The Fisher building was originally intended to have three towers, but the Great Depression arrived.

"The building is 441 feet high, with one twenty-eight story tower and two eleven-story wings. The building has 350,000 feet of exterior marble, and is the largest marble-clad structure in the world. The roof was originally made of gold-leaf tile, but was covered during World War II with asphalt, to protect against possible enemy attacks. Construction of the building was mostly completed in thirteen months, and entirely completed two months later."

Jacob added that "there are not many (economic) opportunities for many people in Detroit, which is still on the rebound."

Later that day, I left telephone messages for Sonya Mays (President and CEO of Develop Detroit), Joel Stone (Senior Curator of the Detroit Historical Society), Mark Bowden (Director of the Burton Historical Collection at the Public Library) and Jessica McCall in the Media Office, who is in charge of arranging interviews with Mayor Duggan; re possible interviews.

Besides Mrs. Watts, Abba Elethea (AA; also known as James Thompson) was also referred to me by Michael Henry Adams. ('Abba' means father in Hebrew, and 'elethea' means truth in Greek.) On September 16th I drove about twenty minutes

247

north of the Marriot Hotel at the Renaissance Center to meet Abba, who lives on Wisconsin Street.

Abba's mother had worked in haute couture and then at Chrysler in the 1940s. She bought the house, located in the Marygrove district, in 1960, and lived there with her sister, who worked for Reverend Bradbury of the Second Baptist Church. Abba moved to the family house in 2006. His father died in World War II.

Abba's "great-great grandfather, John Starks, was Caucasian. He homesteaded a Cherokee strip that is now Arkadelphia and Dalark, in Arkansas, and saved the Cherokee branch of the family from the 'trail of tears'."

Abba was born in the North End; and then lived on Hendrie Street, where Diana Ross, the musician lived; then on Belmont Street, and then on Trowbridge Street. Abba notes that "music in Detroit's North End was a great cultural treasure. Della Reese sang at Reverend Loftin's church in the late 1940s and early 50s. Mamie Span and the Franklin sisters (Aretha, Caroline, and Erma) sang at Reverend Clarence L. Franklin's New Bethel Church in the 1960s. They sang both classical and gospel." (Aretha was listed as number one of the Rolling Stone's "Greatest Singers of All Time" list in December 2010.)

"Nellie Watts brought African-American culture to the Detroit Institute of Arts in the late 1940s and early 50s, including Paul Robeson."

Abba mentioned that families in Detroit tended to live in specific neighborhoods. "The Kresges, for example, lived on Brush Street and Boston Boulevard. The Barksdales owned drugstores. The Gastons owned liquor stores, and the Parks owned a meatpacking business. Joe Lewis owned a farm in Utica,

Michigan, where Abba had equestrian lessons. Dr. Burton and other African American doctors opened Southwest General Hospital in Detroit, and Leroy Foster did the mural for that hospital.

"In the 1940s and 50s, a strong sense of African-American community existed. A Chinese community existed in Cass Corridor, Italians lived on the East Side, Hamtramck was Polish, Hungarian, and East European, and the Mexican community lived in the southwest, behind Central Station.

"The Oakland district was lower and lower-middle class, and the west side of Detroit (west of Woodward Avenue) was upper and upper-middle class."

Abba graduated from Tom's River High School. He received a BA degree in belles lettres from the College of New Rochelle, and served for a year as poet in residence at Antioch College. Abba promoted culture in Detroit for years, including a Latino band, Cahunta Sabor. He created "Detroit Creates on Wheels," and promoted theater, dance and music in neighborhood shows, including a version of *Phaedra*, recognizing local talent. Abba taught poetry in several school districts in Detroit and the suburbs, and a seminar in African American poetry at six libraries.

He believes that the police in Detroit can be rather slow. Leaded window panes were stolen from the house across the street from his house. He called the police, but they were too slow. Two houses on Indiana Street were also vandalized.

Abba describes Mother Waddles, a Pentecostal minister and activist, as "a network of survival." She started feeding the poor in Detroit years ago. People continue to donate their cars to her mission, although she died in 2001.

Abba kindly presented me with a copy of his second book of poetry, *The Antioch Suite-Jazz*, published by Lotus Press in 1980.

On **September 16th**, I visited the **Capuchin Soup Kitchen** at 1264 Meldrum Street, near the Mt. Elliott Cemetery and the Detroit River. I asked one of two policemen providing security at the lunch counter if I could interview one of the directors, and he located Brother Ed. Instead of providing an interview, he sat me at a table with Hope and Sidney, who had arrived for lunch.

Sidney Davis (AA) grew up on the East Side of Detroit: the less wealthy side, east of Woodward Avenue. He was born in Fairfield, California. Following a car accident at the age of eighteen months, he was in a coma for several days, and nearly died. Doctors gave up on him. His father "tried to pull the plug." Sidney sustained some brain damage, and has some difficulty walking. His mother, Charyle Diane Gillard flew to Detroit, and worked for the Urban League, as a substitute teacher, and for Wayne State. His father was a sergeant in the Air Force, working on engine repairs.

Sidney attended a school for the handicapped in Detroit, due to his difficulty walking. He has a degree from Ferris State College, in computer-aided drafting. He worked for six years at the college, and then at K-mart headquarters as a secretary, dealing with organization, in charge of the schedule.

"The key to surviving in Detroit," he said "is to be yourself. Have self-confidence and independence. Detroit is not a difficult place to live in; some people make it difficult for themselves."

By then, Stephanie and Michael had arrived. **Stephanie Jackson** (AA**)** is

fifty-five years old. She worked at a restaurant, Wendy's, which she couldn't stand.

She was born in Detroit. Her family came from Alabama and Georgia.

Stephanie reads the Bible for recreation. She wants her children back. She

hasn't seen them for twelve years. The state put her two kids in foster homes. Her

father worked at a car wash, and her mother is on welfare. They had seven kids. Her

oldest sister is Monica.

Michael Land (AA) had to leave his apartment, due to bed bugs and

cockroaches. He lost the x-rated novel he had completed writing, on Hubbard Street,

near West Grand Boulevard.

Michael worked for thirty-five years in the restaurant business, for eighteen

months in the iron mills, for two years at Great Lakes Steel, for eight months at

Firestone Steel, for fourteen months in Baltimore in the brickyards, constructing

cinder blocks, and for a day-labor camp making bathroom stalls. His right hand was

crushed in a machine. He received a $56,000 settlement, and $23,000 as

compensation.

Michael also worked in the Air Force. One digit of his social security number

was inaccurate, but "Reagan fixed it".

He has two children: Jamie, who also has a hand injury, and Derrya, a

daughter, who works as a security guard in Houston. His adopted father was a

mechanical engineer and a lathe operator.

One survives "by belief in a higher power, turning over one's will and one's

life to God, who guides one's dreams at night." He has never been hungry or

homeless in Detroit. (He has lived in five or six other states.) "Don't get lost in the molecules of the universe," he said, "or you won't be able to see God."

Hope Wilkins lost her ten kids to foster homes, but located two. "People survive the best way they can," she said.

On September 19th, I spent forty minutes telephoning Wayne State University, endeavoring to find someone who would like to provide an interview. I felt like Kafka's K, trying to reach the castle.

Eventually, I reached Mr. Brabeen, assistant to the assistant (Israel Sexton) of the dean of graduate studies. Mr. Brabeen said that Mr. Sexton would call back about an interview, or would provide the name of someone else. Mr. Sexton called back promptly, and said that he would pass my request along to "other people". (Apparently, no "other people" were available.)

I visited the main Habitat for Humanity building at 14325 Jane Avenue; Bird and Nest, a shop at 460 West Canfield, that had been included on the Factory Experience Tour the previous week; and the Michigan Urban Farming Initiative (MUFI) at 7432 Brush Street. (My photo of the colorful MUFI building, and one of its vegetable gardens, are included with my illustrations.) No one was available at all three locations for interviews.

Leaving the Habitat for Humanity building, I stopped at Engine Company # 50, Ladder Company # 28, on Houston at Whittier, on the possibility of an interview. However, an attendant mentioned that the building was "temporarily closed".

On **September 20th**, Dave Tonnies (C) led a Detroit Factory Experience tour of about six people, including myself, along the **waterfront**, beginning at the General

Motors Plaza, on the river side of the towering Renaissance Center. The Center was planned by Henry Ford II, and financed largely by him and his contemporaries. It was completed in 1977, and purchased by General Motors, which renovated the building for $500 million, in 1996. Its central tower is the tallest building in the state, and the building has its own zip code.

Tonnies mentioned that President Jefferson sent his friend Judge Augustus Woodward to lay out the plan for Detroit in 1805. He pointed out two of Detroit's other beautiful sky-scrapers, including the Ally Detroit financial center, formerly GMAC, founded in 1993; and the Guardian building, with its Mayan and Aztec influences, completed in 1929. A coalition of civic leaders developed Detroit's downtown district. At present, Dan Gilbert owns eighty downtown buildings. (Two other people had mentioned Dan Gilbert's ownership of many buildings.)

Hart Plaza is a large event space on the waterfront, where music and cultural festivals take place. Seasonal tours of the river are provided by two riverboats: the Detroit Princess and Diamond Jack. Urban structures, infrastructure, and areas of recreation, incidentally, are networks which promote survival.

 The Ambassador Bridge, between Detroit and Canada, is owned by Matty Moroun, who also owns the Central Train Station. It is poorly maintained. At one point, Moroun was jailed for a night, to encourage him to fulfill his contract to connect the bridge to interstate expressways 75 and 96.

We viewed the white silos of the Hiram Walker distillery across the river in Canada. "About 70 percent of illegal liquor during prohibition crossed over the river here. Walkerville became a factory town, with a lot of artists." Early construction

moved north on Woodward. Three casinos were built in Detroit, after Windsor in Ontario built one. Many locations along the River Walk have had to be cleaned up, due to industrial pollution; for example, from the Uniroyal tire factory.

GM contributed the first half mile of the River Walk, and the Riverfront Conservancy donated beech trees and other trees. The Cullen Family Carousel is named after founding co-chairman Matthew Cullen of the Riverfront Conservancy.

Detroit has "more pre-war skyscrapers than any other city in the country." Belle Isle was "designed by Frederick Law Olmstead," and is "the largest island park in the country." Michigan Avenue goes "all the way to Chicago," and "Woodward goes all the way to Pontiac." Tonnies concluded that Detroit is "big enough to matter to the world, and small enough so that everyone matters."

On **September 20th**, I visited **the Charles Wright Museum of African American History**, at 315 East Warren Avenue.

The museum contains many exhibits and relics representing the exploitation of Africans and African Americans. A timeline notes that the "first direct shipment of captives from Africa to the Americas occurred in 1518 . . . In 1601 Shakespeare began to write Hamlet . . . [and] the London stock exchange was founded in 1698."

A diagram indicates slave routes in Africa, from inland to the coast. Bronze plaques from the Oba's palace in Benin represent local history; and a pair of iron shackles, worn by slaves, has been preserved.

Life-sized models of a slave ship and a slave fort are presented; and a list of beautiful southern spirituals, including "One More River To Cross," "Go Down

254

Moses," and "Didn't the Lord Deliver Daniel"; which perhaps provided some hope and consolation.

African Americans first arrived in America in 1619. According to the Dred Scott decision in 1857, they were not permitted to become citizens, although some were already citizens by then.

An **Underground Railroad Tour** on **September 21ˢᵗ** was conducted by Ms. Bobbie Davis (AA) at the Second Baptist Church, 441 Monroe Street.

Ms. Davis commented that after Emancipation, "sharecroppers worked for years in the South without being paid. Many migrants from the South slept on benches in the Second Baptist Church.

"Reverend Bradby sought out migrants in the bars, and brought them to the church." He said that "praise singers were angels behind his wings.

"Henry Ford went bankrupt three times. In his factory, you had former slaves and former slave owners.

"Frederick Douglas, Sojourner Truth, and Ralph Bunch, the first black to win a Nobel Prize, were distinguished African Americans. President Monroe paid for some former slaves to return to Africa, to Liberia.

"The First Baptist Church in Detroit permitted blacks to sit in the balconies, and therefore members established the Second Baptist Church, which is the oldest black church in the Midwest, although it was burnt out three times, and rebuilt." Remaining burnt out "wasn't in God's plans". Additional buildings were added by Bradby and Banks.

"The Underground Railroad operated by a code." Being a railroad implied "to pass swiftly. Underground meant 'secret'. Any place of hiding was a station, and the conductor or station master hides and helps people. The codeword for a ticket was a 'disguise'.

"Henry Fox Brown persuaded a white carpenter to build a box. He was then shipped to the house of an abolitionist in Philadelphia. Brown publicized his escape, so that when a second slave attempted the same plan, he was caught and sent to jail for four years.

"A tunnel led from the basement of the church to the street. Escaping slaves would hide in the basement, and someone would row them across the nearby Detroit River to Canada. About 5,000 slaves passed through the basement of the Second Baptist Church."

I had recognized the names of several streets in Detroit from Amy Elliott Bragg's book on *Hidden History of Detroit* (2011), such as Lewis Cass (Cass Corridor), Joseph Campau (a fur trader), General Friend Palmer, and Clarence Burton, a book collector (Burton Street); and decided to check further.

I discovered that numerous prominent streets in Detroit bear the names of the city's former slave owners, including Abbott, Beaubien, Brush, Campau, Macomb, Meldrum, Hamtramck, Rivard, and Livernois. Bill McGraw writes that "Detroit's first mayor, John R. Williams, the namesake of two streets in Detroit – John R and Williams – owned slaves . . . Most residents who could afford slaves owned them during Detroit's French, British, and early American periods, from the city's founding in 1701 to the second decade of the nineteenth century. In 1750, for example, toward

the end of the French regime, more than 25 percent of Detroit residents kept slaves"
(2012).

Fortunately, such exploitation has ended.

That evening, I attended a **Catapult Pitch Competition** at the Federal Reserve
Bank of Chicago, Detroit Branch, 1600 East Warren Avenue, sponsored by the
Community Foundation of South East Michigan. Ten finalists out of thirty original
applicants were now competing for about three minutes each, with a break half-way
through the program for dinner snacks and networking. After about two and a half
hours, the Steering Committee of about nine members, including my son Sherman,
would vote to decide which three groups would each win a grant of $7,500 to further
their programs.

Katherine Martinez (C) of Young Detroit Thinkers is the vice president of a
metro-Detroit chess organization, to which some four hundred members belong. Their
group meets every Friday from 4 to 8 p.m. at the Detroit Institute of Arts. Their
previous grant, received in 2015, has enabled students to compete nationally. Their
group takes chess to impoverished schools, and creates chess clubs, which are
"character building". Martinez noted that chess champion Nakamura was defeated
last year by a Detroit student. The group has expanded to compete in Ohio and
Canada.

Colleen (C), a member of the South East Michigan Douala Project, mentioned
that "doualas work with expecting moms." Their doualas worked with seventy-five
moms in the past year. They have twenty-five to thirty volunteers at present, who

helped with seventy births in the past two-and-a-half years. They wanted "ten-plus douala-training scholarships. Douala training costs about $400 apiece."

Alice Bagley (C) spoke for the Unity in Our Community TimeBank. Members exchange skills, such as lawn care, baby-sitting, and Spanish classes. Exchanges are posted on a web-site. The group needs a "mass-text service". "1,403 transactions occurred in the first half of 2016, 1,844 in 2015, and 908 in 2014."

Two boys, Ms. Bagley mentioned, helped seniors who were about to receive a "blight ticket". Nine hundred people helped out one day in December to remove their burnt-out garage.

David Silva (C) spoke for Detroit Horse Power, which provides five-day summer camps to teach kids to ride and to take care of horses. This increases kids' confidence. In 2014, eighteen kids participated, and ninety-one in 2015. The group wants fifteen to twenty acres with uncontaminated soil within Detroit.

Sarah Cox (C) spoke for Write a House, which has put out a national call for writers, who will compete to own a free house. It takes a minimum of $50,000 to renovate a house. Winning writers pay taxes and insurance, and receive free rent for two years. Then, they can keep the houses. About four writers have already received these free houses. The city wants home owners, who will pay taxes.

Clara Hardie (C) spoke for Detroit Youth Volume. The Suzuki method of teaching violin music to students has occurred in Detroit since 2010. Ms. Hardie wants to provide this opportunity to kids at the soup kitchen where she helps. Detroit Youth Volume now has twenty students, and they want ten more. Lillian, about eight years old, played a lovely "Allegro" on her violin for the Catapult audience.

A **Host of People** is a Detroit-based theater company, which inspires communities to work together. It hopes to be a "strong future art organization," and wishes to tour. It is committed to begin productions in Detroit.

The **Atlantic Impact** group focuses on areas around the world that were impacted by the Atlantic slave trade. Forty trips have been provided for low-income kids: to England, Barbados, and Canada. One-third of the kids in the Atlantic region live in poverty. The group partners with an Eastern Michigan university. Local trips occur all year long, and international trips occur in the summer.

The **Lawn Academy** was described by **Eric Miller** (C). It trains youth to provide lawn care for elderly and handicapped individuals, and veterans. Kids twelve to fifteen years old acquire a sense of community, and plant roses for senior citizens. Miller and his son started the project, and many other kids wanted to join. He and his wife self-fund the program. They are presently signing up kids to shovel snow and to use snow blowers. They will probably have a policeman to provide security.

Trans Sistas of Color provides programs for trans-gender women.

The **Jordan Morgan Foundation** endeavors to inform and inspire impoverished youth. Forty-nine percent of students in South East Michigan live at or below the poverty level. The Foundation encourages sports, education, and other programs.

These networks of encouragement and opportunity promote the well-being of disadvantaged individuals, and therefore the well-being of this urban area. Steering Committee members voted, and there were three winners: Detroit Horse Power, Trans Sistas of Color, and Atlantic Impact.

Before becoming the president, director, and CEO of Detroit's Institute of Arts (DIA) in October 2015, **Salvador Salort-Pons** (C) worked as assistant curator at the University of Madrid, an assistant curator at the Palazzo Ruspoli in Rome, senior curator in Dallas at the Meadows Museum of Southern Methodist University, assistant curator and then head of European art at the DIA. My niece Olivia Beckwith-Smith kindly introduced me to Salvador and his wife Alexandra May last August. (I had known Alexandra's mother, Marcia May, for several years in the 60s.)

We met at the museum on **September 22nd**, and I mentioned my topic to Salvador and Alexandra. Salvador commented that "art is a network of survival, a springboard for conversations. It brings people together, and is a link for community, a platform where things happen.

"Take for example slavery, which is a harsh and difficult issue to discuss. Descendents of slaves are still here, but many do not wish to discuss this. Art discusses this in a poetical way, opening a window for conversation.

"Art depends on who commissioned it. Thus, there is a utility for it. By the seventeenth century, it was commissioned by the nobility, the church, and the king. It affirmed their power; for example, to establish church dominance. In the seventeenth century, art promoted Catholic relations with Protestants, who did not believe in the immaculate conception, or in the sacraments.

"In the twentieth century, art was no longer a tool of anyone; it is a language. Sculpture, painting, and architecture convey different messages. Art in Africa was used in rituals."

Salort-Pons would like to use art for "dialogues with neighborhoods of Detroit.

"All of modern art is a message; each artist has a fresh perspective; thinking outside of the box, where they look at a problem; they have a new perspective. Creativity is a strong tool for problem solving. It makes us able to live better, and to help others."

Two of Salort-Pons' favorite artists are Velazquez in the seventeenth century, and Gerhard Richter, a modern artist. He "realized at an early age that he knew how to read the language of art, and to discover its message." He discovered that "art is rewarding and beautiful. Creativity is a tool to solve problems. The steps of creativity bring solutions for diverse situations. Understanding the creative process brings spiritual understanding, which makes us better people.

"Like opera, art makes us fuller and stronger, more self-confident. We lose fear due to the spirituality in our human nature. We connect with a different dimension, and lose our fears. Adversity becomes an opportunity."

After Salvador's interesting interview, Alexandra kindly showed me a lovely view of Diego Rivera's murals of "Industry" from an upper balcony. We walked downstairs to view a giant hanging paper sculpture, created by artist Caledonia Curry, who was born in New London, Connecticut in 1977, grew up in Daytona Beach, and moved to Brooklyn in 1996. The giant sculpture of the Greek sea goddess Thalassa was being assembled just inside the museum's front door, and Alexandra introduced me to the artist, among others.

Later that day, I invited Mrs. Watts to drive around Belle Island, located in the middle of the Detroit River (strait). I took several photographs of a statue on horseback of Major General Alpheus Starkey Williams, 1810-1878, who was born in

Connecticut and moved to Detroit in 1836. Williams worked as a probate judge, a bank president, and owner of the *Advertiser*, a newspaper. In the Civil War, he fought in the battles of Antietam, Sharpsburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg (Greusel, 1911).

Tyra Thompson, who had attended the Catapult Pitch competition on September 21st with three Suzuki-violin students, invited me to a Workforce Readiness symposium, sponsored by the Dominican Literacy Center for which she works, which was held at the Samaritan Center at 5555 Conner Street, on **September 23rd**.

Sister Janice Brown introduced the program, which would include interviewing skills and professional clothes. Leah Johnson, a career navigator, also attended.

The keynote speaker, **Tinesha Cherry**, is a life coach and entrepreneur, who writes poetry "for any occasion." One of her collections is entitled *I was Born to Lose But Chose To Win*." Her poetry provides "education, leadership, and direction."

"Freedom ain't free," she read from one poem, "sometimes it costs one's life. Determination and motivation are needed. We should walk through every open door, and raise our voices. We must be all that we can be. An opportunity wasted is an opportunity not deserved."

Ms. Cherry works as "a federal law enforcement officer, a fifth-layer agent in a male-dominated agency." Her mother was a heroin addict, and she was born with heroin in her system.

Growing up, she had to put a can on the windowsill to collect water to drink, and never knew her father. She was abused by her foster families. "Every single day," she said, "we are able to shape our stories." People told her "nine out of ten you will be a drug addict. You are likely to go to jail."

However, she said "you can choose where you want to be. You have to have some vision. What do you want? You have to decide. You own your vision. Self-doubt creeps up on you in the middle of the night. Schools, friends, society, and the world will abandon you, but you cannot abandon yourself.

"Do some self-assessment. What are you doing? What should you be doing? Every decision we make is significant. You have to start today to change your tomorrow. You have to work for what you want. People will not give you success; you have to earn it.

"If you choose not to get up, you will die. You can choose to succeed or fail every day. If you are not worth it to you, you are not worth it to me. If you do not try, you will die. Never stop starting. Winners keep going. I'm gonna fight until I die, and I will die fighting.

"Time is the most precious commodity that we have. We each have about 27,375 days to wake up. Some of us are dying a lot faster than others. Wake up every morning with purpose and passion. You either get up and live, or you lay down and die. I don't stand still for too long.

"Growing up, there was a mattress in the middle of the living room and we all slept there." She introduced Anthony, her videographer. "I motivate people to move from where they are to where they want to be." Ms. Cherry will participate in a

Global Women's Empowerment Summit in London in 2017, and will travel to Tampa next month to talk about leadership training.

Beverly Syler presented resume advice, and mentioned that a later program would provide interview advice from the Michigan Works Office. "What are you going to do that someone else can't do? Add any positive information." There are "five hundred words to use on a resume. Stay relevant to the particular industry. The interview is the sales pitch. Consider how to market yourself; marketing tools. Make a book-marker; think of a creative slogan."

I stopped by Jam Handy, an event venue at 2900 East Grand Boulevard. **Amy Kaherl** had mentioned on **September 21st** that her Detroit SOUP program would be held there on September 25th. Amy applies for grants for worthy causes, and distributes them. To date, Detroit SOUP has contributed "over $100,000 towards art, social justice, social entrepreneurs, education, technology and urban agriculture" for the city of Detroit, according to the Catapult program on September 21st.

Amy was not at Jam Handy on September 23rd. A "Detroit City of Design Summit, Day 2", presented by the Lear Corporation as part of the Detroit Design Festival 2016, was in progress. After lunch, a Sensory Architecture Installation would be presented by Sean Ahlquist. From 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. "The Future of Technology and Design in Detroit" had been discussed at Lawrence Technological University, 4219 Woodward Avenue, as part of the program.

Detroit was elected by UNESCO as its first city of design, expressing "what it means to be a better city through the power of design," according to its program: *Detroit Design Festival 2016.*

I attended the **Detroit SOUP** meeting, presented by **Amy Kaherl** at the Jam Handy building on Saturday evening, **September 25ᵗʰ.** A sign at the entrance requested a donation of $5 from attendees. Tables and chairs were provided for about thirty people, which left about twenty standing. Four organizations described their programs.

Generous City Street Café provides "thousands of meals to Detroit's homeless," and "bubble tea". They need "a generator, food service equipment," and a truck, according to their program.

Plum Health Direct Primary Care would provide "numerous primary health care services," and **Progressionista** would encourage "leisure reading" for girls from eight to twelve years old, including monthly meetings with "women professionals". **Proud Fathers** provides play dates for children "with incarcerated parents". Their program notes that "one in ten children in Michigan has had an incarcerated parent," or one living on probation or parole. The group wants "to provide books explaining incarceration . . . to children with an incarcerated parent".

After the presentations, all the attendees lined up to vote on which group should receive a 'micro-grant' that evening. Progressionista received the most votes. The aforementioned attendee contributions amounted to about $250, and Amy Kaherl contributed an additional $250, from an unnamed source. Thus, Progressionista received about $500.

Several people had brought platters of food, and everyone ate and chatted cheerfully, creating a true spirit of community. I recognized Alexandra May, the wife

265

of Museum director Salvador Salort-Pons. She kindly introduced me to several additional people, while many chatted together without introductions.

On September 26th, I spoke with Pastor Kevin Turman, pastor since 1988 of the Second Baptist Church, which, as mentioned, is the oldest African-American church in the Midwest. Pastor Turman commented that parishioners help each other with rent and groceries. They want to be seen at their best, so they only complain when very serious problems arise. Everyone needs help, and the Church becomes the place of last resort.

Some members started coming with their grandparents. Reverend Bradby (pastor from 1910-1946) had an economic relationship with Henry Ford; thus, members could have a recommendation from Reverend Bradby for jobs at the Ford factories. The Second Baptist Church was probably the 'silk stocking' church of that era. Ford used African Americans as a leverage against unions.

Bradby's assistant Charles Hill supported the unions, and African Americans joining the unions. Bradby assisted Reverend Hill to find his own church, and some members went with Reverend Hill to the Hartford Avenue Church, now the Hartford Memorial Church.

Allan Arthur (pastor from1947-77) succeeded Reverend Bradby as pastor.

CKLW, a radio station in the 1960s and 70s, had the strongest signal in Detroit. It broadcast the news from Windsor in Ontario, always publicizing crime, including gang activities and domestic quarrels. Often, "if it bled, it led".

Some areas in East Detroit at present have gangs and blight. Gang activity seems to be concentrated in that area. There are fewer factories in Detroit at present.

Electronics and computerization have reduced the number of previous jobs. Future jobs will exist in information technology and health care.

Pastor Turman has lived in Detroit for twenty-eight years.

That afternoon, I drove out to 21501 Eight Mile Drive, to Second Chance Autos, an outlet for the **Mother Waddles** charity. Charleszetta Waddles was born in St. Louis, Missouri in 1912, and died in 2001. She was an activist, African American, and founded the Mother Waddles Perpetual Mission.

Adam (no last name), the manager of Second Chance Autos, had no time for an interview, as he had six people waiting.

Ms. Ruselda Johnson (AA), chief operating officer of the **Detroit Urban League,** kindly provided a brief interview on **September 27th**. (I had left a previous message for her, but she was in the midst of another meeting when I arrived.)

She had arrived at the League in January, and is presently in the midst of reviewing the history, strategies and components of the League: where it has been, and where it is going. Mr. Anderson, the current director, has served as such for twenty-five years. He was called away to help Mayor Archer from 1994 to 1997 as director of Detroit's Department of Human Services, but otherwise worked from 1987 to the present as director of Detroit's Urban League.

Ms. Johnson presented me with copies of the League's *40th Edition on the State of Black America, 1916*, entitled: **LOCKED OUT: EDUCATION, JOBS & JUSTICE,** as well as the League's *100th Anniversary Distinguished Warriors Dinner* program; March 17, 2016. She mentioned that these publications would explain the League's "current mission".

A **nameless man** (AA), who stood at the foot of a statue of Stevens Mason, the first governor of the state (versus territory) of Michigan, had fought in the Vietnam War. He had worked as an electrician, and numerous other jobs, and is now homeless. He commented that "Detroit is full of hope." Considering how many people are endeavoring to help each other, they are caring; which contributes to hope.

I telephoned **Tom Nardone**, the originator of Detroit's 'Mower Gang', also known as "The Lawn Mower Brigade," mentioned in numerous books on modern Detroit, including the *Wildman Guide*, and Mark Binelli's *Detroit City Is the Place To Be.* Nardone was out, but returned my call several hours later, on September 26th. He was driving across Ohio, and said it would be a good time to talk.

He mentioned that the city was planning to close seventy-five out of three hundred of its public parks several years ago, and to let them revert to wilderness. Nardone initiated a plan to mow the grass in those seventy-five parks, to keep them available for public recreation.

Nardone considered plowing snow for the elderly in winter, but roads are often impassable after a snowstorm, and snow has to be plowed promptly or it becomes more difficult to remove. The Detroit Council of Aging has his telephone number.

Nardone had moved to Detroit from Connecticut. On the subject of thousands of houses in Detroit that were burned by their owners in the 1980s, Nardone mentioned that the value of many of those houses was about $30,000. Many houses that were built in the 1940s and 50s were of poor quality, being aluminum-sided, with no basement: "one notch above a trailer."

Besides the 'Mower Gang', originated by Nardone, a volunteer demolition team tears down derelict and abandoned houses that cannot be salvaged; both examples of community spirit that is improving the quality of life for the residents of Detroit.

On **September 28th**, I visited the **Arab American Museum** at 13624 Michigan Avenue in Dearborn, which is within the Detroit metro area, as mentioned.

One room of the museum has eighty-eight framed photographs of personal items brought by Arab refugees to the U.S. in the past twenty or so years, with descriptions by their owners of their meaning. These represent the lives, beloved friends, relatives, and places whom and which these refugees left behind. They are relics and treasures for their survival in America.

I have copied several of these descriptions.

By Dr. Baher Putti, Portland: "It's not that greeting cards were not available during sanctions, or we didn't have enough budget and time for that, but the creativity of a seven-year-old daughter to send [a] greeting card to her father is the miracle of love that makes the world livable."

By Nada al Zebag, Portland: "The picture on the phone is my house in Baghdad. This phone has all the numbers of our friends and relatives in Iraq as well as pictures."

By Hayat Jamil Hafodh, San Diego: "During the sanctions in Iraq in the 1990s, my mother, Iraqi artist Hayat Jamil Hafith, used to send me postcards made and drawn by her. I cherish them." From her son Banoona.

By Sammad Al Mayyah, Dearborn: "This [narrow strip of cloth] is a present from a friend of mine. I remember him whenever I wear it. People do not think it is valuable, but it is worth more than gold to me."

By Zahra Alkaabi, Portland: "When I left my country Iraq in 2000 I left everything behind, my personal stuff, my memories because I just wanted to forget everything about my life but the only thing I couldn't leave behind was my faith.

"This is [a picture of] our Holy book *Qurran* I wanted to have [it] with me all the time so I can get protection during this uncertain journey."

By Maryan Qaryaqos, Dearborn: "My mother made this carpet in the early nineties of the last century . . . It is made of my father's old neckties. I was so keen to bring it with me for it contains a lot of memories. It reminds me especially of my mother's skills for doing something from nothing . . . And that's what she was always doing during the Economic Blockade in my country Iraq. That was the situation of all mothers."

By Dhuwiya Al Obaidi, Chicago: "When I set off from Iraq, I left many dear things, but I could not leave my mother's glasses. She passed away in 1986. So she would stay a dear memory in my heart."

These items and descriptions represent emotional networks, which sustain people when they are separated from people and places whom and which they have loved; and enable them to continue their lives. Thus, they are **networks of emotional survival**.

A network diagram to represent this would include two large circles. One circle would contain six sample items (small circles), representing items brought from

previous homes. A second circle contains six circles representing six individuals, who brought the items from their previous homes. An arrow running from the 'people circle' to the items is labelled 'brought items'. An arrow running from the 'items brought' circle to the individuals who brought them is described as "emotional inspiration".

In summary, networks of survival in Detroit include community organizations, which provide grants to support the well-being of needy individuals; museums, which remind us of our achievements and challenge our creativity; shops, which provide goods and services; churches, which promote moral and community values; soup kitchens, which feed the needy; urban farms, and emotional networks. Universities in Detroit, including Wayne State, the University of Detroit Mercy, the College for Creative Studies, Marygrove College, and the University of Michigan Detroit Center, are also networks of survival, by preparing many to qualify for available and better jobs.

Mumbai

My United Airlines flight to Mumbai from Newark, NJ on **January 8th** was seven hours late, due to a faulty air-conditioning valve. The flight itself took fourteen hours. Preparing to leave the airport at 4 a.m. on the **10th**, my porter was told that we should find a prepaid taxi; which provides useful protection for new visitors.

Pausing at the barricades of the Westin Hotel in Oberoi Garden City, Goregaon East, Mumbai, kindly provided by my son Sherman's hotel points, one of the three hotel guards opened the trunk of my taxi, although my suitcase was clearly located on

271

the roof of the taxi; obviously checking for weapons, following the attack on the Taj Mahal Hotel, Chhatrapati Shivaji train station, Nariman Jewish Center, and several other locations in 2008, which resulted in 164 fatalities.

From the 29th floor of the Westin Hotel, one can see several hundred tightly packed small rectangular settlement houses, belonging to less affluent residents, clustered between taller and more substantial buildings, numerous roads and highways, and patches of stately trees.

On Wednesday, **January 11**, I drove with one of the hotel taxis to the **U.S. Consulate in Bandra East**, a distance of about forty minutes. I spoke to a consular assistant from the police gate, after passing my passport to one of four guards, as requested. I mentioned to the assistant that I was visiting Mumbai for three weeks, for research on my dissertation. I mentioned the subject. I asked if anyone at the consulate could recommend any residents of Mumbai who could be interviewed for the dissertation. She replied that the American Citizens Service office could assist with that. I asked if the consulate might know of a bank that could cash travelers' checks. She said to ask the American Citizens Service office about that also.

A guard dialed the American Citizens Service office for me. I asked the agent at the Service office if he knew of any residents who would be interested in contributing an interview to my dissertation. I mentioned the subject. He did not know of anyone. Nor did he know of any bank that would cash US travelers' checks. I asked what was his name. He does not provide his name.

The taxi driver, Mohamed, drove me to a foreign exchange office, but they would not change large travelers' check bills ($100). They recommended a Thomas

Cook office in Andheri, but they could not change them either. They recommended a different Thomas Cook office, in Bandra, which also could not change them.

The driver has three children, ages seven, five, and three. He attended school for three years, and his wife attended for four years. His father was rich, stayed at home, and did not work. Our excursion took four hours. Traffic was often dense, with mere inches between cars, which honked and changed lanes frequently. I was amazed that none of the cars, trucks, or motorcycles scraped or bumped each other in the melée.

Many new buildings had arisen among the older ones. Many were roughly constructed, and not yet completed. Some have not been painted for many years, and look rather derelict. Plants and laundry were hung or placed on numerous balconies. Wire grills provided security for many of them.

Shops that were open, with no exterior wall, to the edge of the sidewalk, displayed clothes, food, and other items. Other facilities – medical, businesses – had closed façades. Narrow alleys stretched into the interior of blocks, to reach old houses. The sidewalks were crowded with people, who often raised an arm and stepped fearlessly into the traffic, which somehow avoided hitting them. Goats wandered freely along one block, and two large water buffalo were tethered nearby, relaxing on their stomachs. A degree of haze failed to obscure the varieties of architecture and purposeful residents.

Thursday **January 12th** I ventured forth again with driver Mohamed, in search of a currency exchange. No one will take U.S. travelers checks. We drove for a total of three hours, returning to **Shivaji international airport**, from whence I had arrived

273

two days earlier before dawn. Mohamed waited in a parking garage, while I tried airport entrances at numerous locations on different levels. None of the guards would let me enter the airport to find a currency exchange, as I didn't have an airline ticket or boarding pass, which would not be available for nineteen days when I would be departing.

I spoke to a man at a car rental agency between the garage and the main airport, and he kindly negotiated with a man through the first floor window of the airport, by cell phone. The inside man, who worked at a currency exchange desk, brought out RS12,000 for my $200 cash, which was RS1,000 ($15) short of the official rate, but will enable me to take some qualified tours of the city and Dharavi Slum. Mohamed drives well if somewhat aggressively, but offers practically no explanations of the surroundings.

Observations, however, were possible, and I did happen to notice that a number of small houses beside the road had chickens running in and out, within several feet of six lanes of traffic; not counting motorcycles, which created additional unofficial lanes.

On **January 13th**, I toured for eight hours with Sunil Chittira and driver Neesham. Neesham says that in order for a man to buy a taxi, he must have an office, which is also expensive. But some officials can be bribed to write that he has an office. Neesham mentioned Mumbai's Slum Rehabilitation Scheme. Houses with apartments that were intended for poor people were kept by officials in this program. A builder buys land for poor people from the government. He is entitled to keep half of the buildings that he constructs, and should give half to poor people. However, he

has to give 80 percent of the apartments to the police and to officials. New Mumbai, he mentioned, was largely constructed in the past fifteen years.

Sunil mentioned that Mumbai has a population of twenty-two million, with two thousand slums. About one-third of the population of **Dharavi Slum** comes from Tamil Nadu. Many were brought by a famous Mafia leader. One-third are Marathi, and one-third come from elsewhere.

Sunil pointed out a large mangrove area, which absorbs sewage, near Dharavi Slum, which has a population of more than one million, in 1.75 square km of land. The annual income of Dharavi's industries is $665 million per annum. People collect truck-loads of plastics, cans and cardboard every night. Large plastic items are sawed into smaller pieces. Plastic items are melted into pallets, and sold to manufacturers of plastic items, including button-makers. Aluminum cans are melted into bricks of aluminum. Cardboard boxes are refolded, to hide their labels. Paint cans are cleaned and scoured, to remove their labels. Dents are removed by hammering. The cans will be reused.

Two beautiful large goats were tethered along the ten-foot wide street, which sometimes narrows. They will be consumed soon for the Eid al-Bakra, a Muslim festival.

Varieties of machinery, some with sparks flying, are used in Dharavi's industries. Many shops are only about ten- or twelve-feet wide, and fifteen-feet deep. A tailor has produced many jackets, and colorful leather bags are produced in another shop, with a larger room for display. Stacks of goat and buffalo skins are being

prepared for these items. Metal ladders, with side-railings about eight inches high, lean against walls, and serve as staircases to the second floor.

The industries of Dharavi represent imagination, creativity, and diligent labor. They are good examples of networks of survival.

In India, if you don't vote for three years, you lose your voting pass. Then, according to a guide, you have to go to a government office, and bribe someone to get your pass reinstated.

We passed a race track for horses, which is used from November to February, and reached **the mosque of Haji Ali**. (Haji means that he had completed the *haj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca, required of all Muslims, if possible.) A long causeway, which stretches into the Arabian Sea to reach the mosque, located on a small island, is covered by the sea at high tide. About thirty individuals, missing hands, arms, arms and legs, or tending babies sat along the causeway, and I passed out $1 bills to six of them; a small contribution.

Haji Ali was a saint, whose coffin supposedly drifted "back to this spot" after he died, from Mecca, where he was visiting for a pilgrimage, according to Singh et al (745).

Sunil mentioned that for Hindus, bodies have to be burned, or their souls will not go to heaven after they die. He pointed out the Antilia building, which cost $2 billion. We stopped at Mani Bhavan, where Gandhi lived from 1917-1934. "He launched from here Satyagraha ["truth and 'mutual respect'", Chandra 121] in 1919 and Civil Disobedience in 1932," according to a sign. I had noticed that his picture

appears on all Indian paper currency: for RS20, 50, 100, 500, and 2000; certainly a most major national leader.

(The building was closed on the 13th, but I returned two days later, on the 15th.)

Next we visited the **Banganga Tank**, a rectangular pond surrounded be descending steps, reminiscent of steps along the Ganges in Varanasi. According to legend, the Tank was created by an arrow shot by Lord Ram (New World Encyclopedia.org). Sunil mentioned that the Banganga Tank was built before the 12th century, during the Silhara dynasty. "It is for drinking, not for laundry," he added, "because it is considered holy water. When people die, they dispose their ashes and throw flowers here if they are unable to reach the Ganga [Ganges] River", which, he added, is not compulsory. "Anywhere in the Ganges River is acceptable, and the Banganga is also acceptable."

"The Hindu religion," Sunil added, "has thirty-three million gods. On Saturdays, people especially visit Hindu temples to worship Hanuman, a god with a monkey face. On Mondays, they visit to worship Shiva, the destroyer god. And on Tuesday, they visit to worship Ganesh, who has the head of an elephant."

Stopping for bathroom breaks, Sunil says that the restaurant across the street would have a better bathroom. It is **the Leopold Café**, which features in a novel by Gregory David Roberts, *Shantaram*, which I have been reading back in Rhode Island. The Leopold is especially popular with foreigners, and was therefore unfortunately bombed in 2008, along with **the Taj Mahal Hotel** and other locations, by Pakistani terrorists, as previously mentioned. I am glad to see that it has been completely repaired.

We also visited **the Adishwarji Jain temple** on Malabar Hill. Malabar Hill and Colaba are especially prosperous districts in southern Mumbai. **Historic art deco houses** are located along Marine Drive. We visited **a dhobi ghat**, to which laundry is sent by individuals and hotels, to be washed by dhobi wallahs, hung out to dry, and then folded and returned.

We stopped at **an Afghan War memorial church, St. John the Evangelist**, close to the southern tip of Mumbai, consecrated in 1857 in memory of British soldiers who died in the First Afghan War. We stopped to chat with **Reverend Samuel Christdoss**, a "servant of Christ," of Tamil background. Reverend Christdoss had served as a minister of the church for thirty-one years, and kindly agreed to contribute an interview. He came from Chennai, and graduated from the inner city Serambore College, established by William Carey.

Reverend Christdoss has a post-graduate degree in mission work from Birmingham, England. His son Vijay is a journalist with the Times Now England TV Channel. Many people, he said, come to the church on Sundays. Mrs. Prabawadhy, his colleague, works with slum children throughout Bombay, especially in Dharavi Slum.

He has traveled to Iowa, and has preached in Philadelphia.

Sunday **January 15th**. "What are all the people walking for?" (with signs); I asked. "Politics, politics. And the dead people *bisanjerine*." Mohamed's English is not too clear.

Kites are flying today, to celebrate the harvest festival. The Indian news channels report that last year the strings of many kites were coated with glass, which

was sharp, and killed many children. One can still buy kites with glass-covered

strings, although they are illegal. "Hundreds of thousands of birds could be killed,"

according to the report; not a network of survival.

Mohamed points out a bridge for commuter trains. We drive across the

lengthy Bandra-Worli Sea Link Bridge, about seven years old, which leads to Worli in

southern Mumbai. We drive along 'Seaface' Road. I imagine that Mohamed has

invented this word, but later I find it on a map. A walkway, with benches facing the

sea and a row of trees, mostly palm trees, borders the sea for about fifteen miles.

We pass the Happy Home and School for the Blind. Mohamed points to the

bungalow of "India's number one business man," the director of Reliance, a

conglomerate holding company. It is about twenty stories high, and very modern.

We visited the **Mani Bhavan** on Laburnum Road. Today it was open, unlike

yesterday. Many photos of Gandhi, from his years as a lawyer and civil rights worker

in South Africa, from the Great Salt March of 1930 and other occasions, and

manuscript pages from his books are framed and line the walls of a central room. A

sign comments that "when the right hand was exhausted, he wrote with his left hand."

Gandhi redesigned the flag of India. Saffron would represent "courage and

sacrifice, white for truth and peace, green for faith and strength," and "the spinning

wheel [for] the hope of the masses," according to museum signs.

Correspondence from Tolstoy and a tribute from Einstein are also framed. A

photo of "his few earthly possessions" includes a bowl and spoon, another spoon and a

fork, a pen, a folded cloth, a large safety pin, a thermos, a lantern, a book, a pair of

sandals, beads, an eight-inch skein of inter-twisted thread, and two uncertain items.

A copy of India's Declaration of Independence on 26 January 1930 declares that "the British government of India . . . has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually." Therefore, "India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj, or complete independence."

Gandhi's room is on the second floor. Spinning and weaving equipment line two walls. A small wooden bookcase holds several books and an old-fashioned telephone. His bed was a pad, with one pillow. The pillow leans against the third wall. Beside the bed stands a small desk, which is about two feet wide, one foot deep, and eighteen inches high.

Among the models in glass cases with figurines of important events in Gandhi's life in another room is one of his fast to end the practice of untouchability in 1932, with about twenty-four people in attendance around his bed. The fast, which lasted for six days, contributed to improving the situation.

Gandhi was a one-man network of survival for the Indian nation, and an example for future civil-rights leaders around the world. Millions of Indian lives and thousands of British lives were saved by his hunger fasts and his years in prison; his program of non-violence.

We paused for twenty minutes for a closer look at the Taj Mahal Palace Hotel and the **Gateway of India** arch, begun in 1911 and completed in 1924; and then drove through Nagpur Muslim district, which was crowded and colorful. I asked Mohamed's opinion of Prime Minister Modi. "He is good for rich people, but not for small people," he replies. He prefers Sonia Gandhi.

January 17th. We drive past a Waste Paper Merchant shop. I wonder if we have any such shops in the U.S. We do recycle paper, so perhaps we have something similar. I ask Sunil if he likes the Shiv Sena or Bharatiya Janata political parties. He replies that all political parties are the same. Like Mohamed, he believes that Prime Minister Modi especially helps rich people, not poor ones.

We drive through a tunnel under the Baba Atomic Research Center. The mountain is about fourteen stories high; not very high for a mountain. Sunil's father lost his two small businesses, and 'small elephant' truck, which were illegally taken by someone. Now he drives a taxi at night.

We visit Sunil's apartment in **Mankhurd Slum**, in New Mumbai, forty minutes by car and across a bridge from Mumbai. Sunil mentions that his exact location is in Maharashtra Nagar in Mankhurd at the border of New Mumbai, near Vashi. He adds that precise borders for towns and cities do not exist anywhere in India.

We discuss alcohol. Sunil says that rich people are drinking scotch and gin because they are going to more parties. Poor people are drinking less.

We visit **Sunil's apartment**, which has 220 square feet – about fifteen by fifteen feet – like other apartments in the slum. His mother, **Lalita**, welcomes us. His father is sleeping. The electricity is not working this afternoon. Sunil says that they use candles when necessary. We sit and chat for awhile. I have brought a box of cookies, a small jar of cashews, and a photo of one son and my late mother-in-law, for introduction.

281

There are two rooms, a small kitchen, and a small bathroom. At night, they move the mattress into the front room, and Sunil's parents and sister will sleep on it. Sunil and his brother will sleep in the small bedroom, which has a double bed, without the mattress.

The kitchen is about three feet wide between two counters. (I thought that it would be rude to peer at their kitchen equipment too closely. Sunil later mentioned that everyone in the slum has a refrigerator, and uses a gas cylinder for cooking). The bathroom is about three feet wide (the door is closed). There is one closet in the front room, covered by a curtain. Water runs from a tap for about seventeen minutes daily into a barrel in their front room.

We leave Sunil's home, and walk through the slum, which has the cheerful atmosphere of a village. Several workers are shoveling out the sewage channel, which runs along one side of the narrow road, largely (about 90 percent) covered by flat slabs of rock. Sunil explains that the sewage channels run into the Arabian Sea. There is no noticeable odor, but in summer when the region is much hotter than the present mid-70s° F, I imagine there could be an odor.

Sunil asks whether I would like to visit his mother's friend's home, and I accept gladly. We climb up a ladder-stairway, adjacent to a building (all the buildings in this slum are two stories high), and enter the apartment of **Sushila and her daughter Bumicka**. (I assume that Sushila's husband is out working.) Again, we sit and chat, and I produce my family photo. Sushila has three family photos, one a collage, hanging in her front room. I can see that her left eye is blind, apparently a cataract

Bumicka is about ten years old. Her English is much better than Sushila's. She mentions that she wants to be a dancer when she is older. I mention that I planned to sell ice cream when I was her age (actually, a bit younger). We rise to leave. Sushila touches my foot, a sign of respect. I endeavor to touch hers, but she does not permit!

We descend the ladder-staircase, and I hold on carefully. We continue to walk through the slum-village. Hoses running along the side of an adjacent street carry water for apartments, also for brief periods only. The village square is not very large. It is used for sports and other events. A small boy pushes his toy truck between parallel poles bordering one wall of the square. We walk through the marketplace, which is filling up with fresh vegetables for evening meals. I had already noticed that there were satellite dish antennas, for televisions, on every building in the slums.

We drop off Sunil after a short drive through New Mumbai; to catch a bus back to his slum/village. Returning to my hotel, **Gautam**, who was driving, discussed Hinduism, Dalit leader Ambedkar, and Mahatma Jyoti Bafulé, who first educated his wife and then created the first girl's school. His wife, Savity, became the first teacher of a girl's school.

Gautam borrowed RS100,000 ($1,538) from a money-lender to pay for his father's funeral and other expenses. He does not know how he will repay this. He finished ten years of school, but needs to work at present. His twelve-year-old son requires a tutor. Money-lenders usually charge a high rate of interest. It impresses me how drivers Neesham and Gautam, and guide Sunil, have put their own interests for further education aside in order to support their families.

Considering that Mohamed earns about $31 for four hours of driving, and pays for his rented vehicle, taxi drivers are not highly paid. Sunil, a much more articulate guide, shares RS17,000 ($262) for eight hours with a driver, who rents the vehicle – which simplifies parking at locations of interest; and their agent takes a share, perhaps 40 percent. Thus, Sunil and the driver would each receive about $9 per hour.

January 19th. I am waiting to hear from the daughter of an old friend, who worked in Mumbai for one year as an intern at Reuters, about possible interviews. My email connection is sometimes erratic, including at present, but the computer agent at the hotel has adjusted my iPhone before, and I trust he will do so again later this morning.

Later that morning, I drove with Mohamed to the **Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya/Prince of Wales Museum**, in the Kalaghoda district, south of the Fort district and north of Colaba. Like at hotels, all entering visitors and bags are scanned at the entrance; in this case, at an outer building.

Sunil later explains that Chhatrapati means chief king, especially referring to Chhatrapati Shivaji (1627/30-1680), who ruled in Maharashtra (due north of Mumbai) from 1674 to 1680. The Maratha Empire was finally defeated in 1818 by the British East India Company, led by Governor General Hastings, in the Third Anglo-Maratha War.

Mohamed says that 2 percent of Mumbai is Parsi, of Persian origin. The Babulnad district has only Marathi and Marwari/Gujarati people.

The museum has bronze Indian gods from the 8th century, and Ganesh and other gods carved in stone from the 2nd to the 12th centuries." One stone portrays King Sala fighting a lion from Karnataka, 1070 C.E.

A display mentions that Jain derives from 'Jina', which meant "conqueror or liberator". Jains believed in rebirth. Every living being will be reborn "in accordance with his former deeds." This will help "man" to achieve "liberation or freedom from [the] cycle of rebirth," according to a sign. This philosophy encourages virtuous behavior. Moreover, one cannot simply escape rebirth by self-destruction. I had read years ago that the penalty for suicide is rebirth as a crow.

The Sir Ratan Tata Gallery has British, Flemish, Italian, and German paintings, dating from the 17th to the early 20th centuries. A colorful large painting of Bohemian gypsies is closely followed by a portrait of Dr. Dodd by Gainesborough. The Tata family earned a fortune in the manufacture of steel in India, and subsequently in automobiles.

The museum also has a collection of urns and bowls by 18th century British potter Josiah Wedgewood, and late 18th century figurines portraying Grecian and mythical figures. The "personal armor of [Mughal] Emperor Akbar" from the sixteenth century can be seen, as well as antique matchlock guns. Raphael-style madonnas, babes and angels; "The Judgment of Paris"; Italian 17th century Greek gods, goddesses, and "Muses on Mount Parnassus"; landscapes by John Constable and Van Der Meer; British and Dutch landscapes with sheep and stately trees are also available.

About forty school girls, about ten years old, with matching red and white uniforms, with pens and notebooks (like myself!), absorbing the culture, are hustled along by several teachers.

Indian miniature paintings from the 14th century and later fill several galleries. Tibetan Buddhist prayer flags are "blue for sky, white for air or wind, red for fire, green for water, and yellow for earth." "Four powerful animals" often portrayed in a flag's four corners include "a dragon, an eagle, a snow-lion, and a tiger."

Thus culture portrays, explains, and preserves social and spiritual concepts in different media over the centuries. It stimulates imagination, creating gods and goddesses; explanations lead to science.

Several dozen Muslim girls, also in uniforms, with white veils covering their hair, wait in the museum's beautiful garden for their turn to absorb some culture.

Mohamed says that government schools are not very good, and private schools are expensive. He is pulled over by a policeman for driving the wrong way on a bypass. The policeman charges and collects a fine on the spot: RS450 or $7.

"I am shocked today not to see you." The young man in housekeeping is very polite.

January 20th. Gautam was born in a village 400 km north of Mumbai. His family moved to Mumbai when he was very young. "Many came from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, because when the harvest is poor, many people are hungry." They built a shelter, and lived on the sidewalk. His mother's family was not helping them. Men usually stayed in bachelor houses.

His father worked for two years as a laborer, and studied through tenth grade. He worked for the government, but he couldn't get a good job without documents about where he lived, or ration cards. His mother's family would not give him any documentation, because he would earn more than them. So he worked as a security guard.

Gautam points out a metro train. "Now it takes only twenty-two minutes from end to end."

I mention Hope, whom I had met in September in Detroit, at the Capuchin Soup Kitchen, during my field research there. Her ten children were taken away from her by the state, and placed in foster care. Perhaps she did not have enough money to adequately care for them. She completely lost eight of them, and never saw them again. And Stephanie, who lost her two children and had not seen them for twelve years, and wants them back. Both looked like reasonable people when I met them.

"In India," Gautam replies, "children are not taken away from poor people." We arrive in Dharavi, and meet Sunil.

Hundreds of men with small white caps stand in parallel lines along a road beside Dharavi, while a loudspeaker enhances the prayers of a muezzin. Gautam explains that there are many more Muslims than there are available mosques.

We reach **Kumba Wara**, the Potter's Place. Ramesh, a potter, works from eight to five, but takes several breaks for lunch or tea. He makes sixty or seventy pots every day, which are baked in one of four or five kilns in the center of the street outside his house. We watched as he makes several pots, and met his wife. His father

and grandfather were also potters. I asked Sunil later if Ramesh could have chosen not to be a potter. "Yes," he replied.

We drive south towards Colaba. Gautam mentions that there is 40 percent less traffic on Sundays and holidays, and twenty-four festivals in a year. Sunil mentions that betel (bē'tel) leaves, which his father used to sell, are good for health. They are medicinal, not a narcotic. People often chew them at weddings, where they cannot smoke.

He explains that Sir Rajan Tata created a revolution in the steel industry. Previously, steel was hand-made. The Tatas were Parsis, traders and merchants, and therefore very rich. "Parsis are very decent," he says, "with no bad habits, mostly."

We pass a statue of "The Farmer" (two male farmers), beside **the High Court**. We enter the majestic, formerly British High Court building, passing through scanners, and our bags pass through scanners, as usual.

Sunil plays "Candy Crush" on his Samsung mobile while we wait for the court to start at 3 p.m. The courtroom has about fifty seats in four rows. Pointed arches behind the judge's seat frame decorative panels with a floral motif that permits light to enter. Six rows of alternating lights and fans are suspended from the ceiling. At 3 p.m., someone locks the back door, leading to the seats for the public.

Stacks of documents up to four-feet high line sections of the wall, corners of the room, and several tables. Lawyers wear black robes, open in front, without buttons. Men, other than lawyers, wear shirts with buttons, but no jackets. After twenty minutes, we slip under a chain, and exit by a front door.

Several doors to the right, we enter another courtroom. A case is being tried over disputed alimony. The husband, not present, is from Saudi Arabia. The thin young woman wears a complete black hijab, with gold trim for the veil, and a slit for her eyes. Her entourage wear Muslim dress, but their faces are uncovered.

Two lawyers, one for each party, discuss how much she has received, and how much more or less she should receive. The judge eventually decides that she should receive a little more. All are speaking English.

I ask whether we could visit Bollywood, the prosperous Indian movie industry, located in Mumbai. "Not without an invitation," Sunil replies. "One has to receive a ticket."

Returning via the Sea Link Bridge, a sign advises drivers to "Follow Lane Discipline." We drop off Sunil for his bus, and driver Gautam explains that untouchable leader Ambedkar chose Buddhism because "Muslims were not respecting women," and "Christians said that God created everything, which is not true. Buddhists believed in working."

I mention that my son has found a room for me at Four Points Sheraton for three nights in New Mumbai. Gautam comments that there will be nothing to see in New Mumbai: "no history, no culture. But the city is very well planned, the roads are wider. Some big companies and the IT sector are moving to New Mumbai. So people are not commuting to Mumbai: commuting by car takes about two hours from New Mumbai to Mumbai." Fortunately, as it turned out, I was able to stay on at the Westin Hotel in the Goregaon East district of Mumbai for seven additional nights.

Gautam lives in Thane, north of Mumbai.

On **January 22,** I drove with Mohamed to visit the Museum of Modern Art

and the Chhatrapati Shivaji/Victoria Terminus (train station).

One frequently sees mothers with babies, or mothers with two little kids, on the

back of motorcycles, weaving through traffic. The man in front wears a helmet, but

not the woman and kids.

Mohamed explains that the fine for men without helmets is RS500 ($7.70).

There is no fine for back-seat passengers. Sikhs, however, who wear turbans while

driving motorcycles, are not obliged to wear helmets. I watch as a policeman stops

motorcycles on the highway south. "What will happen to them," I ask. "If they don't

have a driver's license," Mohamed says, "they will lose their motorcycles."

We cross the Rajiv Gandhi Sea Link Bridge again. A bullock cart creeps along

beside the sidewalk, with six rows of traffic, the pedestrian walk, benches facing the

Arabian Sea, and a row of single trees to our right.

Cars are honking and weaving as usual, and yet not colliding. A cow eats a

small pile of hay in the driveway of an expensive apartment building.

The Museum of Modern Art, on Madame Cama Road, features a memorial

exhibit of S.B. Palsikar, May 1917 to March 1984; artist and professor at the Sir J.J.

School of Art. Professor Palsikar received "a Gold Medal and Life Membership of the

Art Academy of Italy for his outstanding services in the field of Art and Art

Education," according to a large placard; and received many other rewards throughout

India and beyond. Several of his colorful village scenes, with dramatic vertical

compositions, are hanging nearby.

According to S.A. Krishnan in *Caravan*, May 1961, "The seeds of contemporary Indian art were sown in Bengal". Both Maharashtra and Bombay at that time were "in the grip of an academic-realistic art." Most sculptors and artists followed the "standards of the Royal Academy." Indian art became influenced by Jain and Rajasthani miniatures, and art from Ajanta.

A Progressive Artists Group was founded in Bombay in 1948. An influential Bombay group followed. The Maharajah Sayajirao University in Baroda subsequently became influential in Gujarat. Bombay became influential, due to "its cosmopolitan climate and the dynamic character of its life." Krishnan adds that Bombay is "a very important center of contemporary theater, music, and dance . . . The Bombay Art Society and the Art Society of India" are located in Bombay. "Significant contemporary artists in Bombay . . . maintain their individuality in spite of the obvious contemporaneity and universalism of their art" (1961).

Organizations supporting the development of art are networks of creative support and community, of survival in chosen vocational paths; although culture at times in history has promoted social and political intolerance or domination; for example, when Caligula "ordered statues of himself to be placed in the [Hebrew] temple" in Jerusalem in 39 A.D., which opposed the Hebrew ban on idols, or "other gods" (Lanza: 2010).

Palsikar's "Three Graces" (1958) includes dark, harmonious coloring, white outlines, and easles. One 'Grace' faces the other two, who have their backs turned to the viewer. Proportions and figures are quite three-dimensional. The canvas is about eight feet wide and six feet high. (I checked with the front desk attendant that the

painting was indeed by Palsikar, as there was no adjacent label. He assured me that it was.)

I entered the magnificent **Victoria/Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus**, about two-blocks distant from the Museum. Crossing the road at that location is perilous, with traffic converging from numerous directions. The current Concierge Map of Mumbai describes it as "built in 1887, . . . India's first steam engine started from this station, and today, 2.5 million commuters pass through here every day."

Many people were passing through the station at about 3 p.m., but fortunately it was not rush hour. A man was sleeping in the center of the floor of the large inner hall, near about twelve trains, which would eventually depart. Small groups of people were also sitting on the floor. I did not see any available benches.

The sidewalks outside the station and across the street were lined on both sides by vendors of clothing, sandals, freshly squeezed bamboo juice, and numerous other items.

Mohamed again pointed out Nagwara, a Muslim neighborhood, on the way back to my hotel in East Garagaon. A crash on the Western Expressway in the opposite direction from us brought four lanes of traffic to a halt.

I ask Mohamed what are vans with two large PUC signs, which one often sees with open hoods and trunks beside highways. "Government check-in, no charge," he replies. Concierge Arnaud (Arnav) later explains at the hotel that it means "pollution control penalty." The small van is obliged to wait (to be left) beside the road for about two months.

Mohamed likes to sing occasionally. He says "the mind plays" when he sings. He points out "small houses, small people" (slum dwellings) outside the left windows. (Poor, but not small people.)

January 23. My occasional breakfast waiter has a degree from college in hotel management. One can see that a large and prosperous hotel like the Westin is a network of survival for hundreds of families. Four men guard the outer gates, and four stand outside the front door, calling for taxis and manning the people and luggage scanners; one of each.

In the front hall, about five stand (no sitting) behind the long payment/reservations desk, and five behind the equally long concierge desk. About four stand beside the three elevators, to smile and say "good morning", or whatever time of day it is. About forty work in the dining room on the eighteenth floor: five behind the omelette, roast vegetables, chicken and pork sausages, and seven other selections counters; about five behind the bowls of papaya or mango or other alternating yogurts, sliced fish, Japanese sushi rolls; five behind the varieties of other Japanese breakfast items, which I could not identify. Certain staff ask the guests in the middle of their breakfasts if they would like more tea, or anything else.

Computer assistance is available on the first floor, about the ground floor. A technician replaced my desk telephone, which was not working, once. The fifth to seventeenth floors are hotel management offices, which cannot be reached by the public elevators. I did not visit the swimming pool or exercise rooms, which doubtless employ several people; plus a large cleaning staff for bedrooms.

And the hotel has a beautiful garden, with numerous trees, flowers, topiary, and gardeners. Altogether, the hotel employs many people, along with Mumbai's many other hotels.

Today, January 23rd, Sunil wants to visit Bindi Bazaar (lady-finger market), Thieves' Market, and the betel market. Thieves Market is so-called, because if you lost something, you could often find it at Thieves' Market. I choose instead to visit the Wadala and Annawadi Slums.

At **Wadala Slum**, four women witting in their doorways talk all at once in Hindi, telling me that I should go the government and tell them to help, to clean their sewers. Sunil translates, and comments that this is a popular complaint.

Some alleys between houses are only two feet wide, barely wide enough for two people to pass. Every house is decorated in one way or another. Outer walls are painted dark pink, blue, yellow, or other colors. Doorways are covered by colorful curtains. One house has two cages on an entry shelf, beside their door: one with a parakeet, and the other with two larger, colorful birds.

Several goats wander along a border of the slum, about twenty feet above a stream of sewage, which is about twenty feet wide, with paved sides. Sunil says that people must be kind to their animals, and care for them, or their prayers will not be answered when the goats are eaten during Ramadan, in May. (The slum is largely Muslim.)

Some little house fronts are open. At one p.m., men are cooking bread and other items for lunch, for sale. Some have little tables. In one shop, a man is slicing

black velvet-covered paper from a large roll. There are tailors, ironing shops, and shaving shops.

Sunil says that "there is no more mafia in the slums, because people know each other; they would tell the police. The mafia live in the city itself, but not in the slums. At present," he adds, "there is very little mafia, and very little crime in the city. There is more in other states. Actually," he adds, "there is not much in all India now; it existed twenty or thirty years ago. The mafia would extort big business and the movie industry. Police encounters ended the mafia, and some went to Pakistan.

"Many slums," he adds, "began in the 1970s. Now you can't do that. Those who can't afford to rent living space must return to their villages."

For vacations, Gautam and his family visit his in-laws in Nasik, to the north. He and his family do not go to movies, because tickets cost RS200 ($3), and the movies soon come to television. Movie theaters do not allow you to bring food. "Popcorns" and water cost double at the movie theater.

The tailor, where we "swipe the card" to pay for Sunil's tours, makes an average of one suit every day. I am always amazed at how the little 'swiping' device automatically changes dollars from my credit card into rupees. Sometimes the device is brought by a man on a bicycle, wrapped in a little cover.

This situation is represented by a **"Payment Network Diagram".** Three circles are contained in a larger circle. A small circle on the left represents a man with the device. An arrow from him to a circle to the right is labeled "device travels". Six small circles in the next circle to the right represent "shops". A circle to the right

represents 'tourists'. An arrow pointing left between tourists and shops is labeled as 'bring credit cards'.

I ask about the statue of a short chubby man with small wings on his hat, located on the waterfront path of Sea Face in Worli. I had seen a similar one about twelve days earlier, when I tried to cash some travelers' checks in Bandra. Sunil explains that this is R.K. Laxman, a famous cartoonist for *Times of India*, who was very popular. (Actually, it represents his "common man", who often appears in his cartoons.)

Gautam says that before 1947, Muslims in Kashmir forcibly converted many Hindus to become Muslim. Later, these people wanted to return to being Hindu. Gandhi asked the Brahmin scholars, who said "no," they must remain Muslim.

He adds that Sea Link Bridge took ten years to complete, from 1998 to 2008. Many political issues occurred. Koli fishermen in this region did not want the bridge. It is 5.5 km long; more than three miles.

Sunil believes that the British largely took from India, but contributed structures; buildings, for example. Laws existed before the British. "British laws gave priority to themselves, not to the Indians."

Gautam says that most Mughals were killed by Indian kings, such as Shivaji. (This does not agree with my research.) He has worked as a driver for twenty-two years. He married his uncle's daughter. He gives her some books, but she does not read them.

In **Annawadi Slum**, one girl, about nine years old, walked over and said (in English) "My mother wants to know 'why are you visiting here?'" (Many younger people speak English better than older ones in poor neighborhoods.)

"I am here to see your beautiful village," I replied. "I hope that you will have a happy and prosperous life."

About eight young ladies were sitting on a platform amidst a pile of cigarette filters, sorting them. "I hope you will visit America one day," I said. "Take us with you," one of them replied, in Hindi, translated by Sunil. I wished them happy and prosperous lives.

I said "hello," or "how are you," to fifteen or twenty people, in passing. They smiled, and repeated my simple phrases. Some women were seated on the flat stones of the alley pathways, washing laundry. Laundry was hanging along almost every wall, adding additional splashes of color.

A shrine, about thirty feet wide and ten feet high, has an iron grill in front of it. Hanuman, Ganesh, and several other gods are represented as twelve inch figures or colorful pictures.

We drop off Sunil to catch his bus. Driving to the hotel, Gautam tells how he started working. First, he worked as a porter. Then he got his driver's license, but it does not teach one how to drive. He accompanied a friend in the friend's truck for awhile, and when they left Mumbai, his friend let him drive for awhile. Two friends invited him along in their trucks, but did not let him drive. At restaurants, truck drivers are charged less, because the owners know they are paid so little; for example, RS7, instead of RS10 for a cup of tea.

Then, he rode with a friend who drove a garbage truck. After awhile, the friend would stay home and play cards, while Gautam drove his truck. Since driving a garbage truck is a government job, the police will not stop you if you make a mistake.

He says that most people in India do not want to keep working when they are seventy-four. They do not want to study some more, and to teach. He is surprised that I want to keep working. He is thirty-eight years old, and Sunil is twenty-eight.

Loud music with drumming rises twenty-nine floors to my hotel room at 7 p.m.; probably in anticipation of Republic Day on January 26th, the 68th anniversary of the Indian Constitution.

January 24th. The panorama of Mumbai is daunting. From higher elevations; for example, from my hotel room, one can see hundreds of new buildings and hundreds of older buildings, which stretch to the horizon. Many streets, except in Colaba, Bandra, and Malabar Hill, are bordered by slum dwellings. Several small mountains – about twenty stories high – can be seen several miles to the south.

Thousands of cars continue on the expressway south of the building throughout the night; although not nearly as many as one sees during the day. One often realizes that this is a very big city. And yes, I suspect that everyone has the equivalent of their own personal village.

January 25th. Whereas tomorrow will be Republic Day, August 15th will be Independence Day. This year, India will celebrate seventy years of independence from British rule in August. Tomorrow, there will be a celebration at 7 a.m. beside the

Gateway of India monument. There will be music and dancing. Workers will have a holiday. Republic Day celebrates the enactment of India's constitution.

Today we will visit **Bindi (Lady Fingers) Market**, and the Thieves' Market. I drive south with Gautam, to pick up Sunil. In Santa Cruz district, Gautam indicates four tall buildings for slum people, about thirty stories high. Sunil had briefly described these eight days earlier. Those who had lived in slums since 1995, and had electricity and ration card evidence, could move into these buildings, according to the Slum Rehabilitation Act, administered by the Maharashtra Housing Development Association. The builder demolished the slum houses, and residents gave the builder their documents. Excess land he uses for his personal investment, building luxury apartments.

Apartments have a kitchen, living room, and bathroom; no bedrooms. At first they were 225 square feet, and now they are getting 269 square feet. "Some untouchables," he adds, "now have very good jobs in government."

We drive through the Elphinstone district, named after a famous British official and educator from colonial times. Gautam adds that builders provide small houses for construction workers, who often come from villages.

We meet Sunil next to Dharavi. We are planning to visit a temple later, and I ask Sunil about the modern influence of Hindu gods.

He replies that "Ganesh is a god of logical problems. So, if you have a problem, you want a statue of him. Hanuman is the god of strength and devotion. He was a devotee of Ram, who was a prince. Shani is a god of problems, who causes problems. He can cause problems for seven years, or fourteen years, so you have to

pray to Hanuman. Kali is a destroyer god. People sacrifice a bull or chickens, and sometimes, even today, they kidnap and sacrifice children. If they get caught, they will go to jail, and could get executed.

"Shiva is a destroyer of all things. If there is a volcano, it means that Shiva is dancing, or he is angry.

"Krishna is a reincarnation of Lord Vishnu. He is the longest living god on earth. Some believe that he is the main god in Hinduism."

Sunil reminds me that there are thirty-three million gods in Hinduism, but ends his list.

We arrive at the **Thieves' Market**. Small shops are completely open to the alley, which permits motorcycles. Some shops have beautiful wall clocks, mantel clocks, or crystal chandeliers from the colonial era. An agent from Sotheby's should be visiting. I regret that I have forgotten to bring my camera today.

Men sit on the ground in front of several shops, carefully repairing antique radios and record players.

Shops contain quantities of kitchen equipment – woks, ladles, but no electrical cuisinarts. I speak with an elderly man, who has visited his sister in Dallas, Texas. He has also visited Niagara Falls and New York City.

Many fish are lined up in neat rows in the fish market, and quantities of fresh vegetables in the next building.

We drive to **the temple of Mumbadevi**, after whom Mumbai was named in 1995. I take off my shoes, as required.

People are bowing, touching their heads to the counter in front of two statues, located behind glass. To the right is **Jagdamba Arnapurna, the rice goddess**. She is dressed in purple, with yellow and purple garlands and a gold trident-shaped crown, wearing gold earrings. She is seated on an ornate silver throne, with top features and corner columns.

To her left is Mumbadevi, an earth-mother goddess. She has an orange face, with gold earrings, and a nose ring in one nostril, made of pearls. Mumbai's original inhabitants, the Koli fishermen, used to pray to her.

We drop off Sunil for his bus. Driving to my hotel, Gautam mentions again that his grandparents were 'untouchables'. His grandfather's first wife had four daughters, but families in India want sons. So he took a second wife, and moved to another house. The second wife had five sons and four daughters.

The first wife walked to the forest every day with her daughters, to collect wood, and sell it in the village.

Gautam mentioned that Ambedkar, as an untouchable, was obliged to sit outside his classroom in school, and listen. Sometimes he knew the answers when the other students did not, but he was not permitted to write on the blackboard. The students' lunch bags were on the floor in front of the blackboard, and they believed that he would contaminate their lunches if he wrote on the blackboard.

Later, he became the Minister of Law during the rule of Prime Minister Nehru, and the principal author of the Indian Constitution.

"India is kept together with the heart," according to Vikram in Roberts' *Shantaram*, mentioned above. Looking out from the 29th floor at a thousand buildings

and dense traffic below, one cannot see the heart of a city. Rather, it can be seen in

the man patiently scraping labels off of old paint cans; in the young mother training

her small son to descend a ladder-stairway from their second-floor dwelling near the

Western Expressway; in the older man pushing a heavy cart of items to recycle along

Sea Face in Worli; in the people who welcome you into their slums and their homes,

and tell you about their 'untouchable' grandparents; surviving with their meager

resources, with imagination and diligence.

26 January. After sixteen days, I concluded that I had seen all the principal

places that I needed to see. I had wanted to find some interviews at the universities,

but my guides tell me that only people who work or study there are permitted to enter;

probably another security measure since 2008. My two guides: one Hindu and one

Buddhist, answered every question that I asked, and provided much additional

information that I had not thought to ask. Mohamed, my frequent driver, Muslim,

could answer a few simple questions, as his English was not very perfect. I departed

for Rhode Island early the next morning.

Based on my research, I expected that there would be more crime in Detroit

than I actually found; which was none. Pastor Turman of the Second Baptist Church

did mention, however, that there is some gang activity in East Detroit.

One important change that my field research in Detroit uncovered is that after

fifty years of job and housing discrimination, approximately 1916 to 1966, rather than

seeking to enforce segregation and moving to the suburbs to avoid interracial contact,

Caucasian Americans are now forming organizations to enrich the lives of African

Americans, and providing training to improve their job skills. This integration of cultures bodes well for greater economic prosperity.

Secondly, the active reconstruction of numerous central roads in Detroit represents employment and progress.

And in Mumbai, following conflict between Muslims and Hindus in the 1960s, promoted by Shiv Sena and other nationalist groups, there is at present no apparent conflict. Actually, some of the Hindu slum dwellers, even in the 1960s, protected their Muslim residents.

Poverty was quite visible in both Detroit and Mumbai. Every day that I spent in Detroit, about six people requested help, and I gave $1 to each that asked (and $2 to several). About ten requested help every day in Mumbai. I had brought along a stack of dollar bills, and I gave out about six every day, or RS50 (about 77¢).

However, in the past two or three years, Newport, RI has likewise acquired more visible poverty, and when I drive to the post office or to Middletown or Portsmouth for errands, someone beside the road at stop lights holds up a sign asking for help several times as I drive every week. This represents increasing national income inequality.

Mumbai was a pleasant temperature in January, an average of 77°F, and numerous people were resting on the sidewalks; some near the train station, and some near Dharavi. In many countries, this would represent poverty. Some had tied a sheet between a fence and a tree for shade, or privacy.

Networks of survival are a crucial part of urban life, especially for those living in poverty, as people could starve without them. This is especially apparent when

neighbors lend each other some food, when one of them is hungry. Regressive

taxation, which charges everyone for public services, but does not tax the incomes and

property of wealthy residents, as described by Davis (2007: 55) is unfair to the poor,

especially in places where drinking water has been privatized, and poor people can no

longer afford to buy clean drinking water.

Preventing food subsidies for the urban poor, which was instituted by the IMF

in 1985, is unfair, as food is not always available in rural areas; for example when

harvests fail, due to droughts.

An example of neighborhood networks of survival may be found in the

projects of those applying for grants at the Catapult Pitch Competition and at Detroit

SOUP, described in my field research report on Detroit, as mentioned. In addition, the

Noah Project at the Central United Methodist Church also helps those living in

poverty.

Figures

Fig.1 – Alexander Macomb

Fig.2 – Second Baptist Church, stairway for Underground Railroad

Fig.3 – Underground Railroad, SBC

Fig.4 – Major General Alphaeus Starkey Williams, 1810-1878

Fig.5 – Stevens Mason, the

first governor

of Michigan, 1811-43, d.

Fig.6 – Mayor Hazen Pingree, 1840-1901

Fig.7 – Eastern Market, 1850s

Fig.8 – Central United Methodist Church

Fig.9 – Detroit Institute of Arts, 1927
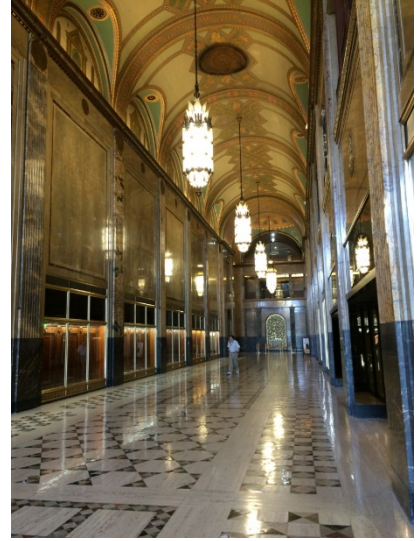
Fig.10 – Fisher Building, 1928

**Fig.11 – Motown Headquarters and
Recording Studio, 1959**

**Fig.12 – Charles Wright Museum of
African American History, 1965**

Fig.13 – View from Renaissance Center

Fig.14 – Merle Watts

Fig.15 – Abba Elethea

Fig.16 – The Michigan Urban Farming

Initiative at 7432 Brush St.

Fig.17 – Henry Ford 1863-1947, Dearborn, MI

Fig.18 – Modern Architectural Design in Detroit

Fig.19 - Banganga, 1127

Fig.20-Haji Ali Dargah, 1431

Fig.21 - Afghan Church, 1865

Fig.22 Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus

Fig.23 - Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus

Fig.24 -Inside Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus

Fig.25 - Bombay Municipal Corporation

Fig.26 Adishwarji Jain Temple

Fig.27 - Mani Bhavan

Fig.28 - Gandhi's Room at Mani Bhavan

Fig.29 - Art deco on Marine Drive, Mumbai

Fig.30 - Gateway of India, 1924

Fig.31 - A dhobi ghat for laundry.

Fig.32 – Mankhurd Slum in New Bombay

Fig.33 - Mankhurd Market

Fig.34 – Mankhurd Central Square

Fig.35 - Mankhurd with Laundry

Chapter IX: Additional Theory: A Wider Perspective of History, Culture, and Economics

A theory is a possible explanation. This chapter will discuss theories relating to history, culture, and economics. A section on 'methodology' will discuss Marxist theory, 'network analysis,' and 'resilience'.

History

George Novack believes that Greek scholars initiated the science of history "about 2300 years ago." Myths of creation began earlier, but Greek historians attempted to be more accurate (Novack, 1967, 1).

Novack believes that a "sense of history is a precondition of history." Recognition of a distinction between "past, present, and future is rooted in the evolution of the organization of labor . . . The calendar first appears . . . in agricultural communities" (1).

Early natives of California, according to Jesuit father Jacob Baegert did not count the passing of years. They merely said "'long ago', or 'not long ago', being utterly indifferent whether two or twenty years have elapsed since the occurrence of a certain event." They also did not strictly distinguish between the spheres of nature and society. Acquaintance was limited in space and time (2).

Novack adds that "the need for theorizing about history or the nature of society does not arise until civilization is well advanced and sudden, violent, and far-reaching

upheavals in social relations take place during the lifetime of individuals or within the memories of their elders" (3).

"Trade, travel, and war" introduced people with "different customs" and sometimes "lower levels of culture." People began to record successions of rulers, and to appraise the worth of different cultures. Greek historians, including Herodotus and Polybius discovered the existence of cycles in history. Events sometimes occurred again. Destiny became sovereign, replacing the gods. "Cosmic tragic fate" became an important theme for Greek drama. Plato and Aristotle described and appraised different types of government (3-5).

Polybius studied the developing Roman Empire. He and Plato believed that states pass through the different phases of "kingship, aristocracy, and democracy," followed by "despotism, oligarchy, and mob rule." Thus, "institutions change, are transformed, and return to their original stage," according to Polybius (Novack, 5).

"The Atomists, the Sophists and the Hippocratic school of medicine put forward the idea that the natural government was the decisive factor in the molding of mankind." Polybius emphasized "climatic influences". Concepts of historic idealism followed, including "the Great God Theory," found in the "creation myths [of] . . . preliterate peoples." These people believed that "the wills, passions, plans and needs of the gods were the ultimate causes of events." In theocratic eastern monarchies, the "Great Man," the human ruler, emerged from the "Great God Theory" (6-7).

This was followed by the "Great Mind," the "World Spirit," which promoted "the idea of freedom," and the "Best People Theory," in which an elite, a "Best Race"

or a "favored nation" dominated history. Next, "Human Nature" was studied as a
cause of social or historical change (Novack, 8, 10).

It is likely that 14th century Moslem scholar Ibn Kaldun initiated the study of
sociology, the study of "social development." Novack adds that "history is the record
of human society, or world civilization; of the changes that take place in the nature of
that society, such as savagery, sociability, and group solidarity; of revolutions and
uprisings," of human "activities and occupations, . . . sciences and crafts" (9-10).

Bourgeois thinkers in the next era included Machiavelli, Locke, Adam Smith,
Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. These also studied society and "stages of
development." Seventeenth to nineteenth century scholars focused on idealist or
materialist explanations. Theologians continued to believe that God directed "the
historical procession" (Novack, 10).

Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), from Naples, represented the idealists. He
sought the "universal and eternal principles – on which all nations were founded," and
also considered class struggles. Materialists, in contrast, focused on "the objective
realities of nature and society to explain the historical process." Montesquieu focused
on the influence of "geography and government". Many materialists at the time
ignored "economic conditions". Ultimate causes were attributed to "an invariant
human nature, a farseeing human reason, or a great individual" (11-12).

G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) believed that every "element of each stage [of
history] . . . expressed the dominant principle of its age." And, each stage contributed
uniquely "to the advancement of mankind. . . . History changes in a dialectical
manner. . . . The development of its internal antagonisms supplies its dynamism and

generates its growth. . . . [L]abor is imposed upon man as the consequence, and . . . man is the historical product of his own labor" (13-14).

"The course and outcome of history is determined by overcoming internal necessities which are independent of the will and consciousness of any of its institutional or personal agencies. . . . The outcome of history . . . is the growth of rational freedom." Social formations change from stage to stage, as well as "laws of development." Freedom results "from the overcoming of false, inadequate ideas." Marx and Engels combined idealist and materialist elements several decades later (Novack, 14-5).

Hegel concluded that monarchies, combined with constitutions, were the ideal and ultimate states; thus violating, as Novack points out, his concept of dialectical evolutionary change. Contrary to idealism, according to Novack, "the direction of history" is determined within "the core of society" (15-17).

Novack adds that "man created the idea of the gods . . . to compensate for lack of real control over the forces of nature and of society. . . . [He] made himself by acting upon nature and changing its elements to satisfy his needs through the labor process." By means of labor, humanity has transformed its "capacities and characteristics" (17-18).

Novack quotes Condorcet, who stated during the French Revolution that "the masses rather than the masters make history." Marxism extended this insight that history has been created by the multitudes, by their production "within the framework" of previous generations (18).

Engels writes "in the introduction to the English edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*" that "historical materialism . . . seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another" (quoted by Novack, 18-19).

Considering phases of rule discussed by Polybius and Plato (Novack, 5), there have been phases in the Congo, India, and Detroit. In the Congo, tribal leaders passed down leadership to their descendants, but a degree of tribal equality existed (cf. Didier Gondola). Conquest by Belgian King Leopold II in 1885 resulted in despotism, and exploitation of the local population. Emancipation in 1960 resulted in the election of Joseph Kasavubu as president. In January 1961, Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba was murdered. Four years later, General Mobutu seized control, by means of a coup d'état. He ruled for thirty-two years, by means of one political party.

In 1996, Rwandan Tutsis invaded, and in May 1997, Tutsi leader Laurent-Désiré Kabila became the ruler of the DRC Congo. In January 2001, Kabila was assassinated, and his son, Joseph Kabila, succeeded as national ruler. Several elections were held or postponed over the years, with occasional violence and occasional votes not counted (Prunier, 309-314). National wealth was effectively controlled by the rulers. Thus, governments since 1885 effectively functioned as oligarchies, or tyrannies.

India passed from oligarchy under Hinduism, with the *kshatriya* military class providing leadership, supported by the literate Brahmin class.

Muslim conquests resulted in the tyranny by Muslims of the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain populations. This was followed by British rule, from 1857 to 1947, which represented despotism, including harsh taxation (see chapters on India, above).

Under American rule, Detroit was a part of the American democracy. But the equal rights to jobs and housing of African-Americans, who arrived from the South, following the Civil War, were not protected. Thus, Detroit functioned as an oligarchy from about 1920 to 1960.

The development of the auto industry, begun in Germany and extensively continued in Detroit, would be a good example of Novack's discussion of mankind transforming its "capacities and characteristics" by means of labor (1967, 18).

Muhsin Mahdi writes that 14th century scholar **Ibn Kaldun** contributed to the development of "modern social science and cultural history," influenced by the earlier philosophy of Greece and Islam, including Aristotle. "Avicenna and Ghazali" attempted to distinguish sharply between theoretical and practical sciences. "Science and philosophy, insofar as they venture beyond the facts of history and experience, are hypothetical constructions which have no objective counterparts" (Mahdi 7, 10).

Mahdi seeks to explain the intention of Ibn Kaldun, rather than "his meaning as the product of his psychological or social conditions." Ibn Kaldun believed that "the aim of the study of history is prudent action". Four spheres of culture, he believed, include economic activity, urban institutions, the state, solidarity, "and the common good" (11-12). During his lifetime, Byzantium continued to resist conquest by the Ottoman Turks. Western Europe flourished during the Renaissance. Europe was ravaged by plague in the mid-14th century. Muslim conquest increased in Russia,

320

Central Asia, Sudan, India, and Indonesia. Desert tribes attacked Muslim cities in

"Western North Africa," Iraq, Syria, and northern Persia. Under Mamluk rule, "Egypt

became the artistic and intellectual center of Islam" (Mahdi 17-19; Ibn Kaldun, *T*,

1370, 256, 279, 285, 290, 296, 312-13).

North Africa was liberated from Arab rule in the mid-11th century by the

Murabits and Muwahhids, two Berber dynasties, according to Ibn Kaldun (Kitab al-

duwal, 303, *B* ; quoted by Mahdi: 21).

Fernand Braudel (1902-1985), an historian, wrote *The Mediterranean and

the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II; Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-

1800; A History of Civilizations*, and numerous other volumes of history. Braudel

believed that historians should present long-term developments and the drama of

history, according to his translator, Richard Mayne, in his introduction to *A History of

Civilization* (1963). Braudel believed that individuals within history are significant

(Mayne, xxix, xxv). Having interviewed thirteen individuals in Detroit and Mumbai

during my field research for this dissertation (incomplete), I would agree that

individuals are significant.

Braudel was philosophical: "All efforts against the prevailing tide of history –

which is not always obvious – are doomed to failure." He describes historiography:

"It has been the chronicle of princes, the history of battles, or the mirror of political

events; today, thanks to the efforts of bold pioneers, it is diving into the economic and

social realities of the past" (Mayne, xxiv-v).

In 1965, the Ministry of Education in France omitted "the African world" from

the "'civilizations' syllabus" of secondary schools. This occurred "in the midst of

decolonization, at the very moment when the newly independent states were gamely trying to write their own history" (xxvii).

Braudel taught at the Lycée Condorcet in Paris in 1932, and later at the Lycée Henri IV. Over the years, he received honorary degrees from worldwide universities. He became President Administrator of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in 1963, striving with others "for an experimental faculty of economic and social sciences at the Sorbonne" (Mayne, xiii, xxi).

Braudel distinguished between the East and the West. "In India," he writes, "all actions derive their form and their justification from the religious life, not from reasoning." Since about 500 B.C., "the tendency of Western civilization has been towards rationalism and hence away from the religious life." Otherwise, "almost all civilizations are pervaded or submerged by religion, by the supernatural, and by magic, . . . and they draw from it [from religion] the most powerful motives in their particular psychology" (22-3).

Braudel writes that market towns were developed along the Eastern coast of Africa, beginning in the 7th century, by Muslim and Persian traders, and local Africans. "Slaves, ivory, and gold" brought prosperity to many towns and traders. Discussing colonization in Africa, actively practiced by Muslims in the 7th century and later, and by Europeans, especially from 1885 to 1960, largely terminating by 1980, Braudel writes that "trade in slaves has been a universal phenomenon, affecting all primitive societies" (127, 130).

Braudel lists several "greatest benefits" of colonization as "education and a certain level of technology, of hygiene, of medicine and of public administration," in

spite of the destruction to Africa's "tribal, family, and social customs" (134). He ignores the immorality of colonization: the abuse and exploitation of individuals, and the theft of their land and mineral resources.

Braudel notes that traditional African religion is animistic. Its adherents believe "that all natural human beings are inhabited by spirits which survive their death, and that spirits also inhabit objects (fetishism)." Many Africans, moreover, engage in ancestor worship. . . . The spirits of African ancestors or gods," many believe, "may also return to take possession" of the living. While Christianity and Islam have become the dominant religions in African towns and cities, animism continues to prevail in rural areas (139).

Braudel believes that dictatorial governments appear to be necessary in Africa. "Power has to be seized and retained. Since it cannot be divided and can barely be supervised, the opposition has no role. To show itself, indeed, would be fatal. Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Guinea have shown this plainly enough." In the 1930s, African government administrations were quite small relative to their populations. Two percent of Liberia's population, for example, some working part-time, ran its government (143).

More African-speaking countries speak English than French, according to Braudel. "French-speaking Black Africa [however, enjoyed] . . . the advantages of a well-educated middle class" (146).

Turning to India, Braudel writes that religion in India began to express "monotheistic tendencies" in the Indo-Aryan/Vedic era (1400 B.C. to the seventh century A.D.), and included yoga. "Incessant reincarnation" was hypothesized, to

lives that would be "full of endless pain. . . . . Bans on intermarriage" between castes were gradually established (220-21).

During an "Islamic-Hindu civilization," from 1200 to 1857, Muslims ruled India "by systemic terror. . . . India survived only by virtue of its patience, its superhuman power and its immense size." Taxes imposed by Muslim rulers "were so crushing that one catastrophic harvest was enough to unleash famines and epidemics capable of killing a million people at a time." Braudel adds that "Islam ruled by fear, and founded its luxury on India's general poverty" (232-3).

In 1885, during British rule, a National Congress Party, composed of Indians, was formed to promote peace in India's administration. An increasing middle class supported the National Congress Party, but not "the aristocratic or princely class," nor "the big landlords," who were more conservative. The middle class included Parsi capitalists, Marwaris, Jains, Ishmaelite Muslims, and Pandits from Kashmir, including the Nehru family (243).

In 1962, with a population of 438 million, India was increasing by eight million people per year. For India's "third five-year plan (1961-5)," the Soviet Union contributed a steel plant in Bhilai, north of Calcutta. "A French firm" contributed to India's cinematographic abilities. And the U.S. made additional contributions (249-50).

Braudel believes that "Hinduism . . . is the major obstacle and the essential difficulty standing in the way of any serious move towards modernization." For example, starving Hindus will contribute huge amounts of food to Hindu temples on

special occasions. They also fail to attack "swarms of insects," which often ruin harvests, because they believe that "all living beings must be respected" (251).

Culture

In *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory,* Peter Barry writes that "traditional literary criticism" is described by theorists as "liberal humanism". He defines 'liberal' as "not politically radical" (3).

The first text of literary theory was *Poetics*, written by **Aristotle** in the fourth century B.C. Aristotle described tragedy, which "should stimulate the emotions of pity and fear". He added that "literature is about character, and that character is revealed through action" (21).

Ovid, a Latin poet (43 B.C. to A.D. 17), believed that the purpose of poetry was to delight or entertain. Similarly, Horace, in the same period and region, believed that poetry is intended "to teach and delight" (21). Ben Jonson described Shakespeare's writing as "not for an age, but for all time," and Ezra Pound defined literature as "news which stays news" (17).

English Literature began to be taught at King's College in London in 1831. The study of literature, according to Professor F. D. Maurice, would connect us with "what is fixed and enduring . . . [L]earning English [would] give people a stake in maintaining the political *status quo* without any redistribution of wealth." Victorian zeal desired "to improve things for everybody, . . . to spread culture and enlightenment, and . . . to maintain social stability" (Barry, 12-13).

Samuel Johnson's *Preface to Shakespeare* (1765) and his *Lives of the Poets* (1779-81) began "the English tradition of practical criticism." Other than the *Bible* and other religious texts, no secular texts had ever been so intensively scrutinized. Barry considers this to represent progress in secular humanism (22).

John Keats conceived of "negative capability," which permits the unconscious to function, and tolerates uncertainties. Two trends in English criticism were "practical criticism," from Samuel Johnson to Matthew Arnold, T. S. Eliot, F. R. Leavis, and others. A second track focuses on "big general issues" of structure, effect, language, contemporary events, philosophy, and politics, practiced by "Sidney, Wordsworth, Coleridge," and others. Following the Romantics, critical theorists were active in the "mid and late" Victorian era (24-5).

Matthew Arnold (1822-88) believed that literature could replace religion, which was declining in the late 19th century. Middle class values were being "progressively debased by materialism" (25). For T. S. Eliot, the individual poet is transcended by tradition, and does not wallow in his own experience and personal emotions. Eliot's "objective correlative" finds alternative gestures, actions, or symbolism to express emotions in art, including literature. William Empson, however, believed that literary works are grounded in their autobiographical context. Marxist and psychoanalytic criticism began during the 1930s, and were revived during the 1960s, while linguistic and feminist criticism began in the early and late 1960s, respectively (27, 29, 32).

During the 1970s "structuralism and post-structuralism" arrived from France. These approaches focused on "language and philosophy, rather than history or

context." During the 1980s, "history, politics, and context" again became central in "the literary-critical agenda." In the U.S., "new historicism" appeared, and "cultural materialism" arrived from Britain. During the 1980s, "*post-colonialism*" [rejected] . . . the idea of a universally applicable Marxist explanation of things and [emphasized] . . . the separateness or otherness of post-imperial nations and peoples. Likewise, *postmodernism* [stressed] the uniquely fragmented nature of much contemporary experience" (Barry, 32). *Essentialism* of gender and other self-identities became more "temporary [and] provisional" by the twenty-first century (33).

Thus, different styles and interests were expressed successively in literature, in the pursuit of knowledge, self-expression, and communication.

Hegel's discussion of history, I believe, could be considered more as culture than as history, and therefore, I include it in this category.

Hegel (1770-1831) considered history to be "the life of the world spirit. Cohen describes "the world spirit" as "a person, but . . . not a human being." He imposes "his demands" on the world, and pursues "his purposes through it. . . . He discovers . . . how to look up at the stars and down canyons. . . . He learns how to live, how to make live, how to let live, and how to kill. . . . He intervenes in [the world] . . . to secure survival, power, and pleasure" (2001, 1).

The world spirit, moreover, "is in contact and in dialogue with himself." He becomes "more self-aware. . . . He makes himself, guided by an image of what he is". He moves painfully towards "self-knowledge". Likewise, history "is the increase . . . in the self-awareness of the *world spirit*". The Enlightenment "conceived [of] men as

fundamentally alike across space and time," whereas others, including "Montesquieu and Herder" found "differences in national characters" (Cohen 2, 3).

Hegel believed that specific nations at specific times are animated by a distinctive spirit, which "explains the thought and works" of "its national character." The world spirit adds progress to human history. Hegel believed in both reason and religion. Religion can equally be expressed by philosophy. "The empirical data" of history are "visible traces of God's engagement with the world" (4, 6).

"Each mode of consciousness ["the intellect, the will, emotion, sensation, and so on"] evolves within an evolution of the whole of consciousness." Cognition proceeds from "sensuous consciousness" via understanding or analysis to the summit of reason. "Individual human minds," culture, and God have all developed by means of evolution. The mind's goal is "complete self-awareness," which it achieves by means of engagement with other things" (Cohen 7), or beings.

Individuals become real, versus potential, by means of action (Balibar 1995, 22; quoted by Cohen 8, 13). God "creates because he can come to know himself only in his creation. . . . God . . . acts through men and in and through the communities men compose." The perfections of God "come to be only in his perfecting of himself," for example in his creation of the world. History "is the development of his [God's] self-knowledge in the world." God can only know himself "in the minds of men" (Cohen 8, 9).

"Men know themselves when they realize that they are free, and consequently establish a relation to nature and social institutions which embodies their freedom and encourages its expression." Man's freedom *includes* his control of nature and of his

own nature. Different cultures have different conceptions "of the relation between mind and nature". Initially, man and the spirit are immersed in nature (9-10).

Hegel believed that "spirit, reason, freedom, and the idea" are all "responsible for historical development . . . The idea of spirit is freedom" (*Philosophy of History,* 1900, 8, 23, 25). He neglects to mention that sometimes historical developments are negative, rather than positive. For a modern reader, his discussion of culture and the world spirit would be considered excessively abstract. Logical positivists would consider that his proclamations are unprovable by any empirical evidence.

Other than history and economics, **Karl Marx** was also interested in **culture.** According to Dante, "the origin of vernacular languages [was] . . . the source of national cultures." Independent like Prometheus, Marx considered man to be "the sole shaper of his destiny." He endeavored to emancipate culture from "both celestial and terrestrial" oppression. And yet, he firmly believed in "the unlimited possibilities of technology." For Marx, "social coherence" was more important than "causal determinism." The base in his imagery is not superior to the superstructure, in opposition to later "dialectical materialists". Economic activity, he believed, is vital in society, and not a narrow end in itself. Praxis for Marx was more important than theory, which was a unique approach in western tradition (Dupré, 1983, 1, 3-4, 6-7).

Rather than contemplation, Kant concluded that thought controls action. Both Hegel and Marx believed that "the real ultimately coincides with the rational." While some praised industry – the motto of a school that I attended from 1954-57 proclaimed that "Labor Omnia Vincet" ("Labor Conquers All") – Marx criticized

"industrialization dehumanization" (Dupré, 8-9). Labor and industry can be positive or exploitive.

"A fundamental critique," according to Marx, "must trace all theory back to its 'practical' source." Marx's "social critique" interprets cultures through their social conditions. By 1983, "entire societies" opposed each other, rather than primarily "different groups within a society". Modern cultures, he believed are fragmented, but can be resolved by means of our "productive relation to nature. . . . [S]ocial economic activity" was a leading feature in culture during the early 1800s. "Social praxis," he added, was more significant than theory (11-3).

Marx believed that contemporary economic activity for most people created human alienation and misery, due to the separation of workers from the culture they are creating (18-9). "To be fully human," according to Hegel, 'man' requires *Bildung*, involving culture, knowledge, judgment, and moderation (1949, 82-3; quoted by Dupré, 1983, 20).

Alienation, according to Rousseau, was also represented by "the transfer . . . of sovereignty from the people" prior to the French Revolution, which represented "an abuse of power." Marx believed that 'men' were alienated due to their "social-economic conditions . . . Mechanization," he believed, "merely increases the working hours and decreases the value of the products" (22-3).

In *Philosophy of Right,* Hegel claims that "the state . . . subordinates the selfish individualism of the civil society to its own spiritual aims. In reality, however, the state serves the existing economic relations by providing them with a legal sanction" (MEGA 1, subscript 1: 406; *Collected Works* 3:7; quoted by Dupré, (1983, 24).

"Man's alienation, . . . according to Marx's earliest interpretation, consists not in a religious projection, but in the estrangement of his social nature." Later, he claimed "that the secular, democratic state is *the* modern version of the religious illusion. . . . The more the modern state is emancipated from religion, the more religious it becomes itself, for the secular state alone fully absorbs an alienation which first appears in religion." Moving beyond Ludwig Feuerbach, Marx concluded that "the idea of spirit or of God is [not] the problem, but the assumption . . . of an autonomous realm of consciousness. Alienation is *not* a state of mind: it consists in an objective social condition" (25-6).

Marx believed that work, controlled by capitalism, "becomes unrelated to desire" (MEGA 1, subscript 3: *Collected Works* 3: 274; quoted by Dupré, 29). The immediate activity of working in a factory may not be entertaining, but the end result, although sometimes underpaid, especially in the nineteenth century, provides the worker and his family with food, clothes, and shelter, which are related to desire.

Christianity had interpreted "work as the course of paradise". Capitalism, according to Marx, was harmful to bourgeois society. "Traditional social bonds" were replaced by "abstract socialization". Working conditions became "dehumanized," and "labor power became . . . a trade commodity." Money, exchanged for "living power became . . . converted into capital (30, 34; MEGA 2, superscript3: 31-32; quoted by Dupré, 45).

By 1844, Marx agreed with Hegel that culture attempts to humanize nature (58), but this also happened in the 10th century B. C., when Homer described "rosy-fingered Dawn".

331

"Creative decline" is occurring, as the uneducated watch "undemanding spectator sports," and culture becomes detached "from the mainstream of man's productive activity". Dupré believes that "the economic 'basis' of society" has rarely "determined the entire culture," and "mostly in primitive conditions and periods of exceptional scarcity". Marx believes that this result occurred as a result of Capitalism, (53, 56).

More than a century after Marx, most human activities in developed countries include components from the economic base, other than walking, jogging, and conversation. Culture is somewhat determined by economics, except when the U.S. NEA decides to pay for art that the general public individually does not like or cannot afford. (Some of their decisions I would support, and others not.) I checked the internet to see whether the governments of India, the DRC, or Kenya subsidize artistic production, and found no evidence that they do. Therefore, artists are obliged to focus on creating art that people might wish to purchase. The art is therefore of a higher quality – often beautiful, thoughtful, and painstaking – than if they created just anything that might be subsidized.

Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) initiated discussions and studies of "the relationship between religion and culture, and between individual and social purpose" (Garnett, 2006, ix). Protestantism was considered intrinsic to Britain's economic success in the 1860s. Meanwhile, "the language of radical individualism . . . spread promiscuously through economic, political, and religious debate." Garnett adds that "Protestant Nonconformists and Roman Catholics" acquired the right to vote in "1828 and 1829," respectively. Meanwhile, Arnold believed that "insufficient

attention" was paid "to the duties and obligations of citizenship". Nonconformists resisted the "extension of State control over education" (xii-iii).

Arnold "identified the current potential for both social and spiritual anarchy". He also "raised questions about social and moral integration and the development of a good community." In *Culture and Anarchy,* Arnold compares different aspects of Hebraism versus Hellenism. While Hebraism emphasized religion, Hellenism preferred "the clear light of the critical and expansive intellect". Garnett believes that Arnold emphasized Hellenism in his essay, because it was undervalued respectively at that time. Greater harmony was also needed between "Saxon and Celt, English and European, Anglican and Nonconformist, Protestant and Catholic" relationships (Garnett, xiv).

Culture should become "a practical force." Culture develops our best selves; it is "the study of perfection" (xv). This, of course, is not always the case in modern cinema and literature, which sometimes focuses on violence and corruption.

While "sweetness and light" represents beauty, intelligence, and perfection, the Puritan religion expressed "a more general middle-class Philistinism." Henry Sidgwick, a contemporary philosopher, believed that Arnold did not adequately confront the "(. . . potentially creative) tension between self-development, . . . characteristic of culture, and self-sacrifice, which characterized religion" (Garnett, xviii).

Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (community and society), a classic of sociology and psychology, was written by **Ferdinand Tönnies** in 1887. Pitrim A. Sorokin writes in his foreword to the 2011 edition that Confucius originally described

"the Gemeinschaft type of mentality and society" as represented by specific family

relationships. Gesellschaft for Confucius represented "Small Tranquility," as opposed

to Gemeinschaft, which represented "Great Similarity" (vii).

The social regime of Plato's guardians in *The Republic* also represent

Gemeinschaft, while his "oligarchic or capitalistic society and man" represent

Gesellschaft. Aristotle and Cicero also described both types, represented by "true and

false friendship". Likewise, St. Augustine's *City of God* includes Gemeinschaft

qualities. Other "great medieval thinkers," including St. Thomas Aquinas, Nicolaus

Cusanus, Joachim de Fiore, and Albertus Magnus, maintain the same dichotomy, as

well as Ibn Kaldun (Sorokin, vii).

Hegel's "'Family-Society' and 'Civic Society' are almost twins of Tönnies'

Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft." Tönnies uncovered weakness in the "Gesellschaft

type of society," which also exists in modern capitalism. This has become more

evident subsequently (Sorokin, viii).

Rudolf Heberle writes in his "Preface" that "the purpose of *Gemeinschaft und*

Gesellschaft . . . was to develop scientific *concepts*, which could be used as tools to

grasp the historical process." Tönnies first considers "the archetypes of social

relationships (or 'social entities . . .')"; and, next, "the nature of human will in its

social implications"; and thirdly, of forming "new kinds of associations" with

utilitarian purposes (Heberly, ix).

In his "Introduction to the Transaction Edition" (1988), John Samples writes

that Tönnies was the first social philosopher to define "'community' and 'society' . . .

precisely and scientifically." It is considered a foundation of sociology. In the early

twentieth century, Tönnies' concept of community, opposing that of 'modernity', vs. "Western rationalism and science," became more significant (Samples, xi).

While Hume believed that "reason and knowledge [are] the creations of experience," Kant believed that "concepts [are] the means of ordering experience and [are] thus the basis of knowledge." *Community and Society* began as a study of "human will," which Tönnies divides into natural and "rational will". These include "a psychology of action" based on the "relationships of ends and means" (Samples, xiv-xv).

Initially controlled by nature, humanity progresses towards freedom, guided by reason. Human will involves "thought and rationality" (Tönnies 1979, p. xxxiv). Initially, people "desired pleasure and avoided pain". Primitive communities were based on "feeling rather than reason". Communities were composed of families, which satisfied "sexual and material needs". The next stage was dominated by instinct. Work created new skills. Tönnies believed that "humans attained their humanity only at a higher stage of development." Thirdly, the development of language "finally separated humans and animals" (Samples, 1988, xv).

Conservatives defended "tradition and attack[ed] social contract theory. Romantic political theory" idealized feudalism. "Cultural pessimism," a result of romanticism, "denounced modernity in the name of the illusionary glories of the past" (Samples, xvi). "Religion provided a way of dominating" the fearful forces of nature. Church doctrine endeavored to create "control over gods and humans." Tönnies believed that the "will to authority" in the "historical concept of community . . . often realized its tendency toward despotism and tyranny" (Tönnies, 1981, 21).

Tönnies believed that "instinct motivate[s] human behavior . . . [W]ealth and domination" determine "rational will". "The [modern] search for profit and power [led] . . . to the precision of the scientific method" (from Tönnies 2011, xviii; quoted by Samples, 2011, xvii). Twentieth century "knowledge and enlightenment" were considered to be "the highest human achievements" yet achieved (Samples, xvii).

Some of the purposes of "rational will . . . conflicted with others". Tönnies believed that happiness exists "only in thought" (2011, 95-99). "Striving, rather than attainment, [has become] the goal of modern people" (Samples, xviii). Due to rational will, each person treats "every other person as a means to his goals" (Tönnies, 1981, p. 30; quoted by Samples, xix). This presents a limited version of rational will, as many people would consider that many aspects of Christianity include rational will. We help our neighbors and those living in poverty, which are Christian principles. This also creates a better and more harmonious world, expressing rational will; and brings happiness to those who contribute.

Other religions make similar contributions.

Nineteenth century rational will, however, was defined negatively. "The logic of rational will drove the capitalist to accumulate tremendous wealth while the worker was forced to exchange his labor power in order to survive" (Tönnies 2011, xx; 1897, 42; 1929, 17-18; quoted by Samples, xx). Social science defends "conventions of society," including "the contract and public law". Thus they defend "the ruling class" (Tönnies 2011, pp. 217, 207; quoted by Samples, xxi). However, public law should equally defend the poor, and should provide education and employment for the poor.

Raymond Williams writes that culture, in the nineteenth century, from "the 'tending of natural growth,'" came to mean "the general state of intellectual development, in a society as a whole". Later, it came to mean "a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual". Cultures record changes in a region's "social, economic, and political life". During the industrial revolution, culture came to include "a whole way of life" (xvi, -vii, -viii).

Williams discusses critics Edmund Burke and William Cobbett. Burke, a British statesman from 1729 to 1797, disliked and opposed the concept of democracy, and advocated prudence (5). However, Williams believes that Burke often lacked prudence and political wisdom during many crises. Democracy, Burke believed, is inclined to become tyranny (8). "Human virtue" is developed by society, and thus is "artificial" (8).

William Cobbett (1763-1835), a journalist, complained about the Enclosure in England of "four million acres" of common land within sixty years (12). Men were becoming reduced to two classes: "*masters* and *abject dependents*" (1806; quoted by Williams, 14).

Like Marx and Engels later in the nineteenth century, Williams "saw labor as the only property of the poor, and he demanded the same rights for this as for other property". Cobbett commented on the French revolution that "it makes the working classes see their real importance, and those who despise them see it too" (1830, 1; quoted by Williams, 17).

Robert Southey (1774-1843) promoted conservatism, and Robert Owen (1771-1858) nurtured the workers in his factories, unlike other factory owners, which

led to the development of socialism. Both believed that the contemporary capitalist system was lacking in morality. Government should be responsible for the well-being of people (Williams: 22, 24-5).

Owen created schools for the children of his workers in New Lanark, without punishments, which produced happy children. He believed that "human nature itself is the product of a 'whole way of life', of a 'culture'." Williams writes that Blake, Wordsworth, Keats, and Shelley were deeply interested and involved in their contemporary society (28-30). He notes that "Blake and Keats . . . were, as men and poets, passionately committed to the tragedy of their period"; for example, the poverty and hard lives of factory workers, the French Revolution, and the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire, which took the life of Byron in 1824 (31).

Besides nineteenth century Western writers and one factory owner, philosophers in classic Greece, Rome, later and elsewhere, studied their contemporary societies in order to produce happier, more peaceful and prosperous cultures and societies. Meanwhile, colonists and capitalists often focused on personal wealth.

Edward W. Said writes in *Orientalism* that leaders and "intellectual lackeys" of the West have wanted to impose "their own forms of life" on the Middle East for its "lesser people to follow." Napoleon invaded and occupied Egypt in 1798**.** Dutch troops conquered "Malaysia and Indonesia". Britain conquered Egypt, India, Mesopotamia and West Africa. France conquered North Africa and Indochina (1979, xviii, xx). The U.S. occupied the Philippines and liberated Iraq.

The increasing "specialization of knowledge" after World War II countered the earlier humanistic interpretations of authors such as Goethe, who studied "all the

338

literatures of the world as a symphonic whole" (1979, xxv). Likewise, may I suggest

that viewing poverty from the perspectives of history, culture, and economics

contributes to an understanding of its development and hardship.

Said describes the love of diverse literature and culture as the "humanistic

spirit". Regions of the world are interdependent, and numerous UN decisions support

this reality. A "humanistic education" provides us with "rational interpretive skills".

Cultures should learn to live together peacefully. Individuality, rather than authority,

creates humanism (1979, xxvii-ix).

By identifying the East with Orientalism, the West opposed the East as alien,

and lacking in "human experience," which represented a "degradation of knowledge"

(1979, 328). While acknowledging difference and diversity is not an insult, it does not

condone conquest and exploitation.

In *Culture and Imperialism*, published fifteen years after *Orientalism*, Said

describes "a pattern of relationships between the modern metropolitan West and its

overseas territories." European writing presents "stereotypes about 'the African [or

Indian or Irish or Jamaican or Chinese] mind', the notions about bringing civilization

to primitive or barbaric peoples." He writes that Western dominance was consistently

met with resistance by colonized peoples." And in the overwhelming majority of

cases, the resistance finally won out" (xi-xii). Imperial attitudes were influenced by

"cultural forms like the novel". Eventually, the former empires, with their many

subjugated peoples, wrote back. (See *The Empire Writes Back,* by Ashcroft, Griffiths,

and Tiffin, 2010.) Thus, they asserted their own identities "and the existence of their

own history. . . . The grand narratives of emancipation and enlightenment mobilized people in the colonial world to rise up and throw off imperial subjection" (xii-iii).

Said adds that culture includes "each society's reservoir of the best that has been known and thought," according to Matthew Arnold in *Culture and Anarchy,* written in the 1860s. Said finds elements of imperialism in numerous 20th century Western novels. For example, "Conrad's novel [*Nostromo*, set in Central America] embodies the same paternalistic arrogance of imperialism that it mocks in characters like Holroyd" (xiii-xviii).

Dominant colonial powers considered that colonies needed to be civilized. Said describes "contrapuntal reading" as considering the perspectives of both colonists and natives. He writes that Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, situated in the Congo, "was part of the European effort to hold on to, think about, plan for Africa." The "relationship" between the British novel and imperialism is analogous to that between ifs foreign policy, "finance and trade". Thus, "British trade and imperial expansion depended on cultural factors such as education, journalism, intermarriage, and class." British 20th century novels stressed the continuing British dominance of its colonies (xix, 66, 68, 72, 74).

Economics

Becker describes the Great Depression as a serious fluctuation "around trends". Microeconomics focuses on "microunits like firms or households. . . . [M]ost economists," however, are especially interested in "the market behavior of aggregations of firms and households". Changes in "parameters like tax rates, tariff

schedules, technology, or antitrust provisions" are also of interest. Positive (actual

rather than desired) economics is relevant to 'welfare economics' (2008, 2-3).

In describing "indifference curves," Becker writes that "consumers prefer more

goods to less." Rational behavior includes love for others and charity (25-6).

In ***On Economic Inequality***, Amartya Sen writes that "a perceived sense of

inequity is a common ingredient of rebellion in societies". "[T]he historical

connection between the notion of inequality and discontent . . . suggests that the need

is for a measure that comes into its own with sharp contrasts, even though it may not

provide a scale sensitive enough to order finely distinguished distributions." She adds

that "modern welfare economics" tends to "avoid judgments on income distribution

altogether" (1, 6).

The "so-called' basic' theorem of welfare economics is concerned with the

relation between competitive equilibria and Pareto optimality . . . Pareto optimality

only guarantees that no change is possible such that someone would be better off

without making anyone worse off" (6-7).

Her theorem regarding Pareto optimality includes the following elements:

R = a ranking relation; W = social welfare; U (subscript i) = "the utility function of

individual i"; F = function; X = "a set of social states"; P is a "preference relation";

Condition Q is a "quasi-transitive social preference"; Condition U represents an

"unrestricted domain". Condition I represents "independence of irrelevant

alternatives". Condition P is the Pareto Rule. Condition A represents anonymity. k

defines a "semi-decisive" individual. Condition Q = quasi-transitivity. S is a "set of

social alternatives". V = a set of "almost decisive" individuals. V* is "the smallest

almost decisive set for any pair in S".   V (subscript 1)* represents "one person, and V (subscript 2)* the rest." The rest "form set N" (Sen, 7-11).

Using Condition A, "we see that *everyone* must be semi-decisive over *every* ordered pair" (Sen, 7). (Two capital letters are replaced by lower case, for consistency.)

K. J. Arrow has devised an "impossibility theorem," involving restrictions, which would completely eliminate all functional relations 'f'. Sen, however, only rejects functional relations which express "distributional judgments". She focuses on "the systematic treatment of distributional value judgments." She and James Foster mention in their 'annex' chapters to Sen's original book that utilitarianism was "profoundly unconcerned" with "*individual utilities*," but was interested in the "sum total" of utilities. They divide utilitarianism into "consequentialism," "welfarism," and "sum ranking". In contrast to previous "welfare economic theories," newer such "theories refrained altogether from invoking interpersonal differences in well-being (or opportunities or freedoms)" (Sen, 8, 9; Foster and Sen, 110, 113).

Foster and Sen provide "two distinct reasons for regarding income inequality to be 'distributionally bad' and for preferring a more equal distribution of a given total income: (1) the *inefficiency* of income inequality in generating *aggregate* utility, . . . and (2) the *inequity* of income inequality in leading to unequal utilities". Additional theories are described in terms of WEA "weak equity axioms", *I* "inequality measures," and 'µ' "different mean incomes" (Foster and Sen, 116, 120, 129).

Foster and Sen distinguish between "aggregate social welfare" and "mean welfare". "Lorenz dominance . . . reflects the intersection of a class of inequality

comparisons, [and] coincides with the intersection quasi-ordering generated by permissible classes of welfare functions" (Foster and Sen, 123, 133).

'Lorenz' refers to a Lorenz curve; GL a "*generalized Lorenz* curve"; "FSD, SSD, and TSD" represent "stochastic dominance relations ["first, second, and third order"]" (Foster and Sen, 135, 137-8). Stochastic elements include "random variables," which "are determined independently according to a probability distribution" (Sparks, Goldman, and Stewart, 2014: 1428, 1203). And a Lorenz curve describes certain quantities on a graph or diagram.

Thus, Amartya Sen and James E. Foster protest economic inequality.

Historical Materialism

I am giving a separate section to historical materialism, as it includes history, culture, and economics, and cannot be reduced to merely one of these categories.

Elster rejected "functional explanation in historical materialism" (1980, xxiii). Cohen agrees that "pre-analytical Marxism was scientifically undeveloped. . . . To claim that capitalism must break down and give way to socialism is not yet to show how behaviors of individuals lead to that result. And nothing else leads to that result, since behaviors of individuals are always where the action is, in the final analysis" (xxiv).

According to historical materialism, "history is fundamentally the growth of human productive power, and forms of society," including economic structures, "rise and fall according as they enable or impede that growth." Cohen believes that "economic structure consists of production relations alone," excluding "productive

343

forces" (Cohen, 2001, xxiv, xi). Viewing a huge and busy city like Mumbai, one can

indeed see that its economic structure is composed of "production relations," people

working with each other; however, production forces are represented by those who

pay others to perform many jobs.

In his introduction to his 2000 edition of *Karl Marx's Theory of History,* after

the fall of communist Russia, Cohen lists three "questions of design, justification, and

strategy, in relation to the project of opposing and overcoming capitalism." First, he

asks, what structure should their socialist society possess? Secondly, what are the

problems of capitalism and the merits of socialism? And thirdly, how should they

proceed? (xxv).

Cohen adds that scientific socialism should not be called 'Marxism', because it

is not a religion; it evolves (xxvii). Some religions however evolve; women have

become ministers in some churches.

Marx discussed a central cause of social revolution: "social revolution occurs

when and only when, and because relations of production fetter the productive forces."

Lenin listed the three components of "historical materialism" as "German philosophy,

British political economy, and French socialism" (xxviii; 1972, n.p.; quoted by Cohen,

1).

"Despite its consequences for the producers," according to Marx, "capitalism

was needed for progress, since it extended man's dominion over nature and so brought

forward the day when the struggle with nature could be ended, and so, too, the

derivative battle of class against class. . . . For Marx, . . . the important forms are not

cultures but economic structures, and the role of consciousness is assumed by

expanding productive power." (Instrumental materials include fuel; Cohen, 25, 26, 49). Labor power increasingly learns "how to control and transform nature". Marx's superstructure "consists of legal, political, religious, and other non-economic institutions" (Cohen 41, 45).

Historical materialism is based on the tendency "of human productive power" to grow. "Economic structures" rise or fall when they increase or "impede that growth. . . . In the second stage of material development, a surplus appears, of a size sufficient to support an exploiting class". In the third stage, capitalism becomes possible; and in the fourth, "the modern classless society emerges" (Cohen 364-5).

Cohen writes that "restricted historical materialism . . . allows spiritual life to develop in freedom from material life," whereas "inclusive historical materialism" includes spiritual (or religious) intrusion. "Because of its individualism and its worldly [versus cloistered] asceticism, the new [Protestant] religion [was] a great encouragement to capitalist enterprise" (368-70).

Max Weber claimed "that the Reformation generated the spirit of capitalism" (372). H. M. Robertson, an historian, concluded that religion encouraged capitalism only because it had adapted to such enterprise (1933, 15; quoted by Cohen, 2001, 372). "On the whole, each variant of Christianity favored capitalism where capitalism was for other reasons strong, and not otherwise. . . . Restricted historical materialism" nonetheless remained effective, as it also postulated "material and economic development". Historical materialism, as mentioned, postulates "that there is a persistent tendency for productive power to grow." This, more than Protestantism, promoted economic growth (372-3).

Cohen believes, regrettably, that Marx was committed to the "inclusive variant" of historical materialism. As Engels explained "in his speech at Marx's graveside," spiritual life is, on the whole to be materialistically explained (374; Cohen 1988, ch. 7).

Historical materialism, according to Engels, "seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of *all* important historic events in the economic development of society" (Engels, 1892, 102).

Cohen defines ideology as "forms of consciousness". The superstructure includes institutions, but not ideology (376). In his "Preface of 1859" to *The Critique of Political Economy* (1971), Marx writes that "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness" (Cohen, 376).

Cohen believes that "many Marxists have in practice favored" restricted versus inclusive historical materialism. Marx's theory of restricted historical materialism "is inspired by a practical interest in the liberation of humanity from economic oppression". It "says of spiritual phenomena only that they do not govern material development". His "theory of history" claims "that changes in relations of production" promote the development of productive forces (377, 380, 384-5).

In contrast, "the Asiatic Mode of production" contains "no principle of forward development, but [instead] . . . a strong tendency to reproduce itself incessantly in the same form." Marx's theory, in contrast, posits that "forces of production" develop, and "relations of production" follow (Cohen, 386).

Historical materialism relates to Mumbai and Detroit from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. Both created factories: cotton mills in Mumbai, and auto-construction plants in Detroit. Workers in both cities were underpaid, and factory owners amassed large fortunes. Eventually, unions were created to protect the interests of workers. As a result, factory owners in Mumbai paid "dues and entitlements" to some of the "200,000 workers [who had] lost their jobs," but many others were not paid. Much land on which the factories had stood had been leased "from the city" and the "Improvement Trust". Some developers of the land probably did "not have clear title" to the land (Chandavarkar: 28-9).

In Detroit, many auto factories in Detroit moved to southern 'right-to-work' states, where unions were not permitted.

Concerning economics, most countries in sub-Saharan Africa followed a different economic pattern after colonialism. Rulers usually favored their own tribes economically, and others lived in poverty. These would be considered degrees of tyranny.

Methodology

Marxist theory, like most theory, immerses us in abstract concepts and processes. Karl Marx's most famous dialectical process is that of "thesis, antithesis, synthesis," to describe historical developments: from one extreme, to another, to a synthesis. "Dialectical materialism" stemmed "from the writings of Marx and Engels which applie[d] Hegel's dialectical method to observable social processes and to nature" (Cohen, 2001, xviii; Sparks, Goldman and Stewart, 2014**,** 406).

G. A. Cohen writes that three non-Marxist modern intellectual techniques include "logical and linguistic analysis"; economic analysis, developed by Smith and Ricardo; and techniques of "choice, action, and strategy," pertaining to economics. These latter are represented by "'decision theory', 'game theory'," and "rational choice theory" (Cohen, xviii).

Narrow analytical Marxism is disposed "to explain molar phenomena by reference to the micro-constituents and micro-mechanisms that respectively compose the entities and underlie the processes which occur at a grosser level of resolution." Analysis cannot be ignored "in the name of dialectic" or "anti-individualist holism." Rejecting analytical techniques, Cohen believes, represents "an unwillingness to accept the rule of reason" (xxiii-iv).

The Oxford Living Dictionary describes **network analysis** as "the mathematical analysis of complex working procedures in terms of a network of related activities" (2017). John Scott describes it as a mathematical and sometimes "multidimensional" description of situations (1998, ix).

John Baez at the UCR Math Department describes **network theory** as "the study of complex interacting systems that can be represented as graphs equipped with extra structure. A graph is a bunch of vertices connected by edges." Baez presents an example by www.utwente.nl (Twente University in the Netherlands), author not mentioned, as it focuses on groups/organizations and individuals, which is relevant to community organizations in Detroit.

In this graph, two clusters of **'groups/organizations'**, represented by four circles, which I would label as 'community groups', in each larger circle, are linked by

a straight line, labeled 'society'. Individual circles to the right of the community groups represent 'individuals'. The author connects an individual with a cluster of groups/organizations by means of a two-directional arrow, described as "communicative action," which I would describe as "contributions to and from the community," or "communicative interaction".

Baez describes a graph in network theory as "a bunch of vertices" (circles, sometimes numbered), connected by 'edges', lines with one or more arrows.

Orgnet describes **social network analysis (**SNA) as "the mapping and measuring of relationships and flows between people, groups, organizations, computers, URLs and other connected information/knowledge entities. The nodes in the network are the people and groups while the links show relationships or flows between the nodes."

Defining people as "points of concentration" and links as connections between nodes seems to add an unnecessary layer of abstraction to survival in impoverished neighborhoods, for example. Mapping where someone went does not explain why they went there, and what they achieved by going there.

"Social network analysis" (SNA) is useful for data handling, according to Scott; for example, for studies of corporate power. Key concepts for analyzing network structures include "density, centrality, [and] cliques" (ix).

Social network analysis can be used to investigate "kinship patterns, community structure, interlocking directorships," and other topics. It is especially relevant for "relational data". "Social sciences data . . . are rooted in cultural values and symbols." These data are 'attribute', relating to "attitudes, opinions, and [the]

349

behavior of agents"; 'relational', involving more than one agent or group; or 'ideational', describing "meanings, motives, definitions and typifications" (1998, 2-3).

Variable analysis is used to measure attribute data, such as "income, occupation, [or] education," and network analysis measures the relations (linkages) between agents. Scott adds that typological analysis is most useful in relation to ideational data. Attribute, ideational, and relational data may be obtained from survey research (questionnaires or interviews), ethnographic research (observations) and documentary research (texts; p. 3).

A. Radcliffe-Brown, an anthropologist, developed the conception of "social structure," along with the metaphor of social "fabric". The origins of "social network analysis" can be found in "the social psychology of groups" and "its logical and social anthropological studies of factories and communities. . . . [M]atrices and sociograms" are used to model relational data (4-5).

In sociometric presentation, networks can be represented as 'graphs' of "'points' and 'lines'," which can indicate "' distance', 'direction' and 'density'. . . . [T]he 'centrality' of points and the 'centralization of whole networks'" is derived from "local, 'egocentric' measures [evolving into] . . . global 'socio-centric' ones . . ." "'Cliques and 'circles'" are concepts for investigating "sub-groups within social networks". 'Positions', "defined by social relations, . . . articulate into more complex 'topological' structures" (Scott, 6).

Three groups in "the development of social network analysis" include sociometric analysts, who used "the methods of graph theory"; Harvard researchers in "the 1930s, who explored patterns of interpersonal relations and the formation of

'cliques'"; and anthropologists in Manchester, who investigated "the structure of 'community' relations in tribal and village societies" (Scott, 7).

Wolfgang Köhler's concept of 'gestalt' in the 1930s stimulated research on 'group dynamics'. Meanwhile, "anthropologists and sociologists at Harvard University" advanced Radcliffe-Brown's study of "the interdependence of the structural elements in social systems. . . . [I]nformal, interpersonal relations," they realized, are important "in all social systems." Meanwhile, a study in Britain, also inspired by Radcliffe-Brown, analyzed "conflict and contradiction in social systems"; especially at Manchester University. These ideas were applied "to the study of African tribal societies, and . . . later, to rural and small town Britain." These scholars advanced the union of mathematics with social theory. In the 1960s, Harrison White at Harvard also investigated "the mathematical basis of social structure" (Scott, 1998, 8).

SNA measures "connectors, mavens, leaders, bridges, [and] isolates" within groups. Connections between nodes are based on regular communication or other interactions. Degree of centrality, "betweenness centrality," "closeness centrality," and "network centralization" are measured (Orgnet.com, 2017; several capitalizations are omitted for consistency).

Networks are used to measure "synchronization scenarios," interdependence failures, "chaotic dynamics," fractals, extreme floods, climate networks, and intracellular communication (docs.sitefinity.com; *Nature* 464, April 2010; link.springer.com; ncbi.nim.nih.gov/pubmed).

John Scott writes that social network analysis is especially useful for studies of industries or offices, in which individuals have close relationships with specific members of the wider group, and contact some individuals more often than others (1998: 5-6, 9-10).

I have focused more on how individuals cope in relation to poverty, and how they are assisted by community programs in Detroit, such as grants from charitable organizations, or meals from the Capuchin soup kitchen.

In Mumbai, my three guides took me to three slums, where I could observe how people diligently recycled plastics, metals, and cardboard, and created leather (goat or buffalo) or cloth products, or repaired antique record players and other items.

These involved networks of production, rather than networks of communication, although communication was necessary for obtaining raw materials and establishing small work spaces.

The payment process in Mumbai, by which a small device at a tailor shop near the Leopold Café was located, which my guide visited daily, so that my credit card amounts could be transferred from dollars to rupees, represented **a payment network.** Sometimes we were obliged to wait ten or twenty minutes for the small device to arrive by means of a bicycle messenger from elsewhere.

Social network analysis would be more relevant to anthropology, which focuses more on the close relationship between individuals within one group within one period of history; than in history, culture, and economics, which compare and contrast historical causes, the role of culture, and that of economics in the development of poverty in several slums and cities.

352

Social network analysis would have some relevance in impoverished countries. People would need to have connections for assistance when they are running short of food, whom they would likewise assist, when possible.

Stephen M. R. Covey writes in his foreword to Christian Moore's book on *The Resilience Breakthrough* that "trust, . . . discipline, humility, and integrity were esteemed more highly" in his father's generation. **Resilience,** he believes, prepares us for adversity. Covey believes that all people "are born with" resilience, "but that most of us have forgotten" (2014, xi-iii).

Moore writes that resilience converts adversity into fuel that creates opportunity. Disabilities can become a motivation to succeed. Moore considers himself "an expert in anxiety, fear, and failure." While having severe learning disabilities – he is ADHD – he managed to graduate from college, and to acquire a master's degree in social work. He became "an internationally renowned author, speaker, and advocate". He uses his resilience "to do good works," and to help others to succeed (12, 14).

Moore believes that vulnerability leads to resilience. He quotes Brené Brown, a social work professor in Houston, who explained that "vulnerability is our most accurate measurement of courage". Brown writes that "vulnerability is the birthplace of innovation, creativity, and change" (quoted by Moore, 17).

In order to succeed, Moore continues, one must be willing "to be vulnerable. If you're not willing to be wrong and sometimes fail, . . . you'll never come up with something original." Moore adds that "relationships are the lifeblood of resilience" (17). People in impoverished cities, like Detroit, Kinshasa, Mumbai, or Nairobi, do

not need to make an effort to be vulnerable, so as to "come up with something original." So many are vulnerable from birth, to hunger and poverty.

Moore does not balance being vulnerable with common sense. One should not become vulnerable by walking alone through hazardous neighborhoods in the middle of the night; or climb Mt. Everest without appropriate guides or equipment.

Dr. Carol Dweck, who teaches at Stanford University, describes the difference between a "growth mindset," believing that one can change and improve, and "a fixed mindset," believing that one cannot change (18).

Moore paraphrases Dweck: "cultivating a growth mindset means you like a challenge, enjoy effort, . . . [T]he growth mindset appreciates effort." He describes resilience as "the ability to endure pain, to press on, even if you're not winning"; even "if you've lost a loved one, lost a job, or been to prison." One must remain resilient; remaining resilient is "real success" (19-21).

Moore describes "flipping the switch" as realizing "that you can turn your pain into power, and move forward, committed to being resilient." He once explained to a room full of violent juvenile offenders at a prison that "they had the power to . . . convert their anger into the fuel to be better." One can use "*a crisis to become greater*." He suggests using one's challenges to become more resilient; "flipping the switch," to become "more human," and more connected with others. He describes "Street Resilience," "Resource Resilience," "Relational" resources, and "Rock Bottom" resources (27-8, 33, 36, 47).

People are doubtless inspired by the examples of others to be productive and creative, in order to survive. Street vendors are very visible examples of resilience:

patiently selling food, clothes, peacock feathers, beaded bags and many other items. Those who have nothing to sell patiently beg, and receive a few rupees; another example of resilience.

People who live in impoverished neighborhoods, in Kinshasa, Mumbai, or Detroit, or in the many worldwide slums, could be said to possess resilience. Or, one could attribute their survival to courage, humility, patience, and self-discipline. They set an example of perseverance for each other. They cannot buy whatever they wish, but only what they can afford. Good parents will focus their lives on feeding their families, and not squander their earnings on alcohol, like Frank McCourt's father, as described in McCourt's autobiography: *Angela's Ashes*; or on drugs.

While adversity can make us stronger, as Moore suggests, others, sadly, would self-destruct with too much adversity; like many farmers in India, discussed earlier in this paper. Perhaps courage would be more useful in such cases, and religion, which Moore scarcely mentions. Perhaps courage and resilience are somewhat mutually inclusive.

Chapter X: Network Diagrams

1-8:   **9-16:**   **Many are left in**

    0000   **0000**   **poverty.**
    0000:   ←←←   **pocket wealth**   ←←←   **0000**   ←←←←

Rulers and other officials
pocket large amounts of
national wealth

#1. "Government Exploitation Increases Poverty", derived from Meredith:
172, 297-300, 380-81.

    0 0   **Defending**   **Attacking**   **0 0**
     0   →→→→→   ←←←←   **0**

    0 0   **themselves.**   **0 0**

 # 1-5: Whites,
   Blacks,
Native Americans,   **# 6-10 = Attackers**
 Muslims, and Other
  Americans

#2. "All Americans May Defend Themselves", derived from Bates: 105-09.

 # 1 lends   →→→→

                                                  # 2 repays the same
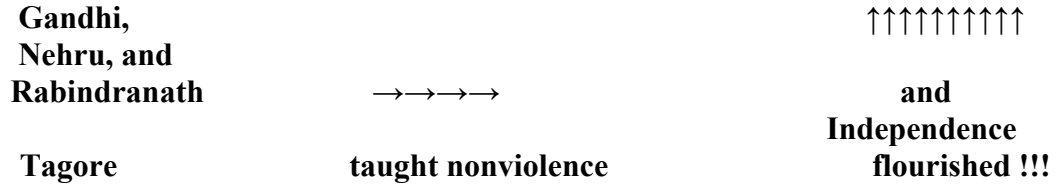
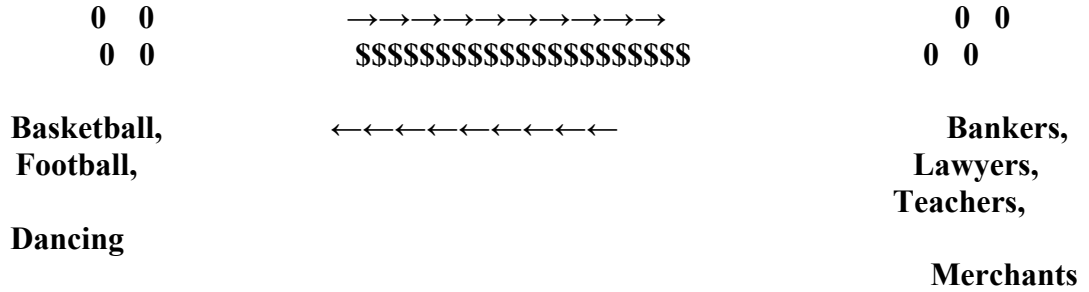   **amount**

                                                    ←←←←

#3. "Survival in Kinshasa Depends on Borrowing and Repayment,"

derived from Trefon: 10.

**Gandhi,
Nehru, and
Rabindranath** →→→→ ↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑

**and
Independence**
Tagore taught nonviolence **flourished !!!**

**#4. "Nonviolence in India Promoted Independence," derived from B. & T. Metcalf: 191,
205, 207.**

0 0 →→→→→→→→→→ 0 0
0 0 $$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$ 0 0

**Basketball,
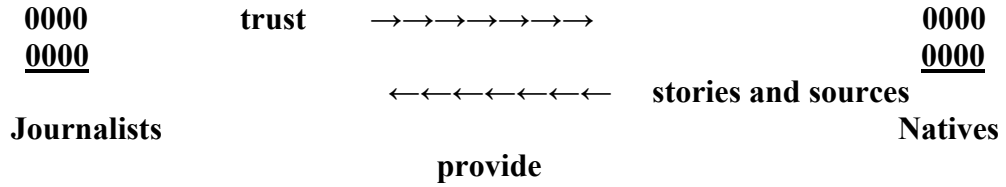Football,** ←←←←←←←←← **Bankers,
Lawyers,
Teachers,**

Dancing **Merchants**

 # 5. "Market Forces in 'Large Urban Centers' Favor 'Social and Economic' Concentration," derived from Obudho 1997: 304.

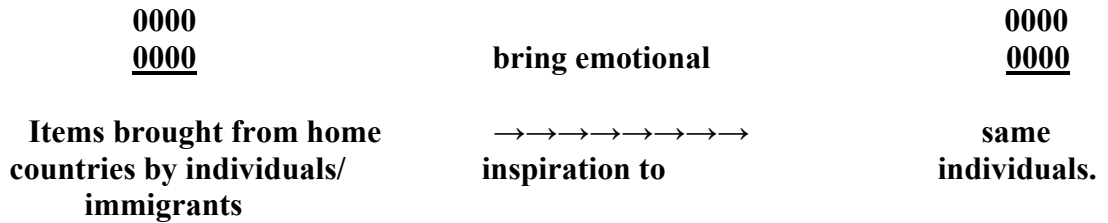0→→ ←← 0

↑ ↑
0↑ ↑
0

0→→
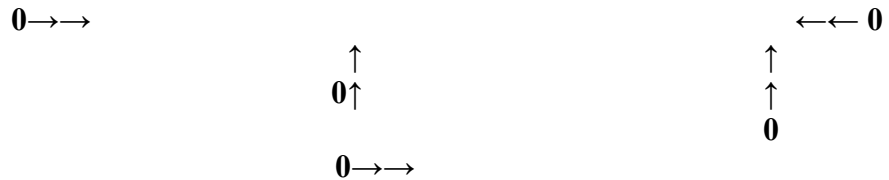
#s 1-5: Segregation of ethnic groups in Kenya (Kamba, Kipsigis, Kalengin, Kikuyu and Luo) with undemocratic governments create problems for each other. (Arrows represent creating problems.)
#6. "Ethnic Segregation Creates Problems in Kenya," derived from Obudho: 313-4.
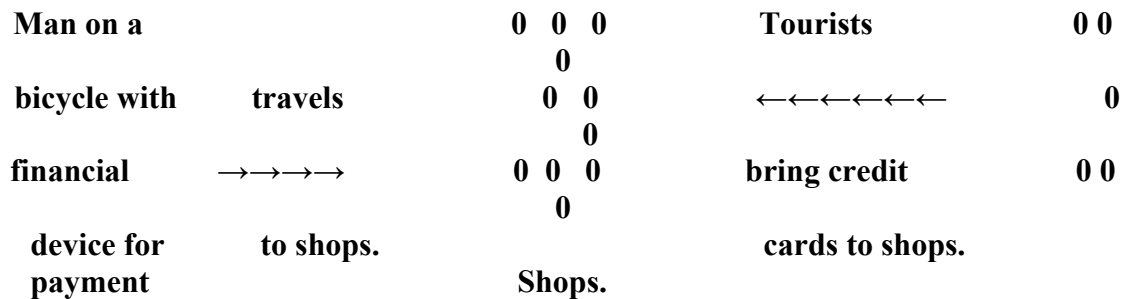
Network Diagrams #s 7-9

0000   trust   →→→→→→→   0000

0000   **0000**

                     ←←←←←←   stories and sources

Journalists   **Natives**

                     provide

#7. "Trust, Curiosity, and Empathy Promote Journalism," derived from Gettleman: 4, 120.

       0000   0000

       0000   **bring emotional**   **0000**

Items brought from home   →→→→→→→   **same**

countries by individuals/   **inspiration to**   **individuals.**

immigrants

#8. "Networks of Emotional Survival," at the Arab American Museum in Dearborn, MI

Man on a   0   0   0   **Tourists**   0 0

                                0

bicycle with   **travels**   0   0   ←←←←←←   0

                                0

financial   →→→→   0   0   0   **bring credit**   0 0

                                0

device for   **to shops.**   **cards to shops.**

payment   **Shops.**

#9. "Payment Network Diagram," found at a tailor shop in Mumbai

Chapter XI: Discussion, Solutions, and Conclusion

One must understand the adversity which exists before one can appreciate the networks and the generosity.

While working on this dissertation, my friends Gail and Richard Moore, from East Providence, came for lunch one day in March 2013. Richard mentioned that once when he visited Detroit, he witnessed two murders. One man shot another, and a man shot a woman who was leaning out of a window. Moreover, Richard's own father lived in Detroit. Once he was gagged by a burglar. Sadly, the gag was too tight, and Richard's father died.

Many variables contribute to peace and prosperity, including resources, work ethic, and having a good education. One especially important variable is cooperation, including a lack of ethnic conflict. Ethnic prejudice and conflict as well as extreme income inequality all indicate a lack of cooperation, and prevent each individual from fully contributing to local and national prosperity.

Challenge

Clearly, education, health, employment, obtaining clean water and nutrition are extremely challenging for residents of Kinshasa. The threat of criminal violence exists in all three cities. In Detroit, this is caused by drug dealers, among others, and in Mumbai by organized Hindu and Muslim gangs.

Comparative Urban Systems is a perspective which compares key features of urban existence. The coherence and integrity of local government, efficacy of the police department, successful performance of the infrastructure – roads, bridges and tunnels, existence and performance of a safety net to protect vulnerable citizens, and regulations for housing development and safety are all essential features of urban systems.

In cities such as Mumbai, Kinshasa, and Detroit, many of these features do not exist, or frequently fail.

Comparative urban systems also includes ethics (community versus prejudice and intolerance), law and order versus crime and bribery; history, economics, and urban theory.

Cities as Scattered Villages

When I moved from New York City (population seven million) to Newport, RI (population 30,000) in 1985, I concluded that NYC was the equivalent in population of 233 Newports. In the course of ten years, a person in Newport would get to know about 150 other Newporters, through public associations (Preservation Society, Redwood Library, events at the Naval War College), recreation (tennis, New York Yacht Club, polo in neighboring Middletown), career, and family associates. In NYC, the same process would occur. Thus, in NYC, one would pass through many strangers every day in order to reach one's personal 'village'. In small-town Newport, one would pass through less-crowded streets in a smaller space, in order to connect with one's personal 'village'. Therefore, a large city is both personal and impersonal; the

intertwining and overlapping of several hundred multi-level 'villages', compared to an actual village.

I had lived in Washington DC for two and half years in the '50s, and enjoyed the sprinkling of monuments and parks throughout the city; which also occurs in cities like Leningrad and Paris. In 1961-63, I lived for eighteen months in Cairo, Egypt. In Cairo, I enjoyed the sound and sight of animals – camels, donkeys pulling wagons, sheep – passing through the streets, especially in the early morning, when there was less motor traffic. (This is also a delightful feature of cities in India, including cows and goats, which I especially noticed in Varanasi, Allahabad, and Luxor in 1998. Cows were no longer permitted on the streets of Calcutta, as they had been when I first visited in 1968.) The beautiful mosques and old architecture of Cairo are also spectacular.

Besides having a geographical neighborhood with a sense of community, as discussed by Jane Jacobs, I would add that many of us have a wider 'personal neighborhood', other regions of a city or rural region, perhaps very distant from our home neighborhoods, which we visit for work, recreation and contact with extended relatives and friends. Most citizens of the West have moved several times in their lifetime, travelled away to college, and many of our closest relatives and friends may live far from our personal locations. Many impoverished people also travel widely as migrant workers. We may all return occasionally, and people in our wider 'personal neighborhoods' will remember us.

The Importance of Moral Values for Prosperity

Mumford writes that "through the compulsive mingling for defense [in a city], the possibilities for more regular intercourse and wider cooperation arise". He emphasizes cooperation as a solution for improving cities. "We must alter the parasitic and predatory modes of life that now play so large a part, and we must create region by region, continent by continent, an effective symbiosis, or co-operative living together" (3, 9).

He notes that European cities in the tenth to eleventh centuries had "far less of a spread between upper and lower ranks: they had a common city, a common culture, a common religious faith." Two or three hundred years later, however, "there were vast gaps between rich and poor, master and beggar" (67-8). This continues at present.

Political philosopher John Rawls believed that having a large gap between rich and poor represents a failure of justice. According to Rawls, "justice generally requires that basic social goods—liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect—be equally distributed, unless an unequal distribution is to everyone's advantage" (*A Theory of Justice,* 1971, quoted by Samuel Freeman, 2003: 1). "Under favorable social conditions," one could practice "justice as fairness," involving "the institutions of a liberal constitutional democracy." Special efforts should be made to "benefit the worst-off members of society" (1-2). (Rawls does not consider that some will work harder than others, and others will work less.)

Besides a century of prejudice against African Americans in Detroit, intolerance between Hutus and Tutsi in Rwanda for two centuries, which spilled over into the Congo in 2004, has caused violence, grief, and poverty. Both prejudice and intolerance represent a failure of ethical values. Dr. Fluehr-Lobban adds that these also represent a failure "of politics, for politicians use or abuse moral justification for their acts."

Discrimination against the Hutus began in the 18th century, when King Rujugira united Rwanda, and favored Hutus. Colonial rulers however favored the Tutsi, who were considered "genetically superior," and thereby disrupted the social balance between farmers and pastoralists, "the royal elite and the peasantry," "rich and poor" (Stearns 21-2). In 1959, a civil war occurred, and the Hutu gained power. In 1963, Tutsis "attempted to regain power. Many were massacred" (Janssen 827). In 1994, after the assassination of Hutu president Habyarimana, 800,000 mostly Tutsis were killed by "Hutu militia and the army" (Stearns 8).

Economic Policies

Martelle blames outsourcing, the shifting of production overseas, for the decline in "the urban centers of our industrial cities and countless small manufacturing towns . . ." in America (252). However, providing jobs for countries with far greater poverty permits them to buy our products and prevents them from becoming failed states and havens for terrorists. A better solution would be higher taxes on the very wealthy leaders of corporations, and the use of that revenue to develop blighted U.S. urban centers, and to improve education and housing in such regions. Extreme income

inequality deprives the less fortunate of opportunities to contribute to national prosperity.

Protection of our industries by means of import quotas and tariffs would simply provoke retaliation. This would limit markets for U.S. exports, and our exports would not be able to compete overseas, based on their merits.

Although the World Trade Organization now endeavors to protect patents and copyrights, some countries continue to abuse this principle.

Free trade, criticized above by Martelle (see "Economy and Employment", Detroit), is important. Many economists, including Thomas Friedman, agree that free trade is not a problem, but a necessity. The opposite of free trade is trade barriers and protectionism, which would, as mentioned, provoke retaliation. If we tax foreign products excessively, or refuse to accept them, other countries will likewise reject or heavily tax our exports. Global prosperity will decline, and conflict will increase.

The Federal government should provide public works programs for Americans who are living in extreme poverty, when no other jobs are available.

Comparison: Singapore

We need to ask: does Mumbai, a democracy (in which bribery and organized crime has been rampant), work better than **Singapore**, a more authoritarian state?

Like the failure to cooperate between opposing political parties, and political rigidity, which have affected the U.S. government in recent years, the inability of Indian politicians to fill the vacant seats of judges represents political failure. Recent American gridlock, for example, includes the near failure of the U.S. Congress to raise

the U.S. debt ceiling in 2011, in order to fulfill government financial obligations; and the occurrence of the Sequester of January 2013, resulting in many inferior choices of budget reduction. The shortage of judges in India gives additional authority to organized gang lords, who are stepping in to provide a measure of justice for residents, in return for a fee (Mehta, (144). This type of problem is not occurring in Singapore.

In her book on *The Political Economy of a City-State: Government-made Singapore* (1998), Linda Low writes that "good governance with good government as the instrument has been recognized as the basis of economic success." She mentions that "governance and government" include "ideology, culture, and values." By 1998, "China and Indochina" were combining "Western liberal ideas and Asian precepts" (20-1). This is significant for economic development in Mumbai, as per capita production in India in April 2013 was one-quarter that of China, according to Bloomberg News. Why is China more productive than India? Both were subjected to colonialism during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both experienced and continue to experience degrees of government corruption in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Low writes that "factors favourable to growth include the maintenance of the rule of law, free markets, small government consumption and high human capital . . . [D]emocracy enhances growth at low levels of political freedom but depresses growth when a moderate level of freedom has been attained" (24). Low rejects "the American mission to convert the world to democracy and human rights," even by threatening the "withdrawal" of ODA ("official development assistance"). "American or European standards cannot be universal whatever the suasion – be it imperialism, superiority or

missionary zeal" (26). However, during the mid-twentieth century, the U.S. engaged

in trade with national dictators in many countries, thus supporting their leadership.

When such dictators were eventually overthrown, their oppressed populations disliked

the U.S. for supporting their former oppressive rulers, as described in *The Ugly*

American, by Eugene Burdick and William Lederer.

Low believes that "the weakness of democracy" is that "all men are [not] equal

and capable of equal contribution to the common good" (26). I would say that

democracy implies more that all people are entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happiness," as described in the "Declaration of Independence". They are entitled to

equal legal justice, and a safety net in times of disaster. The more capable will be

richer, but they can also contribute more to those who are suffering.

Low notes that "the political cultures in China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan,

Singapore and Vietnam are heavily imbued with Confucian principles." These

emphasize "hierarchy and authority," as well as "harmony, stability and consensus . . .

Strong political leadership" practicing "personalism and dominance" includes "respect

for authority and hierarchy" (27).

In the comparison between Western and Asian democracy, "if economic

development is the ultimate goal, discipline and conformity cannot be dismissed too

lightly over the preference for individualism and freedom" (27). I would add in 2016

that American "individualism and freedom" to purchase and own assault weapons,

often without background checks, which permits deranged individuals to massacre

dozens of children in a school, people in a movie theater or parking lot; which has

again been upheld by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, is a clear abuse of

democracy. In these circumstances, the liberty of deranged individuals prevails over the "life, liberty, and happiness" of innocent citizens. These massacres are not happening in authoritarian Singapore, but in the U.S.A.

Low recommends a "balance between authority and freedom," and adds that "authority and discipline should not be the subterfuge for long-term suppression and dictatorship" (27).

While an authoritarian state could perhaps prevent organized crime, as exists in some locations, there is no guarantee that human rights could not become increasingly insignificant, and a leader like Hitler or Stalin could emerge. Therefore, a somewhat chaotic democracy (with adequate gun control) is surely preferable. Could a democracy, such as that of India, decline into anarchy and civil war, for example war between Hindus and Muslims, due to government shortcomings and political corruption? Perhaps. Indeed, both democracies and authoritarian states can fail without adequate human rights, cooperation, and justice. We may recall that Plato rejected democracy in his *Republic*, because he considered it "inferior to various forms of monarchy, aristocracy and even oligarchy on the grounds that [it] tends to undermine the expertise necessary to properly governed societies" (Book VI; Christiano 2015).

Kualalumpur, the capital of Malaysia, with an officially sanctioned hierarchy of ethnic groups, presents a different dynamic from Mumbai and Detroit. Indian and Chinese farmers were brought to Malaysia by British colonial rulers during the nineteenth century to work in tin mines and rubber plantations, and remained in Malaysia when the British control ended in 1957. Muslim Malaysians have

discriminated against Indian and Chinese residents ever since. The three ethnic groups have been completely separate socially and professionally, and shop in their separate ethnic shops. Government policies favor native Muslim Malaysians, to the resentment of Indian and Chinese citizens (Drabble, 2004).

In contrast, America and India, as democracies, do not sanction prejudice against ethnic groups. America has come a long way since the segregated restaurants and schools of the early 1950s, the latter officially (if not entirely) ending with the Supreme Court ruling of Brown Versus Board of Education in 1954. Gandhi endeavored to end traditional prejudice in India against the Untouchables in the 1930s, renaming them Harijan, "children of God"; and they have acquired entitlements to proportional government jobs and education.

Solutions

Warema Chacha, a musician from Bagomoyo in northern Tanzania, fabricates his instrument, a traditional "litungu". It is made out of wood, string, cow skin, and a steel bowl. While he plays the instrument, he sings "a song of hope". According to the words, "even though life can be so difficult, as long as you can keep moving forward, you know that you are alive" (CNN, Inside Africa, April 2016).

Thus, the psychology of surviving poverty includes gratitude for whatever one has, rather than focusing on what is lacking; and on creating something with whatever one has.

More progressive taxation would be useful for developing countries, such as India, so that India's many millionaires could relieve its poverty. (In July 2016, India had 200,000 millionaires, according to Matthew Nitch Smith, *Business Insider.*)

Kinshasa

In March 2017, according to the BBC World News America, "the U.S. ambassador to the UN has reported that 'UN peacekeepers in the DRC are aiding a corrupt government that preys on its citizens. As a matter of decency and common sense, this should end'."

Solutions for Kinshasa would be for neighbors to continue to help each other, and for people to avoid their autocratic government as much as possible. More of the country's resources should be spent on the urban poor, to provide additional food. Additional urban gardens could be helpful.

Developing countries should not be obliged by the IMF and the World Bank to eliminate urban subsidies, as this causes immense hardship during periods of drought. Nor should they be obliged to end import restrictions, as this prevents them from developing their own products.

Mumbai

While the residents of Mumbai are immensely industrious, I was concerned by the large number of people requesting help at most traffic lights in the downtown area, and other locations. More government-sponsored soup kitchens would be helpful. Additional progressive taxation of India's numerous millionaires should be collected, and spent to assist those who are hungry.

Other than that, the city is functioning remarkably well. A new train line was added several years ago, which cuts commuting time for many, and reduces traffic on several highways. A second city, New Mumbai, was added to the northeast of Mumbai in recent years. This reduces crowding for the original city.

Detroit

Many efforts are being made to improve the remains of Detroit, such as right-sizing, versus downsizing, as recommended by Mayor Bing: turning less-populated areas into agricultural production or parks. Thus, John Gallagher writes that more vacant lots can be turned into community gardens, rather than hoping for construction development. "Streams and wetlands" can be revived, to create "a greener environment". Partial repairs at least are helpful. Get rid of the dumped tires and the smashed liquor bottles, cut the grass, plant sunflowers, raise vegetables, install some art objects, and pretty soon the landscape doesn't look bleak at all. In 2013, Detroit's Wayne State University opened a "tech town business incubator" in a large vacant structure donated by GM. By 2010, five "successful start-ups" emerged (Gallagher: 2, 3, 12).

Martelle believes that "fixing the schools is where the cycle of poverty can best be broken, since this is where the new generation gets trained to forge a new kind of life" (255).

At least the Devil's Night fires, which burned down thousands of houses in Detroit in the 1980s, ended in 1995, when "the night before Halloween" was renamed "Angel's Night" by city officials (Binelli 8). Instead of arson, could some of that material have been recycled, as happens in poorer countries? I visited a squatters'

370

settlement in Soweto in 2000, and asked about the cost of material for one shack. My

guide replied that material for a rectangular shack, about eight feet wide by twenty-

two feet in length, costs $800. Six people lived in his shack, sleeping on two double

beds. Electricity was provided by a car battery. He was studying to become an audio

engineer. Many people with few resources are able to work and improve their lives

without burning down their neighborhoods.

Detroit city officials attempted "casino gambling, an Eighties festival mall,

new ballparks, hosting a Grand Prix, even commissioning . . . Motown Records

founder Berry Gordy . . . to write a theme song for the city," which, curiously, topped

the charts only in Belgium (Binelli 271).

Following the white exodus to the suburbs, Detroit had "forty square miles of

vacant land" by 2000. "Detroit would have to shrink . . . in order to survive." In

2010, Mayor Dave Bing began to discuss "rightsizing," as opposed to downsizing.

"Citizens living on isolated urban prairies would be incentivized to move to denser,

more easily serviced neighborhoods" (Binelli 87-88). "Cities," he adds, "are not built

or rebuilt for low-income residents." Rather than reconstruction, the city should focus

on "debt reduction and austerity" (180). Street lights have been removed from

Highland Park, but city officials asked residents "to leave on their own porch lights as

crime prevention measures" (Binelli 193).

After a century of housing and employment discrimination by white Detroiters,

following several centuries of slavery, the so-called African-American "underclass" of

Detroit needs opportunity: decent housing, jobs, tennis courts, art classes, sports

facilities. Although Republicans in 2013 were eager to establish financial austerity

371

while millions of Americans remained unemployed, underemployed, or had given up looking, following the Great Recession of 2008-09, while Wall Street bankers and CEOs received multi-million-dollar bonuses and purchased larger yachts, Nobel-prize-winning economist Paul Krugman was quoted on Fareed Zakaria GPS and Bloomberg Surveillance in April 2013 as saying that more economic stimulus for the unemployed was necessary. It is certainly necessary in Detroit.

Binelli suggests that a solution for Detroit would be to merge with its suburbs, which would make it eligible for more state funds, and would eliminate "duplicate spending inherent in maintaining multiple separate municipalities". Thus, Wayne, Macomb, and Oakland counties would be absorbed (102).

He believes that Detroit could be reinvented. Seattle has been reinvented as a hub of technology, Pittsburgh and Portland as centers of higher education, and Glasgow as a center of the arts (173).

Besides urban farming as the next chapter for Detroit, many artists are buying cheap houses for "a hundred bucks". Binelli writes that they are "repurposing defunct Albert Kahn plants as miles of studio space; they [are coming] to Detroit from Brooklyn, because Detroit [is] the new Brooklyn; they [come] to Detroit from Europe, because Detroit [is] the next Berlin" (257).

For several years, economists have told us that America needs more scientists, engineers, and mathematicians, to compensate for our loss of factories to countries with lower costs of labor. Meanwhile, schools have been losing arts and sports programs, due to budget cuts. However, a CNN report in April 2013 noted that schools with arts programs produce higher ratings for scientific and mathematical

achievement. Perhaps these disciplines are complementary, and Detroit will also inspire more mathematicians and scientists.

Richard Florida, a modern urbanist, believes that "discarded Rust Belt cities like Detroit and Pittsburgh might obtain tangible economic benefits, could *possibly save themselves*, by becoming more like Austin and San Francisco. His theory of the so-called creative class linked the success of modern cities to their ability to attract a specific genre of person, not necessarily artists and musicians but tech entrepreneurs, gays, bartenders" – groups with self-assertive style. Binelli spots a syllogism: "dynamic and prosperous cities tend to be attractive to urbane creative types who like dynamic and prosperous cities" (257).

On March 14th in 2013, Detroit was taken over by the state, at the instructions of Governor Rick Snyder. Kevyn Orr was appointed as emergency financial manager (BBC 14 March 2013). According to CNN, Governor Snyder had declared a financial emergency. Half of Detroit property owners were "not paying their property taxes," and Detroit had "$14 billion of long term liabilities because of unfunded pensions and health care costs" (3 March 2013).

Conclusion

Conquests and invasions are not networks of survival, they are networks of exploitation. However, peace and prosperity returned after the Persian, Roman, and Macedonian conquests, and will hopefully occur in India after the Muslim and British conquests; although India continues to suffer, as seen by its high rate of poverty, and its eighteen million people living in slavery. British rule ended "the stagnation of

Indian society," according to Chandra. It brought "extreme misery and national degradation, not to mention economic, political, and cultural backwardness." However, it also brought "new forces of change," which provided "the dynamism of modern India" (18).

During the 1970s, India's largest city, its business center, Mumbai, was at the mercy of powerful gangs of organized crime, who demanded extortion payments, and assassinated those who refused. These 'warlords' provided a measure of justice for a fee, since Mumbai's courts were so slow, and politicians neglected to appoint additional judges to fill empty seats (Mehta: 109, 144, 147, 163, 176-8, 183, 235). Corruption apparently existed in every branch of public service, including the police (63, 81, 109, 155, 165, 244). This is not exactly an American style democracy: "government of the people, by the people, for the people"; although gridlock in the American legislature in recent years has often hampered legislation, and special interests have promoted their own wealth and influence. Gang lords in India were very supportive of their more dedicated members. They supported their families when gang members were in jail, paid for family weddings, supported members in exile, and provided gang members with pensions when they eventually fled to Dubai, Pakistan, or Malaya (240-1). They provided this service by extorting money from successful businesses and individuals. This diminished the quality of life for residents of Mumbai. Fortunately, the situation has improved.

Mehta concludes that "the reason a human being can live in a Bombay [Mumbai] slum and not lose his sanity is that his dream life is bigger than his squalid quarters. It occupies a palace." And, "each person is the end product of an exquisitely

refined specialization and has a particular task to perform, no less and no more important than that of any other of the 6 billion components of the organism" (539).

Mehta adds that more than 205 gangsters were killed by the police in Mumbai between 1998 and 2001. In 2003, a forger of "revenue-stamp forms," worth 320 billion rupees, was discovered. Many "politicians and cops" had been bribed. The police commissioner was also arrested (542). Thus, although many gang members had been killed, corruption had continued. To begin with, politicians should fill the vacant seats for judges.

Binelli writes that "black Detroiters . . . moved to Detroit to improve their lives – and *did*, building the city alongside the white majority, albeit in drastically disadvantaged and prejudicial circumstances" (230). Progress has occurred, but much remains to be done to achieve the American ideals of liberty and opportunity.

Today, Detroit is surviving due to free market economics. Several large corporations have moved to Detroit in recent years, as well as many artists and other individuals. When prices drop sufficiently, many will find it necessary or beneficial economically to move there, especially following the Great Recession of 2008-09, with many remaining unemployed.

Thus, in 2012, Binelli wrote that "Quicken Loans had moved four thousand employees downtown and the company's owner, Detroit loyalist Dan Gilbert, had been purchasing a number of long-vacant buildings". Seventy Chrysler "employees would be migrating downtown from the suburbs." The Broderick Tower, with its thirty-four stories, was being renovated, after some twenty-eight years of vacancy.

And the GAR Building, a castle with "boarded-up turrets originally built for Union veterans of the Civil War," was also being renovated (295).

Not only do cities with extensive poverty have problems. Francis Fukuyama describes the threat of entrenched interests to the well-being of cities and nations. He writes that a "dysfunctional equilibrium" occurs when well-organized groups prevent beneficial changes that would harm their self-interest (454-7). This is occurring at present in the United States, in which a firmly entrenched gun-lobby voted in April 2013 to prevent background checks for guns that are bought at gun shows or over the internet. Without background checks, any violent individual can thus purchase a gun. Also, the magazines of assault weapons cannot be limited, and can kill many people without reloading.

Mumford asks whether "the destructive forces in civilization" will be more powerful than the "creative forces". Like George Bernard Shaw's "life force" in *Man and Superman*, Mumford embraces "a cult of life," to oppose barbarous fascism. "Cities," he writes, "will be both instrument and goal" in this endeavor (11-12).

Fortunately, many residents of slum neighborhoods are motivated to improve their derelict neighborhoods, and to contribute to those less fortunate.

The human ability to survive amidst very difficult circumstances is quite extraordinary. Sharing newspapers, as photographed in Kinshasa by Marie Françoise Plissart, is an example. It enables publishers to produce newspapers, reporters and printers to hold their jobs, individuals to benefit from learning the daily information of their environment, and local businesses to advertise their products.

Newspapers can also be rented cheaply in other countries, including Ethiopia and Nigeria, as described by Robin Curnow and Sam Olukoya.

As mentioned, Sekutu Mehta describes the proportion of "eaters to earners" in Mumbai (fifty to one), and Olopade estimates this ratio as "half a dozen" to one in sub-Saharan Africa. Both indicate a shortage of jobs; especially in Mumbai. Mehta describes people pulling latecomers onto crowded commuter trains, regardless of their religious difference. He mentions that a car broke down in one of the Mumbai slums once. Two slum dwellers offered to watch it. The owners were concerned that the car would be taken apart, and the parts would be sold. However, when they returned the next day, the car was just as they had left it. The two slum dwellers had taken turns watching it overnight (145).

Borrowing occurs to avoid starvation in Kinshasa (Trefon). Similarly, Anjan Sundaram describes sharing supplies with those who are more needy in Kinshasa. Trefon adds that people in Kinshasa protect each other from the police, who are often corrupt and exploitative (opposing the resale of oil; demanding free taxi rides).

Gyan Prakash describes "the bond of humanity underlying religious differences," in Mumbai. "Caring for human beings . . . is what holds an urban society together." Dalit poet Narayan Surve finds a solution for "utter desolation," also in Mumbai (see 'Culture').

Mark Binelli describes a volunteer "lawnmower brigade," which mows abandoned lawns, and a volunteer "demolition team," which tears down houses that cannot be salvaged, in Detroit.

Gucharan Das believes that the middle class, with their IT and offshore jobs, could be the salvation of India.

In the summer of 2010, when harvests were rotting in the fields of Alabama, Georgia, and Florida because penalties for illegal immigrants had become too high (Portero and Goforth, 2011), why didn't the farmers send agents and buses to Detroit, to invite the unemployed to travel south and harvest their crops? Farmers claim that illegal immigrants work much harder. Should they have wasted their entire harvest because more diligent illegal immigrants were not available? Or was it simply a lack of imagination? Some believe that it was easier for them to take a tax deduction on their lost harvests. Tax payers paid for those lost harvests, which were wasted. The farmers whose crops were rotting in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida could not think of finding and attracting unemployed Americans to work on their harvests. Perhaps they could learn about cooperation from the people of Kinshasa, Mumbai, and Detroit.

And what about the unemployed residents of Detroit and elsewhere in the United States? Unemployed migrant workers can travel to the U.S. from many south-of-the border countries, but unemployed Americans were unable to save the harvests of Alabama, Georgia, and Florida in 2010.

As populations increase in the coming centuries, and the oceans become more polluted with plastic and sewage, and resources such as oil are less available, networks of survival will become more significant. People will need to treat each other with kindness and respect, and governments will need to respect diversity and equal rights. Less income inequality will provide opportunities for more individuals to develop their abilities, which will reduce potential conflict.

Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

_✓_ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

Alexis Mitchell

_____ 9/7/2016
Participant signature / date

_____ James Harris
Witness / interpreter signature; date   9/7/2016

Research information repeated to participant: _____
Participant / initials

379

Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

✓ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

Janet Webster Jones 9/12/16
Participant signature / date

Jonithen Peters 9-12-2016
Witness / interpreter signature; date

Research information repeated to participant: _____
Participant / initials

Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

✓ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

9/12/16

_____
Participant signature / date

_____
Witness / interpreter signature; date

Research information repeated to participant: RP

_____
Participant / initials

Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

✓ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

Merle M Watt 9-22-2016
Participant signature / date

Thia C. Stephens 9/22/16
Witness / interpreter signature; date

Research information repeated to participant: _MMW_
Participant / initials

Abba Elethea &
Hope Wilkins

Beryl S. Powell, MA,   Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA,   PhD Program,   April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

✓ _✓_ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

James S. Thomas

Abba Elethea AKA | *Hope Wilkin*
participant | Participant signature / date   Sept 16, 2016
SepT. 16, 2016 |

Claudia M Clark * | *m WL*
Witness, SepT 16, 2016 | Witness / interpreter signature; date   SepT 16, 2016

Research information repeated to participant: | *H. W.*
| Participant / initials
AE/JWT |

* Claudia Marie Clark

383

Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

✓ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

_____ 9-16-2016
Participant signature / date

_____
Witness / interpreter signature; date   9-16-2016

Research information repeated to participant: _____S.F.D._____
Participant / initials

Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

✓✓ _____ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

Michael Lang   *Stephanie Jackson*
               Participant signature / date   9-16-2016

Hope Wilkins   *Hope Wilkins*
    witness   Witness / interpreter signature; date   9-16-2016

Research information repeated to participant: *S. J.*

                                 Participant / initials

MWL

Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

_____ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

Kevin M Turman 26 SEP '16

Participant signature / date

Timothy S. M

Witness / interpreter signature; date   9 – 26 – 16

Research information repeated to participant:

Participant / initials

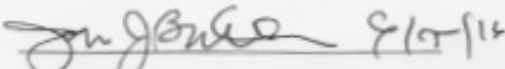Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

✓ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

_____ 09.22.16
Participant signature / date

_____ 9/22/16
Witness / interpreter signature; date

Research information repeated to participant: _____

Participant / initials   SSP

Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016
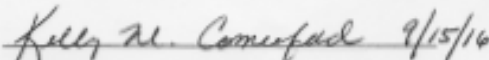
Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

✓ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

_____ 9/15/16
Participant signature / date

_____ 9/15/16
Witness / interpreter signature; date

Research information repeated to participant: _____
Participant / initials

Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

_____ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

_____ 9-15-16
Participant signature / date

_____ 9/15/16
Witness / interpreter signature; date

Research information repeated to participant: _____JmJ_____

Participant / initials

389

Beryl S. Powell, MA,   Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA,   PhD Program,   April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

X___ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

___ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

Ruddh M. John   9/27/16
Participant signature / date

Joyce C. Glone   9/27/2016
Witness / interpreter signature; date

Research information repeated to participant: _____
Participant / initials

Beryl S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, April 2016

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

_X_ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

_____ 12/20/16
Participant signature / date

_____ 12-20-16
Witness / interpreter signature; date

Research information repeated to participant: _____
Participant / initials

① his colleagues,
Informed Consent Statement,
Salve Regina University.

Post grad degree –
mission in Birmingham, Eng.
One son Vijay, journalist
Times Now Eng TV Channel
Many people come to church
on Sunday
Mrs. Prabawadhy @ works
with slum children through-
out Bombay, esp. in
Dharavi Slum

Boyd Powell told me that
she is writing a dissertation
& she may use my comments in
her dissertation
Rev. B.S. CHRISTDOSS
13.1.2012. COLABA.
priest in charge
at. John the Evangelist church
Irelite

B. S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, January 2017

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

_____ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)
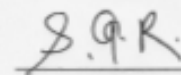
She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

Participant signature / date

20/01/2017

Witness / Interpreter signature; date

Research information repeated to participant: S.R.C

Participant / initials

Gautam Smawane

B. S. Powell, MA, Salve Regina University, Newport, RI, USA, PhD Program, January 2017

Informed Consent Statement

Participant: I have received a statement of Beryl Powell's research statement, and a list of the questions she wishes to discuss. Questions and answers will take between thirty minutes and one hour.

_____ I would like to use my actual name for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications.

_____ Or, I would like to use a pseudonym / different name for my information for her research, her dissertation, and her subsequent publications. (If so, identifiers will be discarded at the time of publication.)

She will repeat what I have said, so that I can verify its accuracy.

_____ 20/01/2017
Participant signature / date

_____ 20/01/2017
Witness / interpreter signature; date

Research information repeated to participant: S. 9. R. _____
Participant / initials

References

Abbey-Lambertz, Kate. "Detroit Unemployment Rate Down in February, But Could Rise Again As City Continues Layoffs," 6 April, 2012. *Huffington Post Detroit*, www.huffingtonpost.com. Retrieved 24 February 2013.

Abiodun, Josephine Olu. "The Challenges of Growth and Development in Metropolitan Lagos," in *The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of Its Large Cities*, 1997, ed. Carole Rakodi, pp. 192-222.

Agamben, Georgio. *The Coming Community*, trans. Michael Hardt. Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minneapolis Press, 1993.

Ainstein, Luis. "Buenos Aires: A Case of Deepening Social Polarization," in Alan Gilbert, ed., *The Mega City in Latin America.* Tokyo: UN University Press, 1996.

Alpheus Williams Website, The. bhere.com/plugugly/Williams/williamsbio.html. Retrieved 13   December 2017.

Amin, S., *Neo-Colonianism in West Africa*. Penguin, Harmondsworth (transl. 1973), 1971.

Amis, Philip, "Regulating the Informal Sector: Voice and Bad Governance," in *Urban Governance, Voice and Poverty in the Developing World*, ed. Nick Devas (London: Earthscan, 2004), 148-49.

Anon., "A Glimpse into Crowded Bombay," *Swatantra*, 7 August 1948.

Appadurai, Arjun. "Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics." *Environment and Urbanization* 13 (2): 23-43.

Aptekar, L. et al. "Street Children in Nairobi, Kenya," in *African Urban Quarterly,* 9(3/4), 1994;   365-374.

Arnold, Matthew. *Culture and Anarchy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006 (1869).

Asante, Molefi Kete and Kariamu Welsh Asante, Eds. *African Culture: The Rhythms of Unity.*   Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1996 (1985).

Asante, Molefi Kete. "Afrocentricity and Culture," in *African Culture: The Rhythms of Unity*, ed. Molefi Kete Asante and Kariamu Welsh Asante, pp. 3-12.

Asen, R. *Visions of Poverty: Welfare Policy and Political Imagination*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002.

Arnott, Richard. "Housing Policy in Developing Countries: The Importance of the Informal Economy," 167-196. In Spence et al, *Urbanization and Growth*.

Ayako, A.B. "Financing Street Children Programmes in Kenya," in *African Urban Quarterly* 9(3/4), 1994; 340-353.

Ayesha, "Islamic Conquest of India Bloodiest in the History." In *Middle East Forum*, Daniel Pipes, 27 January 2006, www.danielpipes.org, retrieved 9 June 2006.

BBC World News America, 29 March 2017. A report on aid to the corrupt DRC government by UN peacekeepers.

Baez, John. "Network Theory." UCR Math Department. math.ucr.edu/home/baez/econ.pdf. Retrieved 3 December 2017.

Balibar, Étienne. *The Philosophy of Marx.* London: n. p., 1995.

Bandyopadhyay, D., Saila K. Ghosh, and Buddhadeb Ghosh, "Dependency Versus Autonomy: Identity Crisis of India's Panchayats," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20 September 2003.

Barry, Peter. *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*. Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2009 (1995).

Bates, Beth Tompkins. *The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Henry Ford.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Bayat Asaf. *Street Politics: Poor People's Movements in Iran.* NY: Columbia U. Press, 1997.

Bayat Asaf. "Globalization and the Politics of Informals in the Global South," in A. Roy and N. AlSayyad, eds., *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America and South Asia.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004, 79-102.

Beavon, Keith S.O. "Johannesburg: A City and Metropolitan Area in Transformation," in *The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of Its Large Cities*, 1997, ed. Carole Rakodi, pp. 150-191.

Becker, Gary S. *Economic Theory.* New Brunswick: U.S.A.: Aldine Transaction, Transaction Publishers, 2008.

Beckwith, Carol and Angela Fisher. *African Ceremonies*. NY: Harry N. Abrams, 1999.

Belafonte, Harry and Michael S. Shnayerson, *My Song : A Memoir*. New York: Random House Audio, 2011.

Benjamin, S. "Governance, Economic Settings, and Poverty in Bangalore." *Environment and Urbanization* 12(1) 2000: 35-56.

Benjamin, Solomon. "Occupancy Urbanism: Radicalizing Politics and Economy beyond Policy and Programs." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32 (3): 719-29.

Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. London: Penguin Books, 1988.

Berner, Erhard, "Informal Developers, Patrons, and the State: Institutions and Regulatory Mechanisms in Popular Housing," paper presented at a European Science Foundation/Network-Association of European Researchers on Urbanization in the South (ESF/N-AERUS) workshop, "Coping with Informality and Illegality in Human Settlements in Developing Cities," Leuven, Belgium, May 23-26, 2000.

Berry, Brian J.L., ed. *Urbanization and Counterurbanization*. Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, Vol. 11. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1976.

Bhagwat, Vidyut. "Bombay in Dalit Literature," in *Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture*, ed. Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner, 1995, pp. 113-125.

Binelli, Mark. *Detroit City Is the Place To Be*. New York: Metropolitan Books / Henry Holt & Co., 2012.

Biography.com. "Robert Moses: Civil Servant (1888-1981). www.biography.com. Retrieved 18 February 2017.

Blackman, Allen, "Informal Sector Pollution Control: What Policy Options Do We Have?" *World Development* 28 (12), 2000: 2067-82.

Blank, R. M. *It Takes a Nation: A New Agenda for Fighting Poverty*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Blender Guy 2008. "Four Stroke Engine How It Works." www.youtube.com/watch?V=OGj8OneMjek; retrieved 3 July 2016.

"Bloomberg Surveillance," Channel 121, Cox Cable TV.

Boadu, Samuel Osei. "African Social Artistry and the New Social Order," in *African Culture: The Rhythms of Unity*, ed. Molefi Kete Asante and Kariamu Welsh Asante, pp. 83-90.

Boo, Katherine. *behind the beautiful forevers: life, death and hope in a Mumbai undercity*. New York: Random House, 2012.

Booranapim, Yardfon and Lynn Mainwaring. "Risk and Reward in the Thai Sex Industry," *International Journal of Social Economics* 29 (10), 2002: 766-80.

Bose, N.K. "Calcutta: A Premature Metropolis." *Scientific American* 213, 3, 1965: 81-102.

Bourdain, Anthony, "The Past and Present Days of the Packard Plant," CNN, 17 November 2013.

Bradshaw, T. K., King, J. R., and Wahlstrom, S. "Catching on to Clusters," 1999. *Planning*, 65   (6), 18-21.

Bradshaw, Ted K. "Theories of Poverty and Anti-Poverty Programs in Community Development." RPRC (Rural Poverty Research Center) Working Paper No. 06-05, February 2006. Retrieved 21 December 2017.

Bragg, Amy Elliott. *Hidden History of Detroit*. NY: Penguin Press, 2013.

Braudel, Fernand. *A History of Civilizations*. New York: Allen Lane / The Penguin Press, 1994 (1963).

Brennan, Timothy. *Salman Rushdie and the Third World: Myths of the Nation*. London: Macmillan, 1989.

Brenner, N. "Urban Locational Policies and the Geographies of Post-Keynesian Statehood in Western Europe," in S. Patel and A. Thorner, eds., *Cities and Sovereignty: Identity   Politics in Urban Spaces.* Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 152-75.

Britannica Encyclopedia, "History of Kenya: British East Africa," britannica.com, retrieved 16 July 2016.

Brooks, Thomas, "Workers White and Black: DRUM Beats in Detroit," *Dissent* (January-February 1970).

Brown, Brené. "Brené Brown: The power of vulnerability," TED video, 20:16, filmed June 2010, posted December 2010, http:// www.ted.com/talks/brene_brown_on vulnerability.html.

Brown, Louise. *Sex Slaves: The Trafficking in Asia*. London: Virago Press, 2000: 55-56.

Burke, Edmund. *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. N. p.: World Classics Edition, 1950.

Canelides, Anestos, "Why Muslims Loot and Destroy Hindu Temples," in *The Muslim Devastation of India*, 18 June 2010. gatesofvienna.blogspot.com; retrieved 10 June 2016.

Chacha, Warema. "A Song of Hope," from Bagomoyo in Tanzania. *Inside Africa*, CNN International, moderated by Rebecca Corey. 9 April 2016.

Chand, Ramesh, "Whither India's Food Policy: From Food Security to Food Deprivation," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 12 March 2005.

Chandavarkar, R. *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India: Business Strategies and the Working Classes in Bombay, 1900-1940.* Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1994.

Chandavarkar, Rajnarayan. *History, Culture, and the Indian City.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Chandra, Biban. *History of Modern India.* New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private, Ltd., 2014 (2009).

Chatterjee, P. *Politics of the Governed.* New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.

Chatterji, Joya, "Right or Charity? The Debate over Relief and Rehabilitation in West Bengal, 1947-1950," in Suvir Kaul, ed., *The Partitions of Memory: The Afterlife of the Division of India.* Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

Chazan, Naomi, Peter Lewis, Robert Mortimer, Donald Rothchild, and Stephen John Stedman. *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*. CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999.

Chen, Xiangming, Anthony M. Orum, and Krista E. Paulsen. *Introduction to Cities: How Place and Space Shape Human Experience*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.

Christiano, Tom. "Democracy", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Spring 2015. Edward N. Zalta, ed. plato.stanford.edu. Retrieved 10 November 2016.

CIA World Factbook 2008. www.photius.com. Retrieved 22 September 2015.

CIA, *The World Factbook*, Democratic Republic of the Congo, "Introduction." www.cia.gov/library/publications/the. Retrieved 30 September 2015.

Clark, David. "Kibera: Social Dynamics of a Low Income Neighborhood in Nairobi." Kampala. Uganda: Makerere University, April 1972.

Clarke, John Henrik. "African-American Historians and the Reclaiming of African History," in *African Culture: The Rhythms of Unity*, ed. Molefi Kete Asante and Kariamu Welsh Asante, pp. 39-68.

Clemens, Paul. *Made in Detroit*. NY: Anchor Books/Random House, 2006.

CNN, 22 February 2016. Jat landowners deprive Haryana of water in competition with Dalits for jobs.

CNN, "Mixing Traditional Sounds with Modern Vibes in Tanzania," *Inside Africa*, 9 April 2016.

Cobbett, William. *Lectures on the French and Belgian Revolutions,* I. N. p.: W. Strange, 1830.

Cobbett, William. *Political Register:* 15 March 1806; quoted by Raymond Williams, 1983, p. 14.

Cohen, G. A. *History, Labour, and Freedom.* Oxford: n. p., 1988.

Cohen, G. S. *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defense,* 7th edn. Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 2001 (1978).

Cohen, Stephen P. *India: Emerging Power*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2001.

Collins, et al. *Portfolios of the Poor: How the World's Poor Live on $2 a Day*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. Press, 2009.

Concierge Map of Mumbai. Issue 31, November 2016 to January 2017. N.p.

Covey, Steven M. R. "Foreword." *The Resilience Breakthrough.* Austin, TX: Greenleaf Book Group Press, 2014.

Crossman, Ashley. "Major Sociological Theories." ThoughtCo, August 11, 2017 (a), thoughtco.com/sociology-research-and-statistics-s2-3026650. Retrieved 21 December 2017.

Crossman, Ashley. "Understanding Poverty and Its Various Types." *ThoughtCo.* 6 March 2017 (b). www.thoughtco.com. Retrieved 18 December 2017.

Crush, J., A. Jeeves, and D. Yudelman. *South Africa's Labor Empire: A History of Black Migrancy to the Gold Mines.* San Francisco: Westview, 1991.

Curnow, Robin. "Renting a read from 'newspaper landlords'. CNN. 19 April 2011.
 Retrieved 4 December 2015.

Dandekar, V. M. and Nilakantha Rath, *Poverty in India*, 1971, publisher unavailable,
 quoted by Guha: 467; first published in *Economic and Political Weekly,*
 January 1971.

Danielou, Alain. *Histoire de l'Inde.* Paris: Fayard, 1983.

Dantwala, M. L. *Poverty in India: Then and Now.* Madras: Macmillan India, 1971.

Das, Gurcharan, *India Grows at Night: A Liberal Case for a Strong State*. New Delhi:
 Allen Lane/Penguin Books, 2012.

Das, Gurcharan, *India Unbound: The Social and Economic Revolution from
 Independence to the Global Information Age.* NY: Anchor Books/Random
 House, 2002.

Davey, Monica and Mary Williams Walsh, "Billions in Debt, Detroit Tumbles into
 Insolvency." *New York Times*, 18 July 2013. Retrieved 26 April 2016 from
 www.nytimes.com.

Davis, D. E. "Theoretical and Empirical Reflections on Cities, Sovereignty, Identity,
 and Conflict," in D.E. Davis and L. Libertun de Duren, eds., *Cities and
 Sovereignty: Identity Politics in Urban Space.* Bloomington: Indiana U. Press,
 2011, 226-56.

.Davis, K. and H. H. Golden. "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-Industrial
 Eras." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3 (11), 1954: 6-26.

Davis, Mike. *Planet of Slums*. London, UK: Verso/New Left Books, 2007 (2006).

Davis, Mike. "Planet of Slums, Urban Involution and the Informal Proletariat," *New
 Left Review*, no. 26, March/April 2004: 5-34.

De Boeck, Filip and Marie Françoise Plissart. *Kinshasa: Tales of the Invisible City*.
 Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2014.

De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Berkeley, CA: University of
 California Press, 1988 (1984).

De Haan, Arjan and Amaresh Dubey, "Poverty, Disparities, or the Development of
 Underdevelopment in Orissa," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28 May to 4
 June 2005.

Desai, Anita. *In Custody*. NY: Harper & Row, 1984.

Desai, Vandana. *Community Participation and Slum Housing: A Study of Bombay.*
New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995.

Deshpande, M. D. "Gujarat Riots: The True Story," in *History of Muslim Attacks on India*. NY: Partridge/Penguin, 2014. historyofmuslimattacks.blogspot.com.

De Soto, Hernando, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. NY: Basic Books, 2000.

DeSouza, Peter Ronald. "Democracy's Inconvenient Fact," *Seminar,* November 2004.

Detroit Regional Chamber, "The Auto Industry in Michigan: Michigan's Auto Industry Is Alive and Well," 2016. www.detroit chamber.com; retrieved 3 July 2016.

Detroit Urban League Papers, "Facts Concerning Negroes in Detroit Industrially, Politically, Educationally, Socially, etc.," 21 Nov. 1925, Box 1.

Detroit Urban League Papers, Minutes of the Urban League Board Meeting, 9 October 1919, Box 11.

Detroit Urban League Papers, Urban League Board: Minutes, 13 Jan. 1921, Box 11.

Devisch, R. "'Pillaging Jesus': Healing Churches and the Villagization of Kinshasa," in *Africa* 66 (4): 555-586.

Devisch, René, "Parody in Matricentered Christian Healing Communes of the Sacred Spirit in Kinshasa," *Contours* 1 (2), Fall 2003, p. 7.

Diop, Cheikh Anta. *The African Origins of Civilization*. New York: Lawrence Hill, 1971.

Drabble, John. "The Economic History of Malaysia". *Economic History Encyclopedia*, ed. Robert Whaples. July 31, 2004. eh.net/encyclopedia. Retrieved 10 November 2016.

Drakakis-Smith, David, *Third World Cities* 2nd ed., London 2000 (n.p.).

Dreze, Jean, "No More Lifelines: Political Economy of Hunger in Orissa," *Times of India*, 17 September 2001.

Dreze, Jean, "Praying for Food Security," *Hindu*, 27 October 2003.

Dubresson, Alain. "Abidjan: From the Public Making of a Modern City to Urban Management of a Metropolis," in *The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of Its Large Cities*, 1997, ed. Carole Rakodi, pp. 252-291.

Duncan, C. M. *Worlds Apart: Why Poverty Persists in Rural America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Dunn, Susan. "Trump's 'America First' has ugly echoes from U.S. history." 28 April 2016. www. cnn.com. Retrieved 13 October 2016.

Dupré, Louis. *Marx's Social Critique of Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

Durant, Will. *The Story of Civilization: Our Oriental Heritage*. NY: Simon and Schuster, 1935.

Dweck, Carol. *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2006.

Dwivedi, A. and R. Mehotra. *Bombay: The Cities Within*. Mumbai: Eminence Designs, 2001.

Economist, The. "Dirt Out, Cash In." 29 November 2003, 44.

Eddin Ibrahim, S. "A Sociological Profile," in *The Middle East City: Ancient Traditions Confront a Modern World*, ed. A.Y. Saqqaf, pp. 209-226. NY: Paragon House, 1987.

El-Feki, Shereen, "Biting the Silver Bullet," *Economist*, Survey of Agriculture and Technology, 23 May 2000.

Elst, Koenraad. "Negationism in India: Concealing the Record of Islam." Voice of India, 1992.

Elster, J. "Cohen on Marx's Theory of History," *Political Studies*, 28.1, 1980.

Engels, "Introduction to the English Edition of *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*, in *Marx-Engels Selected Works*, Moscow: n. p., 1958.

Engels, Friedrich. *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010 (1845).

Enste, Dominik and Frederich Schneider, "Hiding in the Shdows: The Growth of the Underground Economy," *Economic Issues* No. 30, International Monetary Fund, Geneva (2002).

Fahmi, Wael Salah. "Urban Sustainability and Poverty Alleviation Initiatives of Garbage Collectors Community: A Stakeholder Analysis of the Muqattam 'Zabaleen' Settlement in Cairo," paper presented at the European Network for Housing Research (ENHR): Growth and Regeneration Conference, July 2-6, 2004, Cambridge, U.K., 4.

Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization: The West and the Rest*. NY: Penguin Press, 2011.

Fluehr-Lobban, Carolyn. Written comment for this research, 21 February, 2017.

Forbes.com. "A Declining Populatin in a Wide Spread City." www.forbes.com. Retrieved 18 August 2017.

Forrest, Andrew, founder of the Walk Free Foundation, discussed slavery on *Quest Means Business*, on CNN International, on 31 May 2016.

Foster, James and Amartya Sen. *On Economic Inequality after a Quarter Century.* Oxford, U. K.: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Freeman, D. *A City of Farmers: Informal Urban Agriculture in Open Spaces of Nairobi, Kenya*. Toronto: McGill University Press, 1991.

Freeman, Samuel. "Introduction: John Rawls – An Overview," in *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls*, ed. Samuel Freeman. NY: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Fukuyama, Francis. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution.* New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2011.

Fynsk, Christopher. "Forward: Experiences of Finitude." In Nancy, Jean-Luc. *The Inoperative Community*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

Gallagher, John. *Reimagining Detroit: Opportunities for Redefining an American City*.   Detroit, MI: Wayne State U. Press, 2010.

Gallup Poll, *International Herald Tribune*, 19 November 2004. (Guha: 847.)

Ganim, Sara and Linh Tran. "How tap water became toxic in Flint, MI," CNN. 13 January 2016. www.cnn.com. Retrieved 24 February 2017.

Gaonkar, D. "On Alternative Modernities," in *Alternative Modernities*, ed. D. Gaonkar, pp. 1-23. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

Garnett, Jane. "Introduction" to *Culture and Anarchy*, by Matthew Arnold. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Gasiorek, Andrzej. *Post-War British Fiction: Realism and After*, p. 167. London: Arnold, 1995.

Gettleman, Jeffrey. *Love, Africa.* New York: Harper Collins, 2017.

Gettleman, Jeffrey. "The World's Worst War." *New York Times*, "Sunday Review", "News Analysis". 15 December 2012.

Global Economic Symposium Team. "Smart Urban Planning for Megacities." www.global-economic-symposium.org. Retrieved 22 February 2017.

Goforth, Sean. "Georgia Rotting on the Vine," 4 July 2011. In "Foreign Policy Association," foreignpolicyblogs.com. Retrieved 24 February 2013.

Gold, Ann G. "Hinduism." *Encyclopedia Britannica.* Retrieved 22 April 2016 from www.britannica.com.

Goldsmith, W. W. and E. J. Blakeley. *Separate Societies: Poverty and Inequality in American Cities.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.

Gondola, Didier. *The History of Congo*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Gordon, April A. and Donald L. Gordon. *Understanding Contemporary Africa,* Third Edition. CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001.

Grant, Damian. *Salman Rushdie.* Horndon, UK: Northcote House Publishers, 2012 (1999).

Greusel, Joseph. *General Alpheus S. Williams*. Huntington Valley, PA: Seidel Printing Company, 1911.

Guest, Robert. *The Shackled Continent: Power, Corruption, and African Lives*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004.

Guha, Ramachandra. *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy.* NY: Harper Collins, 2007.

Gulati, Ashok, Satu Kåhkonen, and Pradeep Sharma, "The Food Corporation of India: Successes and Failures in Foodgrain Marketing," in Satu Kåhkonen and Anthony Lanyi. eds., *Institutions, Incentives, and Economic Reforms in India*. New Delhi: Sage, 2000.

Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. "Beyond Culture: Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference," in *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), 1992: pp. 6-23.

Gwartney, J. and T. S. McCaleb. "Have Antipoverty Programs Increased Poverty?" *Cato Journal,* 1985, 5 (5), 1-16.

Hahn, Ernest. "Muhammad and the Satanic Verses," 2000. Retrieved 29 June 2015 from www.answeringislam.org.

Haksar, P. N. Papers, Third Installment, NMML. "See notes and correspondence in Subject Files Nos. 242 and 243," quoted by Ramachandra Guha, p. 496.

Han, S. "On the Prospects of Confucian Values Contributing to a Global Shared Ethic: The Case for the Postcolonial Appropriation of an East Asian Tradition." Paper delivered at the *UNESCO International Conference on Universal Ethics and Asian Values*, October 1999, Seoul.

Hanchard, M. "Afro-modernity: Temporality, Politics, and the African Diaspora," in *Alternative Modernities,* ed. D. Gaonkar, pp. 272-298. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

Handelman, H. "The Political Mobilization of Urban Squatter Settlements: Santiago's Recent Experience and Its Implications for Urban Research," *Latin American Research Review* 10 (2) 1975: 35-72.

Hardoy, Jorge E. and David Satterthwaite, *Squatter Citizen: Life in the Urban Third World*. London: Earthscan Publications, 1989.

Harrison, P. (2006a, 326; quoted by Myers, 15-16).

Harrison, Philip. "On the Edge of Reason: Planning and Urban Futures in Africa." *Urban Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2, Feb. 2006, pp. 319-335.

Hartman, Chester. "The Right to Stay Put." In C. Geisler and F. Popper, eds., *Land Reforms, American Style.* Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allanheld, 1984, 302-18.

Harvey, David. *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development.* London: Verso, 2006.

Harvey, David. "The Right to the City." *New Left Review* 53, September – October 2008, 23-40.

Haynes, George E. *Negro Newcomers in Detroit, Michigan.* NY: Home Missions Council, 1918.

Heberly, Rudolf. "Preface" to *Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft),* by Ferdinand Tönnies, pp ix-x.

Hegel, G. W. F. *Propädeutik,* in *Sämtliche Werke (Jubiläumausgabe),* 3; (Stuttgart, 1949), pp. 82-3.

Hegel, G. W. F. *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree. New York, n. p., 1900.

Heilbroner, Neil. *The Worldly Philosophers*. New York: Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, 1999 (1953).

Henri, Florette, *Black Migration: Movement North, 1900-1926.* Garden City: Doubleday, 1975.

Henry, N., McEwan, C., and Pollard, J. *Globalization from Below: Birmingham – Postcolonial Workshop of the World?* Working Paper Produced by the Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, University of Newcastle, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2000.

History.com. *This Day in History. 1933: FDR Creates the WPA.* www.history.com/thisdayinhistory. Retrieved 21 December 2017.

History.com Staff, "Automobiles." NY: A&E Television Networks, 2010.

Holli, Melvin G. *The American Mayor: The Best and the Worst Big-city Leaders.* Pennsylvania   State University Press, 1999.

House, W. J. *Nairobi's Informal Sector: A Reservoir of Dynamic Entrepreneurs or a Residual Pool of Surplus Labor?* Nairobi: University of Nairobi Working Paper No. 347, 1978.

Howes, Kevin "Sipreano". *Drop Out, Drop In: Rodriguez and His Music.* Seattle, WA: Light in the Attic Records, 2008. In Rodriguez, *Cold Fact.*

Huband, Mark. "The Dirty Business of Keeping Egypt's Capital Clean," *Financial Times* (London), July 17, 1999, International section, 5.

Ibn Kaldun, [*T*]: al-*Ta'rif bi-Ibn Kaldun wa-rihlatuhu gharban wa-sharqan,* ed. Muhammad Ibn Tawit al-Tanji [Athar Ibn Kaldun, Vol 1]. Cairo 1370/1951.

Ibn Kaldun, *kitab al-duwal al islamiyya b-l-maghrib* (Histoire des Berbères et des Dynasties Musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale, ed. William MacGuckin Baron de Slane). Alger 1847-51.

Jahn, Janheinz. *Muntu: African Culture and the Western World.* NY: Grove Press, 1990 (1958).

Jamal, V. and J. Weeks, *Africa Misunderstood: Or Whatever Happened to the Rural-Urban Gap?"* London: Macmillan for the ILO, 1993.

James, Lawrence. *Raj: the Making and Unmaking of British India*. NY: St. Martin's
Press, 1997.

Janssen, Sarah, senior ed. *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, *2012.* "Democratic
Republic of Congo." NY: World Almanac Books / Infobase Learning, 2012.
And "India," 2015, and "population of Detroit," 2015 (2017).

Jha, Prem Shankar. "Keep It Poll-ution Free," *Hindustan Times*, 2 January 2006.

Jha, S.S. *Structure of Urban Poverty: The Case of Bombay Slums*.

Kagame, Alexis. *Umuliribya wa nyili ibiremwa.* Ruanda: Astrida, 1952-53 (*La
Divine Pastorale,* Bruxelles, 1952).

Karaka, D. F., "Editorial", in *Current*, 11 November 1959.

Karnow, Stanley. *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines.* New York:
Ballentine Books, 1989: 205-6.

Katzman: David M. *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century.*
Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Khandekar, H. J. Speech, 21 November 1949, in *Constituent Assembly Debates –
Official Report* (CAD). New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1988.

Khattab, Azza, "And We All Fall Down," *Egypt Today*, May 2002, 74-79.

Koolhas, Rem. "Postscript: Introduction for New Research 'the Contemporary City,'"
in *Architecture and Urbanism* 217 (October 1988), reprinted in *Theorizing a
New Agenda or Architecture,* ed. Kate Nesbitt (New York: Princeton
Architectural Press, 1966), 325.

Koontz, Dean. *The City*. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, 2014.

Kramer, Mark. *Dispossessed: Life in Our world's Urban Slums.* Maryknoll, NY:
Orbis   Books, 2009.

Kumar, Sanjay, "Adivasis of South Orissa: Enduring Poverty," *Economic and
Political Weekly,* 27 October 2001.

Lado, C. "Informal Urban Agriculture in Nairobi, Kenya." *Land Use Policy* 7: 1990,
257-266.

Lagassé, Paul, ed. "Evolution of the Internal Combustion Engine." *Columbia
Electronic Encyclopedia*, 6th ed. NY: Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 2012

Lal, K. S. *Growth of Muslim Population of Medieval India (1000-1800)*. Delhi, 1973.

Lal, K. S. *The Legacy of Muslim Rule in India*. New Delhi: Voice of India, 1992.
        voiceofdharma.org/books/timr/ch3.ht.

Lal, Vinay, (Ed). *The Oxford Anthology of the Modern Indian City.* New Delhi,
        India: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Lamb, David. *The Africans.* NY: Vintage Books, 1987 (1983).

Lanza, Frank. "The First Century: Rome and Jerusalem." Hineni Ministries, 2010.
        www.hineniministries.org. Retrieved 2 February 2010.

LeDuff, Charlie. *Detroit: An American Autopsy*. Charleston: The History Press,
        2011.

Lefebvre, H. "The Right to the City," in E. Kofman and E. Lebas, eds., *Writings on
        Cities*. Malden, MA.: Blackwell, 1998 (1996).

Lenin, V. I. "The Three Sources and Component Parts of Marxism," in *Historical
        Materialism*, Moscow, n. p., 1972.

Leonard, Devin.   Review of *False Economy: A Surprising Economic History of the
        World*, by Alan Beattie. New York Times Business Review, May 4th 2009.

Levitan, S. A., Mangum, G. L., Mangum, S. L., and Sum, A. M. *Programs in Aid of
        the Poor.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Levy, Janet. "The Muslim Conquest of India," 9 February 2014. *American Thinkers*,
        www.americanthinkers.com. Retrieved 9 June 2016.

Loewen, James. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism.* NY:
        Simon & Schuster, 2006.

Low, Linda. *The Political Economy of a City-State: Government-made Singapore.*
        Singapore: Oxford U. Press, 1998.

Luce, Edward. *Financial Times*, 24/25 July 2004. Quotation in *Planet of Slums*, by
        Mike Davis, p. 171.

Luce, Edward. *In Spite of the Gods: The Strange Rise of Modern India*. NY:
        Doubleday, 2007.

Lumley, Darwyn H. *Breaking the Banks in Motor City: The Auto Industry, the 1933 Detroit Banking Crisis and the Start of the New Deal*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2009.

Lynch, O. "Political Mobilization and Ethnicity among Adi-Dravidas in a Bombay Slum." *Economic and Political Weekly* 9 (39), 1974: 1*657-792*.

Mahdi, Muhsin. *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1971.

Makuku, Imbumi, "Personal Discussion with Mark Kramer," July 2002. (See Kramer.)

Mankell, Henning. *A Treacherous Paradise*. NY: Random House, Inc., 2013.

Maractho Mudzo Mwacan, Angeline and Theodore Trefon. "The Tap Is on Strike: Water Distribution and Supply Strategies," in *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*, pp. 33-46.

Martelle, Scott. *Detroit: A Biography*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 2012.

Martin, Elizabeth Anne. *Detroit and the Great Migration 1916-1929*. MI: Bentley Historical Library / University of Michigan, 1993.

Marx, Karl. *The Critique of Political Economy* (1859). London: n. p., 1971.

Masotti, Louis H. and John Walton, "Introduction," pp. 1-16. In *The City in Comparative Perspective*, John Walton and Louis H. Masotti, eds.

Matthew, George, "Politicization of Religion: Conversions to Islam in Tamil Nadu," *Economic and Political Weekly,* 19 June 1982.

Mayne, Richard. "Translator's Introduction" of *A History of Civilizations*, by Fernand Braudel.

Mazingira Institute. "Information presented on various aspects of the city of Nairobi in graphs, charts and maps. Paper presented to Nairobi City Convention, 27-29 July, 1993." Nairobi, Kenya: Charter Hall, 1993.

Mbaria, John, "Kibera and the Politics of Dispossession," *East Africa*, Monday, July 15, 2002 (online via LexisNexis Academic Universe).

McGraw, Bill. "Slavery is Detroit's Big, Bad Secret. Why Don't We Know Anything About It?" in *Deadline Detroit*, 27 August 2012. www.deadlinedetroit.com. Retrieved 30   October 2016.

McIntyre, A. *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998.

MEGA; Marx Engels *Gesamtausgabe. Collected Works:* 3. Berlin and Moscow, 1927-1935.

Mehta, Suketu. *Maximum City: Bombay Lost and Found* London: Penguin Books, 2004.

Menon, Subhadra. *No Place To Go: Stories of Hope and Despair from India's Ailing Health Sector.* New Delhi: Penguin, 2004.

Meredith, Martin. *The Fate of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence.* NY: Public Affairs/Perseus Books, 2005.

Metcalf, Barara D. and Thomas R. Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India.* NY: Cambridge U. Press, 2012 (2001).

Mitullah, Winnie V. and Kivutha Kibwana, "A Tale of Two Cities: Policy, Law and Illegal Settlements in Kenya," in *Illegal Cities: Law and Urban Change in Developing Countries,* ed. Edésio Fernandes and Ann Varley. NY: Zed Books, 1998: 193, 196.

Moore, Christian. *The Resilience Breakthrough.* Austin, TX: Greenleaf Book Group Press, 2014.

Morrill, R. L. and Wohlenberg, E. H. *The Geography of Poverty.*New York: McGraw Hill, 1971.

Mukenge, Tshilemalema. *Culture and Customs of the Congo.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Mukherjee, M., N. Bhattacharya, and G. S. Chatterjee, "Poverty in India: Measurement and Amelioration," in Vadilal Dagli, ed., *Twenty-Five Years of Independence – A Survey of Indian Economy.* Bombay: Vora, 1973.

Mukija, Vinit. *Squatters as Developers: Slum Redevelopment in Mumbai.* Los Angeles: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2003.

Mumford, Lewis. *The Culture of Cities.* NY: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1938.

Myers, Garth. *African Cities: Alternative Visions of Urban Theory and Practice.* London, UK: Zed Books Ltd., 2011.

Naik, J. P., "Education," in S.C. Dube, ed., *India since Independence: Social Report on India, 1947-1972.* New Delhi: Vikas, 1977.

Naik, J. V. "The Seed Period of Bombay's Intellectual Life: 1822- 1857," in *Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture*, ed. Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner, 1995, pp. 61-75.

Nancy, Jean-Luc. *Being Singular Plural*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000 (1996).

Nancy, Jean-Luc, *The Inoperative Community.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2012 (1991).

Narayan, Deepa, ed., *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?* NY: Oxford U. Press for the World Bank, 2000: 79.

National Alliance to End Homelessness, "The State of Homelessness in America [in] 2015," www.endhomelessness.org, retrieved 3 February 2016.

New World Encyclopedia, 5 December 2014. "Mughal Empire." Retrieved 9 April 2015 from www.newworldencyclopedia.org.

Newton, Sturminster. "Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights," in *A Decade After Cairo: Women's Health in a Free Market Economy,* Corner House Briefing 30. 2004, p. 8.

Novack, George. *Major Theories of History from the Greeks to Marxism.* May 1967. www.marxists.org/archive/novack. Retrieved 27 March 2017.

Nzeza Bilakila, Anastase. "The Kinshasa Bargain," in *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*, pp. 20-32.

Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges. *The Congo: From Leopold to Kabila: A People's History*. London: Zed Books, 2007 (2002).

Obudho, R. A. "National Capital and Regional Hub," in *The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of Its Large Cities*, 1997, ed. Carole Rakodi, pp. 292-334.

Obudho, R. A. "Urban and Rural Settlement in Kenya," in *Regional Development Dialogue* 1992, 13(4): 86-117.

Obudho, R. A. and G. O. Aduwo. "Slums and squatter settlements in urban centers of Kenya: Towards a planning strategy," in *Netherlands Journal of Housing and Environmental Research,* 1989 4(1): 17-29.

O'Connor, A. *Poverty Knowledge*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Olopade, Dayo. *The Bright Continent: Breaking Rules and Making Change in Africa.*
	Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014.

Olukoya, Sam. "Nigerian newspapers for rent." BBC News. 17 October 2001.
	Retrieved 4 December 2015.

Oranje, M. "A Time and Space for African Identities in Planning in South Africa?" in
	*Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development
	Democratizing Society*, eds. P. Harrison, M. Huchzermeyer and Mayerkiso, pp.
	175-189. Cape Town: University of Capetown Press, 2003.

Orgnet, LLC, © Valdis Krebs. "Social Network Analysis: An Introduction."
	Retrieved 11 July 2017.

Owen, James. *National Geographic News.* "Druids Committted Human Sacrifice,
	Cannibalism?" 20 March 2009. news.nationalgeographic.com. Retrieved 27
	June 2017.

Oxford Living Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 2017. Retrieved 27 August 2017.

Parsons, Tomothy. "Kibera Is Our Blood: The Sudenese Military Legacy in Nairobi's
	Kibera Location, 1902-1968," *International Journal of African Historical
	Studies* 30 (1), 1997: 87-122.

Persyn, Peter and Fabienne Ladrière. "The Miracle of Life in Kinshasa: New
	Approaches to Public Health," in *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How
	People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa,* pp. 65-81.

Piermay, Jean-Luc. "Kinshasa: A Reprieved Mega-City?" in *The Urban Challenge in
	Africa: Growth and Management of Its Large Cities*," ed. Carole Rakodi, pp.
	223-251.

Portero, Ashley. "Illegal Immigrant Crackdown in Alabama Leads to Severe
	Agricultural Labor Shortage," 21 October 2011. *International Business Times,*
	ibtimes.com. Retrieved 24 February 2013.

Potts, Deborah, *Urban Lives: Adopting New Strategies and Adapting Rural Links.*
	Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1997.

Poverty USA, "Poverty Facts," www.povertyusa.org, retrieved 30 May 2016.

Powell III, Adam C. "Cell Phones Combat Agricultural Pests in Asia." USC
	Annenberg Center on Communication Leadership Policy. Stanford, CA: 21
	February 2014.

Powell III, Adam C. "Cell Phones Used as Medical Instruments in Africa, Asia; US
 May Change Regulatory Policy." USC Annenberg Center on Communication
 Leadership Policy. Stanford, CA: 14 April 2014.

Prakash, Gyan. *Mumbai Fables*, (history, not fiction). Princeton: Princeton U. Press,
 2012.

Prunier, Gerard. *Africa's World War: Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making
 of a Continental Catastrophe*. Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 2009; 2010.

Quigley, W. P. *Ending Poverty As We Know It*. Philadelphia: Temple University
 Press, 2003.

Rajayashree, K.S. *An Ethnolinguistic Survey of Dharavi*. Mysore: Central Institute of
 Indian Languages, 1986.

Rakodi, Carole. *The Urban Challenge in Africa*. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations
 University Press, 1997.

Ramachandran, S. "'Operation Pushback': Sangh Parivar, State, Slums, and
 Surreptitious   Bangladeshis in New Delhi." *Economic and Political Weekly*
 38 (7), 2003: 637-47.

Rank, M. R. *One Nation Underprivileged*. New York: Oxford University Press,
 2004.

Rawls, John. *Political Liberalism*. Columbia University Press, 2005.

Republic of Kenya. *Economic Survey 1992*. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1993.

Rhodes, Margaret. "Urban Planning Ideas for 2030, When Billions Will Live in
 Megacities." *Design* 11/21/2014.

Richardson, P. *Chinese Mine Labour in the Transvaal*. London: Macmillan, 1982.

Robertson, H. M. *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism*. Cambridge, U.K.:
 n. p., 1933.

Robinson, J. "Cities between Modernity and Development," in *South African
 Geographical Journal,* 86(1), 2004: pp. 17-22.

Rodriguez, Sixto. *Cold Fact*. Seattle, WA: Light in the Attic Records, 2008.

Rolling Stone magazine, 2 December 2010. "100 Greatest Singers of All Time."
 www.rollingstone.com. Retrieved 25 October 2016.

Roy, Ananya. *City Requiem, Calcutta: Gender and the Politics of Poverty*.
     Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Roy, Ananya. "Civic Governmentality: The Politics of Inclusion in Beirut and
     Mumbai." *Antipode* 41: 2009, 159-79.

Roy, Ananya. "The Gentleman's City: Urban Informality in Calcutta," in A. Roy and
     N. AlSayyad, eds., *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the
     Middle East, Latin America and South Asia.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books,
     2004, 147-170.

Ruud, Arild Engelsen, "Talking Dirty about Politics: A View from a Bengali Village,"
     in C.J. Fuller and Veronique Bénéi, eds., *The Everyday State and Society in
     India.* New Delhi: Social Science, 2000.

Ryan, Brent D. *Design after Decline: How America Rebuilds Shrinking Cities.*
     Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2012.

Sachs, Jeffrey. *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*. NY:
     Penguin Press, 2005.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books / Random House, 1979
     (1978).

Sainath, P. *Everybody Loves a Good Drought: Stories from India's Poorest
     Districts.*New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 1996.

Samples, John. "Introduction to the Transaction Edition" of *Community and Society
     (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft),* by Ferdinand Tönnies, pp. xi-xxvi.

Sanskriti, "Medieval India: Enslavement of Hindus by Arab and Turkish Invaders," in
     Sanskriti, 10 December 2014, retrieved 12 June 2016.

Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, "Brothers from Over the River: The Refugee Problem of India,"
     Modern Review, September 1948.

Schenck, Hans. "Living in Bangalore's Slums" and "Bangalore: An Outline," in
     Living in India's Slums, ed. Hans Schenk. Manohar Publishers and
     Distributors, 2001.

Scott, John. *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook.* London, UK: Sage Publications,
     LTD., 1998 (1991).

Seabrook, Jeremy. *In the Cities of the South: Scenes from a Developing World*.
     London: Verso, 1996.

Segerman, Stephen "Sugar" and Farell Russak. *Rodriguez: The South African Story*.
     Seattle, WA: Light in the Attic Records, 2008. In Rodriguez, *Cold Fact.*

Sen, Amartya. *On Economic Inequality.* Oxford, U. K.: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Sharma, K. *Rediscovering Dharavi: Stories from Asia's Largest Slum*. New Delhi:
     Penguin Books, 2000.

Sheldrick, Tracy and Jessica Rucell. "Sociological Perspectives on Poverty." Joseph
     Rountree Foundation. 4 June 2015. Retrieved 18 December 2017.

Simone, A. "On the Worldling of African Cities." *African Cities Review,* 44(2),
     2001; pp. 15-43).

Singh, Amrik, "Twenty-Five Years of Indian Education: An Assessment," in Jag
     Mohan, ed., *Twenty-Five Years of Indian Independence*. New Delhi: Vikas,
     1973.

Singh, Sarina, Abigail Blasi, Michael Benanav, Paul Clammer, Mark Elliott, Paul
     Harding, Trent Holden, Anirban Mahapatra, Daniel McCrohan, Isabelle Noble,
     John Noble, Kevin Raub, Iain Stewart. *India*. Singapore: Lonely Planet
     Publications, 2015.

Sivakumar, Sowmya and Eric Kerbart. "Drought, Sustenance, and Livelihoods:
     'Akal' Survey in Rajasthan," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 17 January 2004.

Sloan, Jr., Alfred P. *Adventures of a White Collar Man*. NY: Doubleday, 1941.

Smith, Kirk and Yok Shui Lee, "Urbanization and the Environmental Risk
     Transition," in *Third   World Cities: Problems, Policies, and Prospects,* ed.
     John Kasarda and Allan Parnell. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993.

Smith, Matthew Nitch. "Ranked: The Nineteen Countries with the Most
     Millionaires." 19 July 2016. www.businessinsider.com. Retrieved 10
     December 2017.

Smitha, Frank E. *Macrohistory and World Timeline*, 2009-2015. www.fsmitha.com.
     Retrieved 9 June 2016.

Smitha, Frank E. "Stagnation and Economic Decline in Hindu Society," in *Macrohistory and
     World   Timeline.* www.fsmitha .com. Retrieved 15 November 2016.

Solzhenitsym, Alexandr I. A World Split Apart: Commencement Address Delivered
     at Harvard University, June 8, 1978. NY: Harper & Row, 1978.

Sorokin, Pitrim. "Foreward" to *Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft),* by Ferdinand Tönnies, pp. vii-x.

Soumy, Sivakumar and Eric Kerbart, "Drought, Sustenance, and Livelihoods: 'Akal' Survey in Rajasthan," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 17 January 2004.

Sparks, Goldman and Stewart. *Webster's New World College Dictionary,* 5th edition. "dialectical materialism," 406; "stochastic," 1428; and "random variables," 1203.   Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014.

Spear, Allan H. *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Spence, Michael, Patricia Clarke Annez, and Robert M. Buckley, eds. *Urbanization and Growth*. Washington DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development   and The World Bank, on Behalf of the Commission on Growth and Development, 2009.

Splunk.com. "Network Analysis." Retrieved 11 July 2017.

Srinivas, M. N. "Caste in Modern India," Presidential Address to the Section of Anthropology and Archaeology, *Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress, Calcutta*, 1957.

Star, 12 August 1973, "clipping in Subject File No. 93", P. N. Haksar Papers, Third Installment, NMML, "note of 29 June 1971"; quoted by Ramachandra Guha, p. 496.

Stearns, Jason. *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa*. New York: Public Affairs / Perseus Books, 2012 (2011).

Sugrue, Thomas J. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005 (1996).

Sundaram, Anjan. *Stringer: A Reporter's Journey in the Congo.* NY: Anchor Books/Random House, 2014.

Swaminathan, Madhura, *Weakening Welfare: The Public Distribution of Food in Delhi.* New Delhi: LeftWord, 2000.

Tagore, Rabindranath. *Towards Universal Man.* London: Asia Publishing House, 1961 [1928].

Tasch, Barbara. "The Twenty-three Poorest Countries in the World," in *Business Insider*, 13 July 2015. www.businessinsider.com. Retrieved 20 June 2017.

Taylor, C. *Modern Western Imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

Thompson, Heather Ann. *Whose Detroit? Politics, Labor, and Race in a Modern American City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Thonden, Yodon. "Juvenile Injustice: Police Abule and Detention of Street Children in Kenya," from the Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project, June 1997, www.hrw.org/reports/1997/kenya.

Time, "Business," 18 January 1932, p. 39.

Tollens, Eric. "Food Security in Kinshasa: Coping with Adversity," in *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*, pp. 47-64.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft).* New Brunswick (U.S.A.): Transaction Publishers, 2011 (1957).

Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*, 8th edn. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchtgesellschaft, 1979.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Einführung in die Soziologie.* Stuttgart: Enke, 1981.

Trefon, Theodore. "Introduction: Reinventing Order," in *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*, pp. 1-19.

Trefon, Theodore, ed. *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*. London: Zed Books Ltd, 2004.

Tsakala Munikengi, Télésphore and Willy Bongo-Pasi Moke Sangol. "The Diploma Paradox: University of Kinshasa between Crisis and Salvation," in *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*, pp. 82-98.

Ufi, Muhammad, *Jami-ul Hikayat,* c. 1232, *E and D*, II, p. 188. *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, by Henry Eliot and John Dowson; and Thomas in J. R. A. S. *(Journal of   the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain)*, xvii, 81. (See Lal, 1992 Preface.)

U.N. Development Program, Human Development Report 1997: Human Development to Eradicate Poverty. Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1997: 62.

UN-HABITAT, *The Challenge of Slums*, 2003.

U.N. Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) "Focus on Clashes in Kibera Slum"; United Nations Human Settlements Program.

United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2004,* New York   2004, p. 132, in Davis, *Planet of Slums,* 163.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *The Urban and Rural Classifications*, www.census.gov. Retrieved 25 November 2015.

Vajpayi, Ananya. "The Enduring Curse of Caste," *New York Times***,** 9 March 2016**.** www.nytimes.com; retrieved 23 June 2016.

Valentine, C. A. *Culture and Poverty.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Van Reybrouck, David. *Congo: The Epic History of a People*. NY: CCC/Harper Collins, 2014   (2010).

Varma, Rajiv. "The Magnitude of Muslim Atrocities: Ghaznavi to Amir Timur," 2009-2015. www.hindunet.org; retrieved 11 June 2016.

Viswanath, Rupa. *The Pariah Problem: Caste, Religion, and the Social in Modern India*. NY: Columbia U. Press, 2014.

Walmsley, R. W. *Nairobi: The Geography of a New City*. Kampala: Eagle Press, 1957.

Walton, John and Louis H. Masotti, eds. *The City in Comparative Perspective*: *Cross-National Research and New Directions in Theory*. NY: Sage Publications / Halstead Press Division / John Wiley & Sons, 1976.

Werlin, H. "The Slum Upgrading Myth," in *Urban Studies* 36 (9), 1999, 1523-34.

Whitaker, Matthew C., Ed. *Icons of Black America: Breaking Barriers and Crossing Boundaries, Vol. I.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011.

Williams, G., "Nigeria: The neo-colonial political economy," in : D. L. Cohen and J. Daniel, eds., *Political Economy of Africa*. London: Longman, 1981.

Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society: 1780-1950.* NY: Columbia University Press, 1983 (1958).

Wordpress, "Islamic Invasion of India: The Greatest Genocide in History." https://themuslimissue.wordpress.com. Retrieved 11 June 2016.

World Bank, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Sector Unit, East Asia and Pacific Regional Office. *Philippines – Growth with Equity: The*

Remaining Agenda, A World Bank Social and Structural Review, Report No. 20066 – PH (May 3, 2000), 43.

Yansane, Aguibou Y. "Cultural, Political, and Economic Universals in West Africa," in *African Culture: The Rhythms of Unity,* ed. Molefi Kete Asante and Kariamu Welsh Asante, pp. 39-68.

Yousry, Mahmoud and Tarek A. Aboul Atta. "The Challenge of Urban Growth in Cairo," in *The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of Its Large Cities,* 1997, ed. Carole Rakodi, pp. 111-149.

Zinkin, Taya. *Reporting India.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1962.