PAN AFRICAN AGENCY AND THE CULTURAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE
BLACK CITY: THE CASE OF THE AFRICAN WORLD FESTIVAL IN DETROIT

By

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ABSTRACT

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Pan African Agency and the Cultural Political Economy of the Black City is a dissertation
study of Detroit that characterizes the city as a 'Pan African Metropolis' within the combined
histories of Black Metropolis theory and theories of Pan African cultural nationalism. The
dissertation attempts to reconfigure Saint Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's Jr's theorization on
the Black Metropolis to understand the intersectional dynamics of culture, politics, and economy
as they exist in a Pan African value system for the contemporary Black city. Differently from the
classic Black Metropolis study, the current study incorporates African heritage celebration as a
major Black life axes in the maintenance of the Black city's identity.

Using Detroit as a case study, the study contends that through their sustained allegiance
to African/Afrocentric identity, Black Americans have enhanced the Black city through their
creation of a distinctive cultural political economy, which manifests in what I refer to throughout
the study as a Pan African Metropolis. I argue that the Pan African Metropolis emerged more
visibly and solidified itself during Detroit's Black Arts Movement in the 1970s of my youth
(Thompson, 1999). Its emergence crystalized a variety of Black life socio-political enhancements
for the Black community.

These enhancements were especially noted in the way it cultivated Black racial pride and
love within Pan African Diasporic solidarity what I refer to in the study as Black agency. This
was achieved in major part through its constructions of various Black place-making and the
creation of Afro-centric marketplaces that constitute a long trajectory of adaptive-vitality
(Karenga, 2010) in the cultural and economic formation of Detroit.

This thesis is supported through a qualitative case study of Detroit's African World Festival (AWF) and conducts field research and direct observational study of the annual festival's producers and consumers. In doing so, the study draws from a primary field research study of Detroit and applies interdisciplinary African American Studies' mixed methodologies that combine Africana philosophy, cultural studies (Morley, & Chen, 1996) and qualitative observational methodologies of grounded theory to arrive at significant conclusions about the Black city.

The conclusions observed here constitute three insightful revelations about the key themes of Pan African agency, Pan African place-making and/or African heritage celebration/preservation. The concept of Pan African agency engulfs the later two themes of Pan African place-making and African heritage preservation. As such, the findings conclude that the Black city's Pan African agency reveals alternative norms and values about Black culture in Detroit that are not represented in mainstream representations. Additionally, the dissertation offers representative interventions in the ways that Black cities are understood, or misunderstood, and finally these conclusions for the study relate to wider systems of power, in this case the challenges to self-determination, equality and political freedom attended by Black cultural nationalism.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 1
Detroit as Black Metropolis: An Introduction

Introduction

"Welcome to the African city of Detroit"! Draped in a yellow West African bou bou dress and a matching yellow "gele" head wrap, former Detroit Council Jo Ann Watson uttered this greeting to an audience of MSU students and faculty at a Detroit community day gathering. The intentionality of Watson's words divulges Diasporic symbolisms, orientations and philosophies, which capture my characterization of Detroit's as a 'Pan African, Black Metropolis'.

Watson's claim emphasizes Detroit's norms of embodied Afrocentric identity that are upheld from a foundational imprint of Pan African legacies, Black self-determination, and Black (spatial) resistance against attempted white racial dominance in the African American encounter with the modern city. These key themes are principally interwoven in the cultural politics of the Black city, wherein they are naturalized in the everyday life of Detroit African Americans.

The authority they bear in the topology of the Black community becomes central to a new dispensation of the Black Metropolis while considering the phenomenon deeply to a notion of 'the Pan African Metropolis'. Watson's unapologetic Pan African life, like many Detroit stories contemplates the shifting gears of the Black Metropolis, and grounds a new engagement of the Black urban study through Pan African ethnographies.

All in all, I argue that a distinguishing identity of the Black city is its proud connection to African heritages. This strong connection is charted here through the 'beloved' national occurrence and annual popularity of Pan African festivals. In doing so I excavate the existential values of Pan Africanism as a healthy (healing) philosophy and

good "guidance system" (Morrison, 1976) in Black urban life and in its narrative. Thereby, I posit it as not just a Black nationalist-cultural political ideology, but as a theory of Black existential philosophy, which through its centered actions cultivates a form of Black agency.

This Black agency is represented through various forms of Black placemaking and Black adaptive-vitality in Black urban formation (Karenga, 2010). Moreover, Black agency as implied here is described through the capacity of Black placemaking and Black adaptive-vitality and the lens of location theory (Asante, 2001; Karenga, 2010; Hunter, Patillo, Robinson & Taylor, 2016). Hence, for a reasonable comprehension of the dissertation's argument, it is important to understand the relationship between Black agency, Black placemaking, the Black adaptive-vitality paradigm (Karenga, 2010) and Afrocentric location theory (Asante, 2001) as metatheory and methodological approach in this urban study.

The currently alleged death of Pan Africanism (Carnell, 2018) by pundits seems to be willfully disconnected (for various suspicious reasons) from the vibrant pulse of Black reality. Against this grain, the thesis formulates that the maintenance and enduring factors of Pan African identity constitutes an adaptive-vitality phenomena (Karenga, 2010) and a progressive state of location/Black self-determined standpoint (Asante, 2001) present in Black life. The paradigm of adaptive-vitality serves as a historical and sociological reconstructive method to counter the way the life rhythm of African American character and progress is preponderantly misjudged and demonized. This 'intentional misjudgment' as Ralph Ellison (Karenga, 2010) refers to it, occurs heavily via methods of study and observation influenced and informed by the traditions of

scientific racism (Muhammad, 2010). These forms of scientific racism as they show up in the urban study are aired outstandingly in the paradigms of Black pathology and Black deficit. This Black deficit/Black pathology urban assessment is now well known in the so-called Moynihan School (Karenga, 2010)

To counter this, the paradigm of adaptive vitality, which originates from Black sociologists, recommends that the tenor of adaptation by African Americans to socio-economic pressures and constraints should be highlighted in its 'positive strengths', and in proportion to the ongoing historical forms of anti-Black racism. In this view, Pan Africanism is not a deficient project, but through its connected ways of Black agency and Black placemaking, it constitutes a distinct ethno-existential vitality in navigation, creative production and endurance.

Hence, Black cultural political economy represents a Black stronghold that is indicative of Black people's capacity to triumph over white peoples-made chaos and develop their 'own thing', which functions as a way for Black people to control their shared experience and linked fate (Ellison, 1966; Karenga, 2010; Walton, Jr., Smith & Wallace, 2017). The methodology of adaptive-vitality follows the recommendation that DuBois (1899), and Drake and Cayton (1945), contributes to the Black urban study. Their inscription on Black urban sociology and the Black urban study endorses that the investigator refrain from studying Black people as condemnable to "problem people" (Gordon, 2000, 69), or self-inflicted problem-laded archetypes subtracted from their humanity, where racial mistreatment continues to be justified there upon.

Whereas Afrocentric-location theory by Molefi K. Asante is interchangeable for standpoint theory in the interest of Black people, in this case Black standpoint or Black

subjectivity. Asante informs, "location tells you where someone is, or where they are standing" (2002, 409). The location of these Black communities in observation seems to be posed *progressively* (not without flaws) in an Afrocentric orientation. For these reasons, I suggest that the synthesis of adaptive vitality and location theory can be observed in various Black community cultural organs, such as the highly celebrated (Pan) African heritage festival and Pan African film festival.

These events demonstrate a global connection that comes out of Africa's independence period, as modeled in the Nigerian FESTAC' 77. The African/Afrocentric marketplace with its distinguishing feature of the Pan African vendor, or cultural entrepreneur comprises the central unit of the cultural political economy discussed here. Within, the African/Afrocentric marketplace, the long-standing and popular tradition of African heritage preservation is reflected in the cultural transactions between the Pan African cultural entrepreneur and the Pan African consumer who patronizes Pan Africanism.

The traditional elements of these normative transactions which are cohesive to the Black community strongly indicates the presence of a shared struggle, Black unity, the promotion of Black love and Buying Black, features which typify the underpinning of a Pan African script. Moreover, these social interactions seem to help restore Black dignity as a response to pervasive anti-Black social implications. Ultimately, what can be seen is how the cohesion of a linked fate-philosophy based in customs of African attributed pride promotes Black cultural nationalist sensibilities and that they impact Black urban formation; i.e., the way Black people live their lives and fight their causes in their encounters in the modern city.

Black existential philosophies (Gordon, 2000) comprise the lived and applied wisdom, within the situated knowledge that comes out of a uniquely Black existence. These philosophies of existence are informed and influenced distinctly by anti-Black racism; as such their application is most present in Black survival, adaptive and navigation strategies. Hence, this lived wisdom in response to anti-Black racism, chronicles the acknowledgement of an ascendant Afrocentric Black voice, which examines both the elimination of psychological slavery (Akbar, 1996) and anti-African conditioning from Black American identity.

In its time-traveling movement and spurred on my Watson's assertion, this dissertation listens to that Black voice and the stories that it evokes to observe personal and pubic memories articulated through African heritage celebration that reflect consistencies in African American character and the character of African American cities.

In the interdisciplinary roles that I venture into of cultural historian, Black political theorist and Black urban sociologist situated within African American Studies, there is a corresponding methodological mission at work here. When dealing with Black history and Black memory, these roles are faced with an underlying challenge: What do you do when the people who are at the center of your study have been systematically denied a space in the official archive in the first place, since their 'Pan African lives' have been deemed unremarkable (Holloway, 2013)?

For this reason, Black philosopher Roy D. Morrison argues that Black philosophy is an instrument of Black cultural, historical and religious liberation (1976). In this full light, the dissertation study explores the cultural, philosophical and identity links between African heritage preservation and the Black city formation. The current Chapter 1

provides an introduction of the overall study's significant aspects towards an understanding of its interconnected themes, theories, topics, thesis, objective, research questions, methodology and concepts at work in its moving parts.

From the context of a (Pan African) Detroit, the Black city/the Black Metropolis, African heritage festivals (the African World Festival of Detroit), my field research and urban sociology, the subsequent chapters are arranged in the following manner: Chapter 2 provides a literature review, Chapter 3 excavates a cultural history, Chapter 4 explores Black heritage festivals, Chapter 5 and 6 layout the qualitative findings, Chapter 7 provides a discussion and analysis, and finally Chapter 8 yields a concluding statement on the ongoing implications of the dissertation study.

The breakdown of the presiding Chapter 1: *Introduction*, itself consists of the following sections: (a) An elaboration of the thesis and research questions, (b) A discussion on the research design, methodology, and case study, (c) A demographic statement, (d) An explanation of data collection, which includes (e) an elucidation of newly discovered emergent themes (part of my original contribution) what I refer to as the seven-Pan African tropes of the Black City; (f) Chapter 1, ends with its own Conclusion, which attempts to provide some culminated knowledge of the supervising ideas and arguments.

The chapters of the dissertation study reflect Afrocentric/Pan African responses and phenomena, as well as Africana Studies-based methodologies and perspectives. The collection of responses, phenomena, perspectives and methodologies support and expand on the notion of the Pan African Metropolis, within the framework of its case study, the African World Festival. The case study of the African World Festival provides

revelations for understanding Black cultural political economy and the qualitative discoveries derived from its Pan African consumers and producers, help theorize an alternative way of viewing Detroit.

The dissertation study contributes to a new discernment of Detroit. It also comprises an innovative synthesis and possibly a new understanding of the Black Metropolis, Black philosophy and Pan Africanism. The vantage point of its critical assessment is attentive to the ways harmful theories of the Black city, such as Black deficit framing with its purported lack of Black human virtue function systemically as scientific racism within the everyday lives of Black people. The existing study is also conscious and situated in the way African American Studies has led a body of historical critique for Black deficit and its equivalent Black pathology in urban sociology.

The notion of 'the Pan African life' as important-operating axes of Black life in the Black community foregrounds the changing landscape of the Black Metropolis. Historically, African Americans in Detroit identified more and more with Pan Africanism as a way to press for community control, self-sufficiency, and to 'make a place for themselves in the sun' (Garvey, 1920; Garvey, 1968; Hunter, Patillo, Robinson & Taylor, 2016). This Pan African placemaking (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson & Taylor, 2016) began in the early 1920s with the advent of Garveyism (Jolly, 2011) and other Diasporic influences (Katzman, 1973).

While still vital in Detroit's Black community, there was a noticeable heyday period between 1920s and1980s. To this end, the dissertation research historically begins in the Jazz Age period and is grounded deeply in Marcus Garvey's continuity of influence on Black life. In this regard, it emphasizes the magnitude of Pan African

festivals and their celebratory function on the topologies of Black cities and Black Americans core value systems.

In these legacies Black Detroit increasingly identified domestic racial oppression with colonialism. A new methodology of Black global empowerment and Black Nationalism was forged through what has become a Pan African and anti-colonial lens (Jolly, 2013). The widespread presence and historical legacies of this Pan African philosophy stabilized particular cultural, economic and political traditions. These traditions secured permanent lifestyles that were connected to African heritage celebration and preservation, whereby Detroit's Black Metropolis materialized into, for the most part, a Pan African Metropolis.

The Pan African Metropolis enhances the Black Metropolis by introducing the relevance of prominent African heritage traditions to the Black city, which reveal new tropes persistent to an unapologetic Pan African axes of Black life. In other words, while, much of Black life in the Black city revolves around African heritage celebration and Pan Africanism, this phenomenon has not been sufficiently addressed in the context of Black Metropolis theory.

The dissertation seeks to reconfigure Saint Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's Jr's theorization on the Black Metropolis (BM) to understand the intersectional dynamics of culture, politics, and economy as they exist in a Pan African value system for the contemporary Black city. Differently from the classic Black Metropolis study, the current study incorporates African heritage celebration as a major Black axes in the maintenance of Detroit's identity. The study builds on theories of the Black Metropolis in the course of Black urban study while adding several new important dimensions to Drake and

Cayton's original thesis. For this reason, it furnishes a new, alternative conversation and theory of Detroit while serving to introduce and tease out a new conceptualization of Black cities that I refer to throughout the study as the, 'Pan African Metropolis'.

The aforementioned thesis is represented and supported through a qualitative case study drawn from a primary field research of Detroit and applies interdisciplinary African American Studies' mixed methodologies that combine Africana philosophy, cultural studies (Morley, & Chen, 1996) and qualitative observational methodologies of grounded theory to this re-envisioning of BM to Detroit's African World Festival (AWF). As such, the study draws from Detroit's rich Pan African cultural history and cultural geography to support a thesis about Black city life. To this end, the study conducts observational field research of the AWF and analyzes the annual festival's consumers and producers.

The future of the Black Metropolis while evolving remains vital, and its body of scholarship is quite expansive and thriving, that it constitutes a movement within itself (Pattillo, 2017). For more than a century, scholars have studied and produced works regarding the much-hailed urban sociology, which the "Black Metropolis" brings to form.

Across the nation, the histories, politics, economics, and social dynamics of Black cities have gained new recognition. Those studies have, in their course, closely shaped our understandings not only of Chicago specifically, but more approximately of Black urban life in the US. As noted in their 1945 classic *Black Metropolis*, even St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, tells us, by understanding "Chicago's Black Belt", you will begin to understand the Black urban experience that inhabits the scope of several large American cities.

Their great impact has significantly improved our understandings of American history and society in general. Like the current urban study, cohorts of scholars have successively built on, and departed from Drake and Cayton's sociological framework. These studies have occasioned robust complementary assessments and deliberations around such topics as racial formation, urbanity, inequality, and the Black political protest tradition (BMRC, 2018). Yet, among those ranks, the dissertation study bears a first time distinction as well, in the conceptual way culture, philosophy and identity are highlighted as intertwined thematic elements to reveal the distinctive Pan African quality of the Black city.

To this end, the study demonstrates the limitations of the under-theorized cultural component of Black Metropolis. In using the theory of cultural politics (Reed, 2016), the study presents how cultural politics happens in the everyday life of the Black city. For the factor of identity, the study links Detroit's Black Metropolis to its Pan African legacies and lifestyles further providing a rich, and un-credited example of cultural formation.

The dissertation study applies these themes – culture, identity, and philosophy – to the case study of the African World Festival, an annual Black heritage celebration, presenting the festival as a macrocosm for locating Detroit's emergence of the Pan African Metropolis. The study uses Detroit's AWF to demonstrate how Black political economic and cultural agency rooted in African heritage serves as resistance to Black suffering, Negrophobia and Mis-education (Woodson, 1933), and as a source of distinguishing identity and Black dignity for African American cities.

Thesis and Research Questions

A distinctive character of the Black city can thus be revealed in its connections to African heritage, and its regenerative practices for Black dignity through the reconstruction of an Afrocentric identity, cultural enrichment and philosophy. The study reveals an original assessment on the significance of Pan African ethnographies to the Black urban experience and the Black city. To that end, it highlights how Pan African legacies forged "Black placemaking" (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson & Taylor, 2016) as sites of refuge in climates of racial trauma and color line humiliation from the inculcation of white supremacy. The current dispensation offers some corrective to the pathological narratives that obscure the positive Black vitality of Detroit and its sister Black cities. In doing so it offers an alternative theory of Detroit, while updating the Black Metropolis thesis.

In pursuit of an interventional analysis, the dissertation draws findings from research on these themes to examine questions about culture, race, and the linkages between Pan Africanism and Black Detroit, by asking the following research questions: How do these cultural spaces in Detroit actively produce culture through the every day lives of Detroiters? How have they employed cultural imaginaries of Africa to serve Pan African and Black Nationalist discourses? How do these spaces reveal alternative norms and values about Black culture in Detroit that are not represented in mainstream representations? How do Detroit's cultural spaces offer representative interventions in the ways that Black cities are understood? How do select cultural practices in Detroit relate to wider systems of power, in this case the challenges to self-determination and political freedom attended by Black Cultural Nationalisms and Pan Africanisms?

To answer these questions; the study builds on previously mentioned theories and writings on the Black Metropolis by adding three original contributions; they are: culture, philosophy and identity. The original theory was more about autonomous control of the political economy. Each element is comprised by the following explanations.

First, the cultural component of Black Metropolis has been under theorized. Cultural politics is a theory that indicates that culture does not subvert 'the political moment', and culture is, thus a place, where social, economic, political values and meanings are created and contested (Reed, 2016). Louis Martin of Detroit's *Michigan Chronicle* reaction to the 1943 Detroit race riot allows us to understand how Detroit's Black cultural politics are informed by the milieu of "cultural formation" (Smith, 1999, 9).

> The race riot and all that has gone before have made my people more nationalistic and more chauvinistic and anti-white than ever before. Even those of us who were half liberal and were willing to believe in the possibilities of improving race relations have begun to have doubts, and worse, they have given up hope (Thompson, 1999, 13).

Cultural theorist Raymond Williams (Smith, 1999) argues that you cannot really understand Black intellectual, artistic and cultural production without understanding its formation (from social location). Williams defines cultural formation as the simultaneous interrelationship and two-way impact between cultural forms and social locations (Smith, 1999). The steady-dynamic between a cultural form and its place of social origin (Smith, 1999, 9) more effectively structures and informs the analysis of Pan African cultural production.

Hence, in the broader sense, Detroit's culture, philosophy and identity cannot be separated from the social location and social-geography that produced it (1999). The linking of Detroit's Black Metropolis to its Pan African legacies provides a rich, yet un-

credited example of cultural formation. The social location for culture, philosophy and identity is an industrial city (Motown) with a strong Black middle class, "a powerful Black unionized working class" (Widick, 8; Sugrue, 1996; Bates, 2012), an autonomous Black political economy and a long unresolved history of white aggression, white resentment and white racism.

This exploration in cultural formation discloses how the progress of a strong Black urban community shaped unique opportunities and prominence via the production of independent Black culture, identity and philosophy. These independent manifestations responded to and resulted from the overarching imposition of Detroit's racial inequality (Smith, 1999). These racial inequality structures became part of the cohesive elements, which pushed Black people inward and deeper into a state of Black consciousness and pro-Black (positive uplift) racial ideology (Bjorn & Gallert, 2001).

According to UNESCO "culture is the fourth pillar of sustainable development" (2019). In this dissertation I reveal the dynamic expression of culture as politics to the every day lives of Detroiters, this manifest in their music, their dance, their arts, their lifestyles, their food habits, their embedded community intelligence, their forms of Black enlightenment and/or their philosophical worldviews.

Through cultural politics the dissertation study reveals aspects of symbology, expressionism, connections, orientations, philosophy and Black intellectual thought of Detroit's Black Metropolis. I show how Detroit's cultural politics has been a long-determined form of urban resistance in the making of Black Detroit (Bates, 2012; Stevens, 2012; Smitherman 2004). Drawing from Detroit's rich cultural history and

cultural geography the dissertation examines Detroit through the prism of its major cultural organ in its African World Festival (AWF).

This brings me to my second contribution, which is the identity of the Black Metropolis. The African marketplace furnishes a central gathering point for witnessing the endurable-intactness of Pan African legacies and axes of Pan African (Black) life, it is this thematic highlight, that is derived from the fact of unique identity formation linked to Black urban formation through its connection to African heritages. This traditional element of Black community has manifested from the long history (circa, 1920s) of Afrocentric Blackness in cities like Detroit that date back to Marcus Garvey's vast continuum of influence under the UNIA (United Negro Improvement Association).

In *Literary Pan Africanism* (2011), Temple affirms how the asset of (Detroit's) Pan Africanism can be witnessed by the way much of Detroit's Black prominence was stabilized through (positive) prideful identifications of African reconnection. In the collection of literature, she investigates, Pan Africanism appears as the 'return or reconnection' to the 'Motherland' trope, whether physical or metaphysical, which for many Black Detroiters growing in their Black consciousness-agency reflected the development of a deep spiritual, psychological or emotional connection to Africa and the claim of their African heritage (2011).

Pan Africanism comprises the foremost form of Black Nationalism. In the traditional elements of Black Nationalism, a main convergent belief is that, "Africa is a special homeland for Blacks" (Walton, Jr., Smith & Wallace, 2017, 83). Many Black Detroiters feel a "spiritual citizenship" (Castor, 2017, 6) to Africa and the Caribbean rooted in the African Diaspora "that critically engages" (Castor, 2017, 6) racially-made

hierarchical legacies and pigmentocracies of identity that coerce distinctions of difference, dis-connection or otherization (Castor, 2017, 6).

The notion that (African) Americans can 'actually' culturally appropriate 'something' within African cultural heritage that was in some ways stripped from them, primarily in its specific organization and information, while it has amassed tension, seems unfair, wrongheaded, and may speak to the way some post-Black alternatives are not resolved, or healed of African shame. Moreover, part of this tension and the cultural appropriation argument, which exists, situates African Americans outside of Africa, outside of 'being African' and in conquered-conflict with continental Africans. Additionally, there is a lot of denied ignorance about how 'classical African ways' morphed into patterns of (Hanchard, 1999) in US cultural streams.

Nonetheless, for many African Americans in Detroit, a spiritual citizenship through shared experience and linked fate endures (Walton, Jr., Smith & Wallace, 2017, 83) and for them, it bestows rights and responsibilities of belonging to the Black community, which are mostly informed by the "situated knowledge" (Johnson, 2017), of Black history and Black epistemologies inclusive to a Diasporic existential condition (Castor, 2017). The Pan African-Black community's identification of spiritual citizenship embraces a triple process of self-making, placemaking (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson, & Taylor, 2016) and being-made within the sacred and secular networks of power and influence (cultural-political socialization) that cater to civil society and the 'Black nation-state' (Castor, 2017).

In these many practices that also offer pathways to Pan African scripting (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009), one can discover that Pan-Africanism is instrumental and

lasting to Detroit's lifestyle and socio-cultural-political experience. The 'African home', whether it is a physical, virtual or metaphysical place, happens in the local community, or through personal relationships, or on social media/cyberspace, and is reconstructed through the stabilization of African memory, to provide a positive self-integrity of Blackness and a healing space for shared Black racial trauma (Temple; 2005; Schreiber, 2010; Castor, 2017). In several contemporary forms, this Pan African institution of Black life has created an Afro-future Black heritage/Black consciousness placemaking through a vibrant cultural political economy (Afrocentric marketplace) on social media such as Facebook and Black Twitter, which speaks to the future spaces of the Black Metropolis in the techno-verse.

My third contribution is philosophy and I interject a theory rooted in 'philosophies of Black existence' (Black existential philosophy) to understand the intersection of politics and the (ontological) lived experience of Detroit's Black Metropolis. For this comprehension, philosophy should not be thought of as only a special introspection that concerns a few, or as an outer worldly gaze looking on, rather philosophy should be thought of as activities (Black agency) fully integrated and intermingled within Black life and Black history.

The road between philosophy, Black culture, Black political ideologies, (Dawson, 2001), and what Black philosopher Roy D. Morrison's call "guidance systems" (1976) is a close and convergent one. Guidance systems are simply what the phrase suggest, various systems such as philosophies, ideologies, beliefs, perspectives, norms, orientations, worldviews, etc., that a particular ethnic group utilizes, especially as it

16

relates to their cultural (political) framework, which they use to guide their lives and life decisions.

Morrison's contention is that African Americans as part of the 'racial conditioning/brainwash process, have come to rely in part on European (white) validation, substantiation and 'guidance', whereas it is based in white supremacy for the most part, and thus diametrically anti-Black is culturally self-destruction. Hence, Morrison, further argues that Black/African people need to rely on their own guidance systems, yet, due to the accommodation of cultural and philosophical 'blank slate' thinking about who Blacks are historical, many Black people have accepted a false norm that they don't have suitable, efficient guidance systems.

For clarification, 'blank slate' theory has lived a life of several incarnations beyond John Locke's first "tabula rasa" formulation (1689). In the philosophy and geography of cultural anthropology as this study enjoins, it comprises a long historical list of supposed and contrived Black inferiority myths and scientific racism imposed upon the depiction of African descendants/African Americans. Diop (1972) confronts this in his essay, "Birth of the Negro Myth" (1972), as does the cultural anthropological discourse of Herskovits in his famous text, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1958). From Diop and Herskovits arguments they interrogate and explode the myth of the 'primitive African, Negro or Black'.

This 'blank slate' theory begins to inform urban sociology heavily in two camps in the 1900s, those who support a kind of blank slate accommodation and those who do not. Its most harmfully important and influential manifestations appear as the inherent Black criminal myth and the deficit Black family model. The correlation of race as a

proxy for crime and social deviance has its largest association with Black people. The invention of the Black super predator and Black incompetent Black man comes out of this practice and begins a 'condemnation of Blackness' norm in early white urban sociology (Muhammad, 2012). Moynihan is famously and rightfully crucified for his misuse of Frazier's Black family thesis, and thus gives leverage to a whole school of cultural deficit/cultural pathology as it relates to the disposition of the Black family and the condition of Black urban existence.

One of the earliest forms of blank slate theory manifest as the Hamitic hypothesis (Diop 1972; Herskovits, 1958), which sought to legitimize and justify Black enslavement, hence 'God's curse' on Blacks/Africans as the Hamitic hypothesis suggest eventually left Blacks with 'no souls', which also interchanges as 'no history, no culture, no morality and no intelligence', all blanks. Now, by 'blank', one also means 'not enough' to give respect, consideration or legitimacy to, which equivocates a static primitive, undeveloped, or underdeveloped state, always below the radar of alleged white/European 'high order', sophistication, fitness and invention.

Under this white supremacist-guidance system of blank slates, Blacks were heathens and pagans, therefore lacking a basis of moral and spiritual integrity, which fit nicely with the 'white man's civilization maxim' of colonization. The basis of moral integrity is connected to autonomy as early as Immanuel Kant (Noggle & Stacey, 2005), lacking a sufficient fiber of moral strength (in this notion) means Black people are child-like and cannot govern themselves properly without the hand of 'whites'. This encompassing perspective morphed into all kinds of white rationality surrounding Black racial mistreatment and genocide.

E. Franklin Frazier, a very influential Black sociologist (Karenga, 2010) among others in the early 1900s connects to blank slate notion via the school of cultural hegemony theories in urban sociology, contending the total wipeout or stripping of African heritage from African Americans, so those first and second generations of early Africans in American were alleged as lacking any rootedness in their African ancestry, so they had to start with a 'blank slate'. Ergo, in this blank slate equation Black people can only become 'American' (human like) on white terms and through white imitation, which ironically under the ontology of the white gaze (the preordaining of Black inferiority) has been problematically evasive.

To this day, blank slate theory shows up as the 'total' disconnect of African Americans from Africa, and the roots of their African heritage, as if Africa is not present in any forms of the reconstituted African American culture, philosophy and identity.

Hence, Blacks must be erased of their African heritage to accommodate and console white supremacy cultural determinism. In its contemporary form in the Black city, which I am articulating blank slate has informed and structured ideas about Black deficit in culture, identity and philosophy around the urban iconography of Black depiction. This is mostly done through the thug, super predator, drug dealer, pimp, gangsta, 'ho' ethos (Rose, 2008), which are restatements of a purported inherent Black criminality.

In this 'negro construction' (Washington, 2008), Black people are still 'empty' of properly divine humanity, or blank, as they are supposedly still lacking souls, moral integrity, spiritual redemption, and self-guidance, by which the terroristic standards of the

19

Black city with its troubled encounter of police brutality, they must be eliminated, banished, exterminated or repressively control.

In general, blank slate in this urban format, I am alluding to, maintains its long history of Black philosophical discursive critique, as well as its cultural, identity and historical argumentation, since 'nothing there gets treated like its nothing there'. In this mindset, the blank, the nothingness, or the alleged lacking is perpetually reported as the worse of the dehumanized state.

Hence, in the overall perspective of this dissertation study, Pan Africanism occupies that space (the lie of the blank slate) for Black/African people; these spaces are 'not blank', or severely lacking. Pan Africanism is an Afrocentric philosophy (a lived wisdom based in African connections) and it provides a progressive and pragmatic guidance system (Agu, 1999) for Afro-people in the world, who are situated in an often anti-Black dehumanizing shared experience and linked fate.

This anti-Black dehumanizing shared experience and linked fate describes the Black-existential condition, the philosophies (the agent-centric wisdom of navigation, survival and adaptive-vitality) that grow out of that 'non-white' experience informs and defines the latitude of Black existential-philosophical movement (Clarke, 1970; Martin, 1983; Campbell, 1987; Campbell & Worrell, 2006; Karenga, 2010). In the context of racially contradictive systems that can privilege whites and often condemn Blacks, the shared experience and linked fate in which Black people live globally happens in contrast to the way many whites experience the human condition, life-world regularities and vantage points.

This Black human condition presupposes two major existential questions in this realm of Black critical philosophy: What are we and what shall we do (Gordon, 1997, 7)? These two questions are primarily investigations into Black identity and Black moral action. Black moral action is synonymous with Black agency in this respect. The first requires authenticating Black identity (the attitudes Black people share regarding the Black image) in counter-narrative against the grip of captivity, and the footprints of white supremacy, and the pressured co-signing of Black accommodation (Schwartz & Disch, 1970; Fredrickson, 1971). This challenge and reconstructive occupation is what is meant throughout the dissertation study as 'the quest for Black authenticity'.

The geography of Africana Philosophy is based in the situated reality of Blackness (Gordon, 1997; Johnson, 2017). This situated knowledge (Johnson, 2017) that comes with being Black and its lens of Black subjectivity provides a more precise solution to social science theories, which are fundamentally conditioned by questions of Black identity, especially as it relates to what does it mean to be Black, in an anti-Black world (Gordon, 1997, 5). The link between being Black (the Black existential-condition) and philosophy is predicated on the interrogation of race, and thus is pronounced on how critical race theory confronts the major problem of 'race and place' (spatial contest and entitlement narratives) in the modern city.

The philosophical anthropologies of white-Western discourse usually lead to and authorize the notion of an "unavoidable inferiority" (Gordon, 1997) cemented around Black identity, Black contribution and Black morality, mostly activated through the image of Black incompetence, the Black criminal, and Black scapegoating in the modern

city, or urban study. The 'race problem' (white racism) questions the validity of Black humanity.

> As Fanon has so provocatively put it, Black defiance to Black dehumanization has been historically constituted as 'madness' or social deviance. Blackness, and [specifically], 'the Black' thus functions as the breakdown of [white] reason, which situates Black existence, ultimately, in a seemingly nonrational category of faith. Blacks live on, as Dostoyevsky might say, in spite of [white] logic… [Thus,] 'The Black' stands as an existential enigma. Eyed, almost with [customary] suspicion, the subtext is best exemplified by the questions: Why do they go on? (Gordon, 1997, 5).

To the question: 'Why do they go on', the Black existential question that underscores this dissertation implicates, how do they go on? What this dissertation bears out in part, is that Black Detroiters 'go on' through the utility and embrace of their African heritage, and through the utilization of Pan African philosophical ethics. The case study of the African World Festival provides a macrocosm for how a community of cultural producers and cultural consumers, by making place and a space for Black liberation, provides a healthy (healing) response to both existential questions: why do they go on and how do they go.

The units of culture and identity in the notion of Detroit's Pan African Metropolis can hardly be separated from the Black philosophical dimensions of Black suffering and Black agency (Gordon, 2003). By looking at these interconnected elements through the lens of Detroit's Pan Africanist cultural resistance, one can begin to formulate and understand Detroit, and the lived, urban experiences of Black Detroiters better.

Research Design, Methodology, and Case Study

My innovative research design makes the case study of the African World Festival answer analytical questions about the Pan African Metropolis. The research design uses grounded theory derived from the case study field research of three Pan-

African categories located in the city, and which merge in the 'gathering point' of Detroit's AWF. The grounded theory approach presents a way to forge interdisciplinary research connections with cultural studies (Morley, & Chen, 1996) and a way to construct original theoretical meaning about Detroit's Pan African legacies in the construction of a Black Metropolis (Miller, 2001; During, 2007; Johnson, 1986; Barker, 2011; Rodman, 2015). The African World Festival has been an annual Pan African festival held in Detroit since the 1980s. It is based in the political struggle of Black resistance through African memory and inscription, and is a global attraction for Pan-African thought and reawakening (Jackson, 1988).

The AWF was selected as a case study for the thesis because it exhibits a comprehensive world of Pan African semiotics that are both global and local, and which lends itself to an understanding of how Pan Africanism is both vibrantly institutionalized and presents an uplifting way of life and values in Detroit's Black Metropolis. Moreover, the African World Festival is directly connected to a history of Detroit Black revolutionary politics. The African World Festival (AWF) and its affiliate institutions - the Charles Wright Museum, Nandi's Knowledge Café, D-Town Farms, The Shrine of the Black Madonna- as well as their hosts of consumers and producers facilitates the reconstruction of what was formerly the 'stripped away African World' due to the long horrendous damage of slavery and colonization.

These forms of Black place-making (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson, & Taylor, 2016) collectively, such as the AWF, the Charles Wright Museum, Nandi's Knowledge Café, D-Town Farms, and The Shrine of the Black Madonna compose a spatial hegemony

connoting a "city of refuge" (Fisher, 1925), which are employed by Detroit's Pan African Black Metropolis (PAM).

The African World Festival and its intersected cultural institutions, cultural producers, and cultural consumers illustrate theories of culture, identity and philosophy. They show Black political economic and cultural agency and connections to Africa as well as resistance to Black suffering and a distinctive identity formation as (African) Americans. In the final outcome, the dissertation will reveal ways that the AWF resonates as spatial racial theory and resistance for a form of Black transcendence in the face of Detroit's historically characteristic Black suffering (racial struggles and racial riots history). In this excavation, the dissertation study is both an empirical and theoretical study of Pan Africanism, in its manifestations of culture, philosophy and identity located in the Black city.

I examine the dimensions of Pan African consumption and production through the categorization of the African World Festival's Pan African cultural institutions. The several interrelated groups of phenomena considered are: (1) dance, spoken word and performance, (2) food, cuisine, health, beauty and cosmetic, (3) Natural Hairstyling and African wrapping/headdress decor (4) art, apparel, lecture, oration, community discourse and African centered education and Afrocentric-Black consciousness. The dissertation study features a qualitative study of the producers and the consumers who produce and consume these activities at the AWF.

The methodology of the dissertation is based in the disciplinary approach of African American Studies/Africana Studies/Africology (McDougall, 2014; Okafor, 2017). The disciplinary approach frames the urban study, Black sociology (adaptive-

vitality paradigm), location/Black standpoint theory (Asante, 2001) theory, political theory, Black philosophy and cultural studies (Morley, & Chen, 1996) in Africana/Africology/African American Studies tradition. This approach is combined with a qualitative field research design and method that uses grounded theory. I examine Detroit, by theorizing and philosophizing about the findings drawn from the field research conducted at the African World Festival presenting this through the prism of a Pan African Metropolis. In so doing, I add to the Black Metropolis thesis and its literature by presenting a newly evolved framework on the Black urban experience.

A major analysis of this dissertation exposes how Detroit's integral Black cultural spaces inhabit a vibrant legacy of Pan Africanism, which actively produce a self-determination of culture and agency through the every day lives of Detroiters, and which continue to employ cultural manifestations of Africa to serve Pan African and Black Nationalist discourses. By this guiding intellectual approach, the dissertation employs paradigms, theories, concepts and methods from the Africana Studies discipline (McDougall, 2014).

It uses the paradigms of Afro-centricity, Afrocentric location/standpoint theory (Asante, 2001), Black adaptive-vitality (Karenga, 2010), Black agency, Pan Africanism, literary Pan Africanism, cultural difference, and conflict system to challenge the inferiority paradigm, colonial paradigm and cultural deficit paradigm (McDougall, 2014). That is to say, the theory of "cultural formation" (Williams; Smith, 1999, 9), and the concept of Pan-African scripting (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009), ground much of the dissertation's empirical and theoretical basis, discussion and analysis.

25

Africana Studies scholar, Serie McDougall, argues that Africana Studies is an "interdisciplinary discipline" that is drawn from multiple-subjects (McDougall, 2014). Cultural and philosophical studies methodologies, which undergird Africana Studies, use culture as a methodological tool to examine creations and transformations of individual experiences, everyday life, social relations and power in the Black experience. Similarly, cultural studies (Morley, & Chen, 1996) employ the political in dynamic ways by investigating ways that cultural practices relate to wider systems of power operating through social phenomena, such as ideology, national formations, and identity representations and constructions (Miller, 2001; During, 2007; Johnson, 1986; Barker, 2011; Rodman, 2015). For the current dissertation study, culture, politics, and philosophy will be used to tell us something distinctive about contemporary Black urban life in Detroit.

The dissertation study combines Africana studies methodological premises with qualitative field research study interpreted through grounded theory. While the name suggests it, grounded theory is not really a theory. It is instead a method of developing theory (grounded in the collected data). The theory is formulated by recognizing patterns/or codes in data collected through qualitative methods.

Hence, these patterns/or codes stand out as emergent themes, or tropes. In this way, coding derives a thematic analysis, whereby the researcher looks for patterns in the data to provide understanding/meaning of phenomena; this pursuit is essential to theory development in grounded theory (McDougall, 2014). Grounded theory presents a way to forge natural interdisciplinary research connections with cultural studies (Morley, & Chen, 1996) in this respect. Through grounded theory, I constructed original theoretical

meaning about Detroit's Pan African legacies by collecting first-hand data through qualitative methods. I conducted field research of the four Black cultural institutions in Detroit and treated them as case studies and cultural sites of analyses to support and illustrate the dissertation's research objective about Detroit and the Black city.

Explanation of Data Collection

Altogether the participants in my qualitative research sample numbered 51. The fifty-one participants were divided into two groups of consumers, (those who consume Pan African culture) and producers (those who produce Pan African culture) consisted of a heterogeneous mix. The synthesis of the two groups provides an opening glimpse into the shared roles of the cultural sustainers and curators of African heritage in the Black city and its Black community. The consumers were predominantly African American, with 44 Blacks and 3 whites. Out of the four producers, all were African American, and consisted of three females and one male. The gender breakdown of consumers consisted of approximately 60% Black women and approximately 40% Black men and three white males. The Pan African consumers and producers were majority Detroit residents and/or metro Detroit residents (Southeastern Michigan).

Such a small collected sample of African Americans in Detroit has its limitations by sheer numbers alone. The generalization limitation rule should be considered here as to not make sweeping notions beyond the capacity of the qualitative research. The gathered perspectives of the Pan African citizens under examination are not meant to be generalized as a completely encompassing viewpoint of Black consciousness, Afrocentric orientation and strict behavioral patterns of the Detroit Black community. Yet, while the

current research sample is small, its qualitative impressions are considerable in the long memory of Detroit's Pan African cultural phenomena. Moreover, the story catching of the four producers represent an initial glimpse into what I have designated as the terms below for locating producers of Pan African culture. For my post-dissertation research, I plan to augment by producer and consumer sample.

A small percentage of the consumers were visitors and participants from different US states and a host of international guest, from African and European-descent regions and/or countries. The wider span of Black cultural life were represented in various different occupations and profession, from blue collar to white collar, to the service industry, from working class to middle class/upper middle class. More than 20% of the consumers were local Detroit homeowners and business owners. Each consumer converged in what they embraced as pan African orientations, interests and Afrocentric lifestyles.

The consumers were queried via a 14 questions on a questionnaire. The producers were video interviewed with the same 14 questions provided to the consumers. The data was collected from the consumer questionnaires and inputted into Excel. The data from the producers was synthesized and inputted into a similar thematic outline, yet condensed into 5 subheadings. The data for the consumers was coded (Brown 2015; McDougal, 2014) via report charts (tables), memos and rigorous note taking to isolate patterns, deviations and frequencies (Brown 2015; McDougal, 2014). Finally, the coded data was retyped, extrapolated and isolated into categories that registered seven Primary Themes. Primary Theme Record-sheets were then composed (on MS Word) that contained several of the consumers and producers verbatim text content.

These Theme Records were then used to mount a substantive way towards discussion/analysis/interpretation/explanation of the main concerns and significance of the research findings in fulfillment of sound thesis groundwork. While all of the data for the consumers were inputted, (658 text statements = 14 answers times 47 respondents) coded, transliterated and isolated into nine Theme Record sheets, (7 primary themes plus the Other category). There was too much information to compact into one report chapter. Any limitation or challenges might be due in part to the tediousness in trying to compact so many over-lapping thematic structures from the text, when conventional methods call for "exhaustive and mutually exclusive" (McDougall, 2014, 172-173) categorizing of themes. Eventually, these themes register the tropes that answered the research questions regarding the Pan African Metropolis.

Due to the unavoidable validity of over-lapping, I have accommodated by way of using the terms: thematic synthesis, structures, bridging, pairing, convergences and grouping. Nonetheless, the isolation of these patterns and frequencies in the consumer-voices suggest that compelling assessments and interpretations can be drawn from its grounded theory (McDougal, 2014; Brown, 2015), human geography theorization and spatial theory (Sharobeem, 2015) implications.

The assessments of the study findings give some good sense of how Pan African consumers see the AWF and how it begins to represents new theoretical outlooks and the proposition-topic (Brown, 2015) of a 'Pan African Detroit'. The responses coded down to seven thematic group/pairing organization categories. The coding objective involved synthesizing the text, including certain emphasized words/concepts and word phrases from the consumer responses into their grounded theory-driven primary themes, co-

themes and sub-themes (McDougal, 2014), which also lead to a discovery of their embedded "pan African scripts" (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009). The data from the findings of the Black Detroiters were reported in Chapter 6.

Specifically thematic clustering was based on the presence of these themes as organizational content in each individual response from questions, 1 - 14. Content analysis, semiotic analysis and analytical induction (Brown 2015; McDougal, 2014), were used in many cases hermeneutically to make sense of the text on the whole and in part, and to make valid interpretations/assessments of what the text means significantly and how it fits into the literature of the Black Metropolis, Black urban history, Pan Africanism, Black political culture and Black existentialism.

The Seven Pan African Tropes of the Black City

The research questions of the dissertation study were similarly used in video interviews for the four Pan African Cultural Producers. The interviews content was used to derive their main concerns and connect to the seven tropes of the consumers, which comprise the new tropes of the Pan African Metropolis. The data from the producer interviews was reported in Chapter 5.

The seven tropes discovered from both consumer and producer research that comprised what I define as the tropes of the Pan African Metropolis are as follows: (1) the Cultural Enrichment-imperative, (2) the unison of Black Pride/Black Unity/Black Authenticity, (3) African Heritage celebration/preservation, (4) the spreading of Black Love (Black Self-Contempt/Group Condemnation Racial Transcendence), (5) Buying Black, (6) the (positive) Generational Legacies-imperative and (7) The quest for (Black)

Refuge Space. These tropes comprised an original contribution and never before done Black Metropolis theorization.

The researcher's effectiveness in story catching and storytelling are at the heart of grounded theory (Brown, 2015). The anatomy of a 'Pan African Detroit', its connections in African heritage celebration, and as a method of Black existence and resistance to Black shame constitute an untold and unsung 'big story'. The sourcing of these Black Detroit 'mini stories collection' affords a data set for the Africana soul, and grounded theory as a methodology best honors the sacred ground of that African American tradition, because it allows the people to speak 'more authentically' for themselves and register their own Afrocentric standpoint theory (Brown, 2015; McDougal, 2014).

Grounded theory in this sense is the scholarly equivalent of crowdsourcing. Hence, grounded theory is used here to develop theories based on the lived experiences of Black Detroiters as an expansive contribution to the dissertation, rather than only proving or disproving existing theories (Brown, 2015). In my grounded theory thrust, I started with a topic, in this case 'Pan African Detroit' as a new form of Black Metropolis. My proposition was that in the conceptual lineage and language of Black Metropolis theory, Black Detroit has developed a new form of political economy, the "rise and triumph" (Reed, 2011) of a "cultural-political economy" (Edozie, 2017).

The dissertation study was not necessarily addressing a problem, although major problems and major concerns regarding Black Detroit's narrative and image, as well as negative reflections concerning Black unity, Black people and Black culture persist as an unavoidable context. Neither is the dissertation dependent solely on a literature review (Brown, 2015). In this methodology, I let the participants, the Pan African Consumers

and Pan African Cultural Producers define the problem, context, issues, primary themes and main concerns regarding the topic. From these findings I developed a collaborative theory, and then attempted to situate it within the literature on Black urban life, pan African legacies, Black cultural politics and Black existentialist thought.

Conclusion

The dissertation study hopes to addresses Black life in the Black cultural world through the lens of Africana critical philosophy (Gordon, 1997; Outlaw, 1999; Yancy, 1999; Rabaka, 2003), by its genre of Pan Africanism in Detroit's Black Metropolis. This Black existentialist counter-narrative is endeavored by engaging philosophical ideas around Black Detroit's quest for autonomy (Noggle & Stacey, 2005) and authenticity, and the transcendence of Black suffering through projects of Black agency (Cleage, 1968; Baraka, 1968; Thompson, 1991; Bates, 2012; Woodard, 1999).

The research findings unstitch the philosophical elements that make up Black cultural production in the Black Metropolis. As conceptualized by Nyamnjoh and Shoro (2009), Pan African scripting is a rubric for revealing and determining the signs, meaning and characteristics of Pan Africanism within cultural spaces and other physical/ metaphysical inscriptions. The study demonstrates how Black cultural politics are manifested in Watson's "Pan-African scripting" of Detroit (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009), and how Pan African scripting can be applied to the African World Festival (AWF) and its interrelated dimensions that implicate the notion of a Detroit-based 'African World', not constricted to the annual weekend celebration of the AWF in August.

These cultural manifestations expose the foundational Pan African Detroit lifestyle and Black Metropolis behind the AWF, that made it a glocal tradition and

institution and which verify Watson's allegations. Pan African scripting is a rubric for excavating a semiotic discourse from African-based motifs, inscriptions and symbols in African American culture and lifestyle to establish Pan-African connections. In this sense, Watson is positing a semiotic discourse, by registering how Africa is used to represent a way of being African American. She is highlighting how African connections are integral manifestations in the society of Detroit's culture.

The study hopes to disclose Blacks as not just victims, or a particular group 'reprobated' in high crime making and Black incompetence, and thus the main cause of urban decline, whereas by their own self-limiting volition are 'getting nowhere', but as "conscious protagonists" (Martin, 2014; Ellison, 1946) who mobilized a methodology of Black cultural politics to resist Black suffering and progress in ways that continue to be made invisible, or erased and discounted even by Black people themselves.

The Black existential claim asserted here is that Blacks resist the metropolitan racialism that makes them unequal subjects in the Black Metropolis, and that Pan Africanism as Black cultural politics and Black agency makes Black city spaces into vibrant structures that create adaptive strengths, which cohere and sustain Black urban life. As such, the rhyme and reason of the study underscores the Black city in Detroit by positioning Black people as equal subjects with equal culture through the convention of their African World Festival and its indications within a Pan African Metropolis.

In sum, the dissertation study will be an original contribution to the African American and African Studies academic literature. That is to say, while there is considerable urban scholarship on Detroit, much of it has been written by historians, economists, political scientists, geographers and planners (Silver, 2015).

Moreover, too much focus on Detroit's Black Metropolis has been racially exceptionalized through a social pathology paradigm, Black deficit and ghetto porn analysis (Thomas, 1992). Rarely has an interdisciplinary focus on the Black urban experience linked the Black festival/African heritage preservation to the Black Metropolis theory. Moreover, this has not been attempted through a research methodology and intellectual tradition of Africana Studies, which integrates Africana (existential) philosophy, spatial critical race theory, political theory and cultural studies (Morley, & Chen, 1996).

Chapter 2
Theorizing the Cultural Politics the Black City: A Literature Review

Introduction

Chapter 2 situates the dissertation research study within a significant body of literature that is relevant to its multilayered topics. Hence, the existing chapter presents a lit review, which attempts to expounds on Black agency in the Black city and establish an understanding of its urban sociological bearing. Key concepts are Black agency, Black culture, Pan Africanism, the Black city/the Black Metropolis, cultural politics, cultural political economy, Black shame, white spatial entitlement, Black deficit theory, mis-education, and Negrophobia. The discussion focuses on how these key concepts have been theorized in Detroit as well. A hallmark of this discussion asserts that Black Metropolis theory is about Black agency in the political economy.

The literature review is divided into the following subsequent sections. The first segment offers a fuller elaboration on *Black Agency*; directly after the relationship between Black agency and several gathering points that unite the Black city is discussed in each section. Such as, an illustration of the connected thread of *Black Agency and the Black Metropolis*, the next section reviews and defines the *Black Metropolis* in length; a particular explanation of Chicago's Black Metropolis highlighting its defining element of influence through its political economy is rendered thereafter in *Bronzeville: Mapping Black Agency in Black Political Economy*; a section on *Black Agency and Pan African Identity* follows; then an explication on *Black Agency and Cultural Political Economy*; next *Black Agency and Theories about Detroit* is discussed; the last two sections on *Cultural Political Economy and the African Heritage Festival*, and *The African Heritage*

Festival: An Adaptive-Vitality Center of *Black Agency*, round out the chapter, before the closing of the *Conclusion*.

In this way, the chapter favorably situates Detroit as a case study in Black Metropolis (BM) empirical history. Unlike the 'expected problem-sourcing', the study is not based around a context of Black deficit, but instead it appraises how Black people construct their distinctive [unbroken] lives. Black deficit is synonymous in the way the Black ghetto lens is used to 'authentic' only one kind of iconography for the Black city. There are those in their outside-lens who only (want to) see Black deficit and Black pathology, and not the Black Metropolis or its (positive) light on the life of Black people (Pattillo, 2016). This discourse does not fall into that trap or lie within that camp.

This entanglement of urban sociology with Black pathology and Black deficit does not deceive the intellectual history of Black enlightenment; it recognizes that these intentional misjudgments and miscalculations are *just* the conceptual offsprings of scientific racism (Muhammad, 2012), even in their alleged-as-the gospel-truth mathematical symbols (of statistical racism). The presence of the Black ghetto does not prevent the emergence of the Black Metropolis (Drake & Cayton, 1945; Patillo, 2016). For this reason, the Black Metropolises that occupy the national panorama are a source of pride for Black people, "it is something of our own, it is concrete evidence of one type of freedom, the freedom to erect a community in their own [Black image]", (Drake & Cayton, 1945; Patillo, 2016).

On that note, and for the current case, I theorize about the notion of agency and the Black city, as it comprises an underexposed excavation of Detroit in the urban study.

Drake & Cayton's BM and Dubois' *Philadelphia Negro Study* are early classic theories

of Black agency in the Black city, wherein Black agency has contributed to cultural,

political, philosophical and economic formation. The operationalization of Black agency

constitutes an interlocking theme, which runs throughout my entire dissertation.

Moreover, the relationship between Black agency, Black culture and Black identity

underpins my dissertation study. Altogether, the theme of Black culture and Black

identity are contended expansively to be forms of Black agent-centric expression, which

underscore the creative production of Black placemaking, with its highly regarded central

agent, the Pan African cultural entrepreneur.

      For members of the Black community, the Pan African cultural entrepreneur

continues to represent a celebrated defiant hero against the poison of white supremacy, he

or she attempts to 'free the people' from what is often deemed as 'mental slavery'

(Akbar, 2007; Yakini, 2016; Marley, 1980). Under this mission, the Pan African

entrepreneur acts as a cultural producer and shares the role of (African heritage) cultural

sustainer with the cultural consumer. Their historical roles disclose the magnitude of

Black spatial resistance and Black adaptive-vitality (Karenga, 2010), which identifies

crucial nodes of African American growth, survival and progress in the modern city,

reflected as the space of the future world; the place where progress takes place, or

supposedly doesn't.

      Thus, the Black agency, which describes the impact of the Black Metropolis,

marks the continuum of Black resistance in post-emancipation Jim Crow, which

surrounds the removal of the Old Negro-slave status from Black identity, i.e., the

construction of a 'New Negro' emanated from this purging-goal. The common notion

that Black people are 'asleep' is largely misguided and non-factual; this sleeping people framing composes another psychic layer of bombardment, which stems from the pseudo science-perspectives (cultural/intellectual/economic myths of Black inferiority) that Blacks have been coercively conditioned, mal-trained or indoctrinated to echo themselves.

Hence, there is much unsung in the lineage of the national odyssey of Black awakening versus the sleep consciousness-deficit, which attempts to explain Black identity predominantly, and in which Black people are overly critiqued about, and alleged to exceptionally reside in. A more authentic look indicates that the reality of this cultural and philosophical awakening has been and continues to be about calling forth a new Black identity foregrounded in Black dignity, i.e., Black people taking their 'rightful place' in Black independence and in Black historical eminence as Garvey would insist in contravene to white subordination.

In the context of the urban study, the review seeks to provide a counterpoint to the way the Black city is often theorized in an image of Black social decay (Black deficit). In this way, the Black city suffers from the affliction of a "single story" (Adichie, 2009). The affliction of this 'single story' exposes a problem of perception and historical memory; i.e., the problem of making Black people the enemy, and opposite of sustained positive contribution, competent self-governance, enlightened enterprise and logical thinking (Fanon, 1961, 2004; Gates, 1984; Kersey, 2012; Morrison, 1970; Ellison, 1952, 1995; Powell, 1990).

From the tone-deaf ad example of billionaire investor Dan Gilbert's company Bedrock, the critical reader can interrogate that Detroit should first be 'seen' as only

38

white people see it, then, secondly, with 'only' white people sustaining and capturing its revival of high life; the good life (Allen, 2017; Winowiecki, 2017). In this familiar whitewashing-historical construction, Black people are removed from the image of Detroit's revitalization and from the heart of its virtuous placemaking. Hence, white re-settlement omens as being about Black historical erasure and the return of white spatial entitlement. White re-settlement of the inner city presents an updated version of the 'white man's civilization burden', which has always been about the erasure and disposal of non-white bodies (Rowe & Tuck, 2016).

The tone-deaf ad is a cautionary tale, which reminds us that this (white) re-settlement visual reading of Detroit is not detached from the values of its white economic investment. It complies with the same values that continue to code Black criminality and Black incompetence as dominant tropes of Black life everywhere, foregrounded (by a white Iago-gaze from Toni Morrison's critique language) as a main narrative of the Black city, that the spectator is supposed to constantly buy into. Hence, white takeover is seen as 'the light', the only competent and thriving revitalization spirit of the Black city (Allen, 2017; Winowiecki, 2017).

Henry Louis Gates, Jr. provides a brief explanation of the Black shame-Black deficit syndrome that emanates from this variety of anti-Black reading, which obscures the integrity of African American-driven adaptive vitality in the contemporary city.

> The problem, for us, can perhaps be usefully stated in the irony implicit in the attempt to posit a 'black self' in the very Western languages in which Blackness itself is a figure of absence, a negation (Gates, 1984; Powell, 1993).

Hence, positing a 'Black self' in white terms or a white gaze-reading renders Black people invisible; similarly, positing a Black city in white terms as we see in the

aforementioned cautionary tale, also renders Black people invisible. Gates in many ways is echoing Fanon's attention to the Manichaean problem. The Manichaean problem, which bears the same family resemblance in Fanon's rendering, alleges, white people are the only source of light and development, and Black people are only a source and cause of social decay (Fanon, 1961; Gordon, 2004). For this brief, but expanding focus, Gates referral to 'white-outsider talk', which is external to Black situational languages and experience, attempts to perpetually substantiate an over-reaching-cognition outside the reality of Black situated knowledge highlights the problem of the white Iago-gaze, and the problem of white (supremacist) captivity in the historical reading of the Black city.

This convention of 'outside talk' in the modern city narrative authorizes Black deficit as the 'legitimate' way in which to access Blackness. Thus, no celebration of Blackness is warranted under this license. Moreover, as Black people begin to corroborate this 'outside talk' as 'truth', the internalization of Black shame begins to take hold. The internalization of Black shame, for the most part is therefore symptomatic of the way Black people exalt 'white-distance knowledge-substantiation' and its associated anti-Black perspectives.

To that extent, negation of the Black city tends to follow the negation of the 'Black self' as a 'condemning normative reading' of the value and worth of Black communities (Muhammad, 2012). In this reading Black people (the Black city) can never be the source of virtue, or the center of light and development. This existential condition pressures Black people to question their own humanity in ways, which they accommodate Black deficit (through postures of very low racial esteem), while it also yields the condemning heart of Black shame. Yet, as Black people begin to understand

40

the true historical record of Black heroic agency, and trust in their own situated

knowledge, this problem can change (Fanon, 1961, 2004; Gates, 1984; Kersey, 2012;

Morrison, 1970; Ellison, 1952, 1995; Lewis, 2011; Powell, 1990), (Massood, 2003;

Schwartz, 1997; Schwartz & Disch, 1970; Widick, 1970).

Black Agency

Black agency for the current study is located through the self-determination of

Black cultural politics and it functions in the context of resistance against white spatial

entitlement. It does so through the racial politics of Pan Africanism. In the Black city, the

practice of Black agency has inhabited a form of spatial resistance to the overreach of

white sovereign powers attempt to spatially and visually repress Black bodies and Black

authority (Widick, 1972).

Black agency defined as spatial resistance is activated through the enhanced

theory of the Black Metropolis. While it is bounded by structures of a city marred in its

history of police brutality, an ever-present reality of class and racial hierarchy, and an

unequal investment in Black human development; in the composition of Pan African

expression, Black agency for the current study is about collective-thought and collective

action. It is about the existential awareness of Black life in its "situated knowledge"

(Johnson, 2017), which in turn is about the recognition of significance social structures

that shape opportunities and outcomes that differentiate the Black world from the white

world and determine class and gender structure.

Black agency is a form of Black nationalism that unmasks the important fact that

every advance African Americans have made toward full citizenship, equality and racial

justice has been enshrined with broader struggles to advance egalitarian interests (cultural

politics/cultural nationalism/Pan Africanism). It underscores the fact that Black unity takes place in recognition and respect of the understanding, respect, and recognition of the full Black struggle. It is about Black contributionism, which comes by the recognition of the ethos and culture of the Black community. In this light, Black dignity and Black pride as positive phases of Black identity are tied to the healing of Black shame and low racial esteem, which is symptomatic to the 'invisibility-making and racial exceptionalizing politics' of white historical erasure.

Black Agency & the Black Metropolis

Black Metropolis is a theory of Black agency in Black spaces regarding urban formation. Black cultural formation is a politics of culture that is used to annunciate something political. Within sites of this Black agency, wealth creation happens through cultural products packaged into Pan Africanism; these pan African consumption practices make up the cultural political economy of Detroit, and other Black cities. African heritage festivals are Black marketplaces where these pan African products and services are trusted and transacted.

Detroit's Black Metropolis like Bronzeville in Chicago locates the development of Black self-sufficient social systems. The achievable infrastructure of a Black political economy is a story of Black agency navigated against the tempest of white resentment which persistently lurked among the hostile 'white womb' (Drake & Cayton, 1945) of the modern city. African Americans were forcibly consigned under the social imperatives of white spatial entitlement to specific urban areas as they migrated to the northern industrial centers, this story differentiated severely with the horizontal residential diffusion of European immigrant Americans. The development of the 'Black city within a

city' progressed divergent and counterpart institutions to compensate for and safeguard Black people from undaunted repression by whites (Bates, 2012; Widick, 1972). The Black Metropolis divulges the hidden story of adaptive-vitality (Karenga, 2010) by African Americans; this adaptive-vitality (Karenga, 2010) defines the mode of Black agency.

> What makes Detroit distinctively important and what is new here is the emergence of a Black community possessing a powerful economic, social and political base… This Black community has already demonstrated its strength, viability and leadership on both political and union fronts… What is evolving is a Black Metropolis with distinct economic, social and political characteristics not found in other major American cities. It is a society whose links to white society are constantly strained and remolded" (Widick, 1972, ix-x and 212).

The Black Metropolis

Saint Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's are Black scholars, whose *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945, 2015) first formulated a compelling thesis to explain Black city urban formation and its characteristic dynamics. The scholars produced a foundational model and theory in African American history, urban studies and sociology (Reed, 2011, Widick, 1972 and Spatz, 2009). Published in 1945, it remains a trailblazing study of race, and the consequences of the color line in the African-American urban experience for the first half of the 20th century (Drake and Cayton, 1945, Wright, 1945, Reed, 2011, Rosa, 2012, Wilson, 1993 and Patillo, 2015).

DuBois inaugurates the urban sociological tradition in *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899) that is taken up by Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* (1945). *Black Metropolis* (1945) reveals several complexities about Black urban life, and what Rudolph's Fisher's stories (1924-1934) on Harlem attempted to do. By humanizing and clarifying traditional elements and challenges in the Black community, DuBois, Fisher,

and Drake and Cayton among this canon concerned itself with the effects of Black urbanization in America.

The Black Metropolis is categorically, defined by the Northern-urban Black Belt. But, the Black Belt does not inherently designate the Black Ghetto here. What the Black Belt in this Northern-metropolitan context refers to is: the high concentration of nearly all Black neighborhoods and urban complexes in the racially divided or 'segregated' spaces of the nation's cities. In the context of the urban study, the following dissertation evolves on St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's Jr's crucial work and theorization.

In doing this, Drake and Cayton's "Black Metropolis" thesis is applied to understand the dynamics of culture, politics and Black existential-philosophies in contemporary Detroit. A contemporary view of the thesis was written by Christopher Reed in *The Rise of the Black Metropolis in Chicago* (2011), whereby he reexamines Drake & Cayton's work to reveal the significance of Black cities as sites of political economy, his explanation regarding 'the rise of Chicago's Black Metropolis' is critical as it discusses the significance of emergent autonomous Black socio-political spaces, which sustained Black political-economic control; we now define these spaces as the Black city.

Reed refers to this emergence from nearly an "imperceptible" (2011) Black geographical presence to an overwhelming autonomous Black urban socio-political influence and progress. He refers to African Americans control of their urban political economies as "the triumph of the Black Metropolis" (Reed, 2011). Drake and Cayton's fundamental theorization elaborated and drew from DuBois' thesis, "the problem of the color line" (1903) to formulate their Black Metropolis model. In this respect, they illustrate how the "color line", created a distinctive, separated and subordinated Black

community in Chicago's Bronzeville, which consequently, contributed to a different way of urban Northern life for its Black community. Much of this Black urban existence is categorized within a model framework of what Drake and Cayton exemplify as common Black "axes of life" (1945). Black Metropolis scholar Mary Patillo in her discussion on "The Future of the Black Metropolis" refers to them as tropes (2015). These tropes help define and locate the Black city (Drake & Cayton, 1945; Patillo 2015).

Drake and Cayton bring DuBois' theory to an illustrated life in their descriptive analysis of the Black Metropolis. In the case of Detroit, BJ Widick (1972), David Katzman (1975), Richard Thomas (1992; 2013), Thomas Sugrue (1996), Lars Bjorn with Jim Gallert (2001), Kevin Boyle (2004), Joe Darden (1987; 2007; 2013) and Beth Tompkins Bates (2012) unfolds the world of 'Black Detroit', and thus we are able to see how Detroit, also became a Black Metropolis.

These authors using Black Detroit as the site of their excavation reveal the consequences of its metropolitan color line (Baugh, 1999), the contextual impact of its white racial terrorism and the political intactness of its "racial contract" (Mills, 1997). By racial contract I am using Charles Mills (1997) concept to accurately capture the political-philosophical system of white supremacy in the lived experience of Black and whites in Detroit. The racial contract marks and fulfills the social-political intactness of the color line.

Drake and Cayton's analysis use the color line to develop four analytical frameworks (Patillo, 2015). First, they argue that the color line segregates and subordinates. Second, they argue that the Black Belt is "the spatial manifestation from the fixed status" (Patillo, 2015, xvi) of the color line. Hence, the Black Metropolis is "how

45

people live [adapt, thrive and survive] in that reality" of fixity (xvi). Third, they argue that the Black Ghetto and the Black Metropolis are not "interchangeable" or the same things (2015, xvi). Fourth, they argue that Black urbanites' "Axes of Life" (Black urban life styles and/or the Black urban lived experience) has distinctive human expressions that are decidedly different than white metropolises (D&C, 385). They account that the five following tropes are the dominating life interests within the Black Metropolis (Patillo, xviii; D&C, 385).

1) Staying Alive
2) Having Fun
3) Serving God
4) Getting Ahead
5) Advancing the Race

These dominating interests (tropes) are what compose the axes of Black life (a permanent ordering in Black life and Black existential philosophies). Jaramogi's (Cleage) explanation pinpoints that the "triumph" (Reed, 2011, 2) for Detroit's Black Metropolis meant, "getting ahead and advancing the race" (Drake and Cayton, 1945 and Patillo, 2015). Widick also contends this, when he suggests that Detroit's Black Metropolis was moving towards an economic leverage and domination of the political economy (Darden, 2016), that resulted in the election of Coleman Young and a predominantly Black city council in the 1970s.

Bronzeville: Mapping Black Agency in Black Political Economy

The 1920s was a period of relative confidence for many Black Chicagoans. Though work almost perpetually remained outside the sphere of the Black Belt, many new migrants secured employment in steel mills, packinghouses, garment factories, and domestic service. Internally, the Black Belt developed a social, economic and political

46

base that was remarkably self-sufficient, supported by local Black enterprise and capital. It evolved a 'city within a city' (Drake & Cayton, 1945).

By 1930, this 'Black city within a white city' was commonly referred to as Bronzeville. The viewed held by many Black commentators was that as a new 'Black Metropolis', Bronzeville was a rival to Harlem as Black America's cultural capital (Kennedy, 2000). Businesses, churches, institutions and civic organizations were owned and operated by African Americans for their community. In the mid-to-late 1920s, Drake and Cayton summarizes that a prosperous 'Negro' community in Chicago had experienced a level of tremendous progress, which was unmatched for its inhabitants.

> A professional and business class arose upon the broad base of over seventy-five thousand colored wage earners, and was able for a brief period to enjoy the fruits of its training and investment…. There were evidences on every hand that 'the Race was progressing.' … On eight square miles of land a Black Metropolis was growing in the womb of the white. Negro politicians and business and professional men, barred by color from competing for the highest prizes in Midwest Metropolis, saw their destiny linked with the growth of Black Metropolis. Negroes were making money in the steel mills, stockyards, and garment factories, in the hotels and kitchens, on the railroads and a hundred other spots. 'Why,' the leaders asked, 'should these dollars be spent with white men or wasted in riotous living?' (Drake and Cayton, 1945, 78-80)

The central emphasis on political economy in Drake and Cayton's Black Metropolis was how best to achieve three main states of Black progress, economic opportunity (suitable employment and successful Black business development), political power and cultural freedom for Blacks in a system built around the maintenance of white dominance. The psychological and physical advancement of these states marks the latitude and magnitude of Black agency as Drake and Cayton saw it in Bronzeville (Drake & Cayton, 1945; Green & Houchins, 2017; Grossman, 1989; Kennedy, 2000; Martin, 1995).

Within this the sites of Black control and agency in Black political economy is about achieving a wide range of equitable development in the Black community building process (Blackwell, 2007). For this reason, Black political economy is defined by the mechanisms, structures and relationships (race and place) that exist between politics and economics in the way they fuel or inhibit the progress and influence of the Black establishment. The Intercollegiate Club of 1929 Chicago bolstered the image of a successful Black establishment by celebrating the economic achievements of Black entrepreneurs and advertised Black-owned institutions in the Chicago *Defender*, the famous Black newspaper of the era.

The image of progress presented the spaces, aspirations and the centralized views of the Black Metropolis, this image upheld the general desires of the growing Black population to 'get ahead' as Drake and Cayton tells us. This existential and adaptive outlook of 'getting ahead' further describes the shapes of Black agency through the political economy of South Side Chicago. However, this image of unified Black progress glossed over the tensions already growing in this period. These tensions, which were stratified by class, color and education, erupted from the co-mingling of the migrants from the deep rural south with the 'Old Settlers' elite. As James Grossman indicates:

> Chicago's Black establishment encouraged and assisted migrants partly out of sheer self-interest. Politicians, businessmen, and newspaper publishers recognized that the newcomers represented voters, customers, readers, and a potential population boom, which could swell the prestige of Black Chicago both in the city and in Black America…. The relationship between individual accomplishments, community prosperity and power, and racial progress placed the migrants at center stage (Grossman, 1989, 144).

These issues of class and cultural differences became pronounced for Bronzeville's Black inhabitants, especially surrounding leisure activities, which were

"intimately connected with economic status, education and social standing" (Drake and Cayton, 1945, 387). "The socialization of the migrants represented a 'trial' for the race" (Grossman, 1989, 145), and was the topic of widespread commentary by the Black establishment. The relationships between the above mentioned aspects of Black political economy and their expressive movements through Black agency placed the migrants in a very visible position with regard to the cultural politics of 'respectability'. This cultural politics of respectability was heavily important to the Old Settlers and new middle class elite who worried that the newcomers would discredit the race. The plight of Black Chicago in this era regarding settlement and adaptation necessitated creating new systems of class and cultural formation (Kennedy, 2000).

The caliber of Black initiative and indomitability of spirit fostered early Black Chicago's entrepreneurial and business evolution, which proceeded along a corresponding, although slightly submerged, track with the city's overall economic growth and development. This Black initiative and indomitability of Black spirit characterized Black Chicago's collective agency, which partially realized the "Dream of the Black Metropolis" (Reed, 2011) a state of affairs where African Americans exerted a modicum of control over their residential and commercial district. Furthermore, what is often overshadowed in Chicago's history, especially in the way Chicago's Black city is depicted today as the bastion of murder and the Black criminal, is how Black Chicagoans' 19th century entrepreneurial pursuits served as a bridge and precursor to more accelerated commercial activity during the next millennium in the broader infrastructure of Chicago (Reed, 2011).

Black Agency & Pan African Identity

Added to Drake & Cayton's, and DuBois' enlightening excavation on the complexities of Black urban life and the contribution of Black cultural and economic production, these are also cities that enliven African heritage through Pan African allegiance. The Pan African Black identity is a form of Black agency. Pan Africanism is kept alive through Black identity by its main emphasis on African heritage celebration. Not theorized much regarding Black city agency is Black solidarity with Africa. Black Arts Movement begins this form of Black agency.

The impact of African heritage on themes of Black liberation, ethnic identity, urban crisis, social-geography and Black existence has defined Detroit in ways that make it unique and yet, similar in many ways to the Chicago, Los Angeles or New York models that may resemble a Pan African -Black Metropolis (Silver, 2015, Jolly, 2013, Bates, 2012 and Reed, 2011, Baugh, 2011, Massood, 2003, Gordon 2000/2005/2013, Sugrue, 1999, Schwartz, 1997, Ellison 1986, Fredrickson, 1971, Schwartz & Disch, 1970, Widick, 1972, Morrison, 1970, Darden and Thomas, 1987, and Wright, 1940). By restoring their African heritage and identity, African Americans were very active and influential in not just shaping their future, but the fabric of American urban political cultures (Henri, 1976).

Many of Detroit's cultural institutions from the perspectives of the Pan African consumer and producer illustrate how Black people resist suffering, not through formal politics, but through the meaning and manifestations of cultural politics. Thus, cultural politics is a theory that indicates that culture does not 'subvert' politics; nor is culture an appendage to more substantive domains. Rather, culture itself is a place, where social,

economic, political values and meanings are created and contested (Reed, 2016). Once again as noted before, editor Louis Martin of Detroit's *Michigan Chronicle* reaction to the 1943 Detroit race riot enables an efficient understanding for how cultural politics are informed by the milieu of "cultural formation" (Smith, 1999, 9).

> The race riot and all that has gone before have made my people more nationalistic and more chauvinistic and anti-white than ever before. Even those of us who were half liberal and were willing to believe in the possibilities of improving race relations have begun to have doubts, and worse, they have given up hope (Thompson, 1999, 13).

Martin's insight demonstrates how African American consciousness; political attitudes and psychosocial practices (urban and rural behavior) evolved, transformed and were shaped due to their historical experiences with the politics of a "racial liberalism" (Mills, 2009) validated by not the 'contradiction', but the coexistence of American racism. Martin's statement reflects how Black people come to the 'crossroads' of America's persistent racial dilemma, and with this persistence comes a certain kind of 'crossroads awareness'. Moreover, this 'crossroads awareness' requires and compels a pivotal decision. This decision marks a Black-consciousness-raising juncture and becomes a central point of departure for the growth of Black nationalism, Black unification, a 'justifiable' loss of faith in white America, and the development of a Black uplift agenda manifested in Black cultural politics, or Black cultural nationalism (Thompson, 1999).

The respect for the healing spirit of Detroit's Pan African legacies has suffered from the fate of this 'single story' of Black incompetence and the Black criminal. The self-impaled-crucifixion and reactive deconstruction of Kwame Kilpatrick's image became a noteworthy synthesis of these Black shame and Black deficit archetypes. The

'negated Black self' of Kilpatrick served the negation of the Black city, and thus the negation of Black self-governance.

Yet, the Pan African traditional elements in Detroit has aided as a lifeblood of healing resources, which has included issues surrounding Black identity crisis, Black intellectual growth, Black health, Black unity, Black spirituality, Black dignity, the investment in Black development, Black trauma and Black shame among other inflicted ailments in the Black community. This mission has furnished a Black ideological program of necessary racial recognition, a validation of the depths and extent-sickness of white supremacy, and a celebration of Black overcoming and Black genius (Reed, 2015). The Black cultural nationalism and cultural politics of Detroit's unapologetic and enduring Pan African life represents a continuum of this mission's Black agency and Black self-determination.

Since the power of that healing spirit has been blocked from view in the ways white re-settlement and the white gaze continues the 'white savior-narrative' (Duvernay, 2015), interpretive theories about Detroit and the Black city has required an epistemic reconstruction, where the reality and vitality of a heroic Black agency is not erased (Kersey, 2012). In this vein, the values, edifice and narrative of the neoliberal city (Cohen, 2015), which are known by policies of unchecked privatization, the de-education/mis-education of Black youth and the Carceral state/New Jim Crow (Cohen, 2015; Alexander, 2010) prospers on manufacturing the crisis of the 'Black criminal' and Black incompetence and thus, appears detrimental to the agent-centric evidences and egalitarian motivations of the Black city.

Neoliberal investment and white re-settlement in the Black city is troubled by how Black people are either humanized or dehumanized (Cohen, 2015). Although, the whole story of African American mobility and achievement is not just tied to, against unparalleled human odds, the perseverance of Black people themselves and a small group of white allies (Reed, 2015), however, much of this notion of Black agency does tell a more frank story of Black 'true grit'.

Yet, their story of collective Black agency is not the falsely alleged white 'self-made-man/woman' historical lies that covers 'historical sins' of white privilege, Black exploitation, white betrayal and Black America's underdevelopment which advanced white wealth. The infrastructure of Black uncredited talent and theft that built white wealth used the same misrepresentation tactics to disavow those who many owe a debt of respect and responsibility to. It marks a crisis of sociopathic disconnection and denial, often reflected through obsessive-methodological individualism, and praised in Western languages. Neither can Black agency thrive in what Harold Cruse tells us marks a crisis of the Black intellectual, self-alienation from his or her own Black community (1967, 2005; Joseph & McLemee, 2007). This currently approached notion of Black agency in its transcendental pulse is one of collectivist ethos, repudiation ethos and defiant heroism particular to the core values of Black culture and the Black experience (Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017).

Black Agency & Cultural Political Economy

"The personal is political" – Audre Lorde (1983 and 1984)

As Black Metropolis sites evolve and shift, in more up-to-date modes, Black agency is exercised through the cultural political economy. Culture as politics is

expressive in the everyday lives of Detroiters, this manifest in their music, their physical display, their dance, their arts, their lifestyles, their food habits and philosophical worldviews. Through cultural politics the dissertation study reveals aspects of symbology, expressionism, connections, orientations, philosophy and Black intellectual thought of Detroit's Black Metropolis. Detroit's cultural politics has been a long-determined form of urban resistance in the making of Black Detroit (Bates, 21012, Stevens, 2012, Smitherman 2004). Drawing from Detroit's rich cultural history and cultural geography the dissertation examines Detroit through the prism of its major cultural organ in its African World Festival (AWF).

The mission of racial uplift, racial liberty and independence (Bates, 2012) is certainly expressed through Motown's self-reliant enterprising. The *Negro in Detroit* (1926) report on the UNIA might also be echoed in Gordy's Motown, "induce the colored people to meet injustices and denial of rights by starting all kinds of enterprises of their own with the purpose in view of finally becoming… independent of white people" (Bates, 2012, 70).

Independence through Black enterprise is a principal that has its underpinnings in Berry Gordy's father, (Pop Gordy) a Booker T. Washington follower. Washington also influenced Marcus Garvey. Black independence is something Gordy Jr. would carry forward to Motown's philosophy (Gordy, 1979, Smith, 1999). Although, many scholars cite Motown's crossover with white audiences as invested wholly in a cultural politic of racial integration, Motown played a distinctive role in the Black community. In contrast to white America, the Black community enunciated and promoted its own social, cultural and political agendas. These local missions reflected the unique concerns of African

Americans living in the paradoxes of an urban North and reconfigured the national civil rights campaign (Smith, 1999).

The politics of social change in Black Detroit was merged with its cultural infrastructure and its cohesive-community identity. These cultural politics were predominantly represented by the philosophy of the New Negro. This New Negro was race conscious, believed in racial uplift, Black dignity, equality with whites and envisioned urban life-harmony through the progressive movements of an intellectualized, highly creative and independent Black middle and working class mobility and power.

Examples of this New Negro philosophy can be represented by the Motown music corporation ideals, which reflected and mobilized Black independence, Black dignity, Black pride and Black creative genius as a configuration for spatial hegemony of Black cultural ownership. Hence, Black cultural politics is concerned with production of a Black urban 'space' that Black people could call their own, like no other.

The fact that the Motown cultural ownership movement was shaped by and also shaped a rising racial consciousness is indicative of how Detroit's cultural politics worked and were successful (Smith, 1999). Motown's 'philosophy of Black hope' expressed through its soundtrack, resisted the endemic racial suppression, which typified Black urban suffering. Its Black enterprise triumph itself is a model synonymous with the notion of the Dream of the Black Metropolis (Reed, 2011).

The convergent cultural politics of Detroit pursued a vast range of goals: elected office, community activism, the celebration of Black art and culture, the formation of unions/Black organizations/Black clubs, Black nightclubs and the preservation of Black history (Smith, 1999). Motown was a product of the broad Black renaissance of the 1920s

– 1950s (Powell, 1997), which took place not just in Harlem, but also in several Black meccas throughout the nation, in this case Detroit's underrepresented Black Renaissance era. Motown erupted from this lineage of cultural formation and its cultural politics at work, which served to elevate Detroit to a Black Metropolis. Motown was also an agent for its cultural political economy (Smith, 1999).

The prevalent 1920s – 1950s cultural political-philosophy of the New Negro (Locke, 1925) reveals a striving to bring a dream of near independence, which pushed the aspiration of Black autonomy into the realm of reality (B'Beri, Maroney, Wright & Cooper, 2014; Jolly, 2013; Reed, 2011; Bates, 2012). The New Negro was an early 19th century Black radical movement of middle-class orientation where Blacks demanded their legal rights as citizens, but frequently strove to craft new images that would undermine/ challenge old-negative stereotypes made popular during slavery (Locke, 1925). As crystalized in the Black dignity/ Black equality-cultural politics of the Harlem Renaissance, it implied a bolder outspoken 'Black voice', which refused to acquiesce quietly to Jim Crow.

The New Negro indicated the progression of a race and class-conscious mentality, which stressed Black love, Black unity, anti-lynching and armed self-defense. It embodied Pan African nationalism (Locke, 1925). Embedded within the aspirational projects of the New Negro was the cohesion of Black pride, which spurred on the Black Nationalist compositions of the Pan African Metropolis (Jolly, 2013; Bates, 201; Reed, 2011; Thompson, 1999).

A major condition that brought about the Pan African Metropolis was a "rising racial consciousness" influenced in great part by a philosophy of "racial uplift" (Gaines,

1996, xi). Racial uplift as an ideological, political, and social consciousness thought represents a continuum of Black community identity and building process that inspired several progressive traditions such as, the Negro Convention and Women's Club Movement, Black intellectual renaissance/Black enlightenment era, various Jim Crow cohesion factors and Pan African institutions such as Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), Pan African Orthodox Churches, African American Islamic tradition, African Brotherhood fraternities, African-inspired lodges and masonic orders (Reed, 2011, 2; Jolly, 2013; Bates, 2012; Reed, 2011; Sidbury, 2007; Thompson, 1999).

This racial consciousness unified all classes of African American society. The resulting level of racial solidarity bonded the community's mentality into a unified trajectory and a core longing for "spatial hegemony", and thus control of spaces where Black people dominate (Reed, 2; Jolly, 2013; Bates, 2012; Thompson, 1999). This spatial framing reflected the need and wish for self-ruling communities, a Black world with its African home-place at the center of that creation, where Black people felt a special belonging, a safe space where they could speak their mind about racial trauma and express a liberated ideological thought, where Black people wanted, pursued and validated their 'own thing'.

Black Agency and Theories about Detroit

Among other significant expressions of Detroit's Black city agency, the fact that it produced Motown underpins its rich agent-centric history, and the impact of Black progressive contribution to Detroit and the world. Hence, in looking at the Detroit case study, BJ. Widick's *Detroit: City of Race & Class Violence* (1975), David Katzman's

Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century (1975), Beth Tompkins

Bates' *The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Henry Ford* (Bates, 2012), Thomas J.

Sugrue's *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit (*1996)

and Richard Thomas' *Life for Us is What We Make It* (1992) adds other dimensions of

Black Metropolis theory, which teases out "Black Detroit's" (Boyd, 2017) development

of independent social systems, its history of self-determination, social consciousness,

industrial-unionized civil rights struggles, community building process and the intractable

racial and class elements of these urban spaces.

Widick (1972), Katzman (1975), Sugrue (1996) and Bates (2012) argue the 'rise'

of a Detroit-Black Metropolis developed with a significant Black political-economic

base, within the context of two Detroits. This split consciousness of Detroit and its spatial

divisions were characterized by a political conflict system rooted in a media 'validated'

Negrophobia, which registered and rationalized the metropolitan color line's partitioning

of "one Black Detroit and one white Detroit" (1975, 23). The stability of the Black

community building process stemmed from increased Black geographical presence

(Thomas, 1992).

It also grew from the prospects and desires of Black social mobility and

empowerment. The rise and triumph of Detroit's Black Metropolis is directly correlated

to the impact of historical white aggression and fragility structured in the policies,

attitudes, conscious acts, everyday decisions, and law enforcement culture of sanctioned

Negrophobia. Altogether, these units, which detail white dominance identity politics

forced the ensuing racial conflicts, which erupted due to spatial-white entitlement. This

spatial landscape and split consciousness of two Detroits, conceived and denoted a racial

battleground, which can be highlighted in five major events of racial upheaval, the 1833 Blackburn Riot, the 1863 Draft Riot, the Ossian Sweet Riot of 1925 and Case, the 1943 Race Riot and the 1967 'Riot/Rebellion' (Katzman, 1975; Widick, 1972).

Consequently, Detroit's social composition was not the alleged melting pot typified in "the arsenal of democracy" (Poremba, 1999, 7) narrative, but signified a "pressure cooker" (Widick, 1972, v) of racial and class conflict, always boiling beneath the surface of this racial battleground (1975) and waiting to explode (Widick). In this stark reality, the 'equalization method' of assessment often attributed to certain immigrant groups (mostly those who have now been able to become 'white') and African Americans in explaining away long-standing American racism obstacles to social mobility and universal opportunity for Blacks, is bogus and suggest another methodological affliction.

There are several methodological afflictions used in urban sociology and historical philosophy, attributed to Black urban problems, which serve this same vindication of white racism. Thus, there is a history of discussion and analysis, which suffers from both a reductive and equalization-analysis approach in theories on Detroit. Widick shines the light on this reductive/equalization analysis problematic.

> The extraordinary difficulties Negroes had to overcome to be accepted as human beings is a totally different story in Detroit from the history of the [immigrant melting pot narrative]. Immigrants faced irritating prejudices and class bias, but they were accepted as whites and therefore superior in status to the Black man. The alienation of the Black man, and to a lesser degree of some poor whites, was the underlying cause of the 1967 riot, a protest against society, which if it did not totally exclude the Black man, clearly considered him undesirable. The 1967 riot was not Blacks versus whites, as in [the 1943 race riot], but Blacks and 'some whites' against the power structure: the landlord, the merchant and the hated police (Widick, 1972, ix).

Cultural Political Economy and the African Heritage Festival

The Detroit Blacks Art Movement (BAM) became essential to the manifestation of the Pan African Metropolis and the house of its African heritage festival (Woods, 2009; Thompson, 1999). The Black Arts Movement argued that culture was inextricably tied to liberation. It was the "aesthetic and spiritual sister of the Black Power concept" (Neal, 1968). Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam (which originated in Detroit) became an ideological influence upon the movement whereby African solidarity, self-defense, political/ economic self-determination and internationalization of the Black freedom struggle arose as qualifying principles (Woods, 2009; Thompson, 1999).

BAM's cultural politics organized around the founding principals of Black Power, Pan Africanism, Black Nationalism and Black self-determination. This period of the 1960s – 1970s during the Black Arts Movement, which saw the independence of many African countries and an unprecedented uptake in Black people embracing their African heritage in their lifestyles, political thought, performative expressions and value systems, marks the emergence of the Pan African Metropolis. The cultural politics of BAM sought to "make meaning under the disorienting and dehumanizing conditions of [white cultural mythology and] racial modernity" (Taylor, 2010). The Black Aesthetic developed from Black migratory intersections symbolized in the vernacular of Black dreams and Black movement (Perry, 2014).

The stories and folkways attached to these migratory spaces were organic streams bristling in sacred and secular junctions of Black Northern movements and dreams. These movements and dreams expressed themselves in music, dance, visual art, poetry and drama. Embedded within these Black expressions, 'the political' was not undermined and

the cultural politics, which sprang forth, shaped and cultivated its own mission of Black empowerment. The duplicitous patterns of racial liberalism theorized mal-constructions of Blackness as a repressive strategy. Frequently alleged abnormal and pushed to 'the outside'; the site of 'invisibility' identified in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952), Black people became more nationalistic, cohesive and pro-Black; even in secret, or in the clandestine nature of Paul Laurence Dunbar's 'mask wearing' (1901). This holding ground of 'invisibility' was the same space of DuBois's 'Veil'. But, for Blacks the 'outside hatred', also gave second sight; a penetrating Othello gaze into the 'truth' of Iago's white betrayal, or a more clear understanding of the system and its racist incongruities lied in this second sight.

Hence, at the 'crossroads' of America's persistent racial dilemma where Wright's *Native Son* (1940) first led us, Black people in the Black urban north, were always more Ellison's "conscious protagonists" (1967), then given credit for, and as such the Black dreams of the Black Metropolis effectively embraced its cultural political significance (Ellison, 1967). These cultural forms of Black expression pushed the boundaries super-imposed by whiteness. It represented the immersion of Black embodiment and the transformative power of Black consciousness. Black cultural politics are truthful, because it claims politics while, white Western art-aesthetics alleges 'non-political' entrenchment, but the politics of white domination are always attached to it (Perry, 2014).

The Black Arts Movement stood as a critique on the "integrationist mirage", the self-delusion of many middle-class Blacks, and broke away from the 'patronage-control' of the Harlem Renaissance (Cruse, 1967). BAM's break with traditional civil rights philosophy, espoused the sentiment of independence or autonomy versus inclusion,

which was the goal of the Black Power struggle (Salaam, 2002). Baraka's important achievement to cultural politics reflects an "artistic reordering" of the African American odyssey in pursuit of identity, direction and purpose (1999, xii).

The emergence of the Pan African Metropolis was certainly fueled by the several gathering points of Black dreams deferred (Hatcher, 1970), which erupted in the aftermath of Detroit's 1967 explosion. Unveiled in 1967, a few months prior to the Great '67 Rebellion, a painting of a Black Madonna and Black infant Jesus transformed the Shrine of the Black Madonna church into a "social and political force" (Warikoo, 2017). When the '67 rebellion erupted, thousands of Detroiters flocked to the Shrine of the Black Madonna church for refuge, meaning, guidance, healing, and to fulfill their interest in Black Nationalism (Warikoo, 2017).

The Shrine of the Black Madonna church promoted Black independence and political power, eventually playing an essential role in the election of Detroit's first Black mayor, Coleman A. Young, and the Black dominated city council, to which JoAnn Watson, served prodigiously and faithfully (Warikoo, 2017).

For Detroiter, Diana Nilijia Stewart, a long time member of the church, now 72 years old, the healing spirit of Detroit's Pan African infusions are real. Recently, she reflected that,

> Just to see someone that I look like, my features, my complexion and everything.
> It made me feel good; our church was recognizing Black women. Our
> interpretation is different: It's a Black woman that represents us. And that's what I
> learned all my years at the church, that Black women are important (Stewart:
> Warikoo, 2017).

Like many of The Shrine' members, Stewart was searching for a spiritual home that embraced Black culture and the racial strife of the day (Warikoo, 2017). At the helm

of the Pan African Metropolis (PAM) directing its course are the main two centralizing beliefs of Black Nationalism in the Black community, that "Africa is a special homeland for Blacks", and that white people collectively want to keep Black people subordinated (Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017, 83). The PAM is a place of proud Black cultural manifestations, of psychological health, of needed Black consciousness and soul peace.

It is a spatial construct, where Black people find a place to reconscitize a healthily Black self, where Black people can 'be themselves, restore themselves, rejuvenate, reconcile and find resilient ways to transcend Black suffering. In this sense, Pan African philosophy comprises a powerful psychological, spiritual and political aesthetic that produces healing and corrective actions in response to Black suffering (Holloway, 2005).

The Pan African Metropolis as a manifestation represents the emergence of the Black Nationalist ideology and Black philosophies of existence, which emanate from the core values of Black culture, the collectivist and repudiation ethos, and Black disaffection stabilized across the board as a complex and fluid continuity of Black enclave-strengths. Almost on a weekly basis, the news presents events particularly as it relates to the troubled encounter of out-of-control policemen shooting down and abusing unarmed Black people. In these incidents, we see the theft of Black dignity (Johnson, 2017). This persistent phenomenon of anti-Black racial mistreatment determines how the "situated knowledge" (Johnson, 2017) in the material and psychological conditions in which Black people live reinforces a dramatically different philosophy of existence (worldview and spiritual wisdom) from white people.

By these conditions, the Pan African cultural political economy of Detroit consist of the combined metropolitan places where local power, control, influence, contest, self-

interest and profit is transacted and gained by the creative and entrepreneurial production of Black culture and Black adaptive-transcendence, especially as it reflects, and is centered on African heritage celebration, Black autonomy, Black dignity and Black pride. The sociality that identifies the emergence of the PAM and its cultural political economy is signified by a strong adherence to African heritage celebration as a lifestyle and orientation of Black life (what Drake and Cayton refer to in their tropes, as the axes of life) in both performative expression, where the Black body becomes the space of political meaning, confrontation and movement, and in the value system of Black autonomy many Black people continue to support, such as demonstrated in the desire to Buy Black.

The convergent beliefs of Black Nationalism that Africa is a special homeland (African heritage reconnection), and the quest for Black people to create 'their own', including the chief wishes to create a new homeland and construct forms of defiant heroism/Black resistance within white dominated spaces, and finally that whites still desire to keep Black people subordinated, merges as the prominent features which produced the PAM.

The tradition of Black radicalism associated with the Pan African Metropolis, and noted in the Pan African citizen which consisted here of the Pan African cultural producer and the Pan African consumer (2016), reveals a desire, more than anything as a concern of the Black struggle, to be free to "constitute themselves and their world in ways that white supremacy" does not poison or prevent (Greene, 2017). Insofar, as the racial battleground of Detroit produced and vindicated white supremacy, "it would need to be confronted, interrogated, and ultimately transcended" (Greene, 2017).

Hence, a definition of Black transcendence is revealed in how Pan Africanism's-placemaking in Detroit provided a way for combating and finding refuge from the Black struggle (Black suffering), and produced an evolved Black Metropolis, that registered a particularized development of a Pan African cultural political economy. Although, the historical credit is marred with sentiments of reductive theorization, Detroit's Pan African cultural nationalism has played an preeminent role in states of Black transcendence for Black Detroit's human development.

Pan-African cultural nationalism emerged from the consequences (cohesion elements) of the racial battlegrounds, its metropolitan color line, its racial contract and its manifestation of two worlds. Walter Rodney asserts to "talk about Pan Africanism" is "to talk about international solidarity within the Black world we live", and that it consequently requires a series of responsibilities; the first responsibility is to "define our own situation" (Campbell & Worrell, 2006). Pan Africanism as a cultural and intellectual movement for African American liberation has a long history (Warren, 1990). Pan Africanism first materialized as armed resistance in Africa and the Caribbean against slavery and colonialism (Weaver, 2006; Buckley, 1997; Warren, 1990; Martin, 1983; James, 1963; DuBois, 1946).

Blacks in Detroit and the Diaspora sought Pan Africanism, anticolonialism and African American internationalism (Jolly, 2013) to ameliorate the 'damnation' from the racial myths that was alleged through colonial anthropology and the Hegelian system (Warren, 1990; LeMelle & Kelley, 1999). The existential process of Pan Africanism has been about finding strength and agency in Black unity, and Black struggle through African heritage connections and Black cultural enrichment. As an intellectual, social and

cultural ideology, Pan-Africanism has been a complex movement attempting to improve Black suffering and its dehumanization (Ratcliff, 2009).

Pan Africanism has been the basis for enhancing the "African" aspects of African descendant cultural particularity, in religion, music, dance, and oral/written literature. It has enabled the mental, spiritual and physical re-connection of African descendants differentiated by history, language, and culture in the African Diaspora with each other, through the organization of Pan-African congresses, festivals and other cultural exchange. Pan-Africanism consciousness constitutes a fundamental praxis for responding to what its means to be classified as a racial problem (Dubois, 1901; Ratcliff, 2009; Woodard, 1997; Thompson, 1999; Warren, 1990).

Pan-Africanism emphasizes Black/African unity beyond identities confined by geography, primordialism and narrow nationalism, and champions socio-political inclusiveness for all those - who willingly claim, or are compelled to identify with the "Black" race and a place called "Africa" (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009, 35). As a quest for a global Black/ African community, Pan-Africanism can manifest as a cultural, literary, intellectual and political project towards a world informed by solidarities and identities shaped by a humanity of common predicaments. Pan-Africanism promotes a strategic essentialism around the fact and experience of being Black and African in a world of hierarchies of purity shaped by being White (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009; Ratcliff, 2009).

The African Heritage Festival: An Adaptive-Vitality Center of Black Agency

The African World Festival is an African Marketplace and it sells Pan Africanism. The producers create their wealth and the consumers come out and engage in consumption practices. It furnishes a cultural politics, which ascribes and denotes

something about the "situated knowledge" of being Black. The fact of forced or voluntary mobility has made being Black/ African, a global and dynamic reality, which means Pan-Africanism is realizable anywhere in the world (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009). We are all familiar with the literature and music of an idealized Africa by Diasporic writers and artists claiming descent with the continent (Ratcliff, 2009; Sidbury, 2007). Just as we are familiar with the growing number of African-Americans who are tracing their DNA ancestry back to various regions and countries in Africa (Ratcliff, 2009).

The ideal of unity for all peoples of African descent has found resonance globally, attracting intellectuals, writers, artists, leaders of religious and cultural movements, and politicians of varying renown. Pan-Africanism has inspired scholarly traditions that privilege African-centered knowledge production, epistemologies and perspectives that challenge perceived Euro-centric (mis) representations of Africa and people of African descent (Ratcliff, 2009; Esedebe, 1999).

Pan-Africanism stresses solution and mutual benefit through shared struggle/shared meaning/shared cultural and historical heritage. Unity is not about 'sameness', but about providing spaces for inclusivity; here, we can find allowances for different angles and levels of actualization. Its unified intellectual tradition emphasizes healing the problems of existence for the global Black experience.

This outgrowth and intensity of Pan Africanism has also ignited several traditions and iterations of the (Pan) African festival. The contested spaces of the African heritage festival tradition emerge as a meaningful phenomenon for the intersections of culture and politics, and further expressions of Black agency. The sites of the African festival tradition indicate more than what might be interpreted in the narrowed lens of academic

tourism. Any reductive view given to the African festival of the ubiquitous fun-loving picture of people caught up in memoriam for days of self-abandonment, enshrouded in the Afro-Caribbean carnival traditions of its Diaspora cousins' "farewell to the flesh", before the Catholic Lenten season in popular imagination would constitute a grand oversight.

Overtly different, the popular US form of the (Pan) African festival is based in Black/African resistance, self-determination, and the Black liberation project, which includes at its heart the independence of continental African countries. Alongside this, the fact that Detroit's African World Festival takes place annually the weekend of Marcus Garvey's birthday should provide some initial insight into the Black political significance inscribed in the historical landscape of Detroit's metropolitan color line and its racial battleground (Jackson, 1988).

FBI's J. Edgar Hoover did not only hate Garvey, W.E.B. DuBois referred to Garvey as a charlatan, buffoon and orangutan. As Hoover's career began in the 1920s, he tested his counter intelligence program tactics on Garvey's UNIA movement. In the end Garvey was brought low and suffered the public humiliation deemed for too-powerful Black men. Today's FBI still under Hoover's crazed white supremacist footprints would consider Garvey a leader of 'Black identity extremists'. Yet, in the sensible reality of the Pan African world, Garvey and DuBois are loved extensively, while Garvey's influence on Black Nationalism is unsurpassed. Ergo, the act of Black people globally choosing and elevating Garvey to his heroic status, while white epistemics and American government politics of white domination has attempted to make Black people hate him, inscribes and inducts the space of the Black city and the Black mind/body/soul with a

68

corrective memory of defiant heroism as it relates to Black liberation. This self-determined Black love for and influence of Garvey as well constitutes an important expression and lineage of Black agency.

"I'm not African American at all, my folks is not from Africa. A lot of people in this room, folks ain't from Africa" (Flocka, 2017; McKinney, 2017; Sway, 2017). Black twitter and other social media recently exploded in pushback to rapper's Wacka Flocka's 'anything but African' identification in a interview with the host of New York's Sway's Universe. Flocka admitted he was "confused and uneducated", and had "no connection" to understanding African American heritage (Flocka, 2017; McKinney, 2017; Sway, 2017). Reflections of 'the mis-education of Raven Symone' on your local YouTube video are invoked from these same Afro-phobic notions, Symone first gladly subtracting the 'African' from her American identity construction on Oprah (Hare, 2014), and then telling another interviewer she is from "every continent in Africa, except one" (Wilson, 2015).

Conversations like these from 'too many' American Blacks suggest both a serious issue of mis-education (Woodson, 1933; Diop, 1974; Abagond, 2011) pain and 'brainwash' (McCain & McCain, 2018; Nubia, 2017; Kroth, 2017; Mathope, 2017; Olu, 2017; Burrell, 2010; Akbar, 1996) surrounding their cultural, historical and aesthetic roots; it also locates a serious and pervasive problem of African heritage and African identity shame. The evidence of phenomena like this on rejected Africaness (Mathope, 2017) is vast. It would be derelict to ignore the implications of DuBois' thesis of "double-consciousness" (1903), that many 'Black Americans' continue to have an identity crisis especially as it relates to claiming their African descent.

This is one tremendous variable that defines the Black struggle in America. Hence, there is an image of Africa and African heritage that continues to be deliberately distorted. Locked in depictions of Tarzan, limited National Geographic exposures, UNICEF commercials, ethnic conflict, devastating war, rape, squandermania and other Black social decay optics, such as Trump's "shithole countries" (Watkins & Phillip, 2018), many African Americans, have been conditioned by a deeply problematic mis-education of the Motherland and their African American heritage (Thompson, 2008; Holloway, 1999; Henrik-Clarke, 1968). As Muhammad Ali would famously discover on his first visit to Africa in 1964 when he *signified*: "I'm glad to tell our people, that there are more things to be seen in Africa, than lions and elephants," (Ali, 1964). This is what Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie refers to as the "danger of the single story" (2009) about Africa.

The world's image of Africa is not in concert with Africa's true status in world history and not in concert with the Africanization of American culture or the living roots of African American cultural, philosophical and metaphysical practices (Henrik Clarke, 1968). Thus, the legacies of Black people who embrace and celebrate African heritage and being 'African' through the array of Pan African production and consumption points demonstrate a highly important history of Black self-determination, Black resistance and the idea that Black autonomy comprises the fullest expression of African American universal freedom.

In his critique of Thomas Carlyle's "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question" (1853), West Indian historian and Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Eric Williams, reveals that many Blacks and (continental) Africans in the African Diaspora

were indoctrinated and coerced through colonizing mis-education (white brainwash) and prohibited sanctions to accept shame-based paradigms and rejection of their African heritage (Palmer, 2006). Frantz Fanon highlights this rejected Africaness-attitude, when he discusses growing up in the late 1920s Martinique, whereby he wants to sing a creole song, but his very light-skinned Martinique-bred mother forbade him, and tells him he must only sing French songs.

When he insists on singing the creole song, she admonishes him by saying, "don't be like a nigger" (Julian & Vergès, 2016). Bob Marley alludes to this as symptomatic of mental slavery in *Redemption Song* (1980), while Naim Akbar evokes this problem as one of the links in the "chains of psychological slavery" (1996). Similarly, Onyeka Nubia discusses this symptom of Afro-phobia in his talk on "Inferiority and the African Psyche Subconscious Conditioning" (2017).

In this broad, intensive context, African heritage festivals embody a decolonizing Black aesthetic where the performance and freedom of the Black body, Black soul and Black psyche is inscripted and inducted with the struggles forged between race and place, the racial battlegrounds throughout American history that created Black cities. African heritage festivals also provide Afrocentric cultural freedom from 'Old Settler' Black respectability politics, which are often problematically aligned with the Afro-phobia mentality of the white colonizer.

In this light, the significance of the African heritage festival and its cultural politics can only be understood against the impact of European/American colonial/white interest/domination, and its disruption/disconnection of African heritage to the African American's identity. This disruption and disconnection problem is especially apparent as

it suits the indoctrination of 'Africa' and the 'African' as a stand-in for 'single story' tropes of Black shame, Black non-heroes, Black loss, Black descendants of slaves betrayal, Black leader-corruption, Black conquest, Black primitivism and Black poverty (Jackson, 1988). Katherine Dunham's work in dance anthropology and performance studies additionally offers substantive insight into the significance of what Karolee Stevens refers to as "fighting oppression through celebration" in the Black city traditions of the (Pan) African festival (2011).

Dunham's work in uncovering African performance memory as a location for excavating the Black Atlantic – provides two main concepts to be considered in this study, (a) sites of memory and (b) environments of memory. Hence, Dunham substantiated that African Diaspora performance re-creates historical memory of Africa, as well as long-fought battles of survival and revolution (such as the Haitian Revolution) in the Americas. In these collective analyses, African Diaspora performance (performative and value system-related Pan Africanism) which is displayed by consumers, artists, craftspeople and vendors among the African heritage festival represents complex cultural spaces shaped by slavery, colonization and their interrelated methods of Black resistance, revolution, emancipation and ultimately, independence.

The African festival in the States thus, epitomizes the intersection of culture and politics. In every respect it locates and identifies direct resistance and revolt by the Black world inhabited by all the manifestations of Afro-people, against oppression and racism both in history and present day (Stevens, 2011; Osumare, 2004; Jackson, 1988). African American communities celebrate different kinds of (Pan) African festivals each year, however, not much has been published on this subject and it comprises an

underserved topic. The African festival and its cultural political economy based within the African market in part fills some of the gap. The African festival and its larger synthesis of the Pan African Metropolis illustrates the importance of the intergenerational 'reclaiming' of African heritage in the lives of African Americans.

Vocabularies of Black agency are manifested through the multiple acts of self-determination that are transacted between the Pan African consumer and the cultural entrepreneur within the African marketplace at the African heritage festival. These acts of self-determination fulfill a psychological, physical and economic need within the global Black community. The African (American) festival as it is also known demonstrates the functions and vitality of Pan Africanism as spatial resistance, liberation and healing in the urban spaces of the Black city. African/African American festivals function as instruments of safe spaces, community gathering, Black pride and Black unity, which by their enduring traditions decenter obsessions toward whiteness idolization; critiques the 'fake' mythology of European universalism, while deconstructing the pervasive sickness of white supremacy on the Black psyche (Gordon, 1999).

To that effect, it places Blacks/African descendants at the center of the universe, 'appropriately' within an African Diaspora environment of pro-Black sociality and cultural solidarity. Festivals like the African World Festival of Detroit serve as a medium for cultural education and intergenerational communication. They play an important role in the preservation of Black cultural heritage, by transmitting (hidden) knowledge and Black heroic agency in the Black experience to future generations. In this way, they fulfill a need that counters the racial stigma associated with Black shame paradigms socialized through the normative-everyday influence of white supremacy; they provide an

outreach and connection to other Black people who don't have regular access to an 'Africana education' (Rabaka, 2003).

Hence, the celebration of festivals in African American communities should not be seen merely as an annual congregation of street and food vendors, marching bands, and musicians, but also as an instrument of cultural reconstruction, political meaning and the transmission of knowledge to all generations. In this way, they comprise sites of collective Black agency (Owusu-Frempong, 2005). A sense of community is not just spatial and geographical, or social, and cultural, or political and economic, it is psychological as well. An important yet often overlooked element of the Black Metropolis is the slippery notion of the "psychological boundaries of community" (Martin, 1995, 135).

Native Detroiter, Aretha Franklin, the "Queen of Soul" expressed insight into that sentiment, in her uplifting 1964 recording of "Soulville", in which she appeals to her friend/the listener to "take her to her to the place, not only where she feels most comfortable, but also where she belongs" (Martin, 1995, 644). Hence, community is an emotional zone, an affective space that can cultivate "a psychological haven from a hostile world" (644). The African heritage festival and its larger complexity within the Pan African Metropolis furnishes these havens of Black refuge from the hostility of white supremacy's/white racism's institutionalization.

Conclusion

The Black city produced Motown, 'Soulville', the African heritage festival and the Pan African Metropolis (Widick, 1972, Hershey, 1968, Georgakas, 1975, Walters, 2009 and Boyle, 2013). The cultural politics of the Black city represents a fight against

several forms of white racial oppression (Walters, 2009). In this struggle, culture and philosophy are indispensible weapons in the fight against racial oppression and white supremacy (Henderson, 2015 and Morrison, 1976).

By this understanding, culture shapes meaning that informs and influences political ideology and philosophical orientation (Gramsci, 1925 and Karenga, 2003). The conflict system is also determined by white's struggle to attempt and maintain cultural, moral and philosophical domination over Black people. This is how whites historically saw their "sovereignal freedoms" (Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017, 5) as entitlements that decided 'place' according to race (Bullard, 2007 and Darden and Thomas, 2017).

In that realm of thinking, socialization, taboo and 'law', Blacks were supposed to maintain subordinated spaces to whites, act inferior and be happy with it (Blackmon, and Grossman, 2012). Separation i.e., the color line enforcement taboo as dictated by whites meant subordination (Patillo, 2015). The construction and maintenance of the Black ghetto meant subordination (Drake and Cayton, 1945 and Patillo, 2015).

> They do this [the racial segregation of the color line] because, it's important to remind Black people, day after day, after day, minute after minute, that they have a place in this society, and that place is subordinate (Grossman and Blackmon, 2012).

The changing landscape of the Black Metropolis stands as a departure point for research, theorization and understanding Black urban formations, Black urban existence and Black social geographies. This dissertation study departs from Drake and Cayton, by first alleging Detroit's distinctiveness as a Black Metropolis (Widick, 1972), then expanding on and reconstructing Drake and Cayton's analytical frameworks in theoretical relationship to Pan-Africanism. Pan-African cultural politics represent a "fight for

African American self-determination" (Jolly, 2013, 1, Stevens, 2011, Taylor, 2010, Radcliff, 2009, Osumare, 2004, Smitherman, 2004, Hill-Collins, 2001, et. al.). The cultural politics of Detroit depict a form of Black resistance because they intentionally defy and claim agency against white-Eurocentric (racist) domination. JoAnn Watson's introductory declaration in Chapter 1 reflects the strength of Pan-Africanism in Detroit. Pan-Africanism was intended to be an oppositional cultural framework and provide a delivery system for Black politics (the mission of Black liberation, justice, equality and representation) through African-centered Black culture (Holloway, 2005, Stevens, 2011, Halifu, 2004, Smitherman 2004, and Manchard, 1999 and Jackson, 1988).

The resuscitation of Africa has perpetually acted as an oppositional framework central to the history of Black resistance forces, starting with the Haitian Revolution and its subsequent first Black Nation. Pan African religiosity, in the long roots of Black liberation theology shaped a strategy of Black resistance as confirmed in the Haitian Revolution, and exhibited an ancestral illustration of the significant intersectional dynamics of culture and politics for Black independence (James, 1963, 86).

The historical record of the Haitian Revolution ties together the apparatus of Black culture-Black politics-Black resistance-Black identity-Black philosophy, and its unifying thrust in the prospects of Black spatial resistance. In the way of Pan African cultural politics, this legacy and its connective thread has continued in contemporary Black spaces like Detroit. CLR James historical reading of "Negritude" in the Haitian Revolution also provides a way toward understanding the emerging of the Pan African Metropolis, erected through the agency of Black self-determination juxtaposed among white northern racial liberalism (1963, 394).

Left to themselves; the Haitian peasantry resuscitated to a remarkable degree the lives they had lived in Africa. Their method of cultivation, their family relations and social practice, their drums, songs, and music, [became] *such art as they had practiced* [in Africa]; …The African way of life of the Haitian peasant became the axis of Haitian literary creation (1963, 394).

"The African way of life became the axis", left to their-own designs. By James' explanation and Watson's claim, the current discourse embraces Watson's terminology as legitimate, whereas her keen acknowledgement and cognition bears witness to thick processes of personified Africanization and Afro-modernity that are manifested from Pan-African legacies, Black self-determination and Black resistance against white attempted control and hegemony. These thematic processes continue to thrive and shape Black Detroit spaces distinctly. Race, culture, and ethnic identity associated with African heritage have always defined African American cities.

Historically, the immense population of Black residents in segregated Black neighborhoods changed the social composition of urban spaces in Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, Harlem, New York, Washington, D.C., and Cleveland, among others. Pan-African cultural nationalism has its origins in the racial battlegrounds of Black cities like Detroit. The Pan African Metropolis has much of its basis in the cultural formation landscape produced by the metropolitan color line in these cities, their racial contract and their manifestation of two worlds, positioning the autonomy of the Black world. For this reason, Detroit's continuum of Pan-Africanism configures how Detroit, becomes Watson's "African city" and by extension 'Detroit's African World (DuBois, 1903, Myrdal, 1944, Widick, 1972, Mills, 1999, Sugrue, 1999 and Baugh, 2011).

Chapter 3
Black Placemaking in a Pan African Detroit: A Cultural History

Introduction

Within Chapter 3: *Black Placemaking in Pan African Detroit: A Cultural History*, I explore the connective tissue of cultural history, through race struggles, Black refuge and cultural formation indicative of a Pan African Metropolis (PAM) in Detroit. Hence, the 'Pan African refuge', is housed in the multiple indications of the Pan African Metropolis. The locus of Black life situated within the broader problem of racial oppression and Black struggle, cannot be isolated from Black health (mental, spiritual, economic, ecological and biological); whereas the consideration of this holistic Black health-approach under the current Pan African (PA) outlook adds more nuanced functionality to its Black liberation mission (Semmes, 1995, 1996; Washington, 2006).

Chapter 3 is organized in the proceeding manner, after its *Introduction*, it is conceived into five subsequent sections, *Black Refuge, Black Culture and Black Placemaking* offers a short exposition of the relationship and relevance of Black refuge, Black culture and Black placemaking as key variables in the current discourse, historical events, empirical history and literature (circa 1900s – 1950s). *Existence and Refuge in Red, Black and Green* traces the long roots of Pan African consciousness in Detroit, through the symbolism of its aesthetic colors as a metaphor for its Black existential impact. The next section, *The Pan African Citizen of the Pan African Metropolis* attempts to capture what is defined throughout the dissertation discussion as 'the Pan African citizen', which is claimed here as a central agent-contributor to the emergence of the Pan African Metropolis, the Pan African citizen is considered to be two groups, the producer (entrepreneur interchangeably) and the consumer. Albert Cleage, 'Jaramogi', founder of

the Black Christian Nationalist (Pan African Orthodox Church political) movement in Detroit, which was housed in the famous Shrine of the Black Madonna church is used as a brief critical illustration to explain this agent-member.

This is a story about Detroit that may have begun in Harlem. It was a breezy Harlem day on August 13, 1920, looking out on West 135th from Liberty Hall, when the United Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL) adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World (Garvey, 2016; Hill, 2016, et. al.) as its articles for self-governance, Black independence and critique of anti-Black discrimination. The UNIA Declaration, in step with the United States Declaration of Independence and the France's (Revolution-drawn Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (Garvey, 2016; Hill, 2016, et. al.) charted the basic principles of human rights and liberties for all Black people in the world. Due to the racial discrimination leveled onto Black people in that era, the 'Rights of the Negro' revised the basic principles of both the French and American resolution (federal document) for liberty, freedom and equality that, "all men [and women] are born free and [should] remain free and equal in rights" (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018) for Black people.

During the month-long convention, grand street parades were led at the heart of Black Harlem, where members elected the leaders of the UNIA-ACL (Bennett, Jr., 1976; Leeuwen, 2000; Seligman, 1921). Inside Liberty Hall, the conference resembled a religious service conducted with an elaborate liturgy, opening with prayers, and the UNIA anthem. Marcus Garvey served as the chairman for the proceedings and was named the "Provisional President of Africa" (Harvey, 1994). The African Legion and Black Cross Nurses flanked the long aisle coming to attention on cue, as the Black Star

Band and the audience joined in the hymn: "Long Live Our President" (Bennett, Jr., 1976; Leeuwen, 2000; Seligman, 1921). After a much-lauded introduction and "glowing tribute" (Hill, 2000, 2016) by the President-General Henrietta Vinton Davis, Garvey rose to speak:

> We are met… tonight for the purpose of enlightening the world respecting the attitude of the New Negro. We are assembled here tonight as the descendants of a suffering people … who are determined to suffer no longer… Freedom is the common heritage of mankind, and as God Almighty created us four hundred million strong, we shall ask the reason why… why we also cannot enjoy the benefits of liberty… This convention of the UNIA is called for the purpose of framing a Bill of Rights for the Negro Race… We have no animus against the white man. All that we have, as a race, desired is a place in the sun (Garvey, 1920).

In segregated nightclubs Black masses Lindy-hopped, snapped fingers, nodded and swayed to the copacetic makings of a jazz age revolution (Ogren, 1989). Now that same eclectic fold crowded into Harlem's Liberty Hall and packed it to the rafters, spurred on by the humiliation and trauma of the color line's social imperative, that 'Blacks must stay in their place'. This confluence of defacto and dejure racial segregation policies and cultural practices typified places like the Cotton Club and popular "coon songs" (Martin, 1976) like "Every Race Has A Flag, But the Coon" (Heelan, 1900; Martin, 1976).

It is this very 'coon song' that inspired Marcus Garvey to come up with the idea that Black people needed a flag all their own. The birth of the Pan African flag is tied to the humiliation casting and its 'removal' of patriotism from Black people that this song fabricates. Yet, pushed to the crossroads of a Black transnational and anticolonial awareness, and what Dubois seventeen years earlier described as "the strange meaning of being Black" (1903), reflecting on the existential crisis of African Americans under the

absurdities of white racism (1903), more than 20,000 Black people attended this first UNIA convention (Harvey, 1994). In the context of this racial dilemma and its plight of cruel Black suffering, the UNIA's 'Declaration' stated:

> *Be It Resolved,* that the Negro people of the world… protest against the wrongs and injustices they are suffering at the hands of their white brethren, and state what they deem their fair and just rights, as well as the treatment they propose to demand of all men in the future (UNIA-ACL, 1920).

This Black 'Bill of Rights' expressed the international grievances of Black people; it denounced lynchings, segregated public transportation, job discrimination, and inferior Black public schools. It also addressed Black people personally and informed them on how to exist and adapt in a time of dreadful Black suffering (UNIA-ACL, 2017). Something else, also unfolded at that same meeting: "That the colors, Red, Black, and Green, be the colors of the African race" (WCHB, 2012), thus, establishing the Pan African, Black Liberation, or African American Flag.

Detroit preacher, A. D. Williams, was one of those inspired Black souls that had attended the Harlem convention (Smith-Irvin, 1974; Thomas, 1992; Wolcott, 2000; Zampty, 1974). Several days later, Rev. Williams came back to Detroit waving a red, Black and green flag, walking the streets of Detroit, playing the tambourine accompanied by a small group of other Blacks. Within a few months, Detroit's UNIA chapter had begun (Smith-Irvin, 1974; Thomas, 1992; Wolcott, 2000; Zampty, 1974).

Williams' story reveals how Pan African legacies forged "Black placemaking" (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson & Taylor, 2016) as sites of refuge and Black agency in climates of racial trauma and color line humiliation. Black placemaking "refers to the ways that Black Americans create sites of endurance, belonging, and resistance through social interaction" (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson & Taylor, 2016). As a whole, Pan African

81

Detroit, testifies to the way Black Detroiters have 'made place' and made refuge for themselves using Pan African infusions among the racial battleground of Detroit's metropolis. In this way, the notion of the Pan African Metropolis is contemplated over the course of the dissertation's reading.

The current historical framework offers some corrective to existing narratives of the Motor City that depict its urban Black spaces as plagued by trapped people, criminals, violence; victims and perpetrators, unproductive, and antagonistically isolated from one another and lacking Black unity and peaceful coexistence. This narrative practice uncovers the problems of white historical erasure and historical forgetting found in a complexity of white racially biased media-driven and social science obsessions. These white gazes are perpetually delusional and obscured by patterns of Negrophobia, Black social pathology paradigms and Miseducation.

The section, *Detroit's Racial Contract and The Formation of Pan African Detroit* elaborates on the formation of Pan African Detroit from the context of Detroit's racial contract/racial liberalism socio-political-economic structure. This racial contract is grounded, informed and influenced by a history of violent race struggles in Detroit, starting from as early as the Blackburn Riot of 1833, to the Detroit (Draft) Riot of 1863, to the Ossian Sweet Riot of 1925, to the Race Riot of 1943, culminating with the 1967 Rebellion. The last section before the conclusion, *From Black Bottom to the Black Arts Movement,* briefly surveys the Black Bottom cultural history that spurned on the next generation of Black 'New Negro' racial consciousness known as the Detroit Black Arts Movement, which in turn gave birth to the Pan African Metropolis. The chapter's final

word is featured in its *Conclusion*, and attempts to summarize some of its critical points and offer some unending implications for its urban sociological deportment.

Black Refuge, Black Culture and Black Placemaking, 1900s -1950s

The repeated term of Black refuge is operationalized here as a function of Black placemaking, both are embodied in Pan Africanism and can be examined in the previous contributions of the UNIA in the 1920s, A. D. Williams' story and the brutal death of a "Negro girl" in 1919. These acts of Black political culture and their related Black existential stories signify important moments in the quest for the universal freedom and the equal treatment of Black people (Walton, Jr., Smith & Wallace, 2017).

They also reveal clues to a social problem of lengthy racial trauma inflicted on African American health, longevity, prosperity and existence (Semmes, 1996; Washington, 2006). The need for refuge from the afflictions of white racial abuse are made clear in a longer historical memory of Black Detroit than post '67 rebellion and post Young Boys Incorporated (brutal drug cartel) '80s. For all its many roles, Pan African cultural nationalism, moreover, fulfilled a psychological and spiritual need for Black Detroiters. This psychological and spiritual aspect of Pan Africanism often gets disconnected from its political meanings. The physical and metaphysical manifestations of Pan Africanism created numerous 'Black safe spaces', which provided a place of needed belonging (AWF, 2016; Frye, 2017; Kai, 2017; Vaughn, 1997) and respite from white racial abuse (APA, 2018; Hardy, 2013; Mays, Cochran & Barnes, 2007, Schreibner, 2010).

The legacies of Detroit's Pan African cultural nationalism fostered the healing power of an, Afrocentric 'Blackness friendly home' for African Americans (Castor, 2014; Frye & Kai, 2017; Ramirez, 2015; Schreibner, 2010; Temple, 2005). Wherever that PA Black refuge negotiation occurred; the Pan African Metropolis was grounded. This landscape of Black refuge is what Garvey refers to as the need for "a place in the sun" (1920).

The growth of Pan Africanism/Garveyism, much like other bursts of Black creative production during the 'broad' Jazz Age-Black Renaissance period symbolized a rebirth of aspiration and place for African Americans, a time where they could build what they sought as refuge places in the encounter of the modern Northern city, like Detroit, Bronzeville and Harlem (Fisher, 1925; Lewis, 1994). The Black Mecca as a refuge trope marks a long established 'Promised Land' metaphor, filled with triumph and self-delusion (Boyd, 2017; Bullard, 2007; De Beri, Maroney, Wright & Cooper, 2014; Fisher & McCloskey, 2008; Himes, 1985; Moon, 1994) in Black migration stories and social imagination.

For, the Black southern migrant, complicated by hope and self-delusion, the Black migration odyssey took an ironic turn in the Northern realities, which brought again, the impediments of structural racism that developed the Black Bottom ghetto subordination and unequal provisions of opportunity. While he/she hoped to escape the "strange fruits" (Holiday, 1937, 1956; Meeropol, 1937; Smith, 1944, 1949) of a Negrophobic south, what he/she found up North was more ugly white racism, alongside several survival ironies, predatorial 'flim-flams' and vices; the allure of traps, tricks and exploitation, internal to the Black community, for many vulnerable Black southerners (Fisher, 1925; Himes,

1965; McCloskey, 2008). Thus, transcendence, racial matters, self-delusion and irony all describe the Black urban experience from Detroit, to Harlem to Chicago and other Black cities. This irony was not just felt from the ugliness of Northern racism, police brutality and terror, it was also felt internally in the Black community, as in the challenges of class division and temperance as described by the "moral mission" or respectability politics of uplift, which the Detroit Urban League championed in the 1920s,

> Removed from the restraining influence of family and friends, and beset by many vicious attractions, entirely new to him, the incoming Negro easily became susceptible to [the] bait of vice and crime in the Negro district. A welcome from the great majority of colored citizens who have time to establish themselves in Detroit was not generally extended, while the always, welcoming hand of the vicious was waiting (Bjorn & Gallet, 2001, 5).

The strength of Pan Africanism under the Detroit UNIA Chapter reflected the tenor of Detroit's Jazz Age-Black Renaissance and its new emerging middle class (Bjorn & Gallert, 2001). The dramatic increase in the Black population from the Great Migration by 1920s changed the class structure and class relations within the Black community. The largely, once agricultural class of Blacks was transformed into an industrial working class, which influenced, the structure of Black leadership, internal institutions, and the economic, social and political development of the larger Black Detroit community.

These industrial workers created the demand for the goods and services produced by the rising Black professional and business class, but were restricted by the color line to the internal markets of the Black community (Bjorn & Gallert, 2001; Thomas, 1992). It is in these internal markets where the solidification of Black political economy and Black cultural political economy begins to take form.

The Black skilled industrial proletariat and Black entrepreneur made up the emergent middle class. The stiff labor market competition, white aggression, the impact

of the KKK, police brutality and exclusivity from European immigrants, alongside other attendant structures of the color line forced Black people to turn inward (Bjorn & Gallert, 2001). From these cohesive elements, the ideology of Garveyism, crystalized in racial solidarity and self-help philosophy would define the Black community of the jazz age. Two types of community efforts expressed the main concerns and philosophies of this 'New Detroit-Negro': the development of Black businesses for the Black consumer market and organized efforts at "uplifting" the burgeoning proletariat classes. Racial pride and the organization efforts of the 1926 Booker T. Washington's National Negro Business League fueled this business expansion (Bjorn & Gallet, 2001).

The Great Migration after 1915 provided a huge challenge to both of these community building-goals, mainly because of the housing shortage and the racial policies of the housing market (Poremba, 1999; Williams, 2008). Due to the big demand from the increasing worker classes, five major types of Black businesses began to flourish, first, the restaurants and boardinghouses dominated the scene in the near eastside, or Black Bottom/Hasting area where Black people were mostly restricted. Then, the Black vaudeville circuit commanded the rise of the show theater, like the Vaudette, the Koppin, the Graystone, Masonic Hall, Palais de Danse, the Arcadia, the Grande, the Monticello, the Vanity, the Majestic, and the Mirror.

As jazz grew bigger and the dance craze of the foxtrot, black bottom and the cakewalk took off, the ballroom building, the urban honky-tonks, speakeasies and blind pigs (after hour joints) of Black Detroit started to surface. The dance craze also took life on Detroit riverboats as a major attraction. The Graystone Theater, the city's largest ballroom, opened its doors on March 7, 1922, on Woodward near Canfield. It was billed

as "Detroit's Million Dollar Ballroom" (Bjorn & Gallet, 2001, 8). A majestic giant, on any given day, it could handle 3,000 customers on its floors and balconies. Berry Gordy, who grew up attending these ballrooms and listening to the great jazz music that frequented them, purchased the Graystone during the Motown music era. Gordy hoped to bring back these golden jazz ages, when he started the early MotorTown Revues there. Detroit ballrooms like those elsewhere, were largely segregated.

Only one theater was Black owned and catered to Black Detroit, the Vaudette, while others had Black managers. The Vaudette was owned and managed by Edward B. Dudley, from 1913 to 1920, when he took over the management of the Koppin Theater. Both were located on Gratiot, and were central to the musical life of the Black community; both theaters also ran many Black movies, like those of Oscar Micheaux and race movies with stars like Edna Mae McKinney. A Black owner and Black manager were significant in the eyes of the Black community.

These businessmen were often referred to as "Race Men", i.e., role models and important protection against racial discrimination for the Black community (Bates, 2012; Bjorn & Gallet, 2001, 6; Clark, 2016; Garvey, 2006; Jolly, 2014; Thomas, 1992; Wolcott, 2001). The Black press of the era functioned to uplift and praise the good Race Men and Race Women of the Black community. They also worked to renegotiate the racial color bar and call out business owners who practiced discrimination and Black exploitation to make them change their policies. One example is that of the Koppin Theater owner, Henry S. Koppin, whom the *Chicago Defender*, a big promoter of Black Detroit development, blasted in the headlines, "Koppin. That's the Name of a Money Grabber Who 'Fattens' in Detroit" (1920):

When Henry S. Koppin opened his theater, he selected a small group of Race men (musicians), and placed them in his orchestra pit; that was fine, as far as it went, but it didn't go any further, for since the opening day… he hasn't employed a member of the Race in any capacity… He has refused to even use one of us as doorman, so it has settled down to a place where we have to fiddle and fiddle only for representation… There is no excuse for the above conditions, for it is a fact that 90% of his trade… is made up of our people (Bjorn & Gallert, 2001, 7).

The *Defender* urged Detroiters to boycott Koppin's theater, and within a few months, Koppin hired Vaudette owner Ed 'Dud' Dudley as its first Black manager (Bjorn & Gallert, 2001). Vivian Dudley, Dud's wife using the Black subjectivity of the Black press, in an African American weekly, called the *Owl*, in the fashion of the Black placemaking narrative of the era, captures the leanings of Black Detroit in its African heritage as a basis for Black pride, in its aesthetics of Black dignity and self-beauty validation; while at the same time she writes to renegotiate the racial color bar, standardized at Graystone.

Blacks were only allowed to rent the Graystone on holidays and Mondays. The Scholarship Ball of 1928 at Graystone on Monday, organized by Professor J. F. DeWitt expressed the caliber of the community building values in racial pride, uplift and education that was accentuated by 'Black Mondays' in these segregated ballrooms (Bjorn & Gallert, 2001). A sign of the times, albeit, the obsession of exotica comes through in Dudley's write up, (below) and a narrow composition of the African woman as 'only' dark-skinned is stated, yet, her descriptive Black solidarity makes some complicated attempt to be in contrast to the limited skin politics of the "tall and tan girl" fascination and requirement for beauty (Bates, 2012; Bjorn & Gallert, 2001; Smith, 2008), promoted as not African and 'creamed' from the coercive colorism of the color bar.

'Le Afro-Americaine' was out in all-his splendor. The numerous types of Black American were present in their entirety. Girls tall, dark and queenly with the grace of African water-carriers; others, golden brown of skin and hair, tawny

beauty reminiscent of Hawaiian skies; rich cream colored maidens with hair like smooth Black silk, calling to Spanish haciendas and swarthy youths strumming amorous strains on guitars while his lady, standing on an iron balcony, flashes dark eyes over a fan of lace… every conceivable Negro type was represented within this mighty throng (Bjorn & Gallert, 2001, 9; Dudley, 1928).

Detroit in the 1920s, witnessed the two most popular Black organizations, the NAACP and the UNIA under their divergent "New Negro" philosophies (Bates, 2012; Lewis, 1994) battle for the political and cultural soul of Black Detroit, and thus the control of an emerging "New Detroit" political economy (Bates, 2012, 68-92). But, Garvey's call to action, which attracted many Black Detroiters, left a larger footprint on the socio-political landscape of the Black community (Bates, 2012).

Garveyites in Detroit focused on the legacy of slavery when they described how they differed from the approach of Detroit's Black elite, who they felt were "servile" (Bates, 2012, 70). The UNIA believed the "slave spirit of dependence" caused the Black elite "to seek shelter, leadership, protection and patronage of the master", and thus were obsessed with white validation (Bates, 2012, 70). In 1925, Detroit Mayor John Smith appointed a blue ribbon-interracial committee to study living conditions for Blacks in Detroit; the committee concluded that the UNIA was only second to the NAACP in terms of addressing and defending the civil rights of Black Detroiters.

The Negro in Detroit (1926), the committee's final report described the UNIA as not just a "protest" organization, for unlike the NAACP, the UNIA tried to "induce the color people to meet injustices and denial of rights by starting all kinds of enterprises of their own with the purpose in view of finally becoming independent of the white people" (Bates, 2012, 70). This discourse of the UNIA captures the foundation of Black

autonomy and the relinquishing of white validation as Pan African values in the socio-cultural formation of Black Detroit.

Existence and Refuge in Red, Black and Green

Oh, her RED blood they spilled on the meadow,
Shall always be dear to me,
Her BLACK form that laid on the meadow,
Cried out, "Africa must be free."
The red and the Black tearful given
The GREEN grass did tenderly screen,
And the rain fell bright teardrops from heaven,
On the Red, and the Black and the Green (Ford, 1923).

Rabbi Arnold Joshua Ford composed the anthem of UNIA-AC within footsteps of the site, where a young 17-year-old "Negro girl," was found brutally murdered and dissected in 1919 (Keyamsha, 2017; Stephenson, 2009). Ford's verses above were influenced heavily by the Negro girl's death (Keyamsha, 2017; Stephenson, 2009). In this way, the Pan African colors are embedded spiritually and psychologically with a cloak of protective refuge and hope for Black lives suffering at the hands of any murderous anti-Black social system.

The poem's symbolism of the colors is wedded to the 'Negro girl's' (1919) murder. The death of the Negro girl represents an allegory for the larger point of the Pan African aesthetic and struggle. Her short tragic life (existential crisis) serves as a preeminent teaching in allegorical stories embodied by the flag and its tri-color symbolism. Thus, the death, brutal rape and mutilation of the 'Negro girl' became fused to the plight of Pan African freedom as an allegorical figure. The incident and the poem reflected the turbulent year of *The Red Summer* (1919)*,* where a scourge of race riots broke out in more than thirty-six cities. In each case whites were always the aggressors (Erickson, 1960; NYT, 1919; Lewis, 2017). This Negrophobic-white culture was typified by eras of lynching,

racial abuse, and the intentionally unsolved and unretributed murder of Black people at the hands of whites (DuBois, 1903; Gordon, 2000; Muhammad, 2012; Stephenson, 2009). Imposed upon the 'cloak of red, Black and green' was a death-defying Black existential crisis on Black bodies, Black minds, Black self-love, Black bonding and Black spiritual constitution.

> She, like the majority of our young girls who are driven into all kinds of servitude through economic pressure… was forced to take a position as a servant girl…with a white master and mistress who were Negro haters. In this isolated place and with no one to protect her, it was not long before she was raped by her white master and was about to become a mother. Having no one else to confide in, and finding trouble growing upon her, at last resolved to tell the whole story to her mistress, hoping to receive some measure of sympathy or relief. The result was that her body was found in a nearby city in a meadow one fine morning, just after a shower of rain, her arms and legs broken, her body mutilated…With such conditions confronting us as a race of people, and with only one organization, which has a program for the relief of this suffering race, it was on the site of this tragedy that the composer of the Universal Ethiopian Anthem was inspired to write the verses (Ford, 1923 and Stephenson, 2009).

Her story, like so many Black women and unsung others reflects the emblematic assertion of the 'Red, Black and Green,' and the Black Bill of Rights, which are both symbolized in Detroit's tradition of Black refuge, identity creation, cultural politics, lifestyles, Black resistance, and Black self-determination in African heritage celebration. In this tradition of Black placemaking, we find Detroit Blacks have made ways to sustain Africa in their relationship with Pan Africanism, and used it as a launchpad for significant challenges to local "ruling powers" (Jolly, 2013).

In doing so, they have provided a 'pan African script' (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009), where their lives, performances, political thought and value system represent 'their own living flag' of Black empowerment that resisted, reformed and navigated Detroit's terror-environment of racial liberalism (Bates, 2012; Baugh, 2011; Boyle, 2004; Darden

& Thomas, 1999; Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Hershey, 1968; Katzman, 1973; Miller, 2014; Sugrue, 2005; Widick, 1973).

Black placemaking under the long cloak of "red, Black & green" details two important features of Black existentialism, the ontology of Black agency and the ontology of Black suffering (Gordon, 2000). Its semiotic discourses entrenched in many unheralded heroic stories of Black Detroit marked the guideposts of safe Black places, Black self-love transformations, cultural enrichment for learning "the whole [Black historical] truth" (Karenga, 2014, 20) and the quest for the healing effects of 'the lost African home' (Frye & Kai, 2017; Schreibner, 2010; Temple, 2005) in a world of racial murder with no justice served, which characterizes the uninterrupted experience of racial trauma for Black people, even today (Boyle, 2014; Erickson, 1960; NYT, 1919; Stephenson, 2009)

Detroit's Pan African historical experience is thus sought after in the prospects of describing its 'red, black & green' life and refuge. For this reason, "red, Black and green" have become synonymous with referencing Black Nationalists and Pan African Movements' life, identity, culture and philosophy, and thus the Black liberation project worldwide for people in the African Diaspora. Moreover, the colors symbolize a globally accepted Pan African aesthetic tradition of Black placemaking. As an emblem of Black pride, these colors became popular during the Black Liberation Movement of the 1960s (Martin, 1976; Olivia, 2015).

The colors red, Black and green can be viewed as cultural elements that embody the political meaning of the flag. The tri-colors have come to stand for at the very least, Black intellectual/spiritual development, Black pride/Black self-love, Black liberation, the Black nation, Black self-determination, Black agency, Buying Black, Black-owned

businesses, a celebration of African heritage and Black unity (DuBois, 1920; Malik, 2017). The tri-color scheme is represented in all kinds of fashion apparel, such as red, Black and green flip flops, Afrocentric jewelry, signage, T-shirts, artwork, decorative arrangements, various Black cultural production, and even women's finger nail polish designs (Olivia, 2015). The significance of these colors in the lives of Black Detroiters allows an interpretive explanation of Black cultural politics.

Their associative traditions illustrate not just the merging of the political and the cultural, but the overlay of the spiritual and psychological strength embodied in their historical functionality. Consequently, tracking their presence in the socio-geography and adornments of Detroit's historical preservation reveals how Black cultural politics had a prevailing influence in the contests for local power (Martin, 2005).

Detroit's vibrant Black cultural phenomena materialized in a city defined profoundly by chronic patterns of racial discrimination that frequently led to violent civil unrest. These patterns of repressive white aggression on Black universal freedom, racial equality and Black power, cannot be separated from their media-driven apparatus of Negrophobia. White racist attitudes were mirrored, reinforced and validated by the white 'Fox'-press of these times.

The white power structure, which included white politicians making early use of white fear/law and order rhetoric/white fragility-syndrome (Bates, 2012; Boyle, 2014; Katz, 1973) upon the white populace propagated a series of social cataclysms, beginning as early as 1833 in the Blackburn Riot. The Detroit 'draft' Riot of 1863 followed. More white terrorism would follow in the Ossian Sweet Riot of 1925. Subsequently, the Race Riot of 1943 would continue these forms of white aggression.

Eventually, Black suffering associated with Detroit's color line, especially in its long-standing culture of police brutality would culminate in the explosion of the 1967 Great Rebellion. In response to these persistent patterns of anti-Black discrimination, Black Detroit with the fortitude of John Henry, hammered out a place for itself; a 'Black safe place', by "any means" possible (AWF, 2016; Bates, 2012; Georgakas & Surkin, 1975; Katzman, 1975; Sugrue, 2005; Smith, 1999; Widick, 1972).

These efforts produced several forms of Black placemaking under Pan-African organizations and cultural institutions in Detroit, like the Republic of New Africa, the Shrine of the Black Madonna, the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History, The Nation of Islam and today's Nandi's Knowledge Café, all of these entities have applied the emblematic Pan African tri-color scheme in numerous contexts. The history surrounding 'Red, Black & Green' underpins the stories of Pan African activists and thought. *The Universal Negro Catechism*, published by the UNIA in 1921, explains the political meaning behind the colors:

> Red is the color of the blood, which men must shed for their redemption and liberty; black is the color of the noble and distinguished race to which we belong; green is the color of the luxuriant vegetation of our Motherland.

The colors are a communal palette seen far and wide at local Detroit and neighboring Canadian parades like the Caribana, Pan African festivals; Detroit's Annual African World Festival, Afrocentric stores, African centered schools used the flag and colors in their designs, such as Malcolm X Academy and Nsoroma Institute, Detroit's first Pan African primary education school headed by Malik Yakini and Imani Humphrey.

The Pan African symbolism of red, Black and green have graced a number of Black cultural events and commemorated a multiplicity of African American iconic

figures. Among Black protest movements, like the Black Lives Matter campaigns, you will find the colors represented on posters, in their dress, or on T-shirts. In the aftermath of the grand jury's refusal to indict a police officer in the shooting of Michael Brown, a Howard University student replaced the U.S. flag on the campus flagpole with a Pan-African flag flying at half-mast (Greenberg, 2014). The July 25th edition of *The Black World Today* (1999) suggested that, as an act of global solidarity, every August 17 should be celebrated worldwide as Universal African Flag Day by flying the red, black, and green banner. August 17 is the birthday of Marcus Garvey. This is why Detroit's African World Festival traditionally begins every year on August 17th.

The Pan African Citizen of the Pan African Metropolis

Garveyism's reach is exemplified in the illustrated life, philosophy and work of Albert Cleage, founder of the Pan African Orthodox Church in Detroit, formerly called The Shrine of the Black Madonna (Clark, 2016). Cleage who later changed his name to Jaramogi Abebe Agyeman, which in Swahili means, "liberator, holy man, savior of the nation" (Henderson, 2015) embodies the Pan-African Metropolis citizen (Clark, 2016).

Concurrently, the Shrine of the Black Madonna provides the model of the quintessential Pan African-Black refuge place and the formation of the local African 'healing home'. Both notions of The Shrine's functionality reflect Black placemaking in Pan African Detroit (Castor, 2014; Frye & Kai, 2017; Ramirez, 2015; Schreibner, 2010; Temple, 2005). Cleage represents the 'living colors' of red, Black and green and demonstrates the relationship between Pan Africanism and the Black Metropolis. In this prominent relationship shared by Cleage and generations of Black Detroiters, the Pan African Metropolis of Detroit comes to life. Cleage's life and work allows us to grapple

with the element of Pan African cultural dimensions to the Black Metropolis thesis (Clark, 2016).

Cleage provides key insights into conclusions about Pan-Africanism as a major Detroit Black cultural politic and distinctive organizing principle of Black life. Cleage's also reveals how Pan Africanism solidifies a vibrant apparatus of Black Nationalism in Detroit's Black Metropolis. Albert Cleage, through the Shrine of the Black Madonna, "applied Malcolm's revolutionary precepts to the major political, economic and cultural institution in the Black community: the Black church" (Henderson, 2015, 247).

Cleage played a central role in the development of the Detroit "Black Slate" (Henderson, 2015, 252). Detroit's Black Slate became the main political organizing arm that led to Detroit's first Black mayor, Coleman Young and the mostly-Black city council. Young's administration and Detroit's Black City Council would in turn become staunch supporters of Charles Wright's vision to erect a resource center to document, preserve and educate the public on Black history, life and culture (2015). The African World Festival (AWF) sprung up from the Black self-determination vision of this new Black revolutionary leadership and Wright's seminal International Afro-American Museum (2015).

The AWF and its African World are thus, an outgrowth of the Pan-African consciousness, historical reconstruction and liberation politics that developed from the legacies and impact that encompassed 'The Shrine's' broad community relations, and the rising geographic power of Detroit's Black Metropolis (Cleage, 1967; Widick, 1972). On the altar inside the church the red, black and green flag proudly stands alongside statues of an African king and queen. Parishioners sing the Black national anthem "Lift Every

Voice and Sing" (Johnson & Johnson, 1900; Warikoo, 2017) during Sunday services. In 1967, a painting depicting Jesus Christ and his mother as Black/African was unveiled at the Shrine of the Black Madonna (Warikoo, 2017).

The 'making of place' at The Shrine is emphasized by the painting, with its historical rendering of Jesus as a Black man and a Black revolutionary for the social gospel-transformation of Black suffering. In this Black church placemaking methodology, Black liberation theology takes center stage to serve the plight of Black people. Cleage and Pan African bookstore pioneer Ed Vaughnn commissioned Glanton Dowdell to paint the piece, which was created at a time when many African Americans were in search of a church that embraced Black culture and addressed the racial struggle of the day. A few months after the painting was christened, the 1967 rebellion erupted and thousands of Detroiters clustered to The Shrine inquiring about this new form of socio-political-religion called Black Christian nationalism (Warikoo, 2017).

Cleage critiqued Western Christianity for being misogynist and demonizing women, which he argued stood in historical contradiction to "the scientific spirituality of our ancestors" (Nelson, 2017), where in African life, the Black matriarchal presence was respected and the female principle was part of the divine duality of God (Warikoo, 2017). At its peak, the Pan African Orthodox Christian Church commanded eight churches in Michigan, five of them in Detroit. Today, the combine attendance of all the churches is 50,000 (Nelson and Warikoo, 2017).

By following Cleage as a critical embodiment of Detroit's Pan African identity and Black cultural politics, one can see how Pan-Africanism impacts the Black urban tropes that Drake and Cayton recognize as central to defining the Black Metropolis

(1945). For instance, a brief consideration of Drake and Cayton's socio-existential methodology reflected in the Black urban trope of "staying alive" (Patillo, 2012), which describes Black life through the lens of survival, adaptive skills, progress, resistance, and transcendence, to gage the Black Metropolis model, leads to the fact that Black Detroiters have utilized Pan Africanism dramatically to 'stay alive' (DeBardelaben, Frye, Kai, & Yakini, 2017) within the social imperative of Detroit's color line (Bates, 2012; Baugh, 2011; Boyle, 2004; Darden & Thomas, 1999; Georgakas & Surkin, 1975; Hershey, 1968; Katzman, 1973; Miller, 2014; Sugrue, 2005; Widick, 1973). This Pan African rendering of 'staying alive' is supported in Blackshear's assessment,

> Beyond the propaganda and rhetoric of its charismatic leader, UNIA did appeal to some fundamental need or psychological need of the urban Black American, which would explain its phenomenal growth in membership (Blackshear, 2012).

The connection between cultural formation (out of racial struggles) and Detroit's Pan African cultural politics ultimately explains how Detroit began to be today, one of the most dynamic sites for the famously acclaimed African World Festival sponsored by the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History (CWAAAH). That is to say, a more balanced narrative of Detroit's cultural history can reveal that Black Americans' 'African' heritage association and celebration, are indications of another kind of 'Black revival' tradition, they comprise a necessary revival of Black dignity and Black pride vulcanized through racial freedom struggles in Detroit.

Those sightings lead to a substantial Detroit Pan-African cultural-political economy (Edozie, 2018) evolved from the principles of Garveyism/UNIA, which gave rise to the African World Festival, and stands as a demonstrative centerpiece of the Pan African Metropolis and its forms of Blackplacemaking.

Detroit's Racial Contract and The Formation of Pan African Detroit

The Black Metropolitan intersection of Black cultural politics and Pan Africanism becomes a historical lens to better understand the distinctive urban-lived experience of Black Detroiters. Especially, as it resists the Black pathology brand of 'Murder Capital of the World', frequently over-determined in video and printed optics. This discourse addresses a broader and more sufficient context in Detroit's racial segregation policies, which illuminates how Black Bottom; a Black Ghetto of the 1930s became a mixed socio-cultural symbol. On the one hand it represented a socio-geographic signal of the social imperative, for 'Blacks to stay in their place' (racial subordination and separation), and on the other, it symbolized a group metaphor of racial identity, uplift philosophy, and a testament of Black endurance in the 'racial contractarian hell' of the color line.

Detroit's apartheid system spanned the 1830s to the 1960s respectively, it was highlighted in the structure (everyday conscious decisions) of discriminatory landlords, housing market; police brutality, jobs discrimination and merchant disrespect. These were the central variables that forced and constructed the ghetto conditions of Black Bottom. The Kerner Commission's most salient indictment reminds us of this fact: "What white Americans have never fully understood, (but what the Negro can never forget), is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it" (Boyle, 2004; Georgakas & Surkin, 1975; Johnson, 2018; Kerner Commission Report, 1968; Massey & Denton, 1993, 3; Poremba, 1999; Sugrue, 2005; Widick, 1972; Williams, 2008).

These were conscious discriminatory acts of whites, not implicit biases, which the focus on today, really obscure the way racial oppression really works. The Black Bottom

period chronicles a vast story house of "American apartheid" in Detroit and the unresolved aftermaths, which continues to hinder Black neighborhoods beyond Detroit's downtown revitalization (Bates, 2012; Baugh, 2011; Boyle, 2004; Darden & Thomas, 1999; Katzman, 1975; Massey & Denton, 1993; Sugrue, 2005, Widick, 1973; Williams, 2008). In this epoch explicit forms of white racism preserved the making of a Black underclass and white upper class, ultimately, creating legacies of a normative, uneven racial development and a Black racial caste which would have an enduring effect on Detroit (Katzman, 1975; Thomas & Darden, 1999). Detroit's custom of racial segregation exposes a social geographic relationship between race and place (Bullard, 2007), which reveals many 'whites' perceived and often 'entitled' notions of exclusionary ownership in place, occupation and space, but they also exemplify elements of Detroit's "racial contract" (Miller, 2014; Mills, 1999).

Moreover, it pinpoints how many whites have seen their 'freedom' predominantly as a white entitlement to impose their will on Black people, without regard for Black humanity and what Black people have constructed as 'their own' (Walton, Jr., Smith & Wallace, 2017, 5). In Black politics, this unending tendency is know as "sovereignal freedom" (Walton, Jr., Smith & Wallace, 2017, 5). An understanding of this overall racial context is fundamental to get underneath the implications of cultural formation in race; space and place at work here.

Detroit's racial contract systematically constructed an "irreconcilable Blackness" political-normative (hence, being Black can never be reconciled in an anti-Black system), whereby Black Detroiters were perpetually pushed to a Black nationalistic crossroads (DuBois, 1903; Gordon, 1999; Martin, 1967; Mills, 2009; Thompson, 1999; Widick,

1972). At this crossroads, the Black community of Detroit began to dismantle false hopes in white America's redemption from the ambivalence of anti-Black racism (Thompson, 1999; Woodard, 1999).

Consequently, Black Detroiters' nationalistic awareness compelled a pivotal decision. This decision-making juncture continues to mark the Black-consciousness-raising stage of Black sensible, cultural political development. The Black-consciousness-raising stage as seen in the Pan African value of Black autonomy/Black independence becomes a central point of departure, resulting from a valid loss of faith in both white liberal and white conservative America (Walton, Jr., Smith & Wallace, 2017).

This loss of faith, subsequently promoted the growth of Black Nationalism, Black unity, African American internationalism/anticolonialism and Pan Africanism (African heritage pride), Black independence and racial uplift ideology (Thompson, 1999). This crossroads and its Black consciousness-raising stage define the point of cultural formation, and its emergence of Pan African Detroit with its particular forms of Black placemaking (Bates, 2012; Georgakas & Surkin, 1975; Smith, 1999; Sugrue, 2005; Thompson, 1999; Widick, 1972).

From Black Bottom to the Black Arts Movement

> Times is getting' harder,
> Money's gettin' scarce.
> Soon as I gather my cotton and corn,
> I'm bound to leave this place.
> White folks sittin' in the parlor,
> Eatin' that cake and cream,
> Nigger's way down to the kitchen,
> Squabblin' over turnip greens.
> Times is gettin' harder,
> Money's gettin' scarce.
> Soon as I gather my cotton and corn,
> I'm bound to leave this place.

In the beginning of the Great Migration so strong was the Promise Land-expectations and enthusiasm that many of the southern Black travelers would often celebrate the Northern Passage by breaking into song or prayer (Gaines, 1996). Black migrants often told their stories in many forms from letters to poems to paintings to music. Music presented one of the most innovative and meaningful forms in which the migration narrative was told. "Times Is Gettin Harder", a 1940 recording of a blues tune by Lucious Curtis described the pulse of racial injustice and economic hardship that provoked one man's journey away from the land of "cotton and corn" (ASHP, 2017).

Music played an immense role in the history of African American life in Detroit's Black Bottom-Paradise Valley, long before Motown became its signature musical revolution. Several urban blues songs help to both instigate African American migrations to Detroit and define life in Black Bottom. After Henry Ford announced his $5.00 wage on January 5, 1914, workers from across the nation scrambled to Michigan. Black Bottom Bluesman Blind Blake's "Detroit Bound Blues", broadcasted the opportunities in Detroit (Smith, 1999):

> I'm goin' to Detroit, get myself a good job
> Tried to stay around here with the starvation mob.
> I'm goin' to get me a job, up there in Mr. Ford's place
> Stop these eatless days from starin me in the face (Blind Bake: Smith, 1999).

These Great Migration Blacks fled to the north seeking refuge from the repressive and murderous Southern system of racial apartheid, where lynching, disenfranchisement, discrimination, rape, convict leasing system (neo-slavery) and other forms of white terrorism comprised the normative life (Pollard, Roundtree & Jersey, 2002; Williams, 2009). Southern migrants of the Great Migration had not known a reality without Jim

Crow signs, or it's frequently imposing and suffocating pronouncement of the 'Negro's' 'alleged-natural' place (Boyle, 2004). The subordination of the African American was at the heart of the Southern way of life. This Southern-Jim Crow society would preeminently occupy America's most tragic era of race relations in the 20th century. Jim Crow law:

> Was intended to accomplish what… the [color line] conventions were not going to accomplish, which was… to make African Americans 'act inferior'… if white people couldn't make African Americans 'be inferior', they could not prevent some of them from attaining a kind of middle class status, despite the violence, despite the discrimination, then they could make them 'act' inferior (Hale, 2002).

Although, the Jim Crow-South demonstrated unsurpassingly the betrayal complex innate in American racial liberalism, what the Black Southern migrant came to know was that this poison ran through the Northern territory as well, even to the Arsenal of Democracy, the Motor City, "the greatest manufacturing city in the world" (Davis, 1965; Henri, 1976; Pollard, Roundtree & Jersey, 2002; Snyder, 2016; Woodward, 1966). Now almost a million southern-born Blacks since 1917 had already made the trip north, their enthusiasm, though not totally erased was shocked into learning an ironic lesson. They soon found out that northern whites were just as capable of the same grotesque ugliness and brutality familiar to southern racism. In what was called the Red Summer of 1919, rampaging whites had murdered twenty-three Blacks during a week of rioting in Chicago, an industrialized urban Northern city much like Detroit (Gaines, 1996).

Nonetheless, a factory wage in Detroit was typically three times more than what Blacks could expect to make working the land in the rural South (Boyle, 2004). Throughout the late teens, "the name Ford became synonymous with Northern opportunity" (Baraka: Bates, 2012, 39) rousing hundreds of Black southern migrants to

travel north, with their visions set on getting a job at Ford Motor Company (Bates, 2012).

By the 1900s, Detroit boasted the largest single Black population in Michigan (Williams, 2009). In 1920, approximately 70 percent of Detroit Blacks lived on the East Side in a neighborhood called Black Bottom (Bates, 2012). The annual report of the Detroit Urban League approximated Detroit's Black population at 145,000 in 1940 and 120,066 in 1930 (Williams, 2009). The majority of these Black Detroiters settled in a 30-square-block area east of Woodward known as Paradise Valley (Williams, 2009).

While Black Bottom can be associated with the beginning of Detroit's Black Metropolis, the centrality of Black Detroit's cultural history must also be attributed to Black Bottom's adjacent hub, Paradise Valley (Smith, 1999; Sugrue, 1996; Williams, 2008). Paradise Valley was the cultural and entertainment center of Black life in Detroit (Bjorn & Gallert, 2001; Coleman, 2017; Smith, 1999; Williams, 2009).

The exploration in cultural formation (within the color line) discloses how the progress of Detroit's strong Black urban community shaped unique opportunities and prominence via the production of independent Black culture, identity and philosophy rooted in African heritage. These independent manifestations responded to and resulted from the overarching imposition of Detroit's racial and class inequality, and the urban crises that these inequalities created (Bates, 2012; Smith, 1999; Sugrue, 1996; Widick, 1972, 8).

Detroit's racial contract can be epitomized in the Black struggle that Black Bottom came to stand for. The Black struggle was highlighted around the primary problems of inclusion, equity and acceptance in jobs, housing (corrupt and racially oppressive landlords), police brutality and discriminatory market-treatment by price-

gouging merchants; an example of this racial problematic is related in a short letter written in 1949, by an African American woman named Ethel Johnson to then Michigan Governor G. Mennen Williams (Sugrue, 1996, 33). Johnson recounted the difficulty of finding rental housing for her family, and described the substandard dwelling she lived in.

> My husband, baby and I sleep in the living room. When it rains or snow it leap through the roof. Because of the dampness of the house my baby have a cold. We have try very hard to fine a place, and everywhere we go we have been turn down because of my baby (Sugrue, 1996, 33).

The same year Donald Stallings, a Black sanitation worker, and his wife Irma found themselves in similar straits. The Stallings lived with their five children in a "partitioned basement utility room" in Black Bottom (Sugrue, 1996, 33). The living conditions of Black Bottom confirmed and reinforced the racial inequality of the 1930s - 1940s; overwhelmingly Black neighborhoods like Black Bottom reflected the almost total segregation of Detroit's housing market (Boyle, 2004; Sugrue, 1996; Williams, 2008).

Life as a factory worker gave Black Bottom residents the substance of many blues, which simultaneously provided the urban aesthetic that would emerge as its musical scene at Paradise Valley (Georgakas & Surkin, 1975; Williams, 2009). These factories were regularly Black men "killing places" (Bates, 2012, 65) and placed Black workers in the "meanest and dirtiest jobs" (Bates, 2012, 65). "It was too damn hard working for Ford. That assembly line stuff is a sonofabitch, I'm telling you. That's nothing but slavery", remembered one migrant who fled home the first chance he got (Boyle, 2004, 104; Sugrue, 2005). The harsh, brutal reality of what many Black factory workers called 'Niggermation' (Nigger + automation) and the overcrowded, substandard and over-priced housing lay bare key features of Detroit's racial contract. Black Bottom

105

and Paradise Valley provided the social, cultural and economic facets of African American life. Black Bottom was the main Black residential area and Paradise Valley was the main Black commercial district. Since Hasting Street ran from the west end of Black Bottom through Paradise Valley to the north, it became the major diversion route for Black Bottom residents looking to ease the "humdrum ghetto lifestyle" (Williams, 2009, 8).

Black women worked predominantly as domestics in Black Bottom, and the "washer woman" (a Black woman who did laundry to make money) was a main fixture in Detroit's Black community (Williams, 2009). Most auto manufacturers would not think of hiring a "colored woman". Many had to do whatever they could to survive. Also many white businesses had a 'light-skin rule' for hiring 'colored women' to work as clerks (Boyle, 2004). French farmers gave Black Bottom its name due to its low elevation and rich black soul.

Although, the timbre of the name changed as thousands of Blacks moved into the area, it became associated with Black racial identity, in both negative and positive ways (Williams, 2009). By 1920s, Blacks owned 350 businesses in Detroit, almost all located within the boundaries of Black Bottom. The community had 17 physicians, 22 lawyers, 22 barbershops, 13 dentists, 12 cartage agencies, 11 tailors, 10 restaurants, 10 real estate dealers, 8 grocers, 6 drugstores, 5 undertakers, 4 employments offices, a few garages and a candy maker (Williams, 2009).

While life was frequently a far road from heaven, due to the pangs of anti-Black discrimination and induced poverty, Black Bottom developed its own cultural fingerprint and hotspot attractions. From the roaring 1920s to the glory days of jazz between 1930s –

1950s, you could catch lively Black Bottom blues in some ferocious jazz club, or do the 'Black Bottom dance', take a breath and then enjoy scrumptious 'soul food' dishes in charming greasy-spoon restaurants, and speakeasies and blind pigs where feisty backdoor bartenders would measure out whiskey in coffee cups (Boyle, 2004) like at John R. "Buffalo" James' Frogs Club on East Adams Street. For an edgier experience, patrons went down to the "Black and tan-clubs" along Hasting, where slumming was "all the rage" (Boyle, 2004; Coleman, 2017; DHS, 2017). You might catch the Brown Bomber, the 'Valley's' favorite son, Joe Louis at the Bluebird Inn or the Congo Lounge. The night Olympic Gold Medalist Jesse Owens visited, the Valley went into overtime celebration (Coleman, 2017).

Approximately where Comerica Park and Ford Field sits today, elegant places like the Paradise Theater, used to reign, where a 50 cents admission could get you three shows all day long and a chance to be mesmerized by Lady Day (Billie Holiday) herself belting out a seductive rendition of "Billie's Blues" (1936) or "Strange Fruit" (1939). Holiday's "Strange Fruit" (1939), was one of the first Black protest songs, it protested the scourge of lynching and had a large following in the Bottom (DHS, 2017).

> Southern trees bear strange fruit
> Blood on the leaves and blood at the root
> Black bodies swinging in the southern breeze
> Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees
> Pastoral scene of the gallant south
> The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth
> Scent of magnolias, sweet and fresh
> Then the sudden smell of burning flesh (Holliday/Shaw, 1937).

The 1930s, witnessed the great epoch of Prohibition end, and alcohol was no longer outlawed. About two-dozen businesses inhabited the upside-down T-shaped area of Paradise Valley, most of them owned by Blacks (Coleman, 2017). These Black-owned

establishments included Walter Norwood's Club Plantation in the basement of the Norwood Hotel, located at 550 East Adams at St. Antoine. The 606 Horseshoe Bar was a stone's throw down the narrow street. Andrew "Jap" Sneed's all-the-rage 666 Club (or Three Sixes), located at 666 East Adams was there, too. Horace Ferguson's St. Louis restaurant was located at 1723 St. Antoine. The B&C Club, owned by Roy H. Lightfoot, was right next-door where Beacon Street intersected. From 1936, the Michigan Chronicle was located at 1727 St. Antoine. Up the street was the 22-guest room Biltmore Hotel, located at 1926 St. Antoine. The Detroit Tribune, another Black weekly, was located at 2146 St. Antoine and Columbia Street (Coleman, 2017).

Paradise Valley elected its own mayor who served as a ceremonial leader in the community and helped to amass resources from City Hall and provided civic leadership and pride. These mayors Roy H. Lightfoot, and Chester Rentie, a talent-booking agent who once managed jazz vocalist Betty Carter; and Sunnie Wilson, owner of the Forest Club it; a popular bar that also had a bowling alley and rolling skating rink (where the rumor of the 1943 riot started). Black Bottom, located south of Gratiot Avenue, and more of a residential community included houses of worship and social institutions like the Detroit Urban League and, the Booker T. Washington Trade Association, the Housewives League of Detroit, and the United Service Organization, among a few. It did, however, have businesses, also, such as those of morticians James H. Cole, Dr. Ossian Sweet's Medical Office and Michigan's first Black Democrat to the State legislature, Charles C. Diggs, Sr. (Coleman, 2017).

The Housewives League of Detroit, an all Black women organization held regular luncheons at the popular Ferguson's restaurant in Black Bottom's bustling commercial

district along Hastings and St. Antoine. Black insurance companies, loan companies and credit unions all signified Black social consciousness and the self-help ideology in Black Bottom. The Housewives League of Detroit (HLD) and the Booker T. Washington Trade Association of Black Bottom espoused a Marcus Garvey philosophy of self-help, raised social consciousness and promoted racial solidarity and "directed spending" (Williams, 2009, 91). The HLD ran a selective buying campaign that implored Blacks to "buy Black": "let's keep our money in our own communities" (91). This campaign enabled Black consumers in Paradise Valley/Black Bottom to build an economic stronghold, while establishing "an impressive place for themselves in the state's economy" (Williams, 2009, 91).

Second Baptist Church leader Rev. William H. Peck and his wife, Fannie Peck founded the Booker T. Washington Trade Association (BTWTA) and the Housewives League of Detroit. The BTWTA understood that the economic power that Black housewives possessed and aided Black Bottom's economic growth, stressing the importance of patronizing Black-owned businesses and other efforts to support Black economic sustainability (Williams, 2009).

The Nacirema Club, the first Black social club for Black Men in Detroit, gained fame in the 1940s and 1950s, for a weeklong extravaganza whose highlights included a dance, a race track party, a church service and a moonlight boat ride. These community activities abounded throughout the Black Bottom neighborhood, and spanned informal get-togethers to organized dances. The United Service Organization (USO) began in World War II, and it was widely known for providing entertainment to the Allied troops.

Some of Hollywood's biggest stars and America's leading musicians donated their time to entertain U.S. soldiers at home and abroad (Williams, 2009).

The USO was located at Adelaide and John R. streets in the heart of Black Bottom. Founded in 1941, the USO provided supplies, social, recreational, welfare and spiritual facilities to Black Bottom's armed service members. The Nation of Islam arose in Paradise Valley. While Henry Ford was forced to close factories, Wallace Fard's mosque thrived. In August 1952, after being paroled, the then new convert, Malcolm X moved to Detroit and fervently worked to attract new members from the Black Bottom community.

In June 1953, Malcolm X was named assistant minister of the Nation of Islam's Temple No. 1 located at 3408 Hasting Street (Rashid: Williams, 2009). "Negroes had it made in Detroit until World War II," said Sidney Barthwell, who owned several drugstores throughout the Black Bottom and Paradise Valley district, and also on the North End. "We had about everything we needed in the Black business community. Discrimination gave us tremendous power because we had been compacted in a small area" (Coleman, 2017).

Post 1967, From White Detroit to Black Detroit:
A Violent Struggle for Political Control

In the 1960s race was a festering wound that cut deep across Detroit (Boyle, 2009). The perceptions of white "status threat" (433) had a major influence on the social geographic composition of Detroit from a white majority to a Black majority (Forbes & Herring, 1994). White racial antagonism with its immersive discriminatory practices reinforced white feelings that Blacks have accumulated too much power, upper status and influence (Forbes & Herring, 1994, 432). In support of this, white journalists pushed a

strategic Negrophobic narrative that sought to incriminate and discredit Blacks at every level, while in related double standards would release whites from incrimination, and thus, absolve white responsibility in Detroit's layers of urban crisis (Sugrue, 1996). Under this white backlash, the budding 1970s Black city of Detroit was framed into 'a single story of inherent-Black deficit and Black pathology', customarily professed through the imagination of an often-delusional and reproachful white narrative.

Whereas, the riot/rebellion of 1967 left many unrepaired scars in the 1970s, it is **not** the root cause and initiating catalyst for white flight. The '67 riot provided 'a fabricated seal' for whites to further, organize, inform and justify their white flight and make it into their cause of 'white nobility' (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

By August of 1967, a traumatized Detroit displayed a "nervous calm" (McGraw, 2017) as it buried its dead. Several months and years after the rebellion/riot community activists, lawyers, public officials, religious groups, community organizations and business leaders worked tirelessly to rebuild the city. Yet, the talk of Black and white living and working together was still deeply damaged and obstinately problematic (McGraw, 2017). However, the habitually unspoken irony is that this damaged and problematic relationship was nothing new before 1967.

Detroit's coming political future of the 1970s, was thus shaped by the historical track marks of a conventionally violent struggle for control of the city. In the 1970s, two major camps typified the hostile conflict over control of the city. One side consisted of Black and white radicals, and liberals. Detroit's radical base was radicalized by the constant white terrorism and white discrimination that had defined the city. The number one terror on the list was police racial abuse of Black Detroiters. Like the historical

111

bookend of Black Lives Matter, if there was one ultimate deep wound that provided the causality in the Black community for the '67 rebellion, it was the elongated continuum of police racial terrorism. On the other side of the struggle for political control, were conservative whites.

This group consisted of mostly homeowners who resided among the immense segregated far points of east and west neighborhoods. Due to its severely embedded racial crevices and its culmination in the 1967 social and structural explosion, Detroit followed a path that was reasonably predictable (McGraw, 2015).

> In the wake of the rebellion, Detroit is really up for grabs. There is a real question mark in the air over what is going to happen next? Is the city going to be a law-and-order city given that it has just erupted? Are the police going to get more power and the Black community less? Is this going to be a city that can finally, finally, bring about more harmonious relationships between Black and white Detroiters? Or is this, frankly, going to be a city of more Black control, because whites will leave it? (McGraw, 2015)

One of the most significant developments politically, at the time was the rise of militant Black Detroiters and the bearing they had on white Detroit, which was then 60% of the population, and shrinking even more. A key group was the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, whose movements at Dodge Main and other auto plants across the region argued workers should control production. It attacked the racism of the Dodge Company and the representative union, the UAW-United Autoworkers Workers (Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1997; McGraw, 2015).

Even when the league demonstrated, the picket line was indicative of the now solidified Pan African pulse in Detroit. This Pan African normative came alive as league protesters utilized African rhythmic chants, bongo drums and wore dashikis. Although, the Black revolutionary union movement only lasted for a couple of years in the late

1960s, its militant Marxist-Leninist dogma, incendiary rhetoric and aggressive street tactics, clarified the radical (Pan African influenced) currents coursing through Detroit in the several years following the 1967 uprising (McGraw, 2015).

Mike Hamlin, a league founder and longtime activist commentary at the time exemplified the Black radical climate: "We came to believe that the working class had to make the revolution, had to lead the revolution, and that we had to concentrate our energies on workers" (McGraw, 2015). Detroit's destabilizing and chaotic environment of the 1970s led to the 1973 election of its first Black mayor, Coleman Alexander Young. This climate would stamp the decade following 1967. Subsequently, the remaining whites departure from the city, shifted Detroit into a majority Black city (Boyle, 2009; Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1997; McGraw, 2015).

The post-rebellion spectacle, which sometimes turned deadly, set the tone for 21st-Century Detroit, which, in its successive years, included a small number of whites into the city. Unmistakably, the city's industrial decline and white flight had been under way for almost 20 years before 1967. In that cycle from 1947 – 1967, the white population had declined by more than 362,000 people in the 1950s alone. Nonetheless, the riot/rebellion help hasten Detroit's downward spiral in significant ways. In the years after 1967, Detroit completed its steady change from a city that was white, Catholic and largely prosperous to one that was progressively Black, Protestant and poor. Much of the poverty imposition had to do with the wealth and revenue removal that accompanied the departure of upper and middle class whites. As a result, the city eventually began to experience increasingly desperate financial problems, which climaxed in the 2013 filing bankruptcy filing (McGraw, 2015).

White Flight: A Feigned White Nobility

Detroit was a turbulent place in the coming post-rebellion years. While business leaders tried to rebuild downtown, white flight continued to increase exorbitantly. The number of white Detroiters moving out of the city averaged 22,000 a year from 1964 through 1966, but the numbers jumped to 47,000 in 1967, 80,000 in 1968 and 46,000 in 1969. From 1967 to 1978, the Detroit Public Schools lost 74% of its white students (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

The African American economic, psychological and spiritual pain that was illuminated by the riot/rebellion took a turn for the worse as Black poverty was met with "benign neglect" policies from the Nixon years and the rising tide of the Goldwater neo-conservatism's anti-Black racial contempt particularly vented against the dreaded Black Power impulse of Detroit. The paranoia of white flight had self-tricked and self-deluded the white American dream, their northern promise land collapsed under the crushing weight of their own system of establishment, which fused white racism, with mindless self-interest, and the 'inflexible white-logic' of the real estate market. Many whites left behind a city of 1.2 million people; two thirds of them were Black Detroiters (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

Industrial America never really recovered from the economic crisis of the mid-1970s. Many industries like the steel economy, for example—basically shut down. The domestic automakers survived, of course, but they shrank their operations or moved them overseas, discarding jobs in the process. Much like the 'curse of white delusion' that embraced the Trump era, many whites felt Reaganomics would restore their white equilibrium (DiAngelo, 2018). But, the so-called Reagan revolution only made matters

worse. During the 1980s it became more difficult to unionize as the government withdrew its support for workers' rights. The consolidation of corporate power made it harder for working people to get health care, harder to build a pension, harder to make ends meet. All the while, the federal safety net sprouted less and less. It was depleted and threadbare by the trick of Reaganomics trickle down effect, that money made by the rich elite would be sprinkled down like manna from heaven to the masses in need (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

The presiding variables of Black poverty, the unleashing of drugs in the Black community, and the governmental retreat from a race-war torn city, created a volatile mixture for Detroit's violence and crime surge that would become unprecedented to the makeup of an American Black community. All of the recently predominant, Black inner cities, which saw an explosion of the 1967-1968 rebellion-types, would follow the same path (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

Negrophobia gripped the image of Detroit, throughout the tri-county region, as anti-Black rumors supplied the gasoline for guns sales by Blacks in the city, and whites in the growing vanilla suburbs. Crime statistics started to become the major lens and way people perceived Detroit as well as other predominant Black urban spaces across the nation. Racially amplified tactics in the media and reports from law enforcement agencies focused heavily and one-dimensional on telling and crafting a single-story about Detroit, steeped in its 'endless' homicides. Yet, as homicides begin increasing from 1967 to 1969, (more than 24,000 people have been homicide victims in Detroit, since 1967), these same entities did little to connect these homicides to its unchecked foundations of white racial corruption (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

The post-riot/rebellion anxiety about crime, violence and integration was fueled even more by the hostility surrounding busing students to achieve integration. This too was tearing apart both the city and suburbs in the early 1970s (Baugh, 2011). The destructive aftermath of the rebellion focused a spotlight on the city's problems beyond race and police-community relations. It put nearly an end to the heroic narrative of "the can-do car capital" (McGraw, 2015). As violence flared and the bleeding of people and jobs continued into the 1970s, a new national storyline about Detroit gradually developed — that of an urban dystopia — and in popular culture the once-proclaimed "Arsenal of Democracy" took on a number of scornful nicknames: such as, "America's first Third World city," but the moniker of Murder City seems to be its most destructive incarnation. A national saying in that era even decried the constitution of the city, by signifying: "Will the last person in Detroit please turn off the lights" (McGraw, 2015)?

The Angry Son of Pan Africanism: The Growth of Black Radicalism

Before the election of Coleman Young in 1974, Detroit's first African American mayor, the then (white) Mayor Cavanaugh and his faction represented the white liberal dream of pre-1968 Detroit. Their 'great white hope' was that city government could fix decades-old problems between the hated and abusive Detroit police and the growing Black community, as well they sought to repair race relations from Alter Road to Telegraph. However, the team of Kenneth Cockrel Sr. exemplified the post-riot/rebellion era when African Americans forcefully demanded their piece of the pie and challenged the white establishment in city hall, schools, neighborhoods, courts, factories, jails and police precincts. After serving in the Air Force, Cockrel returned to Detroit and attended Wayne State University's Law School, graduating in 1967.

116

Tall, thin and stylish, Cockrel epitomized the talents and strengths of the Black street-wise intellectual. He was known for his cutting wit, his across-the-board intelligence, perfectly symmetrical Afro, scurrying walk, and command of language. Unfortunately, Cockrel's Black radical transformative-version of Detroit may have somewhat died with him. Suddenly, on the promise of this transformative time, Cockrel died of a heart attack at the age of 50 in 1989 (Boyle, 2009; Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1998; McGraw, 2017).

Cockrel was also an unashamed Marxist in an age of redbaiting and the Berlin Wall. He was a profound leader in the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. After 1967, Detroit police engaged in several well-publicized violent encounters with Black citizens that further raised the racial fever in the city. Cockrel was fresh out of law school, but won stunning courtroom victories for accused cop killers and defendants accused of lesser crimes. One famous case involved James Johnson, who brought an M-1 carbine to his job at Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle plant. Johnson shot and killed two foremen as well as a fellow worker. By reason of insanity due to racism and the cruel 'slave-like' conditions inside the plant, Cockrel convinced a jury that Johnson was not guilty.

James Johnson's "Black rage" (Harris, 1997) was cited as the consequence of "Niggermation" at the plants (Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1997). These stunning racial victories angered much of white Detroit, who found the verdicts unbelievable. They were livid that Black radicals were overthrowing the 'old white order' downtown (Boyle, 2009; Georgakas & Surkin, 1998, McGraw, 2017).

White anguish continued, as Cockrel and law partner Justin Ravitz, a (white) fellow Marxist, contested the way Detroit jury pools were compiled in the famous New Bethel Baptist Church shootout, with then pastor Rev. C. L. Franklin, father of Aretha Franklin. Cockrel and Ravitz charged authorities with excluding many Blacks, poor whites and "longhaired hippies" (Harris, 1998; McGraw, 2017). Judge George Crockett Jr., a much-loved African American magistrate because of his stance of Black racial justice in Detroit, agreed and ordered major changes in the way juries were selected (Clowes, 2019; Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1997; McGraw, 2015). This decision quickly led to a majority Black jury, which was a Detroit first in 1969. Later, for many of the 'old white-order', the inconceivable and unforgivable happened, Detroiters elected a Marxist judge, Ravitz to the criminal (recorder's) court (Georgakas & Surkin, 1998, McGraw, 2017).

The Coming of Coleman Young

Cavanagh was shattered by the riot, and decided not to run for re-election in 1969. Richard Austin, an unexciting moderate CPA who was Black, faced Roman Gribbs, the also uninteresting Wayne County Sheriff. Gribbs campaigned on the 'old' white-appealing/anti-Black law-and-order platform and narrowly won. Also, during this time, the use of elevated Black crime statistics became the "smoking gun" by which Detroit's police racism found its 'justification', its winning argument of scientific racism (Muhammad, 2016). By 1971, Black crime statistics became the way by which the Black inner city and Black urban space was 'intentionally' misconstrued and its Blackness regularly condemned (Muhammad, 2016 and Ellison, 1966). Modern experts have since debunked and questioned the accuracy of this statistical framework. Many have noted

this as another form of anti-Black racism by the numbers, i.e., statistical racism (Muhammad, 2016).

Upon this manufactured crisis of 'Black crime'-logic, what has become known as the 'broken glass theory', the Detroit police launched the alleged crime-fighting tool of the STRESS unit. STRESS was marketed as an undercover decoy operation, supposedly to *Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets*, what they were in reality was an "assassination squad". Within months, STRESS officers had killed 10 suspects; nine were black.

Several protests began, Cockrel was a leading figure of the pushback, which consisted of rallies, marches and very tense public hearings that involved thousands of mainly Black people who had suffered under this police culture for countless years. STRESS never operated in the interest of the rights of Black citizens. "Safe streets", really meant the ethnic erasure of Black bodies. One could certainly see a mirror reflection of the Black Lives Matter climate in 1968 (Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1997; McGraw, 2015).

In December 1972, three young black Detroiters, described by supporters as anti-dope vigilantes (much like the Kenyatta series in Black Detroiter writer Donald Goines novel of the time), wounded STRESS officers in a wild shootout. Three weeks later, among an intensive and wildly divisive manhunt, STRESS cops encountered the three suspects and exchanged shots again.

This time, one Detroit cop was killed and another was left paralyzed. Police Commissioner John Nichols called the suspects "mad dog killers," and police starting kicking in doors, antagonizing and violating the legal rights of Black people across Detroit. Innocent citizens died in the police dragnets, and tensions between the police

department and the Black community reached the breaking point. Two of the suspects died two months later in a shootout with police in Atlanta. The third, Haywood Brown, 18, was captured in Detroit and put on trial three times on separate charges related to shooting at police. Cockrel defended Brown, and juries acquitted him each time (Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1997; McGraw, 2015).

White Detroiters responded after the third acquittal and reflected their bitter feelings; Wayne County Prosecutor William Cahalan called the verdict a "miscarriage of justice" (Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1997; McGraw, 2015). Cahalan suggested Cockrel had enticed the "racial emotions" of the majority Black jury. Furthermore, he said the jury system needed a "revision" (Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1997; McGraw, 2015). In critiquing the white backlash, Cockrel offered a searing indictment of the absurdities of white racism-double-standards, when he lambasted that:

> Persons who never had a word of criticism when all-white juries were sending Black people, Puerto Ricans and white working class people to Jackson [state prison] are suddenly now becoming concerned and are threatening the abolition of the jury system (McGraw, 2015).

Gribbs' tolerance for the Black radical pulse of Detroit, and frustration with the direction of the city was fed up and decided not to run for a second term. Cockrel seriously considered running for mayor, but decided against it. The 1973 mayoral campaign ended up offering a blunt choice: Coleman A. Young, a former radical who had joined the establishment and was a well-regarded liberal Democratic state senator, and Nichols, the then-former police commissioner who had started STRESS. Young ran against the police and pledged to end STRESS, which he did soon after taking office in January 1974. Young received overwhelming Black support, plus votes from about 10% of Detroit whites.

120

The election of Coleman Young, a Black man as mayor of Detroit was the final blow for many white Detroiters, though clearly not everyone who moved to the suburbs did so because of the new Black mayor. Young's election marked the height of Black political power in Detroit. In 2010, the census showed 55,604 whites remaining out of a population of 713,777, which continued to drop, though more gradually than previous accounts. In 1950, Detroit had 1.5 million white residents out of a total population of about 1.85 million. After 1950, full fledge white flight began, the northern suburbs to Detroit became increasingly prosperous. Oakland County's population went from under 400,000 in 1950 to 1.2 million in 2010, while Macomb's population more than quadrupled to 840,978.

Black Detroiters also began slowly moving to the suburbs such as Southfield in the 1990s, and that migration, at a steady faster pace, continued into the following decade. Young had no illusions about how he advanced to the Manoogian Mansion. "I was taking over the administration of Detroit because the white people didn't want the damn thing anymore," Young wrote in his autobiography. "They were getting the hell out, more than happy to turn over their troubles to some Black sucker like me"

The emptying out of Detroit by whites leading up to 1976 was a deep response to Young's ascension, a reality check that indicated the 'old white order's' decline. Hence, a more accurate understanding of white flight points to the fact that white Detroiters left the city as losers, not victors in a very belligerent contest for power (Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1997; McGraw, 2015).

Once in the suburbs, Detroit natives rapidly turned against this 'non-white' Detroit. The depletion of the tax base became a self-fulfilling prophecy, and many of

them felt vindicated in their tendency to 'throw shade on', and condemn Detroit. As many bragged that they hadn't been downtown in decades (McGraw, 2015). Famous for this kind of white racist hostility and obstructionism was Oakland County Executive, L. Brooks Patterson, who grew up in Detroit and has criticized the city for the 40 plus years he has been in public life. The tendency for white people to be deceptive in not calling out their own racism, but be the first to point fingers at Black people as racist, defines Patterson's public persona most completely.

Throughout his hateful rapport with Young and Black Detroit, and in classic white racial reverse psychology he maintained that Young was 'the racist' and that Oakland County was 'the victim' of Detroit's criminals and corruption. In one of his signature rants, Patterson, bellowed, "I don't give a damn about Detroit. It has no direct bearing on the quality of my life. If I never crossed Eight Mile Road again, I wouldn't be bereft of anything" (McGraw, 2015). As Boyle shows us, Patterson exposed the configuration of other whites, in this contrived formula dedicated to white absolution, "Whites weren't to blame for what was happening. Whites were never to blame" (2009).

Conclusion

In many respects, the golden era of Black Bottom segregation may be romanticized. Indeed it is a complicated assessment (Boyle, 2004). Nonetheless, Black Bottom/Paradise Valley and early Detroit Pan African pioneers, such as William Sherrill, Assistant President of Detroit's UNIA and Albert Cleage (Jaramogi Agyeman), founder of Detroit's Pan African Orthodox Church, and venues like Paradise Valley's Graystone Theater constitute a bridge between the African American quest for self-determination of the 1920s and 1930s and the African American activism carried through the 1950s and

1960s, which subsequently, birthed the Detroit Black Arts Movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s (Jolly, 2013; Smith, 1999; Thompson, 1999). The Detroit Black Arts Movement in turn gave rise to the Pan African Metropolis.

In 2010 Chris Hanson did a Dateline report, where he asked a Black older Detroit gentlemen through a very brief interview: "What's the best thing about this city?" The Black Detroiter exclaimed that the "best is all gone" (Hanlon/CBS, 2010). For many, Detroit goes on suspended in a caricature of "Detroit's violent label" (Chafets, 2013; Coleman, Riley & Perkins, 2017). Detroit is sub-humanized in this way because the patterns of harmful white obsessions continue, which include the accommodation of white validation and remote knowledge substantiation of what it is and who are its people.

For many, Black people, Black culture and Black existence in the captivity of this gaze are only a problem to be dismissed or condemned. Too often, Detroit is given the same exact dismissal and condemnation in this historical gaze. The conversations and condescension that typify the otherization of Detroit often swear that there is nothing good to talk about there. Hence, a cultural history of Pan African Detroit remains important to set the record straight. The over-purported negative image of Detroit constitutes the way a dystopian and pathological Black urban fantasy is fashioned for the consolation of many whites' and some Blacks' aversion to Black people. Like Haiti will never be forgiven in historical memory for its Haitian Revolution, Black Detroit will never be forgiven for its 1967 rebellion.

Resistant to this gaze and its attendant narrative is the reconstruction of Pan African Detroit's cultural history, where the roots of Pan African placemaking

(Thompson, 1999, 12-13) emerged as a response to Detroit's postwars, post race riots, and racial segregation legacies. This responsive Black agency challenged Detroit's racial politics of white supremacy influenced greatly by the rise of the KKK in the 1920s (Bates, 2012; Baugh, 2011; Boyle, 2004; Poremba, 1999; Sugrue, 2005, 2014; Widick, 1972). Pan Africanism additionally fulfilled a psychological and spiritual need for Black Detroiters, thereby creating an urban space of refuge for Black Detroiters in its Black placemaking phenomena.

The long cultural history of Afrocentric identity, culture and philosophy in Detroit dates back to Marcus Garvey's vast continuum of influence under the UNIA. The urban 'flava' of Detroit is rooted in Pan African vitality, which continues to shape Black cities distinctly (Bates, 2012; Clark, 2016; Garvey, 2006; Jolly, 2014; Thomas, 1992; Wolcott, 2001). A focus on Detroit, Michigan provides an epitomized case of the powerful presence of Pan Africanism among the Black Metropolis.

The relationship between, race struggles, cultural formation and Black placemaking in the cultural history of Pan African Detroit, can be summarized from Thomas' framework on the Black community building process, "the sum total of historical efforts of Black individuals, institutions, and organizations to survive and progress as a people and to create and sustain a genuine and creative communal presence" (1992, xi, preface). This powerful Black progressive presence and survival among the Black Metropolis chronicles the emergence of the PAM.

Chapter 4
Black City Festivals and Detroit's African World Festival: A Case Study

Introduction

The dissertation's key themes of culture, philosophy and identity are brought to life through the case study of the African World Festival. The chapter will trace the emergence of Detroit's African World Festival in this respect. It will place the role of the Black cultural entrepreneur of Afro-centric and Pan African culture. It will also outline important dimensions of the AWF's Pan African cultural production that are popular with Black city consumers – arts and fashion, spirituality and health, spoken word and Black consciousness.

The AWF and its interconnected cultural institutions, cultural consumers and cultural entrepreneurs illustrate the vitality of Pan African cultural identity, cultural production and Black Existentialist theory. They show Black political economic and cultural agency in their connections to Africa. They also demonstrate resistance to Black suffering and a distinctive identity formation as (African) Americans. In this way, the AWF resonates as a spatial continuum for Black transcendence in the face of Detroit's historically characteristic Black suffering, which was discussed extensively in Chapter 3. This Black suffering is defined by the historical-normative structure of Detroit's racial contract. The dissertation study proposes an empirical study of culture, philosophy and Pan Africanism in a Black Metropolis city (Detroit) in this regard.

The locus of the African Market is the main phenomenon that supports the Pan African Detroit thesis, in which consumers and cultural entrepreneurs represents 'an entrepreneurial freedom' and major control of the Afrocentric cultural-political economy.

To this end, Chapter 4 situates the AWF in relation to my thesis of Pan African Detroit. The dissertation posits as an original theorization that Detroit's Pan African legacies represent an overlooked autonomous Black political strength, wherein its distinctive phases of "rise" and "triumph" in the Black Metropolis (BM) phenomena is conceptualized. This notion of 'rise and triumph' refers back to the conceptual lineage of BM language (Reed, 2014, Widick, 1975). Through the lineage of this BM language, and conceptualization, an original descriptive analysis is put forth here, that Detroit's Black Metropolis manifested the rise and triumph of a "cultural-political-economy" (Edozie, 2016).

This crucial inference, may allows us to begin to see Pan-Africanism in light of an unaddressed major criteria for the Black Metropolis. The overarching connective strand of this chapter and the dissertation itself, intimates that Pan Africanism may be assessed as a definitive umbrella for "Axes of Black Life". Ergo, it follows that it should be considered a determining Black Metropolis criterion (1945/2015).

In this manner, what can be seen are a set of fundamental "axes of Black life" (Black life styles, orientations or philosophical determinants), that are common to most Black urban existences. Yet, moreover in the case of Detroit's urban life distinction and commonality, Pan Africanism serves as a major constituent, gathering point, and unifying agent for a considerable set of life-axes. By the term 'axes', the discussion means convergent points that Black life revolves around. The concept of 'tropes' is another way that the term 'axes of life' (remember this is the defining term that Drake and Cayton originated for the BM), is expressed. The study will use the term 'tropes' interchangeably when referring to these organizing occurrences. Hence, the Black city tropes mentioned

here as pan African scripts (indicators of a Pan African value system at work) might help locate an uniquely progressive African American lifestyles and character for many Black Detroiters.

In this complex determination of the Black Metropolis, the dissertation theorization of Detroit's Black Metropolis is founded in the impact of Pan-Africanism on Black cultural politics, cultural economics and Axes of Black life, i.e., predominant Black lifestyles, interests and orientations (Cleage, 1967). In defining Detroit as an urban-scape that suggests the occurrence of a Black Metropolis, and through its manifestation of the AWF, we thus importantly consider the ways it has resisted the coloniality of anti-African conditioning. As African Americans in Detroit pressed for community control and self-sufficiency, which may signal the 'rise' of the BM, they increasingly identified domestic racial oppression with colonialism. This forged and defined a new goal of liberation and empowerment through a Pan-African and anti-colonial lens (Jolly, 2013).

Detroit's cultural distinctiveness in Pan Africanism as the thrust of the thesis is thus vividly supported through the current examination of Detroit's African World Festival (DAWF). DAWF serves as a meaningful, foundational site of gathering points for excavating categories of select Black cultural institutions and entrepreneurship that are indicative of Detroit's Pan-African legacies and Black lifestyles. Pan-African cultural politics represent a "fight for African American self-determination" (Jolly, 2013, 1, Stevens, 2011, Taylor, 2010, Radcliff, 2009, Osumare, 2004, Smitherman, 2004, Hill-Collins, 2001, et. al.).

Detroit's continuum of Pan-Africanism configures how Detroit, becomes JoAnn Watson's previously referred to "African city" and by extension 'Detroit's African World' (Heron, 1989). The spatial conceptualization behind Watson's 'African city' declaration is a testament to Detroit's achievement in Black radicalism. This (positive) Black radical thrust of the 'African city' is a formulation of Black Detroit's Pan African center. What Watson conveys is a common 'Black nation within a nation' perspective shared by many Black Detroiters.

Her classification of Detroit's Black space and Detroit as a Black space, discloses its methodology of Pan Africanism as an oppositional cultural framework against the spatial ownership-ideology and mechanisms of white spatial entitlement. She also helps us to comprehend Black cultural nationalism as a delivery system for Black 'politics'. By this explanation of Black politics, I mean the power struggle, and aspirational projects for Black liberation, justice, equality and representation.

The legacies of Pan Africanism have always been about self-creating forms of Black resistance. These same legacies have been intentionally centered on a necessary defiance and agency against white-Eurocentric (racist) domination, racial inequality and racial injustice. In this context, the Black Metropolis has become a mecca for the phenomena of (self-determined) Black festivals such as the AWF. Black festivals and celebrations thus are contested racial, historical, and intellectual spaces that challenge and debunk fiercely the "inept" Black urban stereotype, the code for Black failure, and the "exotic, primitive savage image". The first section *African American Heritage Festivals* elaborate on these phenomena. The impact of the Black festival on the Black Metropolis rejects the premodern code for Blackness, and its European/European American

intellectual tradition of scientific racism. A grasp of this troubling scientific racism core is quite familiar in the white fictions of Blackness held up in Tarzan. These kinds of bogus depictions of Blackness and their conceptual offsprings still add up to Herskovits blank slate critique (Herskovits, 1958, Holloway, 2005, Osumare, 2009, 2).

To this end, the *Africa in April Festival* in Memphis, Tennessee, the Odunde Festival in Philly, the Festival Sundiata-Black Arts Fest in Seattle, Washington, and the Ife-Ile's Afro-Cuban Dance Festival in Miami, Florida, alongside Detroit's AWF all served as embodied critiques of white supremacy and white dominance in ways of human expression that cannot be 'felt' in written discourse, but approached better or 'touched' through a semiotic conversation.

This is reinforced in what performative ethnographer Karolee Steven's (2011) study unearths, that through the African heritage/Pan African festival tradition, Black people fight white oppression through celebration. That celebration is focused on African heritage and a Black history that is connected to Africa and the African diaspora. Hence, the Black heritage festival functions in one of its major intentions as a restorative Black dignity station.

The second section *AWF of Detroit: Background and Creation* places Detroit's Africa World Festival (AWF) in the context of the Black Festival. This is especially noted in its function as a vehicle and space for African Americans to learn, align with, negotiate, and to represent their Afro and African cultural heritage. The African heritage festival suggests a universal phenomenon. Collectively, the research has observed how *Carnival* in the Caribbean (Jackson, 1987), the World Festival of Black Arts first held in 1966 (Dakar, Senegal), the Nigeria African World Festival (FESTAC), of 1977, (Lagos,

Nigeria), African American heritage festivals throughout the U.S. and other interrelated Pan African festivals/ celebrations, all nationally and internationally are connected. In various Black cities the connections also exist. This global occurrence of the African heritage festival is derived from and is directly connected to notions and struggles of Black freedom, Black independence, Black self-determination and Black liberation.

Likewise, the spatial manifestations of an 'African World in Detroit' epitomizes in every respect, a direct revolt and resistance by Black Detroiters against colonialism, Eurocentric pre-modern Blackness and the long white-terroristic environment and oppressive social control of whites in history and today (Stevens, 1995, Jackson, 1987, Warren, 1990 and Osumare, 2009, Henderson, 2015, Boyd, 2017, and Afropop, 2011).

Recognized as Detroit's premier ethnic festival, the three-day African World Festival in August, presented by the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History attracts over a million people each year. The AWF celebrates African culture with music, live entertainment, children's activities, an artisans' market and a wide variety of ethnic cuisine from all over the Black world. What I have thus observed is that the AWF in Detroit dances, performs, cooks, and presents the Black Atlantic. The AWF and its family of African American heritage festivals "brings before the world the richness and strength of Afro American cultural heritage" (Osumare, 2009, 2).

The festival is especially noteworthy for Detroit, where urban failure signals an assumptive code for Black failure (Ta-Nehisi Coates, 2017) and is decisively isolated from the conscious actions of its long history of white racism. In this matter any study on Detroit, may expose a problem of perception and memory. This is certainly true in a Black city (like most other Black urban spaces) that has endured a long campaign of

condemning Blackness in printed and other forms of mass media. In this historical policy of condemning Blackness, Black scapegoating is over-determinatively used to explain urban crisis and uneven development (FoxNews, 2013, Time, 2012, Muhammad, 2012, Disch and Swartz, 1974, and Boyle, 2004).

The third section, *African World Festival and Afro-centric lifestyles in Detroit* underscore this relationship. The AWF will be the prism through which the dissertation examines Detroit's Pan Africanism as embodied by my thesis about Pan Africanism as a cultural politics in Black urban spaces. The chapter will highlight ways that Detroit's "World of Africa" (W. Kim Heron, 1986) fights Black oppression with celebration (Stevens, 2011) and demonstrates a representation of the Black Atlantic in African American existence as cultural, socio-geographical, political and spatial (Gilroy, 1990: Dunham, 1930: Osumare, 2009).

The AWF uses history and memory to inscribe African American culture, wherein African cultural forms are transformed from their early invocations and become "sites of memory", re-workings, restatements, codings, and re-imaginaries of important Black historical events, struggles and the context of their struggles or achievements (Gilroy, 1990: Dunham, 1930: Osumare, 2009). This function of Detroit's AWF is similar to Mardi Gras, Carnival, Caribana, many Pan African or African American heritage festivals that have inscriptions that symbolized the Haitian Revolution and various emancipation history for example.

The environment of this 'Black memory' is important as well, because it gives a situational analysis, which forms the larger picture in which these specific sites of Black memory are situated and thus struggle through (Osumare, 2009). These spatial

inscriptions embody the maintenance and re-creation of a living memory of Africa, and long-fought battles for Black independence and Black liberation (Buckley, 1997).

The fourth section, *African World Festival and the Black Cultural Entrepreneur* discusses the Afrocentric cultural-political economy. This Afrocentric cultural-political economy is manifested through the central stabilization and mechanisms of its popular marketplace. Like other Afrocentric marketplaces in the Black city, the examined AWF categories of Black commerce are indicators themselves of Pan African cultural institutions (mainstays).

The dissertation study has observed and assessed the following marketplace features: (1) dance, spoken word and performance, (2) food, cuisine, health, beauty and cosmetic, (3) Natural Hairstyling and African wrapping/headdress decor (4) art, apparel, lecture, oration, community discourse and African centered education, briefly explored in the chapter's fifth section on: *Arts and Fashion, Alternative Health & Spirituality, Afro-Centric Consciousness*.

The dissertation draws findings from research on these institutions to examine questions about culture, race, and the linkages between Pan Africanism and Black existentialism in Black Detroit. The sixth section, *Detroit's Pan African Heritage and the African World Festival* explores these linkages in the relationship between Pan African heritage and AWF. The chapter concludes with an analytical discussion that demonstrates how Detroit's AWF is a festival that produces and reproduces Pan African lifestyles, consciousness, and politics.

African American Heritage Festivals

African American festivals have been occurring on a wide scale in the US since the 1980s. Many of these festivals began to connect the past with the present in Black communities and to foster understanding of the African Diaspora and the contributions people of African descent have made worldwide. Festivals also provide opportunities for local Black communities to display their talents and highlight their accomplishments (Gay, 2007). Festivals, such as the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Legacy Festival, the Harlem Arts Festival (in 2017, at Marcus Garvey Park) and the National Black Arts Festival in Atlanta, teach people about the struggles and triumphs of African Americans. African American Festivals celebrate the progress that has been made, but also serve as a reminder of the progress that still needs to be made.

The profusion of African American festivals throughout the United States speaks to this progress and the struggle that continues. These festivals are vibrant and colorful repositories of African and African American culture, from food and music, to films and forums. The power of Black pride, these traditional heritage celebrations impart and the importance of recognizing, seeing, clarifying and understanding Black contribution to the lives of African Americans/Afro-Latinos, Afro-Caribbeans, Afro-Cubans, Afro-Mexicans, etc., and the American infrastructure cannot be overstated (Marks and Edkins, 1999).

African American heritage or ethnic festivals provide opportunities for Black people and other groups to come together in one space for a joint celebration of Black culture and heritage. These festivals offer a relaxed atmosphere, where the spirit of fun thrives, driven by a deep centered love for Black people. Ethnic heritage festivals offer a

time and place for all ethnic groups to review and remember their history. This remembrance is surveyed with displays and exhibits; an opportunity to sample the group's food and fare at culinary booths and stands; an examination of the group's arts and crafts at shows and demonstrations; a chance to experience the group's music, dance, spoken word and drama in performance; and an immersion in the culture of the group in the friendly, racially harmonious company of its members at a purposeful, enjoyable mood and tempo.

Ethnic festivals offer one of the most important means of obtaining first hand knowledge about other cultures in an uncomplicated, inexpensive educational manner. They often serve as a child's initiation into the foods and cultures of other peoples, or his or her route for exploring the customs and traditions of his or her ancestors (Gay, 2007).

Celebrations of all types present us with avenues for making vital connections with each other, both as individuals and as groups. They remind us of our commonalities, which can inspire us to new heights, and renew our sagging spirits and troubled minds (Gay, 2007). The psychological and spiritual renewal of festivals take on an even more meaningful function in the midst of the current Black suffering associated with white law enforcement, and its culture of racial injustice, where so many unjustified killings have occurred, where Blacks lives have been taken senselessly and the assailant has been acquitted (Gay, 2007, Kelley, 2002, and Taylor, 2016).

Many events occur each year to honor the heritage of African Americans as well as people of the African diaspora who have immigrated to the United States. Commemorations, anniversaries, feasts, concerts, festivals, historic re-enactments, holiday celebrations, parades, religious events—all have played roles in African

Americans' struggle to reclaim their past, maintain their traditions, and celebrate their cultures. Through these observances, participants, producers and onlookers alike can increase their knowledge and appreciation of the history and traditions of Americans of African descent, from Africa to the Caribbean to the United States, from slavery times to the present day (Gay, 2007).

The celebration of African American life through festivals, celebrations and holidays, whether religious or secular, is important. For ancestors who grew up in the African American community, celebrations had a very special meaning that may be best understood and appreciated by those who were a part of it. The 'blank slate' theory has even been applied mistakenly to early studies of African American heritage and cultural history, while examining Black festivals and celebrations. Folklorist and educator William H. Wiggins Jr. grieved the fact that scholarly works of the past "contain no hint" of the exciting events that the African American community embraced historically with eagerness (1987: Gay, 2007).

Numerous emancipation or "Freedom Day" celebrations make up this cultural and Black heritage history, including Emancipation Day, Juneteenth, and West Indies Emancipation Day. These are festivals or celebrations that recognize the date that slavery was abolished nationally as well as the final acknowledgement of abolition in a particular state. Emancipation celebrations also honor the 'runaway slave' tradition in Black slave resistance, such individual rebels and fugitives who were important liberation figures, as seen, for example, in Jerry Rescue Day. This celebration originated in Syracuse, New York, in honor of a slave named Jerry who escaped, was captured, and then set free by abolitionists.

Another celebration, the Junkanoo Festival (variously known as Jonkonnu, John Canoe, and so on), is believed to have originally distinguished a West African leader named Junkanoo. One celebration that has increased in popularity is Juneteenth, or June 19, 1865, which marks the date that slaves in Texas finally learned they were free. Although an official state holiday in Texas, Juneteenth is increasingly celebrated in a number of other states. Traditionally, these celebrations have meant to promote racial pride and preserve cultural traditions, and have included such activities as parades, dancing, barbecues, music, prayer, oratory, and sports (Gay, 2007).

Festivals and celebrations convey more authentic meta-narratives about Blackness and the expansive "40 million ways to be Black" (Gates, 1999) of Black heritage in various cultures, such as African (African Street Festival), Bahamian (Miami/Bahamas Goombay Festival), Caribbean (DC Caribbean Carnival), Cuban (Honoring Santería Orishas), and West Indian (J'Ouvert Celebration and West Indian-American Day Carnival). These meta-narratives serve as embodied critiques of the premodern 'lies' of Blackness and Africanity (Jackson, 1987 and Stevens, 2001).

AWF of Detroit: Background and Creation

The Charles H. Wright Museum of African-American History (formerly known as the Afro-American Museum of Detroit) has produced the African World Festival since 1983. The African World Festival is modeled after the Festival of African Culture, an international event that was last held in Lagos, Nigeria in 1977. The AWF is more than a celebration of African American culture, it is a heritage and ethnic celebration of all the cultures that have grown in the African Diaspora, the descendants of African people who are now dispersed all over the world.

136

The festival promotes the ideals of the Pan-African movement that began in Black Detroit during the 1920s. Championed by Jamaican civil rights, Black pride and racial uplift pioneer Marcus Garvey, the Pan-African movement encourages an Africana education (Dubois, 1947, McSwine, 1998 and Rabaka, 2003) for the descendants of African nations to learn about the customs and cultures of their homeland. The African World Festival provides opportunities for people to see the connections between African people all over the world (Gay, 2007, DeBardelaben, 2013 and CWAAH, 2013, MHS, 2011, DHS, 2012).

The emergence of the AWF is grounded in the evolution of the Charles Wright and the mission of its visionary founder Dr. Charles Horace Wright. The Museum of African American History fondly referred to as: 'The Charles Wright' is the world's largest institution dedicated to the African American experience. Its mission is to provide learning opportunities, exhibitions, programs, and events based on collections and research that explore the diverse history and culture of African Americans and their origins (DeBardelaben, 2013 and CWAAH, 2013).

The Wright Museum is located within the heart of Midtown Detroit's Cultural Center district. Changes in building locations and its name record the growth and expansion of the Wright Museum. The original name of the Museum was the International Afro American Museum (IAM), given in 1965. The Museum then changed its name in 1975 to the Afro American Museum of Detroit (AAM). In 1987, it was given the name the Museum of African American History (MAAH). Lastly, in 1998, the name was changed to its current designation, the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History (CHWMAAH). From its original location at 1549 West Grand

Boulevard, where it was housed until 1987, it was then moved to a location at 301 Frederick Douglass Street, where it remained from 1987 until 1997. In 1997, the Museum then expanded to its current location at 315 E. Warren Avenue (DeBardelaben, 2013 and CWAAH, 2013).

Dr. Charles Howard Wright was born September 20, 1918 in Dothan, Alabama. Wright earned his Bachelor of Science degree from Alabama State College in 1939 and his Doctor of Medicine degree from Meharry Medical College in 1943. Dr. Wright completed residencies in pathology, obstetrics, and gynecology at Harlem Hospital and the Cleveland City Hospital. He served as a physician at Detroit's Hutzel Hospital from 1953 until his retirement in 1986. He additionally served as an attending physician at Harper-Grace Hospital, Sinai Hospital, and as an assistant clinical professor at Wayne State University Medical School (DeBardelaben, 2013 and CWAAH, 2013).

Dr. Wright, "a man of service" led efforts within the Detroit Medical Society to support the medical needs of the residents of West Africa. Additionally, he provided medical attention to civil rights marchers. As a scholar, Wright published two books on Paul Robeson and collected extensively on African and African American art, literature, and history. He co-founded the Association of African American Museums with Margaret Burroughs, founder of Chicago's DuSable Museum of African American History. His first wife, Louise Lovett Wright and he, were international travelers. During their travels, he was inspired to start a museum in Detroit dedicated to African American history (DeBardelaben, 2013 and CWAAH, 2013).

On March 10, 1965, Dr. Wright and a racially integrated group of 33 Detroit citizens convened to consider a proposal to establish a museum dedicated to African

American history. The primary goal of the project was to strengthen the self-image of Blacks by directly involving the Black community in the creation of the museum, and providing historically documented information. The vision of the museum was intended to "foster a sense of pride in Black Americans' past and a belief in their potential for future accomplishments" (DeBardelaben, 2013 and CWAAH, 2013).

The International Afro American Museum opened its doors for the first time on January 30, 1966, at 1549 West Grand Boulevard in a building owned by Dr. Wright. Funded by memberships, donations, and financial support provided by Detroit area churches as well as social and civic institutions, the Museum's first exhibition was displayed at the University of Detroit during the National Conference of Educators in late 1966. The Museum acquired its non-profit charter in 1966. In the early years, the Museum produced many exhibitions which explored various themes: aspects of Black culture, arts of Africa, the role of Blacks in the American Revolution, the Underground Railroad, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Rosa Parks, and the life and work of Paul Robeson.

The Museum rapidly outgrew its singular facility; it expanded into three adjoining buildings on the corner of West Grand and Warren avenues. In response to Detroit's Great Rebellion of 1967, Wright saw the need to help repair the human damage that had been done to Black people for so long and reached its climax in the ' 67 riot'; a mobile home was purchased and a "Museum on Wheels" was created as an outreach project to take the 'culture to the people', especially the post-rebellion battered Black community, Detroit schools, churches, and public locations (DeBardelaben, 2013 and CWAAH, 2013).

The transformation of the Museum, from three row houses to a new building in the Cultural Center, is representative of Detroit's underappreciated and overshadowed Black agency, development and prominence, especially as it relates to the 'white stream' journalism-gaze that continues to make Detroit about urban social decay and failure (FoxNews Detroit, 2013). MAAH became an all-encompassing and all-fulfilling community-gathering place and cultural resource center.

The *African American News*, a quarterly publication became the Museum's official newsletter. Kwanzaa, an African American holiday, celebrated the day after Christmas to New Year's Day became an annual community-open installation and the African World Festival, for years held on Detroit's riverfront Hart Plaza, became a mark program of the Museum (DeBardelaben, 2013 and CWAAH, 2013).

African World Festival and Afro-centric lifestyles in Detroit

The taste, connection, love and feel of Africa is real at The African World Festival and very much common place in the lives of many Black Detroiters. The AWF has grown to be Detroit's largest ethnic festival and one of the largest festivals of its kind in the U.S. It is also the Motor City's most widely anticipated event of the summer. More than one million visitors attend this free outdoor event each year. The festival celebrates the music, art, and food of Africans and those of African descent, featuring arts and crafts, film screenings, poetry readings, lectures, and storytelling in African traditions.

Local musicians as well as performers from around the world provide live entertainment focusing on African and African-influenced music from various eras, including blues, jazz, gospel, reggae, soul, and folk. African-American fraternities and sororities perform elaborately choreographed step shows, and African touring groups showcase traditional dances of Africa. Like the busy open-air markets found throughout

Africa, the marketplace area gives visitors a chance to explore the wares of hundreds of vendors, many of whom travel to Detroit from Africa to participate in the three-day festival each year (Spratling, 2001 and Rudd, 1999). The enduring sites of these markets reflect the manifestation of a diverse organization and stronghold of cultural-political economy in the Black community.

These markets feature a wide assortment of artwork, jewelry, furniture, colorful fabrics and styles of clothing ranging from casual to regal and more. These regal garments strike a personal note for many African Americans, who like to refer to themselves as the 'lost Kings and Queens' of Alkebulan, one of the ancient names for Africa, according to Kemetic History, which means "mother of mankind" (Rudd, 1999 and Henrik-Clarke, 1989).

Much like the custom in West Africa, you can sometimes haggle over the prices at the AWF's marketplace. Before the AWF relocated in 2014 to the grounds of its sponsor the Charles Wright Museum of African American History, the AWF used to take place among the opulent summer of Detroit's ethnic festivals, downtown at Hart Plaza. The Hart Plaza era enjoyed the breeze of intoxicating aromas on its lower level. Cooks from Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal and other Motherland countries, on this lower level, prepared delicious samples of African cuisine. These same African dishes formed the historic and aesthetic roots of African American Soul food (Spratling, 2001).

The AWF offers a lively and wide array of children's activities, which includes storytelling and crafts, and a variety of entertainment to show the range of music that

colors the African Diaspora. In 2001, jazz vocalists Dianne Reeves, a native Detroiter, added her special flava and help the festival celebrate Detroit's 300th birthday. That same year, the popular Senegalese singer-songwriter Baaba Maal, known for the way he mixes traditional African rhythms in western music, was another headliner (Spratling, 2001).

The Reynolds Family of Detroit exemplifies a tradition of Afro-centric lifestyles in Detroit. They insisted that the summer season would not be complete without a visit to the 24th annual AWF at Hart Plaza. For the Reynolds, who each have Swahili (African) names to connect with their African heritage and for many metro Detroiters, Afrocentric lifestyles and a Pan African orientation are a way of life. Hence, the festival of African food, fun and cultural activities is a family tradition. They were among the half million people who participated in the three-day AWF every year.

Lumumba Leon Reynolds II and his wife, Mayowa Lisa Reynolds, and their four children, go every year, usually on Sunday after attending church services at Fellowship Chapel, where she is an assistant minister. They've attended at least fourteen AWFs, they admitted. "It's like a family reunion for us," exclaimed the 43-year old Mayowa Reynolds. "A lot of the business owners and vendors we don't see until the AWF. They are people we've come to know over the years because we've bought things from them or shared a meal with them. And there are lots of people we know, artists, clothes makers and others who we don't see often, but we know we'll see at the festival" (Spratling, 2001).

For the Reynolds, the AWF also provides an opportunity to help their children learn about and experience the culture of Africa. It's a major way for African American

children to connect with their African heritage, the Reynolds recommended. "It reinforces the cultural connection," says Lumumba Reynolds, 38. "They get a sense of cultural identity that extends beyond the American culture." Mayowa agreed. "My husband and I have both had the privilege of going to Africa for various reasons," she said. "There's something special about the pure love and energy that you experience there, and some of that is imported to the AWF". The Reynolds' home in Detroit's University District is adorned with African art and artifacts, including furniture, dolls and drums purchased at the AWF (Spratling, 2001).

A painting of dancers and a painting of musicians and singers hold prominent places in their living room. Purchased at the festival, the pieces have personal and cultural connections for the Reynolds. Lumumba plays drums and keyboards and Mayowa is a dancer. She teaches dance at the Detroit School of the Arts, a public school for the performing arts. Lumumba is a supervisor of audio-visual systems at Fellowship Chapel. They also have several drums, used for decoration and entertainment, purchased at the heritage festival. Frequently, the family drums and dances together, including 5-year-old Kalifa, who loves tapping on the drums even though she's not as skilled as her 12-year-old brother, Jabari, who learned from his father (Spratling, 2001).

Although, the AWF offers activities the children can do alone, the Reynolds prefers experiencing the festival together. They all enjoy listening to the storytellers, doing crafts such as mask making, and visiting the vendors. In fact, checking out the vendors is the favorite part for Jabari and his 17-year-old sister, Nzingha Brittney. "I really like the food," Jabari said. Many of the food stands offer the savory, spicy dishes common in Africa, such as Jolof rice, fish stew and fried plantains. "I like the vendors,

seeing and buying the different items that you can't find in regular malls or shopping centers, such as necklaces, earrings and bracelets," Nzingha said. Detroit's premier African American heritage festival features African jewelry handmade from wooden beads, cowrie shells and other materials. The Reynolds also has a 17-year-old son, Deonteya. "I really like it," said Nzingha. "Just being with my family, buying unique things. It's fun. And it wouldn't be summer without it" (Spratling, 2001).

African World Festival and the Black Cultural Entrepreneur

The Black cultural entrepreneur has a long and celebrated history in the social construction, vibrancy and cohesion of Detroit's Black urban life. There are many Black cultural entrepreneurs who have been both connected to the vibrancy of the African World Festival and foundational to the building of Pan African Detroit. These cultural entrepreneurs and likewise cultural producers include Malik Yakini, proprietor Black Star Bookstore and principal of Aisha Shula Elementary School, I bought one of my first tie-dye T-shirts from Malik's AWF vendor table back in '90s, it had an Akan-Adrinkra symbol on it, "Nkonsonkonson", "the chain is linked", a symbol of unity and good human relations. The Adrinkra symbol is a reminder to contribute to the community and that in unity lays strength (WTWD, 2007). What could be more Pan African?

Then there's Baba Ali, who introduced the Katherine Dunham method and help pioneer African dance in Detroit since the 1970s. Mama Nandi's (Lucy Frye), proprietor of Nandi's Knowledge Café, who will be discussed at length as one of the major interviewees, Mama Njia Kai, director of the African World Festival; the Community Health Hut known for those famous Nation of Islam fish sandwiches, owned and operated by a pioneer-sister of the Nation of Islam/Black Muslims in Detroit, who was a

member of the historical Linwood Mosque-Masjid Wali Muhammad; the owners of Chic Afrique, Ed Vaughn, etc. Yet, Ed Vaughn, the proprietor of Vaughn's Bookstore, one of the oldest living Black cultural entrepreneurs has touched and influenced the life of so many who are now part of Black Detroit's canon of Pan African cultural entrepreneurs/producers.

In the thesis of Pan African Detroit, much like the impact of the Shrine of the Black Madonna Church, and its sister Bookstore once located on Livernois, Vaughn's Bookstore, the oldest Black bookstore in Detroit was considered the "axis of Black consciousness" by many during the height of the Black liberation movement in the 70s – 80s (Campbell, 2017). Detroit neighborhoods on the northwest side, particularly between Dexter Avenue and 12th Street provided several locations where cultural consumers and activists could unload their Black political theories and execute through praxis, community programs for Black political empowerment (Campbell, 2017).

The graffiti that once emblazoned the side of the building with "Long Live the African Revolution" (Vaughn and Pollard, 1989), has succumb to a repeated fate of demise. But, the building that held onto that "African Revolution" banner, Vaughn's Bookstore was once distinguished by its important connections to Black Detroit. No other venue was more fundamental to the emergence of Black consciousness politics and Pan African thought (Campbell, 2017). "We had the city's gathering of Black nationalists, Pan-Africanists, and militants and community activists" (Vaughn, and Hunter, 1997). The bookstore provided both political and cultural refuge and the Black content to consume (Campbell, 2017).

Vaughn's Bookstore produced a forum series, Forum 65-67, which sough to deal with and provide corrective programs for Detroit's Black suffering (Hunter, 1977).

> The forums were community meetings where people would come in on Thursday nights; air their grievances; try to deal with community problems. We could see from those meetings that there were real problems in the city… [For Black Detroiters] the undercurrent of discontent was always there. We [the grassroots community leaders] were trying to tell them [the white power structure] that the police department was an army of occupation. People were being beaten, even killed (Vaughn, 1997).

Vaughn's early beginnings as a cultural entrepreneur selling Black consciousness books out of his car trunk, realized that there was an immense unfulfilled market for Black books (Vaughn and Pollard, 1989, and Vaughn and Campbell, 2017). The enthusiastic response he got from his post office co-workers meant that Black Detroiters had a longing for "our history" (Vaughn, 2017), which had been erased or 'hidden' by a dysfunctionally, racist mis-education system. "I started rounding up whatever I could find… in an attempt to disseminate information about our history and our culture, because so much of it had been lost… you've got to remember this was before the explosion of the new Black knowledge. We were just at the prelude to all of this" (Vaughn, 2017).

Vaughn organized weekly meetings to discuss authors, books and Black history, these meetings developed into what the group called "forums". These forums rapidly grew in popularity during the '60s. By 1964, the forums grew so exponentially, that a national event was considered. This national scale event began with Forum '65; Broadside Press by Dudley Randall had just started and became a working partner (Campbell, 2017).

"By the mid-sixties the Black Cultural Revolution was on, and we were the centerpiece in Detroit, there was no other place to go," (Vaughn, 2017). The Black community, which frequented the bookstore, consisted of residents and students-patronage from Black Detroit, as well as scholars and educators, who began speaking and organizing at the venue. Vaughn was able to develop an efficient rapport with publishers that kept the bookshelves filled with titles that were hardly found anywhere else in the city (Campbell, 2017). The success of the gatherings culminated in the *Forum '66/Black Arts Convention of Unity,* which was held at the Shrine of the Black Madonna.

Forum '66 was, in major part, an effort to include and pay respect to African American artists and their collective contribution to the Black liberation movement. "There were a lot of artistic things happening, painters, poets, we were just beginning to get into the arts; we had lost after the great Harlem Renaissance… It's often the artists that are creating new directions and uplifting the people, so the artist has always been there" (Vaughn, 2017, and Campbell, 2017). *Forum '66* brought together Black scholars, activists, and poets from all over the country, such as Nikki Giovanni and Haki Madhubuti.

The *Negro Digest* (June 1966) announced the *Forum '66/Black Arts Convention* and its theme, "Toward a Greater Understanding of Our Heritage". The scheduled participants were John O. Killens, Ossie Davis, LeRoi Jones, Julian Bond, Max Roach, Charles P. Howard and "various African delegates to the United Nations" (Vaughn, 2017, and Campbell, 2017).

The national Black conference, "something which had not been done since the days of Marcus Mosiah Garvey," (Vaughn, 2017 and Campbell, 2017) in the 1920s Pan

African wave of the UNIA, was a huge success. Longtime activist and Detroit native, Stuart House, lived on both Oakman Blvd. and Dexter Blvd. during his childhood. House traveled south to work as a field secretary with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Greenwood, Mississippi and Selma, Alabama, throughout the Civil Rights movement. In 1967, House returned to Detroit to commit to a wide spectrum of Detroit politics for several years. He was involved in the Black Panther Party, Detroit chapter as well as Democratic electoral and legislative campaigns (Campbell, 2017).

House, a long time friend of Vaughn confirmed that, "Vaughn's bookstore was an important place to hone one's Black intellectual skills… It was important, prominent, central and made an invaluable contribution to intellectual life and ideological development of all the people who were struggling for Black liberation, regardless of what their particular organization or movement was about" (House, 2017).

Vaughn exclaimed that the only other store in the nation like Vaughn's Bookstore, at the time was the similarly famous Lewis H. Michaux's African Memorial Bookstore in Harlem, New York (Frazer, 1976, Siddiqui, 2013, and Emblidge, 2008). Malcolm X spoke regularly at Micheaux's "House of Common Sense", (YouTube, 2014, Frazer, 1976, Siddiqui, 2013, and Emblidge, 2008), which was captured in a powerful rendering scene where Denzel Washington channels Malcolm in the acclaimed Spike Lee joint (Lee and Perl, 1992).

At the apex of the Black Power movement, when trade agreements between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China permitted books and other goods to be exchanged, Vaughn's Bookstore sold Mao Tse-Tung's *Red Book*, "by the droves" (Vaughn, 2017 and Campbell, 2017). The store also maintained all three English

translations of the *Koran* (Campbell, 2017). "Vaughn's was where everybody in Detroit congregated. We were the only game in town specializing in Black history," (Vaughn, 2017).

The growth in popularity of Vaughn's Bookstore also provoked much attention from law enforcement officials, including the FBI. Vaughn recalls undercover Detroit police officers arriving under the pretense of shopping for books. The Red Squad, a now disbanded Detroit police unit for surveillance on political dissidents had once targeted Vaughn's Bookstore. They had unsuccessfully tried to trump up charges on Vaughn for selling Mao's "Little Red Book" (Vaughn & Hunter, 1997).

> I never saw a Black cop come in to buy a book because there were only two or three on the force," said Vaughn (Campbell, 2017). "It would always be a White cop who came in and they would buy the cheap paperbacks. And they would always buy the *Red Book* 'cause the *Red Book* was real cheap. I guess they were developing a case on use.
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> The police burned down my place, not just my place, but Superior Beauty [a Black owned hair care chain in Detroit] as well. I have no doubt (Vaughn & Hunter, 1977; Vaughn & Campbell, 2017; Vaughn & Pollard, 1999).

Foremost than any other area in Detroit, the surrounding community of Vaughn's Bookstore developed into a hub of Pan African and Black Nationalists revolutionary activity. These cultural consumers and producers included the Republic of New Afrika, whereby the group's magazine, set up two doors down in a space owned by Vaughn. The Friends of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), in an office located directly across the street. Artist Glanton Dowdell, whose work included the Shrine of the Black Madonna mural, set up a studio and gallery on Dexter, down the street from Vaughn's Bookstore. Both, the Nation of Islam Temple No. 1 and the Shrine of the Black Madonna Church were located nearby on Linwood. This area comprises a prominent

locus for the social geography of the 'Pan African Detroit' community (Hunter, 1997, House, 2012, and Campbell, 2017), "We were mainly oriented toward the people who already were Pan Africanists and Nationalists, or people who were on the left, in the movement, and they came to the store, and soon teachers, children began to come. There was a sort of awakening in the community…" (Vaughn & Pollard, 1989).

The explanation of these Pan African pioneers reinforces the fact that Pan Africanism is an important axes of Black life in Detroit. Their stories help us locate the validity of Pan African Detroit, and thus Detroit as a Pan African-Black Metropolis. "It was like the axis, a center point. There were a lot of other things going on, other kinds of centers, but Vaughn's was a place within the movement for everyone," Stuart House said. "It spanned a lot of the ideological divisions, and there were many, between Marxists and Nationalists, Christian Nationalists and all the various factions; but it was a place that all of these people from all of these varied belief systems could find a common ground, which made it kind of a unifying force" (House and Campbell, 2017).

As people and various cultural, social and artistic productions reflect on the 1967 uprising, nationally (concurrent with this writing), it is important to recall the broader development of Black Liberation, Black consciousness and Pan African cultural politics that abounded during the 1960s – 1970s and its impact on current liberation movements, the current consciousness and current Black cultural entrepreneurs in Detroit. Vaughn's Bookstore provided a safe, nurturing environment in which this movement of Black Liberation and Black consciousness could develop intellectually, culturally and artistically.

Vaughn's Bookstore became a Black Detroit as well as a national mecca for activists, thinkers, writers, educators, entrepreneurs and artists developing revolutionary theory, Pan African thought, African American transnationalism, anticolonialism and visionary projects to stabilize a better future for successive Black generations (Vaughn, 2017, Campbell, 2017, Hunter, 1997, and Pollard, 1989). In the aftermath of the Great '67 Rebellion, Vaughn was even accused of starting the 'riot' (Vaughn and Hunter, 1997). In response to a much debated and misconstrued analysis about the 1967 uprising, when critics, distortionists and those who are generally confused ask: How can an attack on 'the power structure' be indicated when Blacks destroy their own neighborhoods? Vaughn adds that:

> First of all, they [African Americans] were not destroying their own homes and businesses. They were burning white and Black-owned businesses on the main thoroughfares that were negative, price-gouging and mistreating the community. Some white businesses were not burned, because they were seen as being positive and community oriented. The heavy winds on Linwood caused houses to catch fire. The very few Black-owned businesses that were burned were owned by folks considered to be mean and negative to the members of the community (Vaughn and Hunter, 1997).

Ed Vaughn's legacy personally touched the Pan African, Black nationalists, and Afrocentric life of cultural producer Mama Njia Kai (Kai, 2017). Vaughn and subsequently Mama Njia's dedication (an interviewee discussed later) are substantive archetypes that capture the role and prominence of the Black cultural entrepreneur/ Black cultural producer.

Arts and Fashion, Alternative Health & Spirituality, Afro-Centric Consciousness

The arts and fashion of the AWF suggest a powerful, highly creative and lively tradition. Former CEO, of the Charles H. Wright, Christy S. Coleman, recalls, the 2009

AWF, "Take a peek into Detroit's Cultural Gateway, and browse around until an artist's original painting, handmade basket or piece of jewelry catches your eye, sway to the rhythmic music of the diaspora and celebrate this vibrant part of Detroit's history…" (2009).

In 2009, Detroit Mayor Dave Bing, along with the Detroit City Council and other dignitaries opened the festival on Friday at noon. Arts and fashion opened up the celebration on Saturday, when the Parade of Nations kicked off from Woodward Avenue at the Fisher Freeway and entered Hart Plaza at noon for the opening. That year, the AWF highlights included stage headliner, the dynamic and unique Rachelle Ferrell who has an octave range that has been compared to the late great Minnie Ripperton. On that Friday, "Watoto Children's Celebration" featured Grammy Lifetime Achievement, award winning folk singer Ella Jenkins (Spratling, 2009).

On Saturday, later that night, "Black Women Rock" was helmed by Detroit poet jessica Care moore, nationally known for her run on the Apollo for "Black Girl Juice" and Russell Simmon's HBO "Def Poetry Jam," moore brought forth the foremost Black female rock and soul musicians, singers, poets, spoken word and performance artists. Before care Moore's Black Women Rock, the Fashion Design Competition, "Detroit Rocks the Runway", preceded as hip hop got its cultural expression in traditional African textiles and design, with special guest judge, Naima Mora, Detroit's own "America's Next Top Model" (Spratling, 2009).

The spirit of the African World came alive on Sunday at noon with the Third New Hope Baptist Church service, "Sermon on the River", followed afterwards by the Motown Summer Blast "Gospel Explosion". The 2009 AWF's year's theme was "One

Love Celebration", which signified the Black unity call of Pan Africanism made popular by Bob Marley and the Rastafarian tradition. This tradition grew from both the inspiration of Marcus Garvey and the elevation of Ethiopia and Haile Selassie. The theme derives from the iconic song of the Caribbean legend, Bob Marley, one of three cultural giants to be honored by the festival.

The other cultural icons were the late poet Gil Scott Heron, and African musical legend Fela Anikulapo Kuti, whose life is immortalized in the world tour of the Broadway musical "Fela!" which came to the Music Hall in 2012. The Detroit Black Expo presented an on-site business exposition, and the Freedom Institute's Freedom Weekend hosted an on-site "Health Is Wealth Pavilion" geared to Black health awareness and treatment (Spratling, 2009).

The 2009 festival attracted an estimated 500,000 visitors. The event featured an African Family Village, the Diaspora Marketplace, a Taste of Africa Pavilion, and the International Caribbean Festival and Parade. The festival reflected a family celebration spiced with lively musical entertainment, food, and arts and crafts. Featured performers at the 2009 festival included Pathe Jassi, Roberta Flack, and Sister Carol. That year, during Detroit's 300th birthday, it was noted, though not often enough, that one of Detroit's greatest strengths is its diversity. In this realm, no group has contributed more than African Americans, in many ways. One would be hard-pressed to find any festival more highly anticipated or more well attended than Detroit African World Festival (Spratling, 2009).

In 2009, 250 vendors made available an array or arts and crafts from around the world. The 15-Food Court kitchens offered festivalgoers tasty cuisine from Ghana to

Trinidad to Jamaica. The African Family Village was the festival area for education programs, physical activities, storytelling and arts and crafts workshops, all geared toward children. It was based on the proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child." Entertainment was plentiful, presented on the Umoja (Unity) Stage, was the Kuumba (Creativity) Stage and the Ujima (Collective Work & Responsibility) Stage all named for the Nguzo Saba. One of the most popular festival attractions was the Step Show, which took place on Saturday, Aug. 18, 2009, on the Umoja Stage. Many Black fraternities and sororities were represented. Of special significance was the Charles Wright's exhibit, "Jazz in Detroit Before Motown, 1920-1960."

The performances were dedicated to acclaim Detroit musician and educator Harold McKinney, who died while working assembling the Kuumba Stage entertainment. Marion Hayden (of the all-female jazz band *Straight Ahead*) completed that project. Among those performing on the Kuumba Stage were McKinfolk (comprised of relatives of Harold McKinney), Straight Ahead, Alma Smith, Donald Walden, Shahida Nurullah, Taslimah Bey and Dee McNeil. The Acoustic Rhythms Stage ("a new vibe on the festival scene") offered poetry, spoken word and visual performance art.

Performers included Khary Kimani Turner, the Griot Arts, Faruq Z. Bey, Aurora Harris and Jessica Care Moore. Among those who performed on the Umoja Stage included Dianne Reeves, the Wild Magnolias, David Myles & Mylestones, the Teddy Harris Orchestra, David McMurray, Kem, Ras Kente, Michael Brock, Baaba Maal, Marcia Griffith, Roots Vibrations, Tony Rebel and Kareem Baaqi (Spratling, 2009).

Cafe Diaspora featured alternative, house and hip-hop music, as well as poetry and a live artist mural demonstration, an open mic segment and a jewelry-making

154

demonstration. "Dances of the Diaspora" featured on the Ujima Stage, included Caribbean, Ethiopian, ballroom, and hustle, Moroccan, Egyptian, Brazilian, Sierra Leone and Latin. There was also a Gele demonstration (head wrapping with African cloth).

Some vendors offered several alternative-healing practices, which were made from ancient African traditions of herbs and minerals, where just by inhaling the aroma and allowing it to seep into your nostrils, one can be healed from a number of medical problems (Spratling, 2009).

Fast forward to 2016, and take a walk with me through my observations of the AWF. Like me you will see the how new revelations and reflections on the Black Metropolis and what I contend as the emergence of a 'Pan African Detroit' continues to be anchored in the cultural-political economy of Detroit's "African Market", which composes the social and human geography of the AWF (Radney, 2016). On the bustling pavements of Detroit's African Market (inside the AWF), there's a continental African brother, Senegalese selling a type of smelling ointment/ balm of herbs and other earth essences known from the healing science of African healing tradition, that with just one whiff can put an end to the dreaded migraine, among other physical discomforts.

It was like yoga captured in a small plastic container, because the whiff could also 'unblock you' and elevate your senses and energy. He gives us a glimpse into the alternative Afrocentric and holistic healing tradition that has been a mainstay in Black Detroit and the broader Black community since the primordial days of the Black Atlantic. These products of the healing arts carried over though centuries an African-based scientific knowledge and practice devoted to a healing-trifecta of the mind, body and soul.

Daughters of the Iyi family, Isoke Iyi and others, a large Yoruba-inspired African American family and clan in Detroit, pays a special tribute to their mother Mama Jendayi Iyi, whose splendid portrait 'blesses the crowd' and imparts the Afrocentric way like a beacon for the AWF market-traveler-consumer. Like Janie, the Black female hero in Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (Hurston, 1935/1965 and Washington, 1990), you can began to understand a Black woman's self-determined journey invested in Black (African inspired) folk traditions, "Here … was a [Black] woman on a quest for her own identity… her journey would take her, not away from, but deeper and deeper into Blackness" (ix) reads hints of Mary Washington's foreword from Hurston's novel (1990 and 1935/1965).

Some mirrored revelations suggest Mama Jendayi's spirit-portrait is embedded with her lifetime-investment in Black-Pan African folk traditions and for that matter her visage stands as an empowering and metaphorical doorway of 'return', to and not away from Blackness. The legacy of Black women liker her in Detroit suggest possibly the strength of an Africana womanist tradition. She is an ancestor now, who must be honored for the teaching, the example of life she led and the 'Black love' that poured generously from the gift of her soul and hands.

Her 'going home' memorial procession which took place outdoors in a pastoral setting in Detroit was highly attended by Detroit's unifying Pan African soul-force. The solemn occasion combined beauty, dignity, African and Afrocentric dress, dance, drums and spoken word or oration, which were reworkings, reimaginaries and codifications of the Yoruba tradition.

At the 2016 AWF, her daughters' station in Mama Jendayi's cultural-artistic traditions wrap geles as a prominent style of African headdress for all the Black women and some non-Black women, who gather around and want to evoke their 'royal Black roots' and flex their 'Black beauty'. There was spoken word, song and oration by Al B Sure and his stirring message to the Black community was centered in the Black uplift rhetorical tradition. As you walk the contained streets of the vast African Market on the grounds of the Charles Wright, you can see a Nigerian woman dressed in Afrocentric designs.

She is adorned with a Pan African signature gele, wrapped like a crown, while she and a Nigerian brother in what many Muslims call a kufi and a decorative dashiki, move quickly and generously. Their hands move professionally as they work among exquisite steaming-food aromas that hang about, while they sell aluminum trays of Joffu rice-curry-type dishes of chicken, beef, and seafood, fresh off the grill. They have plenty in there grill-set up-station, pulling off the emptying ones and setting the newly cooked fresh batches, because the lines keep getting longer and longer.

The African/Afrocentric dance company Alnur took center stage in Watoto Village where children, mostly little Black girls made visible Black-girl magic dressed in various garbs of Afrocentric print. Their similar outfits had splashes of a leopard orange and Black print and Kente cloth, which moved gracefully and expertly in well-recognized African and Black modern dance routines. The level of precision that the girl dancers moved with is a testament to the depth of mastery and teaching that is invested in them by their instructors. In the code of Black urban failure, this kind of "Black girl joy" and sophistication (Brown, 2015) is rarely highlighted.

Each dance step expresses a sustained African connection that regenerates itself not just as tradition, but also as a life culture and life style in a continuum of successive generations, represented by the training and the mastery of its young female conduits and expressionists. For Black dance choreographer Camille A. Brown, the power of Black dance is so important in the lives and self esteem of Black girls, because "for Black girls there are not enough images of us being seen as all things" (2014). Detroit dance companies like Alnur cultivates Pan African connections and the development, self-esteem and worth of Black girls at the center of the universe.

Several vendors (cultural entrepreneurs) displayed an array of African arts and crafts to choose from. With so many African and Afrocentric masks, drums, statues, Black visual art, paintings, dresses, cool new variations on the dashiki, where Black urban funk meets Afrocentricity, Black empowerment t-shirts, all kinds of incenses and aromatherapy, women body wraps, new design-contemporary Afrocentric apparel, many of the same stylings and creativity featured in "Detroit Rocks the Runway", the traveler-consumer can easily become stunned and drawn into this peaceful, vibrant Black World.

The awesome traditional works and avant-garde creations embrace you in their cultural quilt, so much so that the African Market traveler-consumer, he or she, feels like they have just stepped into a place where the diaspora has given the best pride of all its total parts. In one vendor's station, Mohammadou's, the Kora-playing Griot music of West Africa greets you and encapsulates you in the soothing protection and safety of its musical arms, stretching across the Black Atlantic to Detroit. This feels like a refuge place for the Black soul and mind, where one does not have to worry about the death defying dangers that Black bodies face in an anti-Black 'hateful outside'. The 'hateful

outside' cannot dwell in this safe place. On the contrary, the AWF formulates a "Black love fest". One would be hard pressed not to see how this is a broad space for Black healing and restoration on so many levels (Kai, 2017).

The music sounds like Sona Jobarteh, the first African/Black female to reach the musical status of a Kora Griot. "Detroit Rocks the Runway" is a special highlight, a Mama Njia installation. It is an endeared, rousing and spectacular event, where Pan African and Afrocentric styles are modeled in the finest and cutting-edge fashions. The host Piper Laurie roused the crowd in her funky urban hip-hop and Afrocentric MC stylings.

Libations were poured by a group of talented young Black men-drummers, then the runway event opened with Laurie giving honor to the elders and various creative talents who put Detroit Rocks the Runway together. She gave a special tribute of gratitude, honor and respect to Mama Njia, the long time director of the AWF. This year's runway sketch expressed the various multi-shaded beauty of Black women, an intentional critique of colorism or shadeism that continues to divide the Black community.

The 'sisters' modeled a colorful assortment of lovely geles and Afrocentric wrapped dress designs. A full-figure Black woman in Afrocentric Black and brown two-piece was the climax of the Black women's runway segment. This most important spotlight represented an authentic Pan African unity, marked by an inclusiveness and expansive embrace of Black women's' bodies. At the heart of it was an intentional critique and divergence from the Eurocentric 'make-believe' and oppressive configuration of 'bone-thin' constructions of white ideals of fetish and beauty. This

performance was wrapped in a loving quilt of celebrating the Black woman's body and Black women self-validating aesthetics.

Another centerpiece showcased a Black man representing the 'Black King' motif; dressed in a regal eggshell long-length dashiki and matching pants, sporting a perfectly, styled natural hairstyle of braids. He stood center stage with an Afrocentric staff that had the all-watching eyes of a Yoruba Orisha, and waited for the arrival of his 'Black Queen' appareled in a matching color scheme.

They joined in a coming together that symbolized a potent aesthetic of Black unity and empowerment. They embodied the dignity of the Pan African Dream; represented, but not limited to a deep centering 'Black love', Black dignity, Black unity, and a Black 'woke' consciousness that is invested in Black empowerment. It was this event and others like this that could reveal a transformation from Black suffering was implanted within the AWF (Zeleza, 1997).

Detroit's Pan African Heritage and the African World Festival

Marcus Garvey, Garveyism, the UNIA and its influence on Detroit's Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism remains largely undervalued. Along with this, the contributions of significant Pan Africanist pioneers in Detroit have been underserved (Jolly, 2013). One such pioneer is William Sherrill. The insights from Sherrill's life and writings regarding the mission of Garveyism and the UNIA, allows us to craft an understanding of Detroit's early cultural history under its Pan-African and Black Nationalist orientation.

In Detroit, on August 1939, Assistant President General of the UNIA, William Sherrill wrote in the *Michigan Chronicle,* that:

By our own strength we must create for ourselves avenues of employment and force open doors of opportunity, if our sons and daughters and the generation coming after will be able to carve out a destiny that will be a credit to the Negro and all the races of men… We must cease to depend upon the tutelage of the other fellow [whites] … and build for ourselves such monuments to Negro activities … in every field of human endeavor that the world about us will stand aghast. We must lay aside our swaddling clothes … burst the hands of timidity that keep us shrinking and hiding from the shadows of passing events and resolve to form for ourselves, the course which we will henceforth take, to gain for ourselves everything we, as a group, feel that we are entitled to (Jolly, 2013, 1, Introduction).

Sherrill captures efficiently the themes of Black self-determination, Black dignity, cultural history, Black pride, racial uplift, Black solidarity and the transformation from the "old Negro' to the 'New Negro' that characterize the groundings of Detroit's Pan African legacy (Jolly, 2013). Sherrill joined Marcus Garvey's UNIA in 1921 and became its Assistant President General in 1922. Sherrill devoted his life selfishly to Garveyism, the UNIA and what he routinely referred to as "the business of Nation building" (Jolly, 2013).

Many previous discussions do not link African American activism of the late 1930s Black Detroit to African American Internationalism and anti-colonialism, the Black Arts and the Black Power Movements (Jolly, 2013). Detroit's vision of Pan Africanism easily coincides with the possibilities of DuBois' intellectual framework, in that it fundamentally constitutes: "The intellectual understanding and [political and economic] cooperation among groups of African descent in order to bring about the emancipation of Black peoples" (DuBois: Warren, 1990, 16).

As an intellectual, social, economic and cultural ideology, Pan-Africanism has been a complex movement attempting to improve Black suffering and its dehumanization (Warren, 1990 and LeMelle & Kelley, 1999, and Ratcliff, 2009). There is no Pan African

and Black self-determination heritage in Detroit without Garvey and the UNIA-ACL's presence (Bates, 2012, Jolly 2013, Thompson, 1999 Smith, 1999, and Thomas, 1992). Garveyism and the collective influence of the UNIA-ACL as well as some influx of

Caribbeanization (well documented in New York and Harlem, but) even in Detroit Black city spaces 'touches everyone' (Jolly, 2013, Boyle, 2004, and Thomas, 1992), from Elijah Muhammad to Malcolm X, to Albert Cleage and so on. To view Garvey's political impact reductively (Jolly, 2013, Stein, 2009, and LFS, 2014), continues an intellectual tradition in which Black contribution is treated as substandard to white. Many Garvey enthusiasts seem to be saddled with two complications, for one, Garvey-centric narratives, can undermine the overall significance of other UNIA players, and the UNIA's organizational integrity. For the other, the tint of mockery perpetuated in the "Black con man" narrative also looms on these attempts at valued assessment (Jolly, 2013).

Any of Garvey or UNIA's shortcomings cannot be considered outside of the early Cointel destabilization methods that J. Edgar Hoover would perfect as his anti-Black signature (LFS, 2014). Thus, the isolation of Garveyism has understated the power of the UNIA-ACL's historical influence on Black consciousness and Detroit as an epicenter for Pan Africanism during the interwar years (Jolly, 2013 and Williams, 2008). By excavating the influence of Garvey's UNIA-ACL on the formation of Detroit's Black identity, Black self-determination, political agency and Black uplift philosophy, we are able to establish the linkages for Detroit's traditional Pan African orientations, or pan African "axes in Black life" (Patillo, 2014 and Drake and Cayton, 1945).

Garveyism and the collective developments of the UNIA advocated a racial uplift philosophy, that is connected to a racial identity that 'redeems' Africa from the historical destruction and Hegelian myths of European domination, and which connects proudly with Africa in a way of Black pride. Its mission is about resuscitating the power of Black pride and Black value through a direct life orientation or living memory of Africa (Jolly, 2013 and Harvey, 1994).

Pan Africanism has also been the basis for enhancing the "African" aspects of African descendant cultural particularity, in religion, music, dance, poetry (spoken word), food, sage philosophy (wisdom), naming practices, Black holidays, Signifyin, tropes, dress (apparel) and oral/written literature. It has enabled the mental, spiritual and physical re-connection of African descendants differentiated by history, language, and culture in the African Diaspora with each other, through the organization of Pan-African congresses, African World festivals and other cultural exchange.

A reasonable articulation of pan Africanism may prove difficult for some critics who attempt to pushback against what they consider problems of essentializing Blackness. Yet, pan Africanism is a harmonizing open-collectivism, because "there is no single route for attaining the Pan African dream" (Nyanmeh &Shoro, 2009, 21).

In this regard, capturing Pan-Africanism in Detroit may be "best seen and articulated as a flexible, inclusive, dynamic and complex aspiration in identity making and belonging" for Black people anywhere in the world. Thus, the 'world of Africa' in Detroit doesn't collapse on a single identity, but offers a psychological and cultural space for Black meta-identities to co-exist in freedom and dignity, "beyond the reach" of

Detroit's long white racism (Gilroy, 1987: Jackson, 1988, Nyamnjoh and Shoro, 2009, 35).

However, for the Black community tensions exist around identity, heritage, cultural connections and ideology, and with them often comes a miscalculation of Black unity, Black heterogeneity (over-estimating the notion of 'Black sameness') and racial exceptionalism. These kinds of tensions in Detroit's Black community expose the disunity around racial identity and racial uplift philosophy as collectivized strategies against the problematics of white-chauvinistic racial liberalism. While, many of these differences uncover a need for harmonizing and recognizing Black meta-identities, their consequential attitudes are still not resolved of African heritage shame (Neal, 2002 and Holloway, 1999).

Hence, there is much learned confusion about who, or what qualifies as "African' for many Detroiters and the broader Black community. Moreover, to a harmful, but understandable degree, there exist a "them and us" problem, perceived and real antagonisms often visible by Black intraracial Otherness between African Americans, continental Africans, Afro-Latinos, Afro-Cubans, Afro-Caribbeans, etc. Much of this antagonism is engrained in a problem of rejected African-Blackness 'brainwash' (Smith, 1999, Jolly, 2013 and Gaines, 1999).

Racial uplift has assumed at least two popular poles in the cultural history of Black Detroit to this day (Jolly, 2013, Bates, 2012, Gaines, 1999, and Katzman, 1973). On the one hand, it resonates with a Negrophobic accommodation to the white gaze, and thus co-jointly exploits a rationalization of Black caste (Jolly, 2013, Bates, 2012, Gaines, 1999, and Katzman, 1973). On the other hand it has been predominantly unapologetically

164

Negrophilic, aspiring towards a world informed by Black/African solidarities and identities, which have been shaped by "a humanity of common predicaments" (Nyamnjoh and Shoro, 2009, 35). The latter describes Pan Africanism, as it has taken content in Black Detroit. Yet, the 'twoness tensions' (Dubois, 1901) of externalized and internalized anti-African/Black conditioning suggests the complications whereby the African American disposition slips in and out of each poles.

The African World Festival has its roots in this Garvey-UNIA influenced Pan African tradition and the Black radical political struggles in Detroit. The Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History has produced the African World Festival as an annual pan African festival since 1983. The African World Festival is modeled after the Festival of African Culture, an international event that was last held in Nigeria in 1977.

Not just a celebration of African American culture, the African World Festival honors all of the cultures that have evolved in the African Diaspora – the descendants of African people who are now dispersed all over the world. The festival promotes the ideals of the Pan-African movement that began in Black Detroit during the 1920s (Warren, 1990 and Jolly, 2013). The African World Festival provides opportunities for people to see the connections between African or Black people all over the world (Rudd, 1999, Heron, 1983, and Sprawling, 2001).

AWF is Detroit's largest ethnic festival attracting over 150, 000 people annually. The 34-year old Pan African festival is a celebration of the richness, diversity and worldwide influence of African culture through, cuisine, performances, fashion and other cultural productions (Edward, 2017). Garveyism and the UNIA expansion encouraged

African descendants to learn about the cultures and customs of the Motherland (Rudd, 1999, Heron, 1983, and Sprawling, 2001).

The festival spans five acres on and surrounding the Museum's grounds and features innumerable attractions, reflecting a wide variety of African traditions and nations, and offers local and national acts, innovative fashion, outstanding music and dance, food, art, storytelling, drumming and interactive activities of all kinds. There are two large stages (one geared specifically to young adults), a Jazz and Blues Club, International Marketplace, Food Village, Special Museum Exhibits (Art, Artifacts and Quilting), Folk Life Village, Elder Village, Watoto Village for Children, Kuumba Artists Village, special in-museum theater lectures and presentations, health screenings and more

The AWF exemplifies the vibrancy between Pan-Africanism on (what Drake and Cayton refer to as) the Axes of Life in the Black Metropolis. A walk through the AWF on the grounds of the Charles Wright, it is not difficult at all to see how Pan Africanism seems inseparable from (a) staying alive, (b) having fun, (c) serving God, (d) getting ahead and (d) advancing the Race. As Pan African festivals go, Detroit's African World Festival represents a grand manifestation in the length of Black liberation zones embedded in cultural spaces, which signify an ideological and memorial inscription of African re-connection (Jackson, 1988 and Osumare, 2009).

The Impact of Black Political Control in 1970s

On the one hand, the Charles Wright Museum and its African World Festival is based in the wider political struggle of Black resistance through African memory and inscription, and is a global attraction for Pan-African thought and reawakening (Jackson, 1988). But, on the other hand, or locally it is the result of the Black political control and

166

Black takeover of Detroit in the 1970s, which emerged with the election of Detroit's first African American mayor, and eventually its majority African American city council (Boyle, 2009; Georgakas & Surkin, 1998; Harris, 1997; McGraw, 2015).

Moreover, the fact of the CWMAAH/AWF in a city with a long unbridled social unrest based in white racism, suggests a powerful achievement and victory in Detroit's cultural-political economy by African Americans, which emerged at a very influential juncture in the tenure of Mayor Coleman Young, and that era's pro-Black city council. In this manner, the AWF is a "contested event" that expresses political, intellectual, narrative, historical and ideological conflict (Jackson, 1988, 213).

Additionally, it 'fights' the long history of Detroit's white repression through the celebration of Blackness (Stevens, 2011). The comprehensive world of Pan African semiotics at the AWF exhibit both globally and locally, an understanding of how Pan Africanism is both vibrantly institutionized and an uplifting way of life in Detroit's Black Metropolis. The intersection of notables such as Albert Cleage and William Sherrill, among others provides a bridge for how the African World Festival is directly connected to a history of Detroit Black revolutionary politics.

The Black community that Albert Cleage's inspired, the founder of the Pan African Orthodox Church in Detroit, (famously know as the Shrine of the Black Madonna) would become a major Black political bloc in the development of the Detroit "Black Slate" (Henderson, 2015, 252). The Black Slate became the central organizing body that led to Detroit's first Black mayor, Coleman Young and the mostly-Black city council. Young's administration and Detroit's Black City Council would become staunch

supporters of Charles Wright's vision to erect a resource center to document, preserve and educate the public on Black history, life and culture (2015).

The African World Festival sprung from the Black self-determination vision of this new Black revolutionary leadership and Wright's seminal "International Afro-American Museum" (2015). The AWF and it's African World is an outgrowth of the Pan-African consciousness, historical reconstruction and liberation politics that developed from and coincided with 'The Shrine's' and the Detroit-UNIA broader community relations, and the rising geographic power of Detroit's Black Metropolis (Widick, 1972).

Cleage (Jaramogi's) role in The Shrine of the Black Madonna (SBM) is significant as a historical base for the manifestations of Detroit's Pan-African identity and its offspring of AWF. As an intersecting Detroit "cultural space", the SBM is not just a religious refuge against white racism, but an institution for the cultural facilitation and cultural agency of Black liberation theology fixed in 'Pan-African orthodoxy'. This "refuge and resource" for the Black proletariat provided a socio-political framework and cultivation space for Pan-Africanist movement and facilitated the nurturing of its members identity and politics towards a Pan-African worldview (Henderson, 2015).

Detroit's Pan African pulse that started with the founding legacy of Pastor A. D. Williams grew in part from the Black economic, psychological and spiritual turmoil of Detroit. This Black suffering was structuralized by the vicious faces of its color line imperative, and its embedded crafting of white supremacy, which was reinforced by its normative acts of white terrorism.

This Pan African urban ethos was also synthesized in part, by the blueprint of the social gospel (Bates, 2012; Robinson, 2015), a religious perspective that preached and focused on practice social change for the Detroit's growing Black urban population in the 1920s. Cleage fused this social gospel with Black power, Pan Africanism, and developed his Pan African Black theology. All of these connective currents contributed to the Black community groundings that enabled the eventual emergence of Detroit's "Black Slate" (Henderson, 2015, 252).

Under Coleman Alexander Young, and the mostly-Black city council, Detroit's Black Metropolis of the 1970s gained an unprecedented leverage and domination of the political economy (Darden, 2016). The Shrine of the Black Madonna church-community with its overarching footprint of Garveyism promoted Black independence and the enfranchisement of Black political power, which decided Young's ascendancy and Detroit's political change from a predominantly white city council to a predominantly Black city council, where JoAnn Watson, served prodigiously and faithfully (Warikoo, 2017). It is this change that makes Watson's opening statement in Chapter 1 even more meaningful.

The Kerner Commission, convened by President Lyndon B. Johnson to examine the cause of racial uprisings in Detroit and several other Black cities in 1967, determined that Black power groups, like Detroit's Republic of New Africa had concluded that despite the gains of the civil rights movement, Black people had "not experienced tangible benefits in a significant way". Tangible transformation could only come about when the Black community united as a political force.

This modus operandi of Black unity meant "organizing a Black political party or controlling the political machinery within the ghetto without the guidance or support of white politicians", the Kerner report noted, on the belief among these groups that "only a well-organized and cohesive bloc of Negro voters could provide for the needs of the black masses". Radicals, conservatives and liberals fought viciously for their vision of the Motor City, consequently initiating a political war zone following 1967 (Thompson, 2001).

The long history of police terrorism in Detroit was an integral unifying concern in the Black community; it radicalized the Black community as it does today. The realities of anti-Black suppression and its agency of police brutality, have catalogued evidence upon evidence, wherein Black Detroiters had come to view the overwhelmingly white Detroit Police Department as an army of occupation.

Detroit's contemporary activists are still attempting to address some of the same issues - neighborhood revitalization, education, poverty, racism and jobs. They are demanding social and economic justice for neighborhoods gutted by 60 years of white flight, business disinvestment, crime, drugs and government 'benign neglect' (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

Detroiters organized marches, rallies and media campaigns to get rid of the unit. Black civil rights and Marxist attorney, Kenneth Cockrel, Sr. led the campaign to dismantle the STRESS unit and pushed for police reform in Detroit. A major victory of the marches and their persuasiveness was the transformative election of Young as Detroit's first Black mayor in 1974.

From 1970-74, Detroit Mayor Roman Gribbs, oversaw the police department when it created the widely despised undercover unit known as STRESS. Black Detroiters comprised more than 40 percent of the city's population after the events of 1967, but had little presence or voice in city government (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017). A large part of the opposition then revolved around getting a seat at the table. Today, Blacks are routinely elected to leadership positions, while filling nearly every level of city government. Yet, Detroit's political leaders don't carry nearly the clout they wielded in 1967. A variety of factors contributed to the shift from a predominantly white city council to a predominantly Black city council, such as Detroit's shrinking population to what many residents perceive as the state's barely disguised aversive racism towards the city (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

The years following the death of Coleman Young have resembled a decline in the authority and power granted to Detroit mayors. Young entered office undertaking to reform police and give Black Detroiters a voice in city government that they never had before. He delivered on these promises. Young dismantled the hated police STRESS unit and established affirmative action programs in the DPD and other city departments. To establish community-based policing, Young opened mini-stations in dozens of neighborhoods, and saw that city contracts were spread out to Black businesspeople, who largely had been shut out prior to his taking of the mayor's office (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

While Young could be abrasive and profane, and he alienated whites by bringing up the problem of racism in metro Detroit, he was an integrationist who had a diverse team of appointees and generally preached the necessity of racial unity.

Even as he called for harmony, Young also communicated the idea of Black pride to Detroiters. During election campaigns, he sometimes spoke in a coded racial language about how "we" (Detoit's Black community) have fought to maintain the city in the face of outside oppression and how "they" (suburban whites) want to control the city and steal the "jewels". He defended even legitimate criticism of the police department as attacks on affirmative action. He cracked down on city workers; especially white cops and firefighters, who violated the city's residency requirement (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

Young decided not to run for a sixth term in 1993 after 20 years in office. He died in 1997, and some argue that the era of strong Black political power died with him. The state legislature abolished Recorder's Court that same year of his death, Detroit's criminal court since 1824, and ordered its judges and staff merged with the court system of surrounding Wayne County, which was mostly white. In 1998, management of the Detroit Institute of Arts was given over to the Founders Society, the longtime nonprofit associated with the museum. In 1999, acting on pleas of mainly white cops and firefighters, the state legislature ended Detroit's decades-long rule that required city workers to live in the city, a move that accelerated flight to the suburbs. With it, also commenced the loss of desperately needed tax revenue. Many of Detroit's other institutions were reorganized in the proceeding years (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

Other decisions coming from Lansing also gnawed at the Black infrastructure empowerment of Detroit, from steep cuts in state aid to, most notably, the state's decision to appoint an emergency manager for Detroit before the city sought federal

172

bankruptcy protection. Black power became a reality in Detroit in many ways in the years that followed, as a cadre of young, idealistic African Americans - and a number of white lawyers and activists - changed the jury-selection process in Detroit's criminal court to include more Black jurors; confronted the ongoing terrorism of the Detroit police, and, most crucially, elected Young (Boyle, 2009; McGraw, 2017).

Young's election demonstrated - for the first time - what unified Black Detroiters were capable of achieving once they captured the control of government. At a time of extreme racial polarization, Young recognized his election was made possible by the white evacuation that eventually gave Detroit the most unusual demographics of any large American city - by 2000, more than 8-in-10 residents were African American. White Detroiters, Young observed, "were getting the hell out, more than happy to turn over their troubles to a black sucker like me" (McGraw, 2015). In his 1994 autobiography, Young discloses that, "White people… lost control of Detroit", and then superimposed a version of Detroit that fit into the captive Negrophobia of the white mind. In that, this new white gaze-focused Detroit became as Young exclaimed, " as a rule, racially foreign and consequently frightening" (McGraw, 2015).

Ultimately, the cultural politics of Black self-determination underpinned by the long foundational pulse of Pan Africanism demonstrated its power in the form of the Black unity and Black pride imperative. These two Pan African cultural politics and tropes of the Pan African metropolis are revealed significantly and clearly in the case of Coleman Young election as the first Black mayor of Detroit, and Young's

subsequent dismantling of a most insidious white racist police suffering, which had comprised the greatest terror and culprit of Black suffering in the Black community.

The African World Festival demonstrates how Detroit's pan African legacies manifested cultural history as a consolidated refuge space. The Shrine of the Black Madonna (SBM) is significant as a historical base for the manifestations of Detroit's Pan-African identity, which are linked in the same trajectory of the seminal Garveyism, Detroit's UNIA branch, ultimately cultivating in a centralization of Detroit's African World through the spatial collectivization of its annual AWF celebration. As a Detroit "cultural space", the SBM is not just a religious refuge against white racism, but an institution for the cultural facilitation and cultural agency of Black liberation theology fixed in 'Pan-African orthodoxy'.

This "refuge and resource" for the Black proletariat provided a socio-political framework and cultivation space for Pan-Africanist movement and facilitated the nurturing of its members identity and politics towards a Pan-African worldview (Henderson, 2015). That same Pan-African Black Detroit of Sherrill and Cleage's worlds and its prominent Black nationalist-consciousness is what gave birth to the AWF. The overlapping history of Garvey's UNIA, the AWF and the SBM locates a Pan African orthodoxy that cultivates Black liberation and illustrates its congruence in African consciousness via symbolism, lifestyle, memory, reawakening and other semiotic inscription (Jackson, 1988).

Conclusion

While, African American communities celebrate different kinds of festivals each year, not much has been published on this subject and it constitutes an underserved

174

topic. The knowledge production of the chapter's focus comprises an attempt to help fill in part of the vacuum, and illustrate the importance and functions of African American heritage, Pan Africanism and their relationship with contemporary African American festivals in Black urban spaces. African and African American festivals are a tool of community gathering, and unity, which decenters and deconstructs the fake notion of Anglo/European universalism (Gordon, 1999) and places Blacks/African descendants at the center of the universe, 'appropriately' within our culture and social environment. Festivals like the AWF are also a medium for cultural education and intergenerational communication and play an important role in the preservation of our cultural heritage, transmitting knowledge and our experiences as a people to future generations, and other Black people who don't have regular access to an 'Africana education' (Rabaka, 2003).

The celebration of festivals in African American communities should not be seen merely as an annual congregation of street and food vendors, marching bands, and musicians but also as a tool of cultural reconstruction, political meaning and the transmission of knowledge to all generations (Owusu-Frempong, 2005). In 1983 in herald of the first AWF, Ed Vaughn, a pioneering Afrocentric historian and Detroit cultural entrepreneur, owner of Black Star Bookstore, named for Marcus Garvey's UNIA shipping enterprise, was then an executive assistant to Mayor Coleman A. Young, explained, "The festival is a continuation of the Pan African Movement… if our people could see the correlations between African people here and there, the songs, the dances, if our people could capture that sense of pride, I'd see Detroit being a much better place to live for everyone" (Heron, 1983, 4C). Detroit as a Black city is an example of several Black city spaces across America, such as Brooklyn, Cleveland, Oakland, DC, New

Orleans and the famous neighborhood of Harlem. These cities all manifest what this study contemplates, a new revelation of Pan African culture, identity and philosophy that distinctively defines a Black city.

Chapter 5
Black Detroiters as Producers of Pan African Culture: A Finding I

Introduction

"Culture is who we are and what shapes our identity. No development can be sustainable without including culture" (UNESCO, 2019).

The central topic of the Pan African Metropolis is engaged through the major subtopic of Black Detroiters who sustain and curate cultural production in the Pan African tradition. These groups of Black Detroiters typify characteristics that I have defined as Pan African cultural producers (Edozie, 2018). The qualitative research is reported here in the experiences addressed by these Pan African cultural producers. These experiences implicate the prospects of a Detroit-based Pan African cultural political economy. The outline of the chapter includes the following main subheadings: (1) Introduction, (2) Introducing the cultural producer; which includes biographies and relevant background on the four cultural producers, (3) How expressions of Africa, or Pan African consciousness are represented by the social interaction of the producer and consumers within the institution/cultural space/tradition, (4) What are the politics of the space, (5) How the entity and cultural producer observes the Pan African connections and influences in Detroit's Black urban life, (6) and the Conclusion.

The *Introduction* provides some context, relevance and an overview of the dissertation study's fourth original contribution, a two part qualitative research component, which Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 is based on and which helps furnish the groundings and locations of a Detroit-Pan African Metropolis. Here in the prospects of these researched observations is discovered a connective marketplace of Africana cultural stations that make up its Pan African cultural economy. In that respect, the main objective

of Chapter 5 is to provide some major insights from the stories that producers of Pan African culture tell, which help define their impact on locating the Pan African Metropolis of Detroit. The main sections mentioned above reflect a way to comprehend and measure the 'pan African scripts' of the producers. These pan African scripts are highlighted through the semiotic indications from their four stories. Such a small collected sample of African Americans in Detroit has its limitations by sheer numbers alone. The generalization limitation rule should be considered here as to not make sweeping notions beyond the capacity of the qualitative research.

The gathered perspectives of the Pan African citizen under examination are not meant to be generalized as a completely encompassing viewpoint of Black consciousness, Afrocentric orientation and strict behavioral patterns of the Detroit Black community. Yet, while the current research sample is small, its qualitative impressions are considerable in the long memory of Detroit's Pan African cultural phenomena. Moreover, the story catching of the four producers represent an initial glimpse into what I have designated as the terms below for locating producers of Pan African culture.

Black Detroiters who produce Pan African culture are defined by their roles in which they either own or head institutions, or businesses that produce, provide and/or reproduce Pan African cultural manifestations. In this broad approach, they amassed as Pan African 'stations', where for the most part Pan African consciousness and Afrocentric lifestyles are popularized and endure in the Black city. These stations facilitate consumptive behavior visited in the arts, fashion, literature, discourse, community events, nutrition, spirituality, health, and spoken word.

Cultural producers play significant roles in the annual celebration of the African World Festival, they also help characterize Detroit's Afrocentric and Pan African World. Ultimately, they contribute in part to the emergent landscape of the Pan African Metropolis. The four cultural producers presented here include two cultural entrepreneurs and two directors of cultural institutions, three are African American women and one is an African American man. LaNesha DeBardelaben is the first producer; she is the Senior Vice President of Education and Exhibitions at the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History. Njia Kai is the second producer; 'Mama Njia' is the Director of the AWF. Malik Kenyatta Yakini is the third producer. He is the co-founder and the executive director of the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network (DBCFSN). Lucy Frye is the fourth producer; affectionally known as Mama Nandi is the owner of Nandi's Knowledge Café and Bookstore.

This small collection, however only represents a microcosm of the Black entrepreneurship that has been pushing growth in Detroit, that is nothing new. Yet, their stories, voices and representation have not been highlighted in the 'Dan Gilbert-white face' framing of Detroit's revitalization. Hence, it is no surprise to many that Black businesses have been shunned in the current revitalization narrative of Detroit. In response to this many Detroit Black business owners have expressed their displeasure with being left out of the reporting of Detroit's resurgence (Abbey-Lambertz, 2017: Maples, 2014). Like another bookstore owner Janet Jones, expressed that "for the most part, Black owned businesses are not getting a piece of the pie, what about who have been doing the hard work of living and working, and having business in Detroit for the last 20 years" (Abbey-Lambertz, 2017: Maples, 2014). This "pesky habit of

179

whitewashing Detroit's revitalization" (Foley, 2014) is also nothing. Much of Detroit's crisis has been laid upon the backs of its Black leaders and Black population, the same white washing double-standard has again been applied to anything that is good and positively lasting about Detroit. According to the US Census Bureau figures from 2007 (2011), there are 32,000 Black-owned businesses in Detroit, with an 83 percent Black population. At approximately, 713,777 (US. Census, 2010) many have felt excluded from conversations about Detroit's vibrant spirit and positive placemaking, as well as overlooked when it comes to getting access to resources and funds (Abbey-Lambertz, 2017).

While, the few selected Blacks mentioned here do not fully express the wide range and diversity of the Black entrepreneur longevity in Detroit, each story does represents an initial collection of 'pan African scripts' (Nyamnjoh and Shoro, 2009) shared by many Black Detroiters. In review, pan African scripts can be literary, lifestyle, linguistic and semiotic indicators, that reveal the presence and aesthetic norms of Pan Africanization and Pan African attributes. From these indicators, an extraction of discourses can be put forth, which help examine, comprehend and situate the ideas that emanate from the full Detroit story.

The excavation of Pan African scripts provide a co-method for revealing prospects and conclusions in the producer's conversation that may verify select African Diaspora-cultural manifestations in Black Detroit. Locating the cultural stability of these Afrocentric manifestations through the common stories of Black Detroiters can further, reflect initial indicators of the vibrancy and economy associated with Detroit's Pan-African cultural politics.

Black Detroiters pervasively provide a conversational concern, which implies the Detroit Black Struggle. The 'Black struggle' remained a foremost stress from the perspectives of these Black Detroiters' stories. This Black struggle was defined by particular group challenges. Many Black Detroiters feel that the African World Festival and its corresponding cultural institutions are instrumental in countering this Black struggle. Moreover, producers emphasized their associative cultural institution was also committed to countering this 'Black struggle'.

The dissertation's foregoing theorization, avows that an unsung Black Detroit cultural-political strength can be found in the existential and sociogeographical implications of Detroit's Pan African continuums. An expansive development of Drake and Cayton's Black Metropolis theory is thus elaborated here via the story catching of these cultural producers (Reed, 2014, Widick, 1975). Framed by the dissertation's argument, is that Detroit's Black Metropolis manifested the rise and triumph (Reed, 2014, Widick, 1975) of a "Pan African cultural-political-economy" (Edozie, 2018), which proposes the central defining element for the Pan African metropolis locality.

The evidence of the Pan African cultural political economy is supported by the current collection of Black Detroiters stories. Their collective conversations provide a meditation on how Afrocentric philosophies and Pan African cultural values provide an intervention for corrective healing, education, togetherness and restorative love. The institutions, which the producers represent, provide interventions that offset white supremacy, and offer wellness, uplift and cultural traditions that benefit the healthy development of Black people.

The stories reveal how Black resistance and self-determination once institutionalized as a long-standing tradition or ideological thought cultivates a Black consumptive agency that counters the imposed life hazards of white cultural hegemony and attempts of white cultural destabilization (Semmes, 1999). The institutionalization of these forms of Black resistance and self-determination combat and counter-effect Black suffering and inspire modalities of healing from African heritage shame, and Black identity crisis, what DuBois coined as double-consciousness and considered inescapable in the trauma of the color line (1903).

Each story reveals how Black people cultivate progressive identities and positionalities against anti-Black racism through the empowering effects of these Black made spaces. In this sense, the self-emancipation capacity of these Black-made spaces conducts a form of Pan African/Afrocentric "Black placemaking" (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson and Taylor, 2016). Hence, each producer through the activity of their respective institutions enables a refuge place that is Afrocentric, Pan African, 'Black-friendly' for Black Detroiters. As observed, the Pan African-Black Refuge place is known by its capacity to offer a "safe space" (DeBardelaben, Kai, Frye and Yakini, 2017) frequently, "for the community that sees itself as having an African or specifically, an African American cultural history" and identity (Kai, 2017).

Introducing the Pan African Cultural Producer

LaNesha DeBardelaben and The Charles Wright Museum of African American History

LaNesha DeBardelaben is Senior Vice President of Education and Exhibitions at the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History in Detroit, Michigan. She began her career in museums at the National Museum of Kenya in Africa, and has served

with various museums across the United States. LaNesha joined the Wright Museum's staff in 2011. She manages the museum's education, programming, archives, and collections, volunteer, exhibitions, and accreditation teams, and is passionate about educational equity, literacy, and public history. LaNesha earned a B.A. in history and Secondary Education from Kalamazoo College (2002), an M.A. in history and Museum Studies from the University of Missouri (2004), an M.L.S. in Archives Management from Indiana University-Bloomington (2011), and is pursuing a Ph.D. in U.S. and African American History at Michigan State University. She is a member of the national Board of Directors of the Association of African American Museums (AAAM), where she chairs both its national Membership Committee and 2018 40th Anniversary Conference Program Committee.

She is also a member of the national Board of Directors of the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH). As chair of its Marketing & Public Relations Committee, she spearheaded a PR process that aims to help build and sustain ASALH's repositioning, renowned, relevance, relationships, and resources. LaNesha co-chairs ASALH's Development Committee as well, in which she helps to advance support for its annual conference, Black History Month luncheon, annual appeals, and other ASALH activities. Furthermore, LaNesha is on the Board of Directors of the Michigan Museums Association (MMA), and is a member of the Association of Black Women Historians (ABWH) and the American Alliance of Museums (AAM).

A graduate of Leadership Detroit, LaNesha is an active member of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority and The Links, Incorporated, where she chairs her chapter's Arts Facet.

LaNesha is past chapter president of The Pierians, a national black women's arts society. She serves as the national Chapter Establishment Committee chair of The Pierians, responsible for establishing new chapters across the country. She is an active member of Hartford Memorial Baptist Church in Detroit where she is heavily involved in youth ministry. Further, she is a long-time member of the Optimist Club. Living by the motto "to whom much is given, much is required" LaNesha is the recipient of numerous awards, including a 2014 Alpha Kappa Alpha *Soror of the Year* Award from her sorority chapter, 2014 Crain's Detroit Business *Top 40 Under 40* Award, 2015 Michigan Chronicle *Women of Excellence* Award, and 2017 Michigan Chronicle *40 Under 40* Award, among other accolades. She mentors others while giving back.

Njia Kai and the African World Festival

Njia Kai, "Mama Njia" as she is known affectionally in the Africana tradition of respect and accordance, and which she 'requires' young people to accord, is a native Detroiter and Howard University graduate in Black Film Studies under the great film maker, Haile Gerimu. She graduated from Howard University School of Communications, Washington DC, with a B.A. Degree in Film Directing and minored in Broadcast Journalism. Her professional filmmaking record includes working on *Daughters of the Dust* with Julie Dash and Arthur Jaffre. Mama Njia main connection as a cultural sustainer/producer of Pan African culture, comes by way of her role as Director of the African World Festival (AWF).

She has retained that role for the last seven years, as director of the three-day cultural arts extravaganza presented by the C.H. Wright Museum of African American

History, Detroit. AWF is the museum's largest, annual public outreach program attracting more than 150, 000 festival-goers and includes over 200 international marketplace and food vendors, visual artists, and a global variety of performances and presentations on two stages and three performance sites. Mama Njia is the Performing Arts Manager - Midtown Detroit, Inc.

She continues to curate, produce and manage performing arts programs and events for this association of Detroit's Wayne State University-cultural center institutions, businesses and developers, since 1996. Her annual one-day holiday event attracts 25,000 metro-Detroiters to enjoy 300 performances and activities, in 95 venues. Bi-annual arts and artist presentations include a 10-day, multi-venue celebration of the arts, and a two-day, visual light + art event featuring large-scale projections by dozens of local, national artists. She is a mother of four and grandmother of four.

With her husband and children she operates NKSK Events + Productions, curating and producing Detroit-based major public events and cultural arts projects. She is entering her tenth year as director of the Wright Museum's annual African World Festival. Mama Njia continues to create and lead arts-based summer and after-school programs for city youth and lends her expertise to a wide variety of community projects. Njia is the Senior Consultant for NKSK Events + Productions, LLC. She is also the Programming/Production Consultant for Detroit Events Team, LLC.

One of Njia several hats is also that of Programming & Special Events Director for Downtown Detroit Parks Director. She provides and coordinates public and cultural programming and events at downtown Detroit's award-winning Campus Martius Park and four additional parks in the district. Develop, coordinate and manage year-round

programming; hire and supervise events staff and crew; media spokesperson – since the 2004 park grand opening. Her past cultural producer roles include being the Founder and Director of C.A.M.P. Detroit . Camp Detroit established a Cultural Arts Mentorship Program, providing arts education and leadership development for youth ages 6-17. The program served 200 youth each summer, 60 after-school participants, for nine years. She has been the Founder and Director of The Cinema Café, a community-based, "video coffeehouse" presenting African, African American, independent and international film/video productions, film production workshops and special guests. Njia is an Adjunct Professor in the Department of Africana Studies, Wayne State University . She teaches 300/400 level courses with specialized in the *African American Film Experience* and *Pan African Cinema.*

Malik Yakini and D-Town Farms and Urban Gardens

As co-founder and executive director of the DBCFSN (Detroit Black Community Food Security Network), Malik Yakini supervises the operation of D-Town Farm, a seven-acre farm in Detroit that grows more than 30 different fruits, vegetables and herbs. The organization is also spearheading the opening of the Detroit Food Commons and the Detroit People's Food Co-op in Detroit's North End. Yakini views the "good food revolution" as part of the larger movement for freedom, justice and equity. He has an intense interest in contributing to the development of an international food sovereignty movement that embraces Blacks communities in the Americas, the Caribbean and Africa.

A self-avowed long time, staunch Pan Africanist, Malik Kenyatta Yakini is a food activist and educator who's committed to freedom and justice for African people in

particular, and humanity in general. Malik studied at Eastern Michigan University. Yakini spearheaded efforts to establish the Detroit Food Policy Council, which he chairs. He served as a member of the Michigan Food Policy Council from 2008 – 2010. He serves on the facilitation team of Undoing Racism in the Detroit Food System. From 1990 – 2011, he served as Executive Director of Nsoroma Institute Public School Academy, one of Detroit's leading African-centered schools.

In 2006, the Michigan Association of Public School Academies honored him as "Administrator of the Year". He has served as a member of the Board of Directors of Timbuktu Academy of Science and Technology since 2004. During his tenure as C.E.O. of Black Star Educational Management, he owned Blackstar Community Bookstore on Livernois in Detroit, Michigan in the tradition of Ed Vaughn's Pan African Bookstore.

A lifelong Detroiter, Malik has lived in the same house since 1960. Yakini has seen the twists and turns; the city has endured over time. While the national dialogue on Detroit has shifted to a more optimistic, upbeat tone, Yakini says he's ultimately concerned about the continued emergence of Two Detroits. Malik is dedicated to working to identify and alleviate the impact of racism and white privilege on the food system. He has an intense interest in contributing to the development of an international food sovereignty movement that embraces Black farmers in the Americas, the Caribbean and Africa.

Yakini has presented at numerous local community meetings and national conferences on food justice and implementing community food security practices. He is featured in the book *Blacks Living Green*, and the recent movie "Urban Roots." He is a vegan and an avid organic grower. He is a musician who plays guitar, bass and dundun

drums. He has traveled to Ghana, Mali, Senegal, Gambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Jamaica and the U.S. Virgin Islands. He is the father of three. When he was seven years old, Malik Yakini, inspired by his grandfather, planted his own backyard garden in Detroit, seeding it with carrots and other vegetables.

In 1999, while still principal of Nsoroma, Yakini and Nsoroma staff started doing gardening and developed a food security curriculum infused into the whole school culture. By 2003, the school created an urban gardening organization called the Shamba Organic Gardening Collective. Shamba is a Kis-Swahili word, which means 'small farm'. The Shamba Collective was started because parents and teachers wanted a garden in their backyards. The Shamba collective eventually had about twenty gardens throughout the city of Detroit. On Saturday mornings, a crew called the Ground Breakers would go out with tillers, shovels and rakes, and do the labor-intensive part and prepare gardens for Detroit citizens, with the hope that they would then plant gardens, from there the work continued to mushroom into the current mission of the DBCFSN.

Nandi (Lucy Frye) and Nandi's Knowledge Café and Bookstore

Mama Nandi was born Lucy Frye in Lower Peach Tree, Alabama. She is the owner of Nandi's Knowledge Café and Bookstore. Nandi's as it is often referred to have moved into its new location at 71 Oakman St. Highland Park Michigan, just three months ago. Nandi (she) recently came across the opportunity to buy her own building after the passing of her husband, the late Dr. Henry Dandridge. Dr. Dandridge was a legend in his own right and loved by many in the Detroit community as their professor and educational mentor. Attending med school for eight years. He had the honored of being one of the

first Black clinical psychologists. He was not only a clinical psychologist, but he was also a neuropsychologist.

"Out of all the years that I have been with him I never noticed that he was almost like a brain surgeon. Every time someone would go to the hospital they would call him, and he would actually go and direct the doctors and tell them what to do. People would always ask if he could work for them; he was like a genius in his work. We met in 1982 he was very good with dates. I was twenty years old and a student in his class. He was a serious cusser. Someone found on Facebook, the post said " Have you ever met a teacher that cussed this much?" (Frye, 2017).

"He always used profanity, the minister at his funeral said, his profanity always fit in. He was always the love of my life, through all the things we went through" (Frye, 2017). Mama Nandi had three children with Henry, but Henry has a total of eight children all together. All of their children knew each other they are brothers and sisters. Mama Nandi attended Pershing High School, and Highland Park Community College (HPCC). Her goal was to go to pharmacy school at Xavier College, an HBCU, but at the time, her mother couldn't afford it. Her mother had already sent one brother to school. As an alternative educational plan Mama Nandi attended HPCC, and received her Associates Degree in Science. From there, she attended Wayne State University and did two years of Pharmacy school. During those years she started doing her own entrepreneurial work. She began selling dinners outside the Sears Outlet. She had friends out there, and she would take lunches to them. That's when her and Henry's first child was born.

They moved to South Carolina so that Henry could officially get clean. While in South Carolina, she opened a flea market, " Lucy's Resale Shop". Lucy is Mama Nandi's

birth name. The family resided near the Fort Jackson base, and people would always move and throw stuff out. She would take that stuff and sell it at her flea market. Mama Nandi said the African in her kept calling her and to deepen her African heritage identity, she started learning more about it. Eventually, she made African hats and sold them.

Then she found a book that introduced "the things we should've learned in elementary school, so I decided that I had to show the people this. I felt they needed to know this information that they weren't telling us" (Frye, 2017). Nandi started with about five or six books, and then she started selling fragrance oils. She studied with the Rasta community in South Carolina. That began her Afrocentric educational and cultural enrichment odyssey. After five years she moved back to Detroit in 1997. From there she opened up another small flea market. Nandi's has been stable on Woodward for twelve years. She has her own building, and her legacy is solid and continues.

Nandi feels it's important to give back to the Black community, "because when you've had a business as long as I have - I want to teach them how to build their own business. I want to give them the confidence to do it, because I've found that families don't give them the support you need to get off the ground. We've been so brainwashed" (Frye, 2017). Every year for the past three years Mama Nandi gives children books away for free in The Watoto Village at the AWF.

Along with selling books, Nandi's sells food; catfish nuggets, sweet potatoes fries and ginger beer are a favorite. Her collection of African art is one the most impressive in the city. Her large collection of African art is over 100 years old. Nandi's sells vintage clothes as well. She has been a collector for over 25 years.

Nandi's has hosted poetry events, on Thursdays for about 10 years. It is distinguished as one of the longest running poetry places in Detroit. Nandi's is meeting place for many organizations. "I want to end the legacy of Nandi's Knowledge Cafe by making that area an African town, a village if you will. Maybe I can get a group of African Americans to help invest in 1 million plus dollars to buy up the land around there. We can have an African Market place" (Frye, 2017). Mama Nandi's entrepreneurial influences began with her mother's Avon selling.

The following section and subsections are organized by the emergent themes that connect the stories of Black Detroiters as producers of Pan African traditions and culture. These stories reflect and pinpoint several emergent themes that consolidate the operating force of Black agency and Black adaptability constructed by Pan African sociality. Furthermore, through the experiential perspectives of these Pan African forces, the notion of Detroit characterized as a Pan African (Black) metropolis can be realized.

Expressions of Africa: Tabulating Pan African Consciousness

This emergent theme solidified the discourse of Black Detroiters, who were interviewed and surveyed. It thus formulated a semiotic rubric to standardize and define the Pan African script operating within each (following) institution and mindset of the producer. By locating 'expressions of Africa and the Pan African consciousness' within the institution, as seen through occurrences such as its programming, its tone of leadership and its consumer patronage-habits, I was able to establish that these actors (the relationships between the institution and Black Detroiters) met the criteria for being a Pan African producer, curator and/or sustainer. The role of producers and curators also meant that they were cultural sustainers for Pan African expression and/or African heritage

preservation. In reference to these roles I have collapsed them by the short terminology 'Black Detroiters'. Hence, when I say Black Detroiters, I am referring to one of these roles of Pan African institutional expression.

Additionally, the term semiotic as it is used throughout refers to the signs and symbols that are broadly located or deciphered, which were used to indicate some Pan African attribute. This is what it means to locate a 'pan African script' at play, or operating in text, signs, ideas, or other symbols from the relationships between the institution and Black Detroiters. Hence, when referring to the emergent themes, the semiotic rubric and the pan African script, all of three of these terms are either overlapping, or interchangeably the same apparent thing. Consequently, the semiotics deciphered from the various ethnographic information of Black Detroiters verify a Pan African script that underpins the presence of Pan Africanism as an utilitarian lifestyle and philosophy, relatable to a method of the Black community's adaptive-vitality (Karenga, 2010).

Expressions of Africa and Pan African consciousness are thus detailed by the following account of each producer's information regarding their programming, exhibits, and other community-oriented events and organization. By using the term Pan African script in this section, I am referring to the magnitude and imprint of expressions and consciousness that display African connections and Pan African-based traditions that can be detected. In that regard, each producer as they represent how their role is tied to the pulse of the Black Detroit community speaks within the context of his or her particular cultural entity. LaNesha is the voice behind The Charles Wright Museum, Mama Njia is

the voice behind the African World Festival, Malik is the voice behind D-Town Farms, and Mama Nandi is the voice behind Nandi's Knowledge Café.

Pan African Programming at The Charles Wright Museum

The Charles Wright is much more than a museum. "We are a gathering space… we are a resting space for the ancestors… so it's a sacred space… So when you say what kind of space it is, anything that can uplift people of color is probably taking place at the Wright Museum" (DeBardelaben, 2017). LaNesha underscored the notion of racial uplift or uplift philosophy, twice, a philosophy that dates all the way back to Marcus Garvey and the days of the UNIA in early 1900s Detroit. It suggests the footprint of Garveyism/Pan Africanism in its long foundational memory. "In terms of the role that we play in this community, we are so much more… we are a point of pride and a place of inspiration for Black people" (DeBardelaben, 2017). To that extent, expressions of Africa remain "foundational, to who we are and what we do. Everything that we do derives from our identity as people of Africa descent. So our core exhibition 'And Still We Rise' personifies what we do as an institution, we start with Africa; we start with Africa" (DeBardelaben, 2017).

She repeats this grounding principal, with an emphasis deeply expressed by an affirming gesture of her head. "In that exhibition and in all that we do, 'We start with Africa'. We strive to help people understand that Africa is the origin; that Africa is where it all began. 'And that we are because Africa is'. And so we center the African identity in our identity of the institution. We are very proud of the fact that our programming, our exhibitions really illuminates the importance of Africa. We are beginning a new

193

exhibition project on our lower level for children, so we have this exhibition called "Inspiring Minds: African Americans in Science and Technology", and what we're doing with that exhibition for example is helping children understand the African origins of STEM. We're taking a deep dive into science and technology, math and engineering all began in Africa. And we're making an interactive experience for children, an interactive unit" (DeBardelaben, 2017). The exhibit's goal is introduce African American students to a tactile experience on how Africa produced the earliest forms of science and math (DeBardelaben, 2017).

Expressions of Africa are detailed through the exhibitions, programs, and educational experiences that celebrate African history, and current African issues and reality. The important role of Africa as an epistemological, cultural-historical unfolding and axiological point is grounded in discourse, artifacts, collections and scholars that have in depth knowledge of Africa (DeBardelaben, 2017). The conversations and discussions that normally frequent the Charles Wright are about "Africa, African American and the African Diaspora" (DeBardelaben, 2017). These discourses and conversations are stimulated "through art, ephemeral forms, textiles, literature, anything that reflects African life" (DeBardelaben, 2017).

LaNesha's revelations verified how the Charles Wright and her role in the cultural institution epitomizes, Black Detroiters as producers and sustainers of Pan African culture, "We have produced African culture through our focused programming, the Ugandan Kids Choir for example, so African music plays a big part of what we do and who/what we are. Just recently, when we hosted the Cinatopia Film Series, we had a film fest that was focused on African films, African filmmakers and African films, this is the

place where African culture is uplifted and celebrated. This is the place. And we have had programs that celebrate African ways of life, such as clothing, such as African American and African hair that had lines out the door" (DeBardelaben, 2017).

The Charles Wright qualifies as a Black refuge place. The notion of a place made, which constitutes Black refuge manifested as part of the discursive streams that are connected within the emergent themes. The conception of the Pan African (Black) refuge place stems from this evidence or documentation coming from the reports of Black Detroiters in their central roles as cultural sustainers, who both consume and produce Pan African culture. Although, there are significant historical and semiotic connections in the literature and intellectual history of Black Studies that can be found to support the metaphorical landscape of a quest for a 'Black refuge place', the empirical arguments, which tease out the concept, seem to fall short.

Pan African Programming at the African World Festival

The intention of the festival is to create an annual celebration of African culture, art and tradition with an emphasis on entertainment and the African marketplace (Kai, 2017). The AWF also furnishes a Black refuge space for the global Black community and Black Detroiters (Kai and DeBardelaben, 2017). Mama Njia asserts this very fact, "What we have found ourselves to be is a 'safe space' every year for the community that sees itself as having an African or specifically, an African American cultural history, who are interested in that, who are attached to that, or who just want to buy the products of that… they show up every year in the hundreds of thousands, in order to celebrate those traditions and to also… just the event has such a good a good name… within this

community as well as internationally, that we have folks who sat there clocks, I had a woman who called me from Hawaii, who said I hope you didn't change the dates, it's the third weekend again right and I said yes. You said because I have my vacation set every year for the third week in August so I can be in Detroit" (Kai, 2017).

Mama Njia insists that the AWF represents expressions of Africa "very clearly" (Kai, 2017), because of the name and the nature of the event, which looks to present from the African World, and establish a Diasporic event. It does not simply focus on African American history and culture, but the world of African tradition, history and culture. The festival specifically has some representation from the Caribbean, from the Continent of Africa, from South America, from Native Americans, and from African American traditions (Kai, 2017).

The expressions of Africa extend to the community discussions, Mama Njia and AWF planning committee have. The planning committee members come from throughout the community, and the community advising meetings for the each annual AWF is held for three months of community planning. The committee shares resources, ideas and critiques. The purpose of nurturing critiques is ensures that the AWF director and planners maintain what Mama Njia calls "that African connection" (2017).

"We want to present a museum quality event. And we want to make certain we are presenting a 'true history', at least the truth at the time it is presented. We want to reflect the quality of our people, we want to find that which is valuable and classic, and important, and bring that to the front. We want to make our presentations represent the various aspects of 'the culture'. So we specifically like I said go out and make certain that all the continent, all the islands, everybody, everything that find we find is a derivative of

Africa as a Motherland, we then look to bring that to the festival, so that we can share, and learn about each other and also share within the overall community" (Kai, 2017).

The representations of African appear in many cultural forms, such as dance and song, and visual arts, and vendors who bring in artifacts from various countries throughout the African world. Heritage Works, a Detroit-based cultural arts, and non-profit organization; sponsors what is called the African Folk life Village and within that village, traditional dance and drum demonstrations and audience participation and group performances occur (Kai, 2017). Other cultural arts traditions that are demonstrated involve hands on opportunities for the audiences that include the Great Lakes African American Quilters Network who have there award winning quilts on display in the museum and within the Folk life Village; they invite people in to make quilt squares with the quilters and to learn the history, and how they can become part of it, if they choose.

"There are also booths where folks want to come and get their head wrapped, and want to learn the art of gele wrapping, then walk through the festival like proud queens, it's really beautiful to watch that transformation. There's body adornment. There is often various traditional crafts and skills and demonstrations, such as a weaver or a drum maker, or… all of that, that happens within the African Folk life Village" (Kai, 2017).

On a lower atrium, below many of the stages at the festival, where presentations of dance and theater, vocal music, instrumental music, spoken word, choirs and gospel performances and even sororities and fraternities' step performance and march demonstrations, the participant will find Watoto Village. As a producer of Pan African culture Mama Nandi sponsors a book drive, which gives away books to African American children. Watoto is a word from the language of the Swahili people, which

means 'children'. Watoto Village provides selective activities, performances and interactive programs for and by "our children" (Kai, 2017).

Watoto Village is reflective of the African proverb, "it takes a village to raise a child" (Kai, 2017). Under Mama Njia's tenure, the intent of the festival for the last eight years has been to speak to every younger generation demographic in the sense of peer groups. In this cause, there is even an area for the Generation Next, which is for older teens and young adults. In a similar vein, there's also an elder village (Kai, 2017).

Pan African Programming at D-Town Farms and Urban Garden

When you look around D-Town, you can clearly see symbols of Africa alive, the Afrocentric motifs greet you as you walk around the farm and urban garden atmosphere. Malik asserts the same in exactitude tones, "The images around the farm clearly represent our understanding of our place within the African continuum… we have many banners, for example with Adrinkra symbols on them, which feature the African proverbs that goes along with those Adrinkra symbols… and all of those banners that we have in some way relate to nature, there are many Adrinkra symbols, but we picked those that are either dealing with nature or plant life, and we have those posted throughout the farm" (Yakini, 2017).

There are larger banners also along sections of the fence, where a Nigerian proverb stares out at you. In this way, the traditional means of using proverbs in African sage philosophy and culture to teach (Masolo, 2016, Stanford, 2016, Kalumba, 2004, Kresse, 1996, Van Hook, 1995, Oruka, 1991, Gyekye, 1987, Wiredu, 1980) is a foundational principle of D-Town and one of the many ways in which it situates itself

within the actual African continuum and Pan African consciousness. Murals on the farm also reflect an overt African consciousness.

Pan African consciousness also unfolds in "the work that we do… opportunities to speak to people who come here to do tours and also in the public speaking that we do nationally, we're able to raise issues like white supremacy, capitalism, patriarchy, and these other ways that we find ourselves underdeveloped" (Yakini, 2017). The Pan African colors and/or Black liberation colors of red, Black and green are just about everywhere an item could be painted or capture the colors. To this Malik gestured the Black solidarity fist and exclaimed, "RBG baby!" (Yakini, 2017).

Afrocentric lifestyles, discourse, political engagement, artifacts, clothing, music, dance and other forms of Black Nationalist thought are emphasized or showcased at a centerpiece celebration known as the Harvest Festival at D-Town. African vendors and African artifacts abound alongside the several hallmark session that deal with social justice issues and the intersection of race and food security. The discourse and cultural politics at D-Town and the Harvest Festival programming is not just about "dealing with farms, herbs and cooking, but everything that we do is, in fact you can really say, that… we're using the food lens to address the larger question of Black Liberation" (Yakini, 2017). In that context, Yakini insists that, D-Town's focus "is not isolated from the larger struggle of our liberation, we're not just doing food, we're using food as a way to bring people in and to focus them, but to see how this connects to the larger problems that we have in the larger systems of oppression.

In reality, the same systems that limit our ability to provide food for ourselves are the same systems that cause us to have mis-education, police brutality, and housing

foreclosure crises… all these things have root-causes. So if we are able to bring people in using food as the lens, we can then begin to look as this larger systemic oppression that we face, and kind of figure where they might fit in… in this struggle to transform our reality" (Yakini, 2017). D-Town and Malik's mission is to inspire Black people to resist the existing systems of Black suffering and oppression and enable or facilitate the opportunity for Black people to envision a future and a Black metropolis model that prospers within the kind of social relations

Pan African Programming at Nandi's Knowledge Café and Bookstore

"No matter where you're coming from you're still an African, and I'm still telling people that. So Africa is in your heart, but in this place you're going to get Africa. I don't really have to tell people the address anymore. I was so proud to set a flag in a pot that sits outside. Just look for that red, Black, and green flag", Mama Nandi exclaims that where you will see her "Little Africa" (Frye, 2017). Nandi's Knowledge Café and Bookstore is a cultural station where "people come of like mind" (Frye, 2017). It houses thousands of books, which run the gamut of Black discourse and Pan African thought. It also houses an impressive and extensive collection of African art, so much so that many consumers "feel like they're in another world" (Frye, 2017).

The Pan African Consumer 'finds Africa' at Nandi's in several ways, such as in the types of books that allude to the study of Africa and the origins of African Americans, and the several texts on African American culture, intellectual thought and Black politics. Mama Nandi characterizes the way Pan African philosophy continues to influence the Black consciousness of the Pan African citizen and cultural entrepreneur in the Pan

African metropolis. "Some of it got lost along the way, but inside of us is Africa. You could be thinking about little stuff, like why do I think this way? - That's Africa! It's not just you, that's your ancestors; they're giving you something. In this world they think it's weird, but we're Africans, we are not supposed to think like the rest of the world. Old folks would say leave those white folks alone, and that's what we're doing" (Frye, 2017).

Many of the customers "don't think that a space like this exists in this country. Or in the inner city, in a Black neighborhood"(Frye, 2017). For the Pan African Consumer, "it is a space where people can come learn and talk about Black culture, and learn from other people" (Frye, 2017). Nandi's is a conversation space "where we can get some solutions" (Frye, 2017). In her stories, Mama Nandi underscored the conception that her 'Knowledge Café and Bookstore' is a Black refuge place several times. "Nandi's is a safe space for Black people because we talk about; what if this happens? What if the lights go out? What if we can't eat any more? Well at Nandi's place we've got answers and solutions. We remind Black people not to forget where you come from. We haven't always had this fashionable access to everything… Nandi's is just that space, where we can meet together and, we can move in a group as one" (Frye, 2017). An understanding of this broad spaced intentionality suggests Nandi's is a place that nurtures Black collectivist ethos, Black survival instinct, adaptive skills and proactive knowledge, which are considered core values in the Black community (Frye, 2017 and Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017).

Nandi's like several cultural-political houses in the Pan African metropolis of Detroit, signify stations of 'Little Africa' (Frye, 2016). Mama Nandi attest to this, "If you come in Nandi's you're coming to Africa. I often tell people, you see Africa is not just a

continent. But do you know where Africa is for Black people? It's in your heart. We are always going to be Africans no matter what. Bob Marley says this, " no matter where you're from you're still an African" (Frye, 2017).

There is a kind of spirit that doesn't fit in a place like Nandi's; it is the kind that obsesses over "white water" as it has been described. "Well we have this group of Black people that thought that "Hey the [white] 'ice is colder on the other side'… amongst the white people. [These Black people] didn't want to live amongst the Black people, because some are just too Black. See Nandi's is a place that is maybe too Black. They may say that we're too Black… Which means Black people not liking other Black people. Too Black is Negrophobic, whether it's white people, or Black people it's all Negrophobia. Yes, their spirit won't work in Nandi's; I get them all the time (Frye, 2017).

Expressions of Africa and Pan African thought are further illuminated in "the energy" (Frye, 2017) at Nandi's. "You may come in, and I'll have Dr. Ben on the T.V., Dr. Khalid, Muhammad, Malcolm could be on. It may be a sign or a picture on the wall, or art. Africa- you just see it and feel it with your eyes, your spirit, and your soul when you come to Nandi's… We also have holistic corners… We have teachers; this is a place where teachers come in and teach... There was a guy that taught Yoruba studies and religion, our stolen religion. On another time, a toxicologist talked about herbs to use in place of medicine. He didn't discourage the doctor's orders, now. We sell dresses, art, food, and jewelry. We have different events here, spoken word every Thursday night; we've been doing that for like ten years now" (Frye, 2017). Several of the spoken word artists espouse both a performative Pan Africanism as well as Pan African values. Many

demonstrate a Black consciousness pulse that is connected to the current climate of Black suffering. "They're talking about the police shootings, and how we will rise. They're not going down without a fight" (Frye, 2017).

The Politics of the Space

The 'politics of the space' comprises another thematic category for defining and verifying the Pan African script via its political expression as it regarded how the producer cultivated, witnessed and assessed the involvement of Pan African political thought in the spatial framework of the cultural entity. The producer responses (combined with my observational analysis) as with the previous section on *Expression of Africa and Pan African consciousness* follows the same organizational plan, whereas the cultural entity is referred to in detailing and clarifying the semiotic evidence that accounts for this section's discourse on 'the politics of the space'.

The Charles Wright Museum

Posters of Detroiters' like Clifford Fears, famous Alvin Ailey dancer and choreography, or Motown legend Kim Weston, known for her recorded version of the Black national anthem "Lift Every Voice and Sing" (1968) and the Director of Festival for the Performing Arts, to the first Black mayor of Detroit Coleman A. Young, line a main corridor of the Charles Wright exuding a strong philosophy of Black self-determination in their captured mini stories. The Black existential philosophy of self-determination is alive and well, and it breathes within these decorative walls of the museum and fills the aspirations and inspirations of each passerby. This infused sentiment undergirds the political character of Black cultural Nationalism and

transnationalism that is transparent among the history and origins of the CW (DeBardelaben, 2017).

Self-determination is a chief cultural-political value of PA/BN and as political frame of the CW, "We live it, we live it… we live it! We also embrace the principles of the Nguzo Saba and self-determination is an opportunity that we embrace everyday. Everyday when we open our doors, we are striving to help Black people determine for themselves what is best, and to pursue what's best for themselves. We strive to be an example of self-determination as an institution, and then we strive to help educate and empower, to inspire to be self-determined, through a greater understanding of their cultural selves, and we inspire communities to just be bold, and to do what is best for 'the people' " (DeBardelaben, 2017).

In this same political vein, the CW is starting a new series for young people; called "Anatomy of An Activist", where young African Americans, and other youth of color as well as non-Blacks will be introduced to the role of the young activists. These youth activists-in-training will learn how to fearlessly advocate for the best for themselves and their people. The young groups of activists-trainees will be trained to understand the philosophy of activism, to work toward the goals and mission of securing and creating a better quality of life (DeBardelaben, 2017).

The political perspectives of the CW consumers and producers are not monolithic although, the CW is openly and clearly, Pan African and Afrocentric in its methodologically, axiological and political groundings. Yet, the eclectic Africana community that predominantly makes up the cultural producers and consumers can range from those who are moving toward and have been life-long Afrocentric, Pan

Africanism/Black Nationalist, politically and many whose children maintain legacy claims to PA/BN. In contrast, some of the CW cultural producers and consumers are also centrists, and less robustly embracive of Africa. Nonetheless, as a local, regional, and international entity, the CW serves a pluralistic community, which strives to help everyone "understand our history" (DeBardelaben, 2017). The CW doesn't alienate or isolate anyone; it does not embrace an ideology of Black separatism, or white hostility. It's not anti-white, "as Anna Julia Cooper used to say, an educator who believed in the equity of girls and woman, 'it's not that I love the boys less, but the girls, more', not whites less, but Blacks more" (DeBardelaben, 2017). The CW and LaNesha creates an environment and cultural-historical enrichment; a safe space that exclaims to "love Black people, is not to hate whites and that's the place, we're in…" (DeBardelaben, 2017).

There have been a number of program offerings that suggest being more in tune with the political engagement of "pure African politics" (DeBardelaben, 2017). Last year for Ghana's independence for example, "We had a beautiful celebration" (DeBardelaben, 2017). The celebration helped people understand the political significance of Ghana's independence and what that meant for Ghana, for Africa, and for African Americans, and for the Africana world. The Ghana Independence imbibed a brave step of political freedom and self-determination, in this way, "we are moving to a place of greater engagement with focusing on the politics of African identity" (DeBardelaben, 2017).

African World Festival

From the gaze of an Africana political and philosophical theorist, the spatial influence and undertones of politics that permeates some of the non-Pan African cultural

producers thinking, (Eurocentric CP) in Detroit sinks unfortunately in ways that clearly point out Negrophobic tendencies. These tendencies are verified by AWF Director, Mama Njia, "It's very interesting because, I mention to a group that I do a major public event for and I said to them, it's a downtown space and I said to them… well if we have an artist who attracts a majority Black audience, are you assuming that somehow, the audience is not going to be the folks that you don't want downtown? Like you don't want 5000 of those [Black] people, because the assumption is that, they are all eastsiders or something? 'Cause you know if we have an audience of 5000 people, it's going to be people from Farmington, there's going to be people from Rochester Hills, there's going to be people from the eastside and the projects it's true, there's going to be people from the northwest middle class neighborhoods of the northwest, and there's going to be a whole lot of people who are foreign to Detroit; because there are a lot of Black people who are from international locations" (Kai, 2017).

In that diverse and yet, still racially or ethnically complicated way, Detroit is an international city, and it is made up of people who are well traveled, well educated, and very opinionated. Black Detroiters, on the whole have critical and progressive views about this world that they like to see reflected at the AWF. Broadly, those varied groups of Black people, "we want all of them to be welcomed into the festival" (Kai, 2017).

In that way the politics at the AWF is Black proletariat-friendly and inclusive to multiple ways of being African (Black), "for me as the director', the politics of the space is also about a community commitment "to do all that I can to make welcoming spaces for everyone and to really use this weekend as a demonstration of how we come together

and how we can exist and prosper together by focusing on those things that are at our roots that we share as African people" (Kai, 2017).

With that in mind, the AWF appeals to inclusivity through its expanded arrangement of Black creative production and Black arts, which cover the spectrum of gospel, jazz, Soul, blues, and hip-hop. All the colors and the perspectives of the Black experience or African continuum are represented. "Everything, which can positively contribute to our desire to have a cultural arts event that reflects our institutions" (Kai, 2017). Mama Njia is alluding to a transnational and pluralistic openness that is housed in the politics of Pan Africanism/Black self-determination. "Yes, Absolutely! And you know I don't shy away from [our Pan African value system]. There are persons who try to not openly stand for the upliftment and advancement, and progress of our people and I'm just not one of those persons" (Kai, 2017).

Mama Njia sees the cultural politics of Pan Africanism "as a part of the love that I bring to the world, of the service that I bring to the world. And so absolutely" the political orientation and ideology is Pan African. Nonetheless, this version of Pan African culture, identity and philosophy is not narrow. It includes the southern roots of many Black families that arrived with the great migrations; the types of Baptist and plantation and sharecropping background that many African Americans brought to the north. So many Black Detroiters including the writer have these kinds of southern African roots.

The majority of the AWF staff is Detroiters, but Black Detroiters have roots in Jamaica, roots in Trinidad, roots in the continent. More than a hundred-fifty vendors comprise the African marketplace and they represent the world. They come from a number of African countries, and from a number of the Caribbean countries, and vendors

207

who even come from Australia. "We are open to the African world" (Kai, 2017). The African world is privileged at the festival, as Mama Njia asserts, "And we don't shy away from that" (Kai, 2017).

D-Town Farms and Urban Gardens

Malik Yakini, the founder and executive director of D-Town Farms, does not shy away from his admission of the politics of D-Town within the Black Nationalist/Pan Africanist legacies of Detroit, and neither does he shy away from his critique of how some 'dysfunctionally' see the BN/PA tradition (2017). He exclaims, "We fit within the Black Nationalist/Pan Africanist tradition, and I'm using that term broadly, of course BN/PA is not a monolith. There are some very backward tendencies within BN, as well as some progressive tendencies, so I'm saying we are situated within the broad spectrum of thought that we might called BN/PA without specifically identifying with a specific tendency within that spectrum" (Yakini, 2017).

Throughout the US, there is a lot of work going on in urban areas, that either falls under the banner of food network or food security, food sovereignty or urban agricultural work. This urban agricultural is often done in Black or Latino communities. But, far too often, it's led by white non-profit organizations. This white dominant model of urban agriculture in Detroit is a reflection of the national trend. The major players in this work in 2005 were MSU and their Detroit initiatives. Other entities include, The Greening of Detroit, Earthworks Agricultural, Earthworks Urban Farm and the Detroit Agricultural Network. All of these are predominantly white organizations. Yakini, a long term Black

Nationalist and Pan Africanist, along with several other BN/PA push backed heavily on whites coming into the Black community and leading anything (Yakini, 2017).

"We have whites allies, we're all for that, but the white folks who come here to D-Town Farms, understand this is a Black led space and so those who can work with that we get along well with. Those who don't work well with that usually doesn't end up coming back here. We're not against white people per say, we're against the system of white supremacy. And there are many white people who are also against white supremacy. So those white people we get along well with. But, we push back heavily against white people coming and leading us in anyway, we can lead ourselves. And white people who are sincere and want to assist and support our leadership by really following the direction of the people who are living in the Black community, and determining what works in their best interest, we're all for" (Yakini, 2017).

While Yakini agrees that the African American community in Detroit maintains a multiplicity of views regarding authentic Black identity and origins, whether one is a Moor, or a Nuwabian, or a Black Christian Nationalist, or a Rastafarian, or Muslim, the Great Uniter is food, and D-Town works to create a safe space "where all of our people are welcome" (Yakini, 2017). African American freedom fighter Malcolm X talked about the fact that Black people are not oppressed because they're Christian, or Muslim or because they're a Mason or Elk, or whatever the case may be, Black people are oppressed because they're Black (Yakini, 2017).

Nonetheless, Yakini adds that D-Town functions to be model for "Black people doing for ourselves" (2017). While, Black people can be reached on an intellectual level, through lectures and books, Yakini insist that, "most of our people need to see concrete

models" (2017). He contends that when the African American community actually sees a functioning entity operated by other Black people and "where they are doing something that could actually improve our lives then it starts to make a lot more sense" (Yakini, 2017). Instead of talking to people about self-reliance, it's more effective when they can actually see the food growing at D-Town Farms, and how the food grown can actually sustain the African American community.

Yakini asserts it is in this praxis moment that, "a light bulb goes off" (2017). The political character of D-Town is thus committed to reigniting "the fires of self-determination within our people" (Yakini, 2017). In the wake of seeing that African Americans can grow food for themselves, the hope is that they can begin to see that they can create more self-driven and/or independent entities, such as schools, clothing and tools for example (Yakini, 2017). Within this mode of Black creative-independent production, D-Town's functional model methodology exist to break cycles of white supremacy brainwash that suggest and lend potence to the notion that African Americans are not capable, and don't have the capacity to provide for their own needs (Yakini, 2017).

D-Town under this political philosophy of racial uplift and self-reliance works to sever the mentality of dependency that suggests, "the government and the corporate sector has some monopoly on defining reality" (Yakini, 2017). For Yakini, the political meaning that underscores D-Town's methodology, is founded in the reclamation of Black humanity back to what makes Black people more fully and authentically human, and the demonstration of a self-determined provision and sufficiency that resist neo-colonial systems that attempt to constantly dehumanize Africans in the world (Yakini, 2017).

Nandi's Knowledge Café and Bookstore

The red, black and green Pan African/Black liberation flag hangs prominently on the outside leaning towards the sidewalk at Nandi's new location on Hamilton Street in Highland Park, much like it did at her former location on Woodward Avenue. It evokes memories of the lantern in the window that served as a beacon for the wayward traveler seeking refuge along the safe houses of the Underground Railroad. The living colors of red, black and green, and its continuum of Black liberation/Pan African flags has also been both a 'protective cloak' and beacon for safe houses and African-friendly homes in the quest for Black liberation and the existential reality of Black refuge from white racism and colonization. The colors remain an overtone of motif on the exterior and interior at the new location, the same was true for Nandi's former location.

On many Thursdays, you can hear spoken word artists drop some Pan African lyrics and celebrate their Black pride and Black self-love, because Thursday evenings art Nandi's is open mic spoken word night. Spoken word night is an occasion that allows the Black community to express another kind of liberation; it is a liberation of their soul, feelings, anguish, relationship blues, and other emotional states of the human condition (Frye, 2017). Love, sex, gentrification, the Flint water crisis and "the police shootings" (Frye, 2017) of unarmed Black citizens also dominate the Black protest verse (Frye, 2017). If Black lives don't matter to these troubled encounters with law enforcement, Black lives surely matter at Nandi's (Frye, 2017).

Yet, Nandi contends that, "People are scared of the politics of Nandi's. I'm the type of person that won't hold my tongue" (Frye, 2017). The overtone of political perspective at Nandi's is based in the Black Nationalist/Pan African tradition (Frye,

2017). Nandi and her self-determined space of books, reading room, of Pan African and Black protest thought, café, refuge, Africana Womanism and sage philosophy, contains a lot of people who remain philosophical, identity and cultural heroes in the Black Detroit community. "Who are we at Nandi's? We're all of those Pan Africans and Black Nationalist, because we're all those Africans, like Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad, Nelson Mandela… yes that's who we are, we're all of them" (Frye, 2017). Even among the Detroit Baptists, the Methodists, and the Episcopal Church, Mama

Nandi insist, "we know we're one" (Frye, 2017). This is a Pan African mixture and value system she clings to, no doubt.

Influences of Pan Africanism on Black Urban Life

This thematic section details and clarifies a semiotic rubric for how Pan African influences are demonstrated in Black urban life. Hence, 'living the Pan African script' refers to how enduring and unapologetic the Pan African life is, and the prominence attached to patterns that are repeated and show up in Black cities. This prominent influence is demonstrative in the subsection, *Afrocentric or African Inspired – Black Marriage Day*, which describes the way African heritage-based weddings are so popular and have become a traditional element in the Black community, and take place within the spatial setting of these cultural entities, such as the Charles Wright Museum, the Shrine of the Black Madonna and Nandi's Knowledge Cafe. The Wright Museum even sponsors an 'African-inspired Black Marriage Day' program.

The Pan African influence in Black urban life can be illustrated through both performative expression such as in dress and hairstyle, and/or in values, such as the philosophy of self-determination, known in the Black idiom of "doing for self", which is

actualized in Black supportive economics and Black independent institutions. This philosophical aspect of self-determination is further revealed in its influential Pan African orientation under the segment, *Finding Our Own Way*. Detroit is highlighted as a quintessential place for Pan African vitality in Black urban occurrences, as disclosed in *Detroit: Very, Very Pan African*. There are a number of influences, which are tabulated and discussed in the following segments, such as those in African identity (association), the quality of African American spiritualism/theology, the concern and perspective surrounding Black unity, and a discussion of African roots, which are embodied in Pan African convergence.

One more notable account, which is elaborated on later, is how Pan African influences within Black urban life encompass Drake and Cayton's trope of "Getting Ahead", which is synonymous with the imperative of Black progress and racial uplift. Additionally, "getting ahead" correlates or comes together significantly with the Pan African influence of "doing for self" (self-determination). In this way, the producers posit a convergent and embedded merging of the Black Metropolis (getting ahead) and my notion of its evolution or enhancement in the Pan African Metropolis (doing for self).

These trends are considered by how the producer cultivated, witnessed and assessed the presence of Pan Africanism in Black urban life within the spatial scale of the Black city and the spatial framework of the cultural entity. As with before, the producer responses (combined with my observational analysis) provide the semiotic evidence that accounts for this section's discourse.

Living the Pan African Script: From the Lens at Charles Wright Museum

There is an audience that truly lives by Pan African (PA) philosophies and they attend several programs at the Charles Wright that are most in line with their PA philosophy (DeBardelaben, 2017). The consumers of these programs predominantly represent a Black Nationalism philosophy in their lifestyle. The programs that attract many of them characteristically incorporate African libations and African drumming and "they live that [pan African script] in their lifestyles, oftentimes we open up our programs with African drumming, they live that and embrace it through several expressions of their Africaness, their pan Africanism is part of their mindset, lifestyle and way of daily being, and so they bring that [PA/BN] to the museum" (DeBardelaben, 2017).

Afrocentric or African Inspired – Black Marriage Day

One of the special programs that take place at the Charles Wright (CW) is Black Marriage Day, and many couples have and continue to join souls together and join family in Afrocentric and African inspired marriage ceremonies or weddings. The whole concept of the Black family and Black marriage is central to the lifestyle of Black Detroiters (DeBardelaben, 2017). Many Black Detroiters who come often come with families. In several of the programs, intergenerational families are represented; the children attend with the grandparents and grandchildren. The rental price for these Black Marriage celebration or Black weddings is not cheap, but there are so many Black people who make that investment (DeBardelaben, 2017).

These consumers are passionately led by the historical symbolism and the cultural significance rooted in their African heritage pride. The symbolism and significance is

about creating a union in a space that is about and filled with Black unity, that is all about Black cultural unity (DeBardelaben, 2017). The ritual of Black marital union in this space is considered very special for the several lives that join together. They see this space as a way to begin their cultural life as well as their physical life and spiritual life together (DeBardelaben, 2017).

Among the many Pan African influences and lifestyle orientations, which the Charles Wright is able to host and collect are African centered baby showers, African centered memorials, African culturally centered dance, African musical performances, African inspired and African culturally centered African women programs, which explore the role and contributions of the Africana women. African music is a huge part of the cultural preferences for the Black community invested in the Charles Wright. The Concert of Colors is one such venue where African music is a headliner.

Youth programs, like Camp Africa, where an entire 5-week free summer camp centers Africa, and introduces Africa to children 6 – 7; the program theme of UniverSoul captures science and astronomy through an African lens, astronomy through an African lens. The AWF showcases the global African experience through cuisine, dance, art, etc. The architecture of the CW (Charles Wright) is even influenced and inspired by an Afrocentric philosophy and a Pan African ideology or script (DeBardelaben, 2017).

When you look at all of the building, from the doors to the walls, the stone walls, the atrium floor design and the main physical structure of the CW, the dome that sits atop its circular arrangement, with its circular patterns, represent a motif of African cultural intactness continued in the sage philosophical reference, "let the circle be unbroken" (Ani, 1994). At first sight, the dome head architecture of CW looks visibly inspired by

Benin structural designs familiar to the mosque in Porto Novo and the floor of the stunning Nasir-El Mosque, as well several dome structural dwellings in West Africa (Pinterest, 2018). "From the time you enter through the door, it's all, African inspired… all the way to our to our core exhibit, 'And Still We Rise', was African inspired" (DeBardelaben, 2017).

The inspiration and influences of Africa is alive and well in the motifs of doors, which copy the artifact historical recording of the Oba transcript, Yoruba dynasties, and the shape of the rotunda represents traditional African huts. The décor of the building, when you look up, you see 92 (pan African colored) flags representing countries that people of African descent populate most largely, a testament to the axiological centrality of the African Diaspora, "where our people of African descent is populating the world". CW like Nandi's and the AWF sells products that are African inspired (DeBardelaben, 2017).

There is a high frequency in which the consumer engages PA thought, expression and lifestyle axes among the CW Pan African Detroit community. This may have a lot to do with the CW's focus on three different genres of Black existence, the African, the African American and the African Diaspora. In this methodological scope, over 350 programs are offered annually year. The social media presence of the CW engages audiences in Pan African thought and expression, several of social media post deal with and provoke conversations of global Black politics and conditions with consumers in parts of the African Diaspora who might not have had the chance to visit the CW yet. Through the live streaming capability, these features help produce programs that reach a

global audience in the diaspora. Overall these developments help people to prioritize PA thought and influences in their lives (DeBardelaben, 2017).

Detroit: Very, Very Pan African

> Detroit's Black urban life is very, very Pan-African than any other city I've known and I've been around. I mean no other city, from LA to Chicago. Philly, New York, even Harlem. No other city have I seen the Pan African spirit stronger than Detroit. I mean I just drive around the city and I went to church last night for example. And just saw this young man in a car, who had a red, Black and green shirt on with dreads and he was a young man, and he just had such a pride about himself, and I see so much of that, that trait of pride in Pan African cultural expressions. I think that Detroiters' Pan Africaness helps them to stay alive, because there is a sense of determination, there's a sense of grit, and strength, and resistance that comes from this place of knowing where one comes from culturally and Black urban Detroiters, they resist; they will fight and they will resist (DeBardelaben, 2017).

The active Black environmental justice movement, such as urban gardening, food security, fighting the quality of water, as in the Flint Water crisis, or the quality of air, its urban Black Detroiters who are fighting these environmental justice issues. Many of these activist have long Pan African and Black Nationalist roots and many of their organizations and cultural institutions reflect that belief system and Pan African influence. "I believe people understand the quality of our environment goes back to African roots. That… the natural resources of Africa were good for us and so many Black urban Detroiters are striving to get to that… return to that place of being in an environment that's good for us… there is currently so much pollution… and I believe they see the act of moving back to healthy living as Pan African, that's why there creating avenues to fight for environmental justice…. those practices are correlated to Pan Africanism" (DeBardelaben, 2017).

The Nation of Islam (NOI) started in Detroit. There are certainly signs and markings of intense Afrocentric philosophy and critique in how they see their faith. The connections between Afrocentricity, Pan Africanism and Black Liberation theology are not only co-mingled in the NOI, but the Shrine of the Black Madonna Church (The Pan African Orthodox Church). In this Black cultural melee, so many of Detroit's Black churches adopt, practice liberation theology based on social justice; faith balanced with social justice.

For these community of Black spiritualists, one's faith means nothing if they are not speaking out against the injustices in the Black community and attempting to make a change in the norms of Black suffering (DeBardelaben, 2017). The tradition of their Black protest rhetoric and/or Black political sermons correlate heavily to the PA value system of self-determination and 'the nation within a nation' (Agyeman, 1968).

Apparel As Cultural Self-determination

> What happens for a lot of our folks as they move into their professional skill, there is no call, or even appreciation, or sometimes no desire to include their cultural perspective. How many fashion designers are asked to look for a [Pan African] cultural aspect in their presentation? How many of them feel that's going to really be a positive, to help them move forward? Here [at the AWF] they get applauded, thousands of people are hollering and screaming, thrilled about what they do… and the next day, they are selling clothes (Kai, 2017).

The problem of historical forgetfulness, historical erasure and African heritage shame are interconnected-major challenges for Black people as a marginalized group in the record of colonization. The story of the Pan African cultural producers reflects and discloses this concern over and over, again. Overall, they feel that there is some

psychological and spiritual damage being done to Black people from whitewash conformity to maintain a complacent distance from their African cultural heritage-factors.

The cultural factor Mama Njia is referring to in the intimation above is the way Africa-inclusivity should be configured as a valid process in the motifs of our daily life, such as in crafts, creations, fashion, designer visions and art. For the designer who was trained to make clothing, whether self-taught or school trained, there is a pressure to exalt European aesthetic ideals, or what is alleged as Eurocentric, yet, "how can you take that excellent training, excellent skill that you have and go research fabrics, traditions, and cultural norms… how can you go and look at the art of Africa, the visual art, the weavings… and remix it, to bring it contemporarily into what you do from your perspective" (Kai, 2017).

In that configuration and Black tradition, there are designers in the AWF fashion show, who bring traditional clothing in the sense of the styles and fabrics you might see in Nigeria. But, there are also some hip-hop designers who have figured out how to add a color or design onto a T-shirt and it represents their re-imaginary of the Motherland (Kai, 2017).

These are the type of lifestyle orientations, cultural attitudes and/or axes of Pan African life in Detroit that the AWF attempts to encourage (Kai, 2017). Here among Black people, Mama Njia and the AWF is saying, it is not only allowed, it is preferred. The concern and mission of this cultural producer is how to infuse Black global culture and to present it well. The wellness of it is measured also by its ability to appeal and uplift the people. This is the life of the people in their immersed in their culture. People, who have a culture find and create those spaces where that culture can be preserved, can

be presented in the contemporary environment and can be projected into the future, like in the Africana philosophy of Sankofa, so that future generations pick it up. Hence, the task requires keeping 'the culture' refreshed into the future (Kai, 2017).

The frequency of engagement, regarding PA thought and expression is high for the Pan African Detroit community that consumes the spaces of the AWF. This engagement is interwoven into the fabric that is the festival. One specific example from 2017's planning is that the Association for the Study of Classical African Civilization, called ASCAC hosted a colloquium as part of festival aimed at younger generations. ASCAC brought two professors from Howard University in the Department of African American Studies.

The professors gave presentations to capture the mindset and spirit of the younger generations, in an attempt to get them to share these Sankofan thoughts, concepts and perspectives to carry with them in their various life experiences and pursuits (Kai, 2017). The AWF also featured an elder and ancestor celebration, where Black Nationalists and Pan African pioneers are honored. It was a fitting tribute to the impact and significance of Baba Mwalimu (Teacher), the great Ed Vaughn who is an architect of the Pan African bookstore from which Nandi's descends in the Pan African Detroit community. Ed Vaughn is a major figure in the way he has impacted the lives of so many in the Pan African cultural history of Detroit (Kai, 2017).

The one-time poet laureate of Detroit, Naomi Long Madgett and her Lotus Press institution for Detroit writers was also honored at the elder and ancestor celebration. Ms. Madgett is in her 90s and she is a stalwart, and there were several Black elders who are also in the 80s or late 90s, who were less famous 'superstars' in the community, but

speak to that tradition of the great migration and the Black soul aesthetic that represent the essence of Detroit's folk culture. One woman is from the countryside outside of Birmingham, Alabama, she just turned 95. She is still strong, has her clear mind, walk, talks and when people see her they think she's much younger. She represents the living history of Black Detroit, from places like Black Bottom and her emergence in Detroit's Black Metropolis. "She's going to come and talk about 'how she got over'… all of this we consider Pan African. Vaughn's Bookstore was seminal to the 70s and 80s and 90s here in Detroit, and so many of us in my generation got a lot of their knowledge, and bought a lot of those books and attended a lot of those lectures at Vaughn's Bookstore, that Ed Vaughn and his contemporaries hosted… that gave us a lot of our beginning… that gave us a foundation, that gave us the information" (Kai, 2017).

In many ways Ed Vaughn's bookstore much like his cultural offspring, Nandi's was "absolutely and intentionally so" (Kai, 2017) a Black consciousness-transformation station.

Finding Our Own Way

> So when they released a new tape of Philando Castille, and we had to watch and listen to this over and over and over again, this heart-wrenching horrific violence… what became so interesting to me, was how the national thing reflected the police-problem in Detroit, that I saw growing up here in the D', and that continued to go on prior to Philando's murder… And so what I say to a question of how do you think Pan Africanism influences Detroit's Black urban life, is that we have always had to find our own response, our own answer… we had to figure out how we could come together and protect each other, just like in the Haitian Revolution (Kai, 2017).

The issues being raised today that define the Black struggle in Detroit, is not new (Kai, 2017). The negative police interaction is emphatically one of those pervading "not

new" (Kai, 2017) concerns. Since the time police were created or formed in Detroit, these forces have been repressive to Black mobility. The historical account for many in Black Detroit is that the police force emerged in order to protect the properties and lives of the white wealthy Detroiters and dispense the social control of Black Detroiters (Kai, 2017).

This can be traced back to the 1920s; the stories that are unearthed regarding the troubled encounter with (white) law enforcement are eerily similar to what is going on in the Black Lives Matter era (Boyle, 2014). This truth was passed on to Mama Njia from the oral stories of her parents and grandparents. Their stories are consistent; this police terrorism has been an uninterrupted scourge in the Black Detroit community (Kai, 2017).

Mama Njia didn't even had the opportunity to meet here grandparents. But her parents reported the stories of brutal police to her from her grandparents and then her parents' experienced similar phenomena in their own life times. The highlighting of these issues, now via the ability to have digital sharing of these events, the capacity to record it and instantly release the footage; the recording of something that was always happening has multiplied its impact (Kai, 2017).

The sharing of these tragic events in the Black community by the digital citizen has increased our attention and focus, and awareness of how much of this extralegal violence and 'sanctioned' murder on Black lives is really going on. In this suffering zeitgeist of the African American, the self-reliance and independent current that is characteristic of the Pan African movement often hovers like an unsung benefit to all experiencing it. The conscious may not "say it out loud to yourself, but, I know your subconscious is noticing, it is being reshaped, by the often unrecognized Black unity factor, that knows better than many of us proclaimed: look at all these different Africans

operating together and making this thing happen" (Kai, 2017). Like JoAnn Watson, another consummate Pan African citizen in the Pan African Metropolis, Mama Njia uses the descriptor "Africans" (Kai, 2017) to classify the Black people in Detroit (Kai, 2017).

In Mama Njia's story, "staying alive" one of Drake and Cayton's main tropes in the Black Metropolis is about finding our own response in the Pan African metropolis. PA, thus speaks to the notion that Black Detroiters have to come to an understanding that's larger than just the short distance of their Black neighborhoods, or the Baptist church on the block, and what denomination you are, or if you have been save or sanctified in the Holy Ghost, it is about the integrity of Black governance and self-reliance, "because we're all in it, together and we're all running it together" (Kai, 2017).

"That Common Root That We Can All Grow From"

If there was no reason to propel this PA/BN Black unity energy into the future for a better outcome then why do it? There has to be a positive intention, there has to be a positive expectation, and in that way the Black Detroiters who are cultural producers believe that the Pan African traditions in which they cultivate allows Black people, especially those who are African American to connect 'back' to their African heritage and reinstill a pride factor around it. Because, for most African Americans, finding the way back to one's actual roots present a challenge of historical detective work, based on the way some of these records and names were handled. This problem and journey is one of committed historical recovery and reconstruction (Karenga, 2014), like finding what the 'X' should have been in the Nation of Islam's last name placeholder-practices. The X

factor made so famous through Malcolm X's life and his explanation of this Black historical mystery.

The general perspective for Black Detroiters is that Africans/African descendants in American "have taken the privilege of saying: I get to look throughout the African World, throughout this Diasporic pool of potentiality, I get to pull from it what feeds me, what serves me, what grows me, what sustains me. And I get to utilize that, because I know that my roots are there [in Africa]. I may not be able to necessarily identify the specificity of it, right now, that may take some more time, and even if I could, in this historic moment, I think it requires all of us to find that common root that we can all grow from" (Kai, 2017).

The cloak of Pan Africanism and its value system of Black unity can cultivate bonds strong enough to understand and embrace, the edict of the African (Black) World, that no matter what many think separates Black people, "we are all in this together" (Kai, 2017)? Mama Njia profoundly, gestured this exclamation, "we are all in this together" (Kai, 2017), with her arms shaping an open embrace, palms wide and forward. Then she brought them more forward in a closing but still bigger circle, to show at a point, the need for Black people to find that PA connection. Then having found that PA connection, having established and found that in themselves that, they were now strengthened to go out into the world and create expanded human connections.

There is much colonial 'white poison' (Karenga, 2015) that has stood in the way of what Africans in the world have learned about themselves. For Black Detroiters, these existential answers are bound up in a reliance on ancestral celebration, a reliance on elders (Kai, 2017). This Black community knowledge, understanding and intelligence

224

manifest a Pan African metaphysics that views Black people "as divinely created beings who have all rights that are afforded creatures of this planet" (Kai, 2017). This metaphysical understanding of the value of the African self is something that must be passed forward to subsequent generations, "otherwise it will be trampled and lost by all the forces who benefit from us not recognizing ourselves as that" (Kai, 2017).

A fundamental connection revealed in the stories of Black Detroiters is that there lurks a severe mental or psychological damage done to Black people due to white supremacy as an ideological conditioning process especially as it is felt in Black historical erasure and its impact on Black racial esteem (Walker, 2016, Kai, Yakini, Frye and DeBardelaben, 2017, and Karenga, 2015). "We are screwed up for lack of knowing ourselves, who we are in our historical past. We are screwed up people due to a lack of that recognition of ourselves. I remember very much one of the brothers that taught me at Howard saying you know as soon as we start dividing ourselves, as soon as the women say we have it harder, then no the men say we have it harder, then we are getting confused. We [as Black people] have it harder! It is out reality. And then there's no one-upmanship in Black suffering" (Kai, 2017)

Black People Can't Work Together! The So-called Problem of Black Unity

> I've been a vegetarian a long time… and so if I make a banquet and forget to put any chicken in it, somebody has to remind me sometimes, Njia's there's no meat for the meat eaters. Oh okay let's see what we can do in the center… so it's the same way when people say Black people can't work together… I don't… that's not in my head as a belief… I don't have that in my head… Black People have been working together for a long time! BLACK PEOPLE HAVE BEEN WORKING TOGETHER, MY WHOLE LIFE! (Kai, 2017).

The assertion exclaimed above by a Pan African cultural producer provides a profound counter-narrative to the preponderant way many circles of the "everyday talk" in "Black spaces" (Perry, 2014 and Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017) sees the integrity of Black people working together. These informal institutions of Black political socializations, like the Black barbershop, sustain a Black ideological thought that often negates Black solidarity. This presents a problem of perception and historical record. Who's version of Black history are we referring to?

There is a legacy of achievement in Pan African Detroit that continues to interrogate this notion. It's not that there are not examples where you can find this lack of Black people working together to be true. But, the problem lies when you used that lens to paint the whole progress and development of Black metropolises. This is the point where the cultural producer feels many Black people are allowing themselves to be used to "perpetuate the negative that is mis-educational, that is that psychological damage, that is that spiritual crush – that is used to keep us from coming together. Because it is… unity that is the strength!" (Kai, 2017).

The Black deficit and deficiency paradigmatic lens (Karenga, 2014) that divides much scholarship and conversation surrounding the Black community is evoked in these impressions or revelations from several Black Detroiters. Black progressive development, Black adaptive skill strength, Black achievement in the face of undue racial obstacle, or Blacks coming together and working together doesn't have to be made up or contrived. "And you don't have to make it up! The shit is real!" (Kai, 2017). The old argument of the use of language and whose "guidance systems" (Morrison, 1976) Black people use to develop their own perspectives materializes from these revelations.

What is located here, however, is what Black Detroiters attribute as a lack of a unifying value system (Kai, 2017). "What I see for a lot of us, we do not have a value system of our own, and therefore we are always in deficit, we are always wrong, we are always on the wrong side of history, because of the value system that is placed before us by white dominant models are made to put you wrong, on the wrong side, less than, lacking, it always about a lack, it's about not having as much, not having enough" (Kai, 2017).

The norms of white supremacy and the way Black people seek white validation and white idolization comprises for many Black Detroiters destructive norms of guidance and structure. It is a pessimistic systemic orientation that is well oiled and excellent in "grabbing the minds of our children and determining for them a foreign value system" (Kai, 2017). Black Detroiters in this sense, advocate a Pan African value system as the 'best thing' for Black children to build upon. "Focusing on your own and building from the inside out is the resolution" (Kai, 2017).

To Be African, or Not To Be African! That is the Question!

"We still have many of our people that would say, 'I'm not African!' Some might say I'm African American. Yes, we have certain segments of the community that are strong and vibrant in their African heritage pride and claim. But the fact is that, we've had years of mis-education, while there was a strong Pan Africanism presence in 60s and 70s, much of that has diminished, yet, we still have many manifestations and symbols of that period today" (Yakini, 2017).

In the construction of the Pan African citizen identity in Pan African Detroit, many Black Detroiters identify as "African" (Watson, 2012, Kai, 2017, Frye, 2017 and Yakini, 2017). "I identify as an African in America, for sure a slight distinction. Malcolm X said for example, just because you're sitting at the dinner table doesn't make you a diner, if you don't have anything on your plate.

Recently I started using the terms African Americans, because I fought against it for many years, and I guess I finally submitted and use it kinda reluctantly, and the reason I resisted it for so many years is because I don't really identify as an American and that's not to deny any American aspect of our experience, but there are some legal arguments that have been waged that have legitimacy about whether or not we are actually citizens of this country in terms of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments" (Yakini, 2017).

Nonetheless, there are several Pan African implications that are embedded in the Black world of Detroit. Kwanzaa was created specifically for African Americans, but clearly has Pan African implications to tie us to African traditions, and the rest of the African world. Kwanzaa continues on in a fairly robust way in Detroit. The political meanings of Kwanzaa are fully embraced by many in the form of the Nguzo Saba, each principal is indeed a well articulated Pan African script of Pan African values. Among the many institutions that still continue to thrive in this world of Pan African Detroit, the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History is a major cultural, philosophical and identity station for Black Detroiters (Yakini, 2017).

The Charles Wright is "rooted within the Black Nationalist/Pan African continuum in a broad sense, it certainly functions in a broad way within that continuum, Dabls Bead Museum on Grand River, which clearly identifies with African culture, also

functions within that continuum, we have the Shrine of The Black Madonna Bookstore, which stills continues to exist and the Pan African Orthodox Christian Church, so we've got some institutional presence that continues to embody this idea and practice of Pan Africanism… and then we have individuals who have embodied this in their lifestyle and what we do African everyday, so many of us have changed our names to either African names or names that we imagined are African names" (Yakini, 2017).

There are a countless number of Black people in the city of Detroit, who have either renamed themselves, and who have given their children African names or what they imagine to be African names. The effort by these Black Detroiters to try to redefine themselves and rename themselves is an important aspect of Pan Africanism and/or manifestation of the Pan African idea (Yakini, 2017). Pan African Detroit also has a robust African dance community in which Yakini is connected as an African drummer. Many Detroiters in this circle practice, study and perform primarily Malingi dance and drumming with the djembe, the drums in the djembe family and doing the dances that originated in the Mali Empire or in contemporary countries that were geographically located in what used to be the Mali Empire.

In some places they are call the Madinkas. In this regional dance and drum form you have dance and performative art influences from the contemporary Malika people of the several Mandinka places. Yet, they're all the same group essentially. Additionally, many artisans in the Pan African Detroit world, practice, study and perform Congolese dance. Karen Prowl is notable for her work in studying and teaching Congolese dance, for many years in her African dance company, which focuses on Congolese dance. AfroCuban dance is another performative Pan African manifestation, which is gaining

much popularity in Detroit. All of these are cultural ways that Black people are identifying with their African heritage and all of these things are very much alive and well in the city of Detroit (Yakini, 2017).

When the D-Town staff went to the Michigan State University Student Organic Farm, enroute a discussion ensued. The topic was one that seems to permeate the Black community, racial stress factors that are specific to African Americans. The concerns turned toward the context of racial trauma and the quest for African American mental health. "On the way there we were having a discussion about stress and how much as Black people, we internalize stress, just leaving in the environment we live in, and that it really becomes our norm, we're under stress so often that we accept, that as normal for us, and we don't know what it really is to not be under stress" (Yakini, 2017).

In this sense, the stress of racial trauma continues to kill so many African Americans in different ways. Hence, the significance of D-Town as a Pan African healing place, and/or healing home for the Black community has major implications. D-Town is a healing space (Yakini, 2017). "Being in nature, connecting with nature is a natural de-stressor, and there is research that has been done on this now… there is a whole field of study, garden therapy, that shows that people were healed in the outer doors… in gardening" (Yakini, 2017).

There is an essential therapeutic aspect to what Malik and the D-Town staff is providing and they are very conscious and intentional of that. The programming D-Town provides at the farm is explicitly connected to encourage the healing of Detroit's African American community through "natural means" (Yakini, 2017). For example, Dr. Jessie Brown, the proprietor of Detroit Wholistic Center on Grand River in Detroit, known for

years in Black health activism as a local naturopathic doctor did an herbal and culinary talk at D-Town Farms in June 2017.

It was a workshop showing people how they can use "things that we call weeds" (Yakini, 2017) that dominate the ecosystem and that many people consider a nuisance as a healing ingredient. In there programming emphasis, D-Town is an intentional healing space. The social relationships that are modeled there reflect the Black community's desire to heal themselves; to uplift themselves; to treat each other with dignity and reverence, and uplift each other in a way that recognizes the highest parts of who African descendants are. In that way D-Town falls into the rubric of the African holistic healing tradition (Yakini, 2017).

A wide variety of people participate in the farm and some are highly conscious of their Africaness, and some are not conscious at all (Yakini, 2017). Many deny their Africaness and identify as indigenous to America. Among the D-Town consumer, a variety of views exist regarding Black identity, culture and philosophy or ideological orientation. There is some major challenge among the "so-called African centered" (Yakini, 2017) community's support, which Yakini finds a little disconcerting. But, this in large part is due to the stigma many Black people may feel around agricultural work captivated in the lens of slave labor (Yakini, 2017). Hence, there is a need for many Black Detroiters to move beyond "rhetorical pan Africanism" (Yakini, 2017) to finding actual ways to support and implement the Pan African (American) Dream. Many of the BN/PA manifestations in the Black community serve as a kind of therapy for Black people that helps them cope with racial oppression, but can fall short in eliminating oppression and supplanting it with self-determination (Yakini, 2017).

Within the African American community in Detroit, there exist a mixture of philosophical, cultural and identity constructions. This does not necessarily indicate a sign of division; rather it is a reasonable account and progression of diversity. To that extent, D-Town insist regardless of whether somebody see themselves as a Moor, or a Nuwabian, or a Black Christian Nationalist, or a Rastafarian, or Muslim, "we all have to eat, and so food is a great Uniter!" (Yakini, 2017). Regardless of these philosophical or ideological nuances or divergences, D-Town strives to create a space where all Black people are welcome. This particular inclusivity principal is an indicator of a Pan African value versus the notion of performative Pan Africanism (Nyamnjoh and Shoro, 2009). You can still be a Moor and work at D-Town. You can be a Rasta and work at the farm.

You can be Muslim as well. You don't have to give up your spiritual belief system to come into this space and function. This collectivist pluralism represents a microcosm of the type of society that places like D-Town would like to see. The emphasis should not be about converting people to your religion, it should be about finding ways to work together. Even on the African continent, as Ali Marzuri highlights, you have these three kinds of Africans that exist simultaneously side by side, you have Christian Africa, you have Islamic Africa and you have traditional Africa, and for the most part, perhaps with the exception now of Boko Haram and their activities, but for the most part, traditionally, they've found ways to coexist in the same space (Yakini, 2017).

"Our great African American freedom-fighter Malcolm X talked about the fact that we're not oppressed because we're Christian, or Muslim or because we're a Mason or Elk, or whatever the case may be; we're oppressed because we're Black!" (Yakini, 2017). D-Town tries to find a common denominator approach that enables Black people

to define themselves in harmony alongside their different ideologies or philosophies. Hence, D-Town's approach is to look towards those things that Black people can agree on and those things the African American community in Detroit have in common, and then attempt to cultivate building blocks and bridges, rather than accent the things that the Black community disagrees with (Yakini, 2017).

Pan Africanism, Nandi's and Black Life in Detroit

At Nandi's, a glimpse into the consumers who represent Afrocentric philosophies or Pan African influences start with their choice of books and insights into their cultural and philosophical learning trajectory. "By buying books, I notice the types of books they buy, that lets me know where they're growing from. Most times if they need help I can tell, especially if they are coming back to their culture. I almost always have to show them where to start.

I ask what are you interested in learning about in your culture? What's going through your head? I start them off with a book called, *What They Never Taught You in History Class* (Kush, 2000) or I may give to them to, *The Nile Valley Contribution to Civilization* (Browder, 1992)" (Frye, 2017). These two classics are considered good beginning readers for novices or neophytes attempting to get back "to their culture" (Frye, 2017). It takes a bit more to of "an education" (Frye, 2017) to digest a Dr. Ben book (Frye, 2017).

Mama Nandi met the famous Afrocentric intellectual, Dr. Ben a few years ago when he was a professor at Highland Park Community College (HPCC); yet, she never knew how famous he was. Yosef-Ben Jochannan (Dr. Ben) is the author of the seminal works *Black Man of the Nile and His Family* (1972), and *Africa: Mother of Western*

Civilization (1971), or the controversial, *The Black Man's Religion: The myth of Genesis and Exodus, and The Exclusion of Their African Origins* (2002), out of his 14 book-body of work.

Mama Nandi is foremost a collector of books, she collected several books from the history classes Dr. Ben taught before his passing. "It's so terrible that when a elder dies in an elderly home [referring to the great Dr. Ben's late years]. In our community we're really letting our only elders down. Even in our days you had to respect elders even if they were homeless, you still had to listen to what they say. They still have a story to tell. These are the things at Nandi's that I talk about all the time" (Frye, 2017).

"They're All African Events, Because They Are for Black People!"

The way the consumers of Nandi's stay connected is how many of them express their Pan African views. Through their conversation, communications, what they are doing in their communities and in the way they frequently dress all reflect a permeating Black consciousness that embraces Pan Africanism (Frye, 2017). Marcus Garvey Day and the Marcus Garvey Parade, which happens annually on Garvey's birthday, August 17th in Detroit is a highly celebrated and attended week of events, "People came out of their houses as we came down the street" (Frye, 2017). They came out of their houses to see we were carrying the flag. They were very excited to see that. Our community needs to know that real Pan African people still exist, and that we are not afraid. It's okay to be Black in this community; this is your community. We don't care if white people come in and move in next door to us, and no I don't want you to march with me. It's not for you!" (Frye, 2017).

Pan African culture influences Detroit's urban life in a number of ways, but more evidently, it can be demonstrated in the tropes that Drake and Cayton subscribe to as axes of Black life, as well as new axes that uncover the Pan African life in Detroit. For instance, in terms of "staying alive" (Drake and Cayton, 1945 and Patillo, 2015) to build on their analysis, cultural stations like Nandi's Knowledge Café promotes the healthy nurturing of the Black soul, mind and body, in ways like eating the proper foods, being true to your 'authentic' self, having deep conversations with Black people that are focus around the concerns and aspirations of the Black community. "We have to eat to live not live to eat" (Frye, 2017).

These conversations at Nandi's take on the African holistic philosophy which has been around in the African American community at least since the 1920s, on "how to eat to live" (Muhammad, 1973), a phrase that has become a golden rule principal in the African American quest toward healthy eating and in holistic health practitioner tradition (Afua, 2016 and Akoto, 2000).

African & African American Spiritualism

In Nandi's you're always going to run into someone that's a little bit more spiritual than you, or at least alleges this. African and African American spiritualism dominates the everyday atmosphere, there are practitioners that read tarot cards, and read people. There are those spiritualists that throw cowrie shells, and display several forms of Black metaphysics in their 'unconventional' beliefs of God. Serving God in the Pan African narrative is first and foremost about dismantling any allegiance to a white-blued

Jesus construction and/or how many feel white supremacy and anti-African origination has hijacked organized religion.

Hence, Serving God is about replacing these images, icons and guidance systems (Morrison, 1976) with a cultural and philosophical likeness that underscores who Black people 'really' are, one that restores Black dignity, that imparts Black liberation theology and is based in an affinity for African heritage. In this sense, the Pan African citizen does not want or care for anything foreign, whiteness accommodating or Eurocentric. On Sundays for several years, Nandi's had a minister teach God from an astrological viewpoint (Frye, 2017).

Getting Ahead and Doing for Self

"We just really have to do for self, and we have to communicate for self, and build with self. That's really what we [Black people] have to do" (Frye, 2017). The conversations emphasized and constantly going on at Nandi's, have a gathering point that emanates the Pan African and Afrocentric philosophy that is built upon Black self-reliance and racial uplift, which aggregates broadly as a five-tier prong of doing for 'self', communicating for 'self', do business with 'self', caring for 'self' and building for 'self' (Frye, 2017).

This 'self' motif is the conceptualization of the Black/Africana self. When one looks for ways of "having fun" (Drake and Cayton, 1945 and Patillo, 2015), of course dance has a big influence in the cultural and existential life of Pan African Detroit. "Anytime African people come together, it's always a dance. We like to dance, and sing and hear good music. We have lots of fun in the community - I'm a Reggae fanatic. At

the African world festival, the children dance, and are having fun. I forgot to mention that on Tuesdays we have African dance class for children at the store. It's been going on for about five to six years. I've watched these little babies stand up [imitating African dance gestures]. They just have African in them. It doesn't matter how they move it's just in them. They hear the sounds of the drums" (Frye, 2017).

One of the ways Pan Africanism influences Detroit's Black urban life to "get ahead" (Drake and Cayton" is by "doing for self" (Garvey, 1968 and Clarke, 1970). On any given day, Black Detroiters will find as they step into Nandi's red, Black and green décor, Dr. Claude Anderson's videos playing constantly not just encouraging Black people to do-it-for-self in Black solidarity-capitalism or cooperative economics, but telling how to do it specifically in a step-by-step plan, along with his groundbreaking theorizations interrogating "Black labor and white wealth" (Anderson, 1941). One of local Detroit Pan Africanist, JoAnn Watson's blueprints was the building of "African Town", an idea that Dr. Anderson's shared.

African town has not yet, manifestoed in the way Watson and Anderson, saw it, a socio-cultural-economic center for Black enterprise and Black cultural-political economy. But in many ways 'African Town' is spread out in Detroit in many modest instances. Watson like Cleage exemplifies the Pan African citizen of Detroit, and attempted to launch African Town during her tenure as Detroit City Council (2003-2013). Mama Nandi reflecting on the African Town controversy provides a final note that gets to the heart of contemplating the impact of the Pan African cultural producer beyond performative pan Africanism or the critique of 'limited cultural nationalism' (Yakini, 2017).

You don't need to ask permission to have an African town for a town full of Africans! Just start building and doing. That's what I teach Black people. That's what I constantly preach at my store. Stop asking for permission! If you want a store in a building, go get that building. We have to stop waiting for white people to come in and build up our community. That's why it looks like they're taking over. Because they're fixing that building you had wanted to get. I keep telling people that we have got to get it ourselves, that's the only way we're going to get ahead. One person getting rich is not us getting ahead! We obtain too much that we don't need. We have to get ahead by not wasting our money… and we have a problem with trusting each other to invest together. We have to stick together, and follow in the footsteps of leaders that have come before 'us'. At Nandi's, I can only give you those tools that Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X has left us. The plan has already been laid out; we just have to follow it. You don't need to reinvent the wheel" (Frye, 2017).

Conclusion

The Black Detroiter reported on in this chapter has assumed a role of a producer of Pan African culture. This can be observed and documented in the relationships they have to the Black Detroit community and the programming they offer at their cultural entity. By this same token they have also embraced a role as a cultural curator and sustainer with regard to African heritage preservation. The sites of Pan African consumption, maintenance and production in the locus of a Pan African-based Detroit, suggest both a performative and value system related expression. These contours of performative and value-related expressions correspond to an excavation of the dissertation themes of identity, culture and philosophy.

The creation and development of that value system and performative expression has been manifested as an intervention apparatus (such as cultural self-determination, Black unity and Afrocentric guidance systems) to fulfill a number of liberatory, empowerment and enfranchisement projects for the Black Detroit community. This intervention is made even more salient and powerful, when Black Detroiters define what they all refer to as the sickness and poisoning of white supremacy. Black Detroiters and

the Black refuge place that they produce (through the sociality of their Black placemaking) help define the Black politics of the Black struggle. Black empowerment thus occurs progressively through political, spiritual, economic, intellectual and psychological restoration processes of the Black self: the healthy holism between the Black psyche, Black body and Black soul. This Black self-restoration process occurs in these spaces and by the political socialization, represented in their legacies of Black cultural politics, Afrocentric consciousness and Black festival celebrations, which continues to intentionally instill African heritage pride.

The opportunity to share a truth and a perspective that is unique to Black culture, philosophy and identity is regarded as a highly significant gathering point for Black Detroiters (Kai, Yakini, Frye, 2017). For Black Detroiters who take up the mantle of Pan African cultural production, finding "that unity" (Kai, 2017) is tantamount, "I'm about figuring out where we can find unity and move on that unity. And to me that's what the Pan Africanist means to me and speaks to… finding that unity and growing from it" (Kai, 2017).

A preliminary assessment from this 'different story' of Black Detroit reveals how Afrocentric identity, African heritage celebration and Pan African philosophical constructions provide some corrective healing, education and transcendent love in the social context of Black life in Detroit. The story catching gathered here can help shed an unexposed light on Detroit's Black urbanization as well as signify much critique on the troubling adherence to the Black pathological optic that is unjustly and unfairly 'concretized' as the Black criminal element on the face of Detroit's Black community. This alleged Black, 'fundamentally' dangerous and 'violent' preponderance toward

discerning and disvaluing Detroit's Black humanity, is no doubt, the long historical work of "Black scapegoating" artists and scientific racism (Schwartz & Disch, 1970).

It is no wonder why the Dan Gilbert-highlighted 'white face' of Detroit revitalization and its 'theorization' of 'Detroit 2020' promulgated a recent controversial "tone deaf Detroit ad" (DeVito, 2017), which featured a crowd of white only people, accompanied by the slogan "See Detroit Like We Do" (2017). This Black invisibility-making narrative of Black contribution to the strengths of a city, where the majority of residents are still Black, continues the problematic denial traditions of the white gaze.

Chapter 6
Black Detroiters as Consumers of Pan African Culture: A Finding II

Introduction

The story of Pan African Detroit is told in this chapter through the documented habits, perspectives and values of Pan Africanist-consumption, which define Black Detroiters at Detroit's African World Festival and beyond. Their stories centralize around the Pan African marketplace and other prisms of enduring Pan African lifestyles, which denotes an interestingly unique experience of Black life. This findings chapter uses the language of Drake and Cayton's Black Metropolis thesis, whereby, these trailblazing Black scholars formulated indicators of adaptive patterns in the robust life of the Black Metropolis community; they identified these adaptive patterns as Black "axes of life" (1945; Patillo, 2012).

In the contemporary short form, Black axes of life are also referred to as 'tropes' of the Black city, or tropes of Black urban life. This discussion will use the short form 'tropes' when referring to this scope. When considering the everyday adaptive patterns of many Black Detroiters, Pan African consumption informs, matters and influences the occurrences of Black city/Black life tropes.

What determines the orientation and modality of the consumption is that they have a frequent or regular consumption rate that includes the traditions associated with Detroit's African World Festival, and/or other Pan African cultural institutions. The case of the African World Festival in conjunction with these other Pan African cultural institutions make up at least two notable sites of evidence for propagating the emergence of a Pan African Metropolis in Detroit. They are: (1) the extended African marketplace, and (2) a sector of living that attributes to a modest 'Africanized city' within a city' in the

multilayered spatial framework of Detroit. From this combination of two segments, the notion of a Detroit-based 'Pan African cultural-political economy' is entertained.

The anatomy of 'Pan African Detroit' can be found in the story catching of Black life expressed through African heritage celebration. These Afrocentric essences showcase a method of Black adaptive vitality, cultural politics and resistance to Black shame. In that way, these mini stories or excerpts from Black Detroiters (derived from brief statements of reflection) constitute an untold, unsewn and unsung larger story (Billingsley, 1992; Blassingame, 1972; Goddard, 1984; Johnson, 1993, et al.; Karenga, 2014; Ladner, 1999; McAdoo, 1996; McCubbin, 1998; Hill, 1999; Nobles, 1987; Staples, 1999; Sudarkasa, 1995; Young, 1970).

To that extent, the current chapter provides a second report of field research, which qualifies as the fourth original study contribution. Like its preceding chapter, it is part of a study that looks at the Pan African dimensions of the Black Metropolis. It's based on a case study of the African World Festival (AWF). Within, this interpretation, the story of Pan African consumption is revealed in two major parts, on the one hand, it brings to surface several primary tropes, which motivate Pan African consumption and, on the other hand, it reveals main concerns highlighting the Black struggle that Pan African consumption is corresponding to.

The story of Black Detroiters Pan African consumption and its prevalence in Black Detroit life is based on several ethnographic displays of the research population whom consume, exist within and/or live what is generally suggested here as Pan African culture, identity, philosophy, values and lifestyles. The Black Detroiters who were observed, queried and surveyed come together with other Black Detroiters as part of

several enduring and unbreakable traditions where Pan African cultural norms are sustained, curated, produced, consumed, or surround their lives in other ways. For the centrality of the African marketplace, Pan Africanism is chartered through the practices of a self-directed economy, and channeled by the 'Buying Black' imperative, which characterized this force from its inception in 1920s Marcus Garvey/UNIA footprint. One major way Black Detroiters consume Pan Africanism is through their consumption of Pan African products. This consumption is standardized by their repeated attendance at places like the Detroit's African World Festival.

Black Detroiters repeated attendance was noted and investigated against indicators that help to measure their Pan African life orientations, Afrocentric perspectives and the vibrancy of these orientations and perspectives in Detroit, 2016. Their overall story reveals how Black Detroiters feel about their African World Festival (AWF) experience and what meaning the AWF carry for them in the broader Pan African possibility of Detroit.

Overall, Black Detroiters converge around a cluster of conclusions, such as: what motivated AWF participation, and thus what motivates Pan African Consumption. These motivations point to two major segments, (a) Black themes of engagement and (b) Black struggle concerns. Thus, in the excavation of their story, they contextualize the relationship between AWF and what Black Detroiters see as the main concerns around chief topics of Black struggle, Black identity, Black pride, Black unity and broadly Black urban life. In the tradition of Drake and Cayton's urban sociological tropes, again which they called "axes of Black life", I discovered and provide a set of new tropes, seven primary (emergent) thematic categories which describe the reasons behind their AWF

participation and give never before documented insight into their consumption traits. These new tropes expose the gathering points of the Black Detroiters' Pan African story. After the present introduction, the chapter follows with a brief discussion and explanation of these seven primary tropes and how they motivate Black cultural, philosophical and identity engagement. The explanation further helps to operationalize these primary tropes.

The topic of a 'Black Detroit struggle' was a constant reference and foremost main concern from the perspectives of Black Detroiters. Second to this was how the Black struggle was defined by a 'particular set of Black community challenges'. Hence, an overwhelming number of Black Detroiters referred to a Black struggle that Black people confronted, and felt the African World Festival was very instrumental in countering that struggle.

This is stressed in major part by the relationships found between the Black Struggle, and several co-related themes such as, Black authenticity, which is defined here by Black Detroiters as Black people searching for, learning about and coming to a more balanced awareness (versus white supremacist framing) of 'who they really are' historically, and in contemporary terms. Black authenticity is also about Black people assuming roles of agency that shape and project more reasonably and realistically their own images and depictions of morality. Notions of Black Pride and Black Unity also constitute related themes discovered from the voices and stories of Black Detroiters. These thematic revelations were obtained from the pan African scripts situated within the text synthesis noted in the responses of Black Detroiters.

I submit that these themes comprise new tropes for understanding 'Pan African axes of life' (Drake & Cayton, 1945; Patillo, 2014), which I contend defines or organizes 'the Pan African Metropolis'. The chapter concludes with a brief assessment that reaffirms the reported stories and speculates further implications (AWF, 2016). The main classifying topics of culture, philosophy and identity become clearer through the voices of these Black Detroiters. In this respect, my proposition continues in the conceptual lineage and language of Black Metropolis theory, it holds that Black Detroit has developed a new form of political economy, the "rise and triumph" (Reed, 2011) of a "Pan African cultural-political economy" (Edozie, 2017).

The original theorization I proposed is that an overlooked and under-acclaimed Black Detroit political strength found in Pan African legacies are thus attuned by these Black Detroit voices. In this way, an expansive and innovative development of Black Metropolis theory (Reed, 2014; Widick, 1975), frames the dissertation's argument. Thus, the Black Detroiters under examination allow us to substantively measure an expedition into Pan-African orientations and Afrocentric lifestyles as a new ordering of Black Metropolis (BM) theory (Drake & Cayton, 1945, 2015).

The consideration of these Black Detroiter voices support the notion of a Black Detroit unifying apparatus built from Pan African/Afrocentric consciousness. These findings may prove highly valuable, especially in regard to the over-emphasized and over-determined conjecture, among many Black people interviewed and questioned, that there is an inherently, strong lack of unity in the Black community. The intricacy and evolution of Black Metropolis (BM) theories enables a dynamic determination of Detroit. The idea that Detroit is essentially a 'Pan African Metropolis', is reasonably founded

upon the long impact of Pan-Africanism on Detroit's Black cultural politics, cultural economics and the city's connective Afrocentric Black lifestyles, interests and orientations (Cleage, 1967). These Black Detroiters also supply a meaningful collection of gathering points for deciphering what pan African scripts (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009) look like.

The impact of African heritage lifestyles on the social composition of Detroit makes it unique and similar at the same time, to the Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia or New York models of the Black Metropolis. I believe the chapter's conclusive insights will shed a much-needed light on the strengths of Detroit's Black urbanization and the 'true utility' of Afrocentric consciousness and its culmination in Black heritage pride, especially in an era of gentrification, ongoing Negrophobic depictions of Black life and limited notions of 'white revitalization' (Bates, 2012; Jolly, 2013; Reed, 2011; Silver, 2015).

The story of Black Detroiters and their Pan African consumption, and expandedly their Pan African influenced lives revealed seven primary theme groups (new tropes for understanding and situating a Pan African Metropolis). These tropes provide the reasons, which motivated their attendance at the AWF. The content analysis derived from the statements of these Black Detroiters organized into the following thematic groups. These interconnected themes provide an understanding for the Pan African axes that regulate, permeate and orient Black life. They will be addressed in the proceeding order: (1) Cultural Enrichment, (2) Black Authenticity, Black Pride and Black Unity, (3) African Heritage, (4) Black Love and Black Transcendence, (5) Buying Black, (6) Generational Legacies and (7) The Black Refuge Space.

In this regard, Chapter 6 is divided into eight extensive sections, which correspond to the discovery of these emergent tropes and their respective subsections. This outline organizes the life of Black Detroiters as the Pan African-based citizen, within the above seven emergent themes (Pan African Metropolis tropes), reoccurring cross-thematic currents and main attributes of concern associated with the attendant Black struggle.

The eight sections are designated numerically below and are discussed at length within these particular segments: (1) *The Cultural Enrichment Imperative;* (2) *The Cohering of Black Authenticity, Black Pride and Black Unity;* (3) *Deciphering Black Refuge;* (4) *The Value of African Heritage Connections;* (5) *Black Transcendence and Black Revolution in Black Love;* (6) *The Still Valued Tradition of Buying Black;* (7) *The Responsibility of Generational Legacies*, and finally, (8) *The Black Psychological Rejuvenation Effect,* which offers a brief, but culminating look at the synergy of how the tropes of Black Unity, Black Love and the Black Refuge Place converge in several instances over others. In this constructive convergence, their linking as Black spatial empowerment facility is referred to as the prime-optimal effect for Black healthy development.

In confronting confusion in the everyday Black barbershop talk, and a social science discourse of premature analysis surrounding 'the death of Pan Africanism', the *Conclusion* accumulates a final word on the resistance-persistence of the Pan African script.

The Cultural Enrichment Imperative

The number one reason that Black Detroiters visit the African World Festival (AWF) was for cultural enrichment. As it was observed, the cultural enrichment imperative of Black Detroiters constituted a multiple-encompassing trope phrase, which represents the need for credible Black education (harkening to Woodson's 'Mis-education' thesis), and the a need for a "whole" Black history intervention that serves both as a process of Black upliftment, and maps the true progress of Black human development. The cultural enrichment imperative also represents a self-discovery odyssey that confronts and resists Black mis-education (Woodson, 1933) and Black shame debasement.

The majority of the Black Detroiters gravitated more generally under the motivations of Cultural Enrichment. The most frequent word used under these consumption indicators was "culture". Whenever the word "culture" was used in many of these cases, it seemed to fit this trope category. This interpretation is exemplified in the brief response to: How does this event produce culture in the lives of Detroiters? "[Through] history, arts, science, culture" (Black Detroiter-respondent 11, 2016).

Another instance: "Culture on display" (Black Detroiter-respondent 33, 2016). In this way, Black Detroiters adhere collectively and upmost to a mission of cultural enrichment and thus education of: (i) "their roots" or "their history", (ii) Black self, perception, image authenticity, and Black unity combined, and (iii) Black pride in that ranking order. Their connective synthesis and chief concerns lie with the possibilities of establishing foundational ways of Black transcendence over the Black struggle through

this mission of cultural enrichment and its associative education (Black Detroiter-respondent, 2016, and DeBardelaben, Frye, Kai and Yakini, 2017).

An optimal indicator for cultural enrichment is summed up in more responses to: How does this event produce culture in the lives of Detroiters? "Brings all ethnicities together to experience and embrace the African culture which we all share" (Black Detroiter-respondent 43). Asked if the event improves the condition of Black suffering, the consumer story reveals imperative relationships between cultural enrichment and Black authenticity, Black pride and Black unity. This imperative relationship is highlighted by several indications, such as "Knowledge, understanding, positive people" (Black Detroiter-respondent 33), "Let people see and appreciate the rich culture that is ours" (Black Detroiter-respondent 35), "yes it connects" (Black Detroiter-respondent 36), and "It's a celebration of the culture, but more could be done for Black people", (Black Detroiter-respondent 41). Per another assertion, "Different cultural practices" (Black Detroiter-respondent 27), undergirds cultural enrichment as the alternative norm/value that is provided by the AWF, and that is not depicted in mainstream Detroit point of views about Black cities (Black Detroiter-respondent 10).

African music and Black people's "togetherness" (Black Detroiter-respondent 31), is the alternative norm/value in Black culture that the AWF provides. This perspective marks another connection between cultural enrichment and Black unity. This is further emphasized in the 'authentic gaze' of what is attested to as a moment and possibility of Black unity-integrity in: "That we can work together" (Black Detroiter-respondent 29). The consumer sees the spatial hegemony and harmony of the AWF as a confirmation of Black unity and its potential and active agency. Cultural enrichment is

patterned in the response, "Through the art and culture shown" (Black Detroiter-respondent 38, 2016) as representing the alternative norms/values in Black culture that are not presented in mainstream Detroit narratives.

The Black Detroiter around cultural enrichment takes particular ownership of Black/Africana culture in several instances that use the phrase "my culture". Many of Black Detroiters feel they are immersing in something, a space that feels like them, like home and where they belong. This is the 'African home' trope that is so prominent in the legacies and literature (Temple, 2005) of Pan Africanism, its placemaking is housed in several locations or iterations that makeup the Pan African Metropolis.

Comparatively, Black Detroiters emphasize that Black Unity is anchored in Black Cultural Enrichment and that the synthesis of the two is a process of pan African development and linked to the Black cultural institution's positive impact on Black suffering. This is emphasized when he/she asserts, "I think it can help others understand that we are one as a culture" (Black Detroiter-respondent 4). The assertion was made in response to: How might this event employ cultural imaginaries of Africa that may serve Pan African/Black Nationalist thought? When the consumer suggests, "it makes me want to learn more" (Black Detroiter-respondent 1), is insightful for gathering pan African scripts, whereby Garvey emphasized that Pan Africanism had to be an imperative quest to learn more about African heritage and Black historical contribution.

Secondly, a clear, 'pan African script' is reflected by, "in hopes of stimulating a sense of common purpose and kinship", (Black Detroiter-respondent 8). This content is highly revealing, it list at least three signifiers of the Pan African Dream, (1) a project that stimulates Black hope philosophies, toward (2) a sense of common purpose and (3)

kinship. Cultural imaginaries of Africa that served Pan African/Black Nationalist (PA/BN) were thought to be approximated by African rituals, the Pan African market and Afrocentric speaker discourse, "starting with libations, items sold by the vendors, topics speakers spoke of" (Black Detroiter-respondent 11). Other instances that tabulated the relationship between cultural imaginaries and PA/BN thought were claimed, "by promoting knowledge of self and knowledge of the cultural path to [Africa]" (Black Detroiter-respondent 18). Additionally, PA/BN thought was influenced by "art, jewelry – in literal shapes of Africa and its people, music (modern + drums)" (Black Detroiter-respondent 19); even more examples stated this as: "through the workshops that educate people about the lives of African American people" (Black Detroiter-respondent 20).

The challenges and prospects of Black self-determination and political freedom brought on by the cultural space were revealed through point of views, such as: "I see it as a chance to educate others and grow" (Black Detroiter-respondent 4). The use of the terms "educate" and "grow" equals 'enrichment'. Comparatively, it was felt by a few that the AWF did not fulfill the goal of self-determination and political freedom in, "It don't in my opinion" (Black Detroiter-respondent 8). The challenges to self-determination and political freedom regarding the AWF were explained this way, "smaller and smaller each year, only once a year" (Black Detroiter-respondent 9). A sad face accompanied this storied remark.

The theme of cultural enrichment was also reflected in "It does so by the music, food and other interests, it imparts and we all want to take part in" (Black Detroiter-respondent 5). In "with food, music and information" (Black Detroiter-respondent 6). The synthesis of cultural enrichment and the Black refuge place was put forth through quotes

251

about, "music, food and peace". "Peace" is considered a keyword for the sought after Black refuge. In measuring direct consumer perspectives about the AWF, cultural enrichment and its effect on perceived or realized Black unity; some views indicated it offered the effect, "By bringing them to an event that celebrates Black culture" (Black Detroiter-respondent 31).

Cultural Enrichment's Effect on Black Identity and Black Pride

Three important concerns that erupted, were the emphasis on Black identity, Black unity and Black pride. When asked: What effect does the AWF have on Black identity and Black Pride, some consumers insinuated the mission of cultural enrichment as important to Black identity and Black pride (Black Detroiter-respondent 13). The theme of cultural enrichment being important to Black pride and Black identity continues in confirmational moments like, "A big effect, embracing our culture is important" (Black Detroiter-respondent 24) and in educational highlights in that it "promotes truth and wisdom" (Black Detroiter-respondent 26).

The Cohering of Black Authenticity, Black Pride and Black Unity

The semiotic script of "Black people coming together" (Black Detroiter-respondent 13) was taken primarily as a measuring stick for the theme of Black Unity. Any references or perspectives that conveyed a syntax of Black unification or bonding resembled this measuring stick terms, and thus was collected under the rubric of Black unity, and its associative values of Black pride and Black authenticity. This kind of determination usually emphasized the phrase 'Black people' verbatim and related problems around Black unity, Black authenticity and Black pride. Furthermore, in these

same cases Black Detroiters usually implied that a measure of Black pride was approximated through Black unity. Where there is no Black pride, Black unity suffers and vice versa. Hence, Black unity and Black pride is causalities of each other, or are co-determinate, and so intertwined together; they can hardly be separated. To that effect, when Black Detroiters talk about Black unity, they are also usually talking about Black pride. This unison can be viewed in: "Black people coming together in a peaceful manner and atmosphere" (Black Detroiter-respondent 13).

Black Detroiters continued to express that they were "proud" that Black people could come together (have Black unity, this way) in a peaceful manner and atmosphere. Black unity is thus, not just about coming together for a direct political cause (such as BLM/police brutality) and buying Black, it is also about an unified appreciation and affection, a spiritual and psychological bonding that regulates and maintains civic peace and love.

The relationship and synthesis between Black unity, the Black nation and community building is particularized in several voices, "builds community" (Black Detroiter-respondent 43); "simply, community building" (Black Detroiter-respondent 45); and "It offers another opportunity to unite" (Black Detroiter-respondent 47). Many consumers demonstrate the relationship between Black Struggle and Black people's standpoint surrounding their versions of "who they are". This is a landscape that describes the quest for Black authenticity. Altogether, these patterns align themselves to the intertwined tropes of Black authenticity, Black unity and Black pride.

When asked, how does the AWF relate to the challenges or prospects of Black self-determination and political freedom, Black Detroiters asserted that, it "reminds

Blacks of their strengths" (Black Detroiter-respondent 21). To remind Black people of their strengths suggest that Black people need this reminder, as a psychological-restorative and collective ethos, and as a kind of psychic-soul medicine. The language of Black people as 'weak' and non-productive, lacking strengths that build and contribute to the modern city is the historical Negrophobic language of postulations around Black fitness and ultimately, reinterpretations of the mythical Black inferiority-declaration.

This mythical Black inferiority-declaration is reflected in several points of views, which connote a malformed collective Black image, consisting of the split image conflict between 'who are Black people really' versus 'how Black people are negatively-stereotyped' (Dates & Barlow, 1993; Walton, Jr.; Smith & Wallace, 2017). The split image conflict; "a war of images" (1993) is extensively elaborated on by Black mass media experts Dates and Barlow in their introduction to *Split Image: African Americans in Mass Media* (1993).

Routinely, the day-to-day coverage of African Americans is predominantly negative and stereotypical, especially as it relates to poverty and crime. The guiding motive behind these portrayals is to preserve a "social order" (Walton, Jr.; Smith & Wallace, 2017, 98), which is based in a white elite power structure of domination. In a critique of 'white reason' or white rationality, the Black criminal stereotype "precedes reason, as a form of perception [it] imposes a certain character on the data of our senses" (Lippmann; Dates & Barlow, 1993, 2). Several Black Detroiter conclusions were very attuned to this war of images and fit into the thematic patterns of Black authenticity, and its troubled, yet necessary quest for reconstruction, intergroup critique and intragroup validation.

The obsessive significance of this three pronged problem surrounding Black authenticity, Black pride and Black unity is underscored by the inference that: "Detroit is predominantly Black. The local news vilifies Black people, but in a space like this, Africans are celebrated & united" (Black Detroiter-respondent 20). While this script signifies a directly attributed Black image and perception-problem (authenticity), Black pride and Black unity ordeal, embedded also is a direct linkage for grasping pan-African scripts of African connection in Black identity. Many Black Detroiters refer to all the Diaspora Blacks in attendance and participation, which includes vendors, performers, producers and consumers as "Africans", synonymous with being Black.

Additionally, Black Detroiters validate how there is a pathological narrative of media-driven Negrophobia that racially exceptionalizes negative theorizations of Blackness in Detroit. Hence, the theory of Detroit as a negative Black space is both challenged and reinforced by Black Detroiters.

Detroit's undercurrent of political conflict is also embodied in the way white domination attempts to 'bad filter' the Black presence in the mal-narrative of Blackness operating in its racial contract. The Black Detroiter tells us from his/her own perspective that the much-alluded Black crime fixation-lens has overshadowed Detroit's Black Metropolis and our reasonable historical understanding of the power and contribution of its Black presence. For Black Detroiters this white gaze-made Detroit is a valid and unavoidable variable of obstacle making for Black Struggle.

The emergence of Black authenticity, Black pride and Black unity revelations was highlighted consistently in a relationship between Black struggle and the quest for Black authenticity. Moreover, many Black Detroiters asserted that the AWF served as a 'Black

Refuge Place', which provided an intervention toward repositing Black unity and Black pride. Black Detroiters emphasized repeatedly these patterns of Black authenticity, Black pride and Black unity defined around negative assumptions about Black cities for Black struggle. When speaking about interventions against negative assumptions about Black cities, the Black Detroiter accords the AWF's and its PA/BN purpose in, "By celebrating 'who we are' as African (American) as opposed to demonizing us" (Black Detroiter-respondent 20, 2016).

This is what the AWF and PA/BN does, it revives Black dignity. The keywords which show up often and verify this thematic grouping are similar to "demonizing us" (Black Detroiter-respondent 20), and centralized, repeated phrasing exampled in "who we are" or variations of "who we are really", or "who we really are" (Black Detroiter-respondent 20). This Black struggle awareness continues in similar fashion in several Black voices, such as: "Shows Black cities in a positive light" (2016). This intervention notion is direct to the point and significant because it reaffirms the basis of the question, that there exist norms of negative assumptions about Black cities.

Black Detroiters upheld this main concern of Black struggle and its paradigmatic implications in the intervention of Black authenticity, Black unity and Black pride, by his/her reflection that, "This event makes us look good; Black people together without conflict or drama; enjoying each other's company" (Black Detroiter-respondent 22). While so much of this is revealing and insightful, it is also troubling as an African American Black philosophical and political theorist, in the sense that several Black people as represented, have come to see themselves in a preponderant way of disunity, divisiveness and counter-productive optics of "conflict and drama" (Black Detroiter-

respondent 22). A little on the lighter side, but still continuing in the same vein, the Black Detroiter grapples with this problematic, by the witnessing reflection, "By showing the pride and civilization of our people" (2016), which configures an African heritage theme and Black pride theme synthesis.

Indicators of Black authenticity, Black pride and Black unity felt by Black Detroiters translated as "Shows others we are more than [instead of] less than" (2016). Black Unity is the trope underscored in the intervention recognized by Black Detroiters, which the AWF offers via, "Showing we can come together" (2016).

Black Detroiters support that the AWF enables Black empowerment, in such cases as "puts aside everything they said we couldn't do" (2016), while at the same time, it probes more of the tropes of Black authenticity, Black pride and Black unity. This resemblance of ideas continues in, "Shows that African Americans can come together in harmony, peace and love" (2016). However, the keyword "peace" places it also within the theme of the Black refuge place, and the keyword "love" situates it within the theme patterns of Black Love and Black transcendence. The Black Love sign is a Black existentialist reinforced category. Thus, thematic code words for Black existentialist grammar is Black Transcendence and Black Love. They serve as our categorical trope to flesh out the existential-philosophy feature of the dissertation's exploration.

The notion of intervention-strategies facilitated against negative assumption about Black cities continues to be further elaborated by Black Detroiters, showing signs of Black authenticity, Black pride and Black unity in such reflections as "Shows the diversity of the Black experience" (Black Detroiter-respondent 4) and "Black people in first stage of unity" (Black Detroiter-respondent 42). Lastly, Black Detroiters

demonstrate similar attributes in thematic structuring for Black authenticity, Black pride and Black unity, such as reported in, "Shows the unity of [Black] people when presented in a positive manner" (Black Detroiter-respondent 44), "This event is extremely positive and this helps to combat negative conceptions/assumptions" (Black Detroiter-respondent 45), and "Intelligentsia displayed that cannot be disputed or denied" (Black Detroiter-respondent 47). The first Black Detroiter's reflections stand out, in the sense that he/she yields the keyword "combat" underpinning the discussion, mentioned previously, about combating the Black struggle as the foremost concern of many Black Detroiters.

The phrase "Black People" as a keyword-identifier for Black authenticity, Black unity and Black pride also emerges in views regarding how the AWF relates to the challenges and prospects of Black self-determination and political freedom. The grammar of 'seeing for yourself' and 'the elevation of our people' is both an indicator for Black pride and the revival of Black dignity, when the consumer says: "Seeing for [your] self by having access to museum to see the elevation of our people" (2016).

The Black Authenticity and Black Refuge Synthesis

The perspective regarding the AWF's impact on self-determination and political freedom, gleaned from "The space shows us Black self-sufficiency, community and a celebration of the diversity in the African diaspora" (2016) also provides discernment into the synthesis of Black Authenticity and the Black Refuge Place. Direct conclusions from Black Detroiters such as', "The best way to answer this is to say that there is not enough unity and pride in our culture, and this event brings us together" (2016), goes straight to what I have been talking about in how Black people see their own struggle and

258

the behavior of other Blacks. This viewpoint is a synthesis of Black unity, Black pride and the Black refuge place. Several others from the Black community feel that generally, "there is not enough unity and pride in our culture" (Black Detroiter-respondent, 16).

The Black Refuge Place and The Effect on Black Identity and Black Pride

In tandem with the emergent cohered tropes of Black identity and Black pride, Black Detroiters insinuate the Black refuge metaphorical landscape constantly (2016). He/she connects the theme of the Black refuge place (Black placemaking in my terms) to Black identity and Black pride, by expressing that the AWF provides "social production and awareness" (2016). In this way, the Black festival, i.e., the AWF signifies the Black refuge place. He/she is implying that Black awareness, a widely used positive Black political, intellectual and cultural attribute is the positive impact on Black identity and Black pride that emerges from the Black festival.

The Value of African Heritage Connections

The syntax motif of "home" comprised a dominant interpretation towards the theme of African heritage. This is emphasized in examples like, "Yes remembrance of home (Africa) knowledge" (Black Detroiter-respondent 30). The "home" motif inflection and its specifying of 'Africa' parenthetically is a long-standing embodied reference for literary and political Pan Africanism (Temple, 2005). The use of "home" observed for African Americans in Detroit signifies quite directly, a unit for pinpointing 'a pan African script' (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009).

This affirmation of African heritage as a connection to home is disclosed in telling moments like: "They bring us home" (Black Detroiter-respondent 27), in

revelations about how the African presence is promoted at the AWF. Other revelations reinforce this trope, "Yes, I want to know the connection to Africa, where my maternal and paternal's homelands are" (Black Detroiter-respondent 14). The terms: "music and clothing" (Black Detroiter-respondent 15) makeup a frequent identifier for African heritage semiotic signs. "Food, vendors, music, dance, etc." (Black Detroiter-respondent 16), with 'music' being emphasized, composed the frequent inflection of variables that infused African Heritage connections. The theme of African heritage runs through several indications, "allows creativity uniqueness of African people and African ancestry" (Black Detroiter-respondent 9), when he/she gives a perspective on how the AWF unites Black people. African heritage ownership-patterns are instilled in examples where the frequent use of the word "our" is applied. As in the response: "By showing our greatness" (2016).

In similar patterns African heritage is vocalizes as, "It shows what the African mind is capable of" (2016) as an association to an intervention strategy. The synthesis and relationship between African Heritage and Black Transcendence/Black Love is also visible. This can be seen in notions about the AWF as it relates to the challenges and prospects of Black self-determination and political freedom.

Black Detroiters asserted a nuance that establishes a crucial relationship between African Heritage and Black Transcendence in, "When one is exposed to his/her history in a positive way, he/she gains a sense of empowerment" (2016). This sentiment mirrors a very prevalent political socialization in the Black cultural nationalist/Pan African community of Detroit (Frye, 2017; Kai, 2017; Yakini, 2017). This prevalent view holds that Black empowerment, Black Love and Black Transcendence is extremely connected

to the deconstruction of African-Black shame/low racial esteem and thus requires a positive embrace of African heritage and its learning-corrective in Black history.

African heritage thematic patterns were also derived where the frequency of the word "heritage" was used and alluded to, such as in the response to *do you feel a certain connection to African here* at AWF. Black Detroiters emphasized the word "heritage" repeatedly characterizing their African connection. In cases where, she/he indicated that: "Yes we all need to identify a point or origin and history" (2016). In his/her pan African script, Africa is both "point of origin" and "history" (Black Detroiter-respondent 8). In a collective sense, the African Heritage is typified by these revelations. One exemplary indication of Black metaphysical connection to Africa occurred when Black Detroiters intimated, "I have never been to Africa, but I do feel the African vibe; based on what I have heard through history, family and history studies" (2016).

For Black Detroiters and many Black people in general, the significance of Black Love is measured as a Black revolutionary choice. In its complex nature, it is first love of Blackness, one's Black self, Black identity, Black culture, Black consciousness and African heritage. Expansively, it is Black unity, Black family, supporting Black institutions/buying Black and Black male/female healthy-productive, gender progressive partnership, etc., i.e., love of Black people as a whole. For countless Black Detroiters these paradigms of 'Black Love' are in opposition to internalized Negrophobia is the paradigmatic approach to study and interact with Black people. The multiverse of 'Black Love' is thus not consistent with willful Black alienation/Black self-hatred, and it is also not consistent with a justified dislike, disrespect and disregard for Black people.

This significance and defining of Black Love, in many ways pushback against what is felt by many Black people as the continuum of divide and conquer strategies of colonization. Hence, Black Love is antithetical to Black self-hate and African heritage shame. For the improvement of Black suffering via the Black cultural institution (AWF), the Black Detroiter story delivers a direct inquiry into Black struggle and how Black people in Detroit's Black Metropolis combat it, or resolve problems associated with it.

The Black Detroiter feels "self love" (Black Detroiter-respondent 3), which is an attribute and identifier for Black love, furthermore as highly regarded by Black Detroiters, the Black Love trope that defines the Black city is instrumental in combating Black struggle internally and externally. Hence, the AWF as a Black cultural institution provider facilitates this 'Black self love' and 'Black group love'.

This suggest significantly that: while the connection to Africa and its related consumption insinuate the occurrences of pan African scripts for African heritage, it coexistentially shares embodied features of Black Love. This cohering formula of the African heritage value of celebration = Black Love, is supported in how AWF Director Njia Kai described the Black heritage festival as a "Black Love Fest" (Kai, 2017). Black transcendence from anti-Black racism within the framework of Black Love utilitarianism is likewise approached in the reflection that, "Yes, through the people I see and the hugs and smiles that flow so freely" (Black Detroiter-respondent 20), and, "I feel connected to Africa here especially through the beating of the drums. I feel [connected also] through the people dressed in African garb are my sisters and brothers" (Black Detroiter-respondent 17).

The references 'the drums and African garb' become a dominant signifier of African heritage practices, which creates Black unity, fraternity and sorority between Black people. "Yes, sense of belonging and identity with all" (Black Detroiter-respondent 21), epitomizes a script of Black unity (belonging) and Black pride via its interchangeability as 'identity' in healthy Black consciousness or self-conception. "Yes, even though I have never been [to Africa]. Being at the museum is the next best thing" (Black Detroiter-respondent 27). This was the sentiment that tapped into feeling a certain connection to Africa via the AWF. While the food, textiles, natural hairstyles and music surely provided a cultural enrichment, it also provided a connection to African roots, the food and music is a connector to African heritage, as in the indicator that: "Yes, food and music [is] getting us back to our roots" (Black Detroiter-respondent 2). As well as the assertion that: "Through the textiles and natural hairstyles" (Black Detroiter-respondent 32), an African heritage connection was formed. This is embodied in another similar expression: "the food, music and clothes gives a sense of Africa" (Black Detroiter-respondent 40).

Responses to the employment of cultural imaginaries that serve Pan African/Nationalist thought more closely fit an African heritage theme-scripting, for example in the concise "Dress, Drums, libations" (Black Detroiter-respondent 27). These direct markings are also apparent in response, "Gives them a glimpse of the greatness of Africa and her people" (Black Detroiter-respondent 35), pertaining to patterns and orientations centered in African Heritage.

The occurrence of thematic overlaps continued throughout the story. One such influential relationship was that between African Heritage and Culture Enrichment. Much

like the frequency of the word 'culture' became a signifier for cultural enrichment, the frequency of the word 'Africa', became a leading signifier for African Heritage. Thus, in several cases like the affirmation, "yes, identification with Africa" (2016), this response was taken to have meaning reflecting African Heritage values of celebration, connection and commemoration.

African Heritage and The Effect on Black Identity and Black Pride

The effect of the AWF on Black identity and Black Pride was selected as a barometer inquiry for looking at how Black Detroiters saw the role of African heritage. In regards to the AWF, the emergent theme, which identified African heritage motivations, affirmed that a positive effect was taking place on Black identity and Black pride. Hence, for many the celebration and deliberate connection to African heritage is integral to a positive sense of Black identity and source of Black pride. One benchmark example of the positive effect and robust relationship between African heritage and Black identity/Black pride was tabulated from: "It inspires this cultural space [AWF], especially at this space, we are reminded of our greatness, past, present and future" (Black Detroiter-respondent 2). He/she is also foregrounding the meaning of the Black refuge spatial relationship; by signifying a place Black people can call their own, away from the Black suffering impositions found in white rationality and its associative absurdities of white racism.

Sentiments regarding the cultivation of alternative norms/values showcased by the AWF, and extendedly 'Pan African Detroit, stands in contrast to mainstream narratives stressed about Detroit. The pattern of the African heritage-imperative, show up in

assessments like: "Connections to Africa, presence of 'high powered/mainstream' Black folks in an African space" (Black Detroiter-respondent 19). Additionally, in, "This event showcases all Black entrepreneurs. People walk in crowded spaces sometimes bumping another person, yet no fights breakout. Everyone is gathered together in positivity" (Black Detroiter-respondent 20). The connections between African Heritage, Black Pride and Black Unity are synthesized here.

A firm example of the synthesis between Back authenticity (balanced imaging of Black people), and Black (Cultural) Unity situated in celebrations of African Heritage is, "Showcases the cultural creativeness of Africa and its people" (Black Detroiter-respondent 21). In this light, the optimal effects of African heritage as it promotes Black pride and Black unity suggest a synthesis-derivative of Black cultural unity, much similar to Diop's thesis on the significance of Black cultural unity (1962)

African Heritage and the Black Refuge Place

Examples of Pan African scripts (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009) contain phrasing like: "History, people (ancestors), AWF" (Black Detroiter-respondent 9), in the sense that African American participants emphasize that this is 'their history', 'their ancestral people' and the AWF, is a 'refuge place/gathering point' for that. Pan African philosophical, historical and cultural orientation pinpoints the relationship between the thematic motivations of African heritage and the Black refuge place. The descriptive pairing given to the AWF reveals a transformative connection to Black history, Black people and ancestral roots are taking place at the AWF. Hence, the psychological and spiritual benefits to Black people that is inherent of the 'Black refuge place' is what

Black Detroiters constantly talk about (2016). The psychological and spiritual aspects of the Black refuge place-metaphor is also observed by what Black Detroiters see in the "facial expression" (Black Detroiter-respondent, 10) of Black people and the importance of music in his/her reflections, "Music, facial expressions of the people attending the event, food, etc." (Black Detroiter-respondent, 10).

The Black refuge place does something to lift the spirits of Black people. This positive effect of the AWF, and the relationship between African heritage and Black refuge is clearly stated when he/she indicates that: "these events make me feel good" in response to what particular things or events make you feel connected to Africa? The two-word phrasing of "positive vibrations" (Black Detroiter-respondent 38) provides another instance about the psychological and spiritual value that characterizes the way the 'Black refuge place' has been operationalized.

Black Transcendence and Black Revolution in Black Love

While the phrase "come together" (Black Detroiter-respondent 38) in many Black Detroiters' statement is an equivalent script to Black unity, and refers to the unification of Black people, at the same time, the adjoining parts of those statements, such as: "together in peace [to] gain knowledge" (Black Detroiter-respondent 38) embodies a grounding aspect of how Black transcendence and Black revolution will be operationalized here. In the tradition of cultural politics, Black liberation and intellectual history, 'gaining knowledge' for Black people has been integral and instrumental to Black agency, self-transformation and thus, Black transcendence (Adams, 2001; Harris, 2001; Henrik-Clarke, 1968; Karenga, 2010; LeMelle, 2001; Morrison, 1999; Myers, 2001; Stewart, 2001). This agency and self-transformation lay the foundation for Black revolution.

By this recognition Black transcendence is a state that can endure beyond the imposition of anti-Black structures and implies fundamentally a self-transformation through Afrocentric re-socialization and corrective Black self-knowledge, and/or healing from the various poisons of white supremacy/anti-Blackness. Hence, mis-education in the lineage of Woodson's thesis is counter-productive to Black transcendence. In this criteria, the grammar of Black transcendence, formulates the capacity of Black people's adaptive vitality through the confrontation of American institutionalized, anti-Black systems, their progress in restoring their humanity, and their self-making and creation of Black vibrant worlds (Gordon, 2009).

It also formulates their capacity to transform and liberate themselves from modalities of Black shame and seeing themselves through deficit/pathology paradigms (Gordon, 2002; Karenga, 2010; Perry, 2011; West, 2011). Black transcendence as a psycho-existential state is formulated in Naim Akbar's *Breaking the Chains of Psychological Slavery* (1996). For these reasons, the above Black Detroiter's affirmation fits into the thematic territory of Black Love and Black Transcendence. Another illustration of the Black love and Black transcendence co-pairing theme is approached by observations whereby he/she intimates, "Black people congregating in large crowds without police" (2016). This means that Black love/Black transcendence can be momentary, fleeting or short-lived for some Black people and durable in an internal-spiritual-psychological capacity for others.

The preceding responses provide a way to understand the Black Detroiter-Black Love story and how these healing reconstructions approach Black Transcendence and a Black revolutionary-like quality. In this revelation, what may be difficult for many

Blacks themselves, and many non-Blacks, some other people of color, and whites is that Black transcendence can be facilitated by everyday moments in time and space. This means Black transcendence is not only approximated by the total eradication of anti-Black systems in the world, or Black life. The Black refuge place, which signifies a safe space beyond the Black internal/external struggle, is also intertwined with Black love/Black transcendence. This cohesion is expressed in the Black Detroiters multiverse. In this way, there is a three-theme group convergence.

Wherever Black love is taking place, for the sentiments accorded Black love as a revolutionary act; Black transcendence is occurring simultaneously. Equally, a similar theme-grouping and Black internal struggle context is approached in, "Positive people, mighty people!" (Black Detroiter-respondent 33). Several other offerings cross pair the thematic groundings of Black Love/Black Transcendence and Black Unity/Black Pride, visible in, "By seeing people with Red, Black and Green, also people with their natural hair state", (Black Detroiter-respondent 34), "It helps us realize that we [Black/African] are different and we are beautiful because of that" (Black Detroiter-respondent 39), and "That everyone is Black regardless of geographical location" (Black Detroiter-respondent 41). The reference: "we are different and we are beautiful, because of that" (Black Detroiter-respondent 39), speaks again to the quest and significance of Black authenticity. These responses in the story embody the culmination of literature that signifies an obvious pan African script (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009). The fact that the 'Red, Black and Green' is stressed indicates a direct semiotic knowledge of the Pan African/Black Liberation flag and its representative color scheme. Pan Africanism is founded in the principle of Black people as one unit "regardless of geographical location"

(2016), which verifiably echoes Nyamnjoh & Shoro's (2009) analysis about pan African scripting and semiotic discourses.

In the Black transcendence pattern, the AWF was recognized substantially as useful in the improvement of Black suffering. Black Detroiters confirmed these notions. It was expressed by way of, "builds solidarity" (2016), as a common disclosure, another way of saying this, is that the AWF builds unity and love between Black people. This unity and love theme was avowed in, "a community brought together is much stronger than the individual" (2016). This assertion captures a precise understanding of the Pan African belief system.

The "collectivist ethos" (Walton, Jr.; Smith & Wallace, 2017, 59) of Black political culture and Pan Africanism is continually underscored. This "stronger" (Black Detroiter-respondent 45) Africana existential condition was what Marcus Garvey conceived in his racial uplift philosophy. "Mighty people" (2016) in the Black Detroiter response bears the markings of the Garveyism slogan, "Up you mighty race! You can accomplish what you will!" (Sibanda, 2015).

The synthesis of the refuge place, Black transcendence and Black authenticity themes were gathered in a revealing declaration, "Showing us who we really are and not what society wants us to be" (Black Detroiter-respondent 24). The inclination demonstrates an acute awareness of the struggle implicated in the quest for Black authenticity, and what I mean, when I constantly refer to it as an axes of Pan African life in Detroit. Here, Black Detroiters are talking about the AWF's facility to improve the condition of Black suffering. These notions was captured similarly and supported in the

language: "It [the AWF] acts as a stress relief and a historical reminder" (Black Detroiter-respondent 23).

The Pan African consumption story in the life of Black Detroiters lays bears numerous subtext questions of Black realities; such as why do Black people have to be reminded of their historical strengths or contributions? Secondly, what are Black people being reminded of? Another angle comprises the question, what is happening to Black people specifically, that they even need a reminder? These subtext inquiries into Black realities suggest there is some kind of deliberate assault on Black people's psyche regarding who they are, and to replace their historical memory of themselves. This historical memory of Black people as a colonial occupation has been saturated with the premodern primitive edifice, or the recodification of the Black unfit, inferior-fallacy (Karenga, 2005; Neal, 1999).

Historical and collective memory, and its power of perception can transcend logic and emerge as a competing source of information, knowledge, and interpretation (Baronian, 2007). Both responses clarified the psychological and spiritual value indicative of the Africana refuge place. Both also deal with the problem of historical perception and thus African heritage and Black people's authentic depictions. If we put all the hereto listed primary themes together in this segment, we get a synthesis of Black authenticity intrinsically cohered to Black pride, linked to African heritage, linked to the Black refuge place.

Lastly, proclamations that support inclinations of Black existential grammar show up by the keyword "enlightenment". Many Africana philosophers discuss distinctively a location of Black enlightenment that is different than white Western enlightenment terms

(Birt, 1997; Morrison, 1978, 1997). When Black Detroiters of this Pan African mind and value refer to 'enlightenment', they are suggesting this Black historically and intellectually divergent course. The course of Black enlightenment is thus tied to a discovery point in the African American standpoint of a Black 'woke' state (Birt, 1997; Morrison, 1978, 1997). Hence, the semantic of Black enlightenment is grounded in: "It brings hope and enlightenment" (Black Detroiter-respondent 27).

These sources of semantics help define Black suffering and Black transcendence. From these perspectives, Black people have a particular struggle to define the Black image, Black intellect, Black contribution, Black capabilities and Black morality correctly. Thus, Black people have a special mission to construct who "we really are", and not who "[white] society wants us to be", or lies about who we are (Black Detroiter-respondent 24). Another signifier of patterns concerning Black Love/Black Transcendence was alluded to by "Emoting growth that is infinite" (Black Detroiter-respondent 47).

The Still Valued Tradition of Buying Black

The emergence of the Buying Black trope enables more deepened insight into the Pan African Market as the major nexus of the Pan African cultural political economy. The interpretative story of Buying Black in the Pan African cultural marketplace is represented in straightforward cases that "some vendors sell awesome lots of kinds, arts, jewelry" (Black Detroiter-respondent 39). Or in examples were the assertions is it "Teaches us to buy Black" (Black Detroiter-respondent 22); in gaging how the AWF promotes an African presence.

In response to the employment of cultural imaginaries that serve Pan African/Nationalist thought, a considerable number of Black Detroiters undergirded the functionality of the African Market, which corresponds directly to the Buying Black-pattern, in moments like: "it helps encourage Black economies" (Black Detroiter-respondent 23), "vending spaces for local African business" (Black Detroiter-respondent 24), "allows them to make money at a booth" (Black Detroiter-respondent 39), and "at a minimum through the booths that reinforce African culture through artifacts and stories" (Black Detroiter-respondent 45).

These considerations articulate the provocative role of the Pan African Marketplace as a central phenomenon for the advent of a 'Pan African cultural-political economy'. It was also avowed that the Pan African Market improves the conditions of Black suffering, "Because you can promote your business and different talents" (Black Detroiter-respondent 34). When asked: How do you think the AWF unites Black people? The evaluation is situated within the vein of Buying Black orientation, by the assertion, "Different vending spaces; you can interact with" (2016). The linkages between Buying Black and Cultural Enrichment affirm that the AWF unites Black people, when it is proclaimed that "Through Black Business (Economics) and Culture (Music and Food)" (Black Detroiter-respondent 23).

Ambiguity is eliminated by this insistence. The problem with gaging the significance of the Pan African/Afrocentric Marketplace is that patronage is often used as the all-consuming grounding point to measure Black unity. While the dissertation study wholeheartedly supports and encourages the campaigns and philosophy of "buying Black", what the overall story reveals is that Black unity can be measured or

approximated in several ways beyond Black people's willingness or understanding of Buying Black. Nonetheless, many argue that strengthening Black political economy through group economics and its component of Black solidarity versus individualistic Black capitalism would prove more advantageous to a durable form of Black empowerment (Carnell, 2016).

The Responsibility of Generational Legacies

The theme of Generational Legacies is best operationalized alongside its relationship emphasis to the imperative and "core value" of education (Walton Jr.; Smith & Wallace, 2017) in Black culture and the Black community. Among Black people, the AWF was emphasized as an educational opportunity and educational necessity to younger generations. This emphasis is operationalized and represented in the example, "Yes. It is a place where I can bring youth, etc. to learn about themselves" (Black Detroiter-respondent 16).

The keyword "learn" serves as the main identifier for the generational legacies education-mission and core value among the story. The Black Detroiter perspective above is speaking about the Africana cultural institutions, which emanate from the AWF. The imperative of 'learning about themselves' is a major trope of Pan Africanism and healthy Black self-transformation (Campbell, 1994; Henrik-Clarke, 1968; Myers, 2001).

Cross Currents of Generational Legacies, Black Pride, African Heritage and Cultural Enrichment

Cross currents of generational legacies and cultural enrichment education are furnished, when the value of the AWF is mentioned in its exposition and gathering of "role models, looks [good] for our children" (Black Detroiter-respondent 19). The

emphasis on educating Black youth and providing them with positive role models to find the mirrors of their great selves is for encouraging continued great possibilities. The utterance no doubt is grounded in a generational legacies mission. Yet, the emphasis and frequency of the word "space" (Black Detroiter-respondent 19) four times, and the verbatim use of the following string of words, "for teaching (education), relaxing, sharing, a 'space' with rhythm and full of good Black role models" (Black Detroiter-respondent 19) speaks directly to the fundamental elements of the Black refuge space.

In the literary, spatial and socio-geographical traditions of Black migratory and Black psychological variables, the Black refuge place and Black placemaking is catalyzed within the Promise Land dreams of the Great Migration. Another instance of generational legacies among many, finds the consumer inflecting both the significance of African heritage to the lives of many Black Detroiters and the importance of passing to the next generation a positive Black identity (2016).

This is apparent in the affirmation, "It does. I want my children [generational legacies] to see positive people who look like them [Black authenticity and Black pride]. I want them to feel connected to Africa [African heritage] through the music and visual arts" (Black Detroiter-respondent 20). These overlaps may mark the assets of the study, and its complex capacity to plug into the vibrancy of Afro-philic (Black existentialist) identities and philosophies in Black urban life.

 "Showing children their heritage" (Black Detroiter-respondent 25) combines the primary themes of generational legacies to African heritage and the core value of education. A similar signifier is present in the inference that: "[it, referring to the AWF] teaches us about our history, the real story" (Black Detroiter-respondent 26). Why does

the African American insist on 'the real story' being told? What the 'woke' or 'conscious' African American is referring to is the hallmark script of "mis-education" (Woodson, 1903). The conceptualization of mis-education in the lineage of Woodson' thesis, addresses the problem of anti-Black education (white supremacy educational indoctrination) as a racial dysfunction prevailed upon the Black community (Adams, 2003; LeMelle, 2003).

The assessment of mis-education as a context variable emphasizes the historical lies and omissions (Palmer, 2006; Walker, 2014) about Black people and African history by the virtue of white supremacy's epistemological construction of Black inferiority. Hence, a Black Studies education provides a corrective to practices of intellectual colonization (Gordon, 2009; Karenga, 2014), a consequence of Europeanization (Karenga, 2014), known for its myth of the 'Primitive and savage (violent) Negro and African'.

In counterpoint to this Europeanization of human consciousness, culture and knowledge (Karenga, 2014) and its intellectual codification of anti-Black themes, the importance of education to generational legacies is embodied in the response: "It gives African people just a taste of who we are" (2016), giving African people this essential "taste" (Black Detroiter-respondent 27) of their rich African heritage is an educational imperative that epitomizes the story.

Deciphering The Black Refuge Place

Comparatively, to the other categorical tropes, the Black refuge theme is precisely summed up in examples like the reply that: "It supports individuals and collectives that gives them space to express themselves" (Black Detroiter-respondent 4), when asked how

does the AWF produce culture in the lives of Detroiters. "The space to express themselves" (Black Detroiter-respondent 4), pinpoints the value and definitive explanation of the Black refuge place. The same inquiry bears signifiers of a cross current between the refuge place and patterns of Black authenticity, Black pride and Black unity, when it is implied that: "it reminds us how great we really are" (Black Detroiter-respondent 34).

Again the notion and keyword of "the reminder" is used. It functions as a Black cultural and linguistic zone script that speaks to fortification of the Black soul and self in the refuge process, and its historical cruciality in the Black community. This cipher of intracultural awareness that 'the reminder' phrase holds exposes the spiritual, intellectual and psychological renewing that is a defining aspect of the Black existential condition, mainly as it relates to the intended damage of historical forgetfulness (Miles, 2012; O'Gorman, 2017; Ricoeur, 1996; Wylie, 1999) or "memory replacement" (Karenga, 2007).

Yet, historical forgetfulness is the result of historical erasure and its associative anti-Black evils (Walker, 2014). Furthermore, the intellectualizing of Black shame comes by way of Black deficiency and pathology paradigms (Karenga, 2104). Hence, if many Black Detroiters by virtue of their Pan African leanings represents a 'woke' or conscious Black mindset, they also verify through their experiences that the indoctrination of white historical forgetfulness erases Black contribution and Black dignity.

Added to that, to "remind us how great we really are" (Black Detroiter-respondent 34), marks an embodied script of Black Pride, which has been discussed in the literature review and this dissertation to be important to the adaptive vitality skills (Karenga, 2014),

growth and development of Black People. "Reminds me of peace before material things were worshipped" (Black Detroiter-respondent 34) is another indicator of the reminder semantic of the Black refuge place. When asked, How does the AWF reveal alternative norms/values about Black culture/Black people in Detroit, that are not represented in mainstream POVs? The assertion that: "It's peaceful, the event is cheerful, people are happy, no violence" (Black Detroiter-respondent 2), indicates the ongoing pattern of the refuge place. Yet for many, the refuge place is informed by and perpetually a place that is located away from what is perceived as a major problem of the Black struggle, 'Black violence' or violence happening to Black people.

To understand deeply, what is meant here by the Black refuge place, one must consider what writers such as Fisher were contemplating in their statements of Black refuge complexities (1925). The intellectual history of the 'Black urban refuge place' depicted several of the challenges/problems of the multifaceted Black urban experience. Yet, the urban Black still envisioned and aspired to create a place where the Black nation could prosper and where Black people could live freely, uninhibited by the impositions, paradoxes, cruelties and absurdities of white racism.

The Black refuge constructs a space where Black authenticity/Black self-determination can take place and dwell. Hence, the refuge place-trope is referred to as both a quest and main concern. This is embodied in, "Perhaps a moment of reprieve; a space of positive images of self, reflected back at you is a powerful salve" (2016). The Black refuge place in this way is about the power struggle between Black and whites, and situated within the manifestations of these racialized spatial conflicts.

In response to, how does the AWF relate to the challenges or prospects of Black self-determination and political freedom? Black Detroiters offered insight into how racialized spatial conflicts operate, via "Producing an event like this in the "new" Midtown, deliberately making space in place reserved for others" (2016). Similar categorical veins of the Black refuge place are expressed by, "All of the history behind this location [place of refuge identifier] and for Detroit [another place of refuge identifier/Black metro] brings much richness and life to the event" (Black Detroiter-respondent 22), and in "By acting as a space [refuge] for our culture in the area [refuge]" (Black Detroiter-respondent 23).

The Black Refuge Place and The Effect on Black Identity and Black Pride

A positive effect is confirmed to take place on Black identity and Black pride through the Black refuge place, asserted in views like, "A positive loving welcomely environment" (2016). Spatial theory and human geography is undergirded here as it relates to Black refuge. In this way, the space embodies a critic of white supremacy, and does not resonate with institutionalized hostility towards Blacks. Hence, the space (AWF) provides a unique Black sociality that through its spatial makeup; culture, philosophies and principles facilitates Black resilience, love, inclusion, and ultimately a process of Black mental restorative peace (Black Detroiter-respondent 3).

The Black Psychological Rejuvenation Effect

Many African Americans felt the AWF had the capacity to bring a moment of peace, safety, some Black unity, Black cultural dignity and Black Love for what is professed, as an 'epidemic' of Black-on-Black crime; Black violence and violence on

Black people, and/or Blacks not being able to be civil in outdoor spaces of festival-like events. The main concern that lends to an idea of Black struggle was: "that there is still much to do" (Black Detroiter-respondent 12). While this last concern was rare, it was reflected frequently as much as the 'Black-on-Black crime and Black violence'-fixation was perceived as a major part of Black problems in the totality of two years' observations, ethnography, field notes, discussions and in many of daily mini-interviews with members of the Black community (2016-2017).

As addressed previously in the sections on cultural enrichment and Black unity/Black pride, the emphasis on Black Unity is anchored in Black Cultural Enrichment; the synthesis of the two are a process of pan African development and linked to the Black cultural institution's (AWF's) positive impact on Black suffering. This perspective was asserted in, "I think it can help others understand that we are one as a culture" (Black Detroiter-respondent 4). Repetitively, Black suffering and Black struggle is measured by Black crime and violence, and thus, improved for African Americans, where or when there is no Black crime or violence.

For that matter there is a Black Psychological Rejuvenation effect, which takes place when three super essentials come into play, when Black people have: (A) Black Unity, (B) Black Love, and (C) safe Refuge. The Black Psychological Rejuvenation effect is a desirable outcome of the Black refuge place (AWF), which facilitates two major-imperatives and consequently, it facilitates the combination of them within three peaceful altering states of Black conditions.

In the Black existential-linguistic pattern of Black Detroiters, 'the Black Psychological Rejuvenation Effect' materializes when Black Unity, Black Love, and a

safe Refuge is facilitated as a three-pronged sociality recipe in the urban spaces of the Pan African Metropolis. Moreover, this Black sociality formula equals the definitive, if even momentary or insulatory manifestation of Black transcendence. This same thematic grouping is thrust in, "By showing unity without incident" (Black Detroiter-respondent 4).

These linkages are stressed over and over again, as in the declaration, "Bring about togetherness and pride at least for a weekend" (Black Detroiter-respondent 10). This statement is nuanced by the pretext, that Black people are thus, not normally unified or together, beyond the AWF's weekend. This is what was discussed early in the introduction that several Black people feel there is a strong lack of Black unity.

The Black unity-Black love-synthesis is grouped together, while emphasizing the Black refuge place-quest, and its capacity for Black nation-building in the brief, "a space to build, uplift and heal" (Black Detroiter-respondent 11). This 'building process' is both a reference towards Black unity and Black nation-building, and in the well-known way of Black consciousness talk, 'Black healing' is always first about 'Black self-love'. The linguistic pattern of pan African script like many other examples insinuates 'the Black Psychological Rejuvenation Effect', I am postulating.

Integral to the story is the consistent philosophy and imperative of racial uplift and Black racial healing. In a similar way, racial uplift and racial healing is registered in so many Black Detroiter concerns, such as: "By providing an environment where solid and educational possibilities are endless" (Black Detroiter-respondent 18). For, how do you think the AWF unites Black people? Black love and Black pride is once again linked in, "self love spreads" (2016).

The Black transcendence theme takes a prominent place in the story. Frequent reflections suggest this thematic adherence. Such as, "By providing a blueprint for Black Power" (2016), "It gives us hope" (Black Detroiter-respondent 31), "we can conquer anything" (Black Detroiter-respondent 34), "determination" (Black Detroiter-respondent 38), "may empower someone" (Black Detroiter-respondent 39), and lastly, "We are challenged in how we look and dress, perhaps we are different because of this festival" (Black Detroiter-respondent 40).

The conceptualizations behind Black Struggle and Black Transcendence as key points reflect Detroit's Black existential condition and strengths. These thematic elements are most insightful when its disclosed that Pan African/Black heritage festival and African cultural market "Instills more pride in city dwellers that we don't get on a daily basis" (Black Detroiter-respondent 35), in their response about the promotion of African presence. The response, "The space is an example of self-determination" (2016) places it among a synthesis of Black pride, Black pride, and Black refuge. The space (Black refuge) within itself is an example of self-determination, and this self-determination is about Black people's positive contributions (Black pride and Black authenticity). Moreover, in this respect Black self-determination could be considered a form of Black transcendence.

Conclusion

Undeniably, the story of Pan African consumption and its axes in Black life through the lens of Black Detroiters reveals the psychological and spiritual damage observing the connections of African Americans to their African heritage. This African American story also reveals persistent problems surrounding image and perception, mis-

education and Negrophobic-based Black shame. For these very reasons, and in the midst of this white supremacy-made-chaos, still present, in many ways the appeal to the Pan African mind and value resonate as a healthy, pro-Black counter-methodology.

The proverb that was echoed by the much celebrated African American historian Dr. John Henrik Clarke (1965-1968), which crystalizes the Black Arts Movement still stands firm to this day, and coordinates much of the tendencies observed by Black Detroiters in this findings chapter, "You must restore that part of yourself which has been negated" (Henrik-Clarke, 1965, 1968).

This quote is imbued with the historical problem of Black dignity, restoring that part, image or history that continues to be negated in the old clothing of inferiority. The Black Detroiter story examined here brings to life many answers to the double-consciousness and confusion of African American heritage and how it possibly begins at a soul quest (Hurston, 1939; Washington, 1999) where the seeker must dare to asks a dual, but connected Black Existentialist question: What is Africa and what is Blackness to me? (Gordon, 2002). For many African descendants in the Americas and the Caribbean, the resuscitation of African memory has been and continues to be connected to Black liberation, Black resistance, Black self love, Black identity, Black health, Black self-determination and Black history wholeness (Buckley, 1997; Jackson, 1987; James, 1963; Osumare, 2009; Stevens, 1995; Temple, 2005; Warren, 1990).

The chapter's use of broadly, defined methods for pan-African scripting provides a basic encounter for understanding this soul quest by way of Black life in Detroit and the case of Detroit's African World Festival. The chapter and its original research may provide a valuable semiotic discourse to build other scholarly production on. The

semiotic discourse derived from the current standard of pan African consumption reinforces the proposition of 'Detroit's Pan African (Black) Metropolis', from which a continued discussion and analysis can be drawn.

While a thick fiber of Pan Africanism and Afrocentric urban lifestyles may be established at this point from this characterization of the Black city, the revelations that emerge from the 'Pan African citizen of Detroit' are still pitted against the George Murchison's of the world, who epitomize an internalized Black self-hatred qualification of celebrating African American heritage. Murchison is a character from Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun* (1961), that symbolizes the problem of Black identities forged by mis-educated Black contempt (Negrophobia), low racial esteem-elitism and Black heritage disconnect and disruption, who could never identify as "African" unlike the proud Afrocentric JoAnn Watsons of the world.

Murchison's character played by Academy Award winner Louis 'Fiddler' Gossett Jr. in the original film adaptation with Sidney Poitier (1961); while Black, is an echo-maker of white scientific racism and white cultural supremacy, the familiar 'white lies' concocted through Anglo philosophies of anthropology.

When he tells Benita in one scene, "Let's face it baby, your heritage ain't nothin' but a bunch of raggedy spirituals and grass huts" (Hansberry, 1961), he is echoing and Black-supporting the white racist sentiments of the 'Hegelian Negro' (1961). In this scope, and contravene to this distorted reductionism, Black Detroiters dislodge and interrogate the ways African heritage-shame has been construed for the minds of African Americans and other Afro-descended ethnicities.

For this reason, the resistance-persistence of the Pan African script as it occupies the values and life orientations of the Black people in Detroit suggests anti-coloniality as adaptive methodology. While Pan African agency underpins many aspects of Black life, it persist foremost as a healing counter-method for the psychological and spiritual damage that has been done to Black Detroiters, and the Black community as a whole in the nation, still caught in the poisonous throes of white supremacy's inculcation of Mis-education, Negrophobia and Black shame.

Chapter 7
Detroit as Pan African Metropolis: An Analysis

Africa's inside me, taking back her child, she's giving me my pride and setting me free. (*Arrested Development*, 2007).

Africa is just in us and there are everyday moments, where it just comes out! It's not something that you can just get rid of (Mama Nandi/Frye, 2018).

Introduction

The Pan African Metropolis (PAM), a phrase that I have coined and introduced in the thesis of this dissertation will be examined in this chapter. The focal point of this next to last chapter develops how the original notion of the PAM contributes to the empirical, historical and philosophical stream of the Black Metropolis (BM) thesis originated by Drake and Cayton (1945), and carried on in the work of Mary Patillo, notably in her discussions centered around "The Future of the Black Metropolis" (2017). Hence, this portion attempts an analysis of the dissertation's overall thesis and supportive field research. The emergence and stability of the PAM in Detroit, reveals that Pan Africanism is not dead, but still sustains a vibrant Black life. The PAM thus comprises an evolution and enhancement of Drake and Cayton's Black Metropolis thesis (1945 and Patillo, 2014).

Revealed in these observations and locations of Detroit's PAM is that African Americans continue to stay in allegiance to the Pan African (PA) idea and Pan African cultural political interaction. I have shown this from the standpoint of the producers and consumers, which I have looked at. In the lexicon of the dissertation, I evaluate and consider the PA cultural producers and consumers to be examples of the Pan African citizen (and cultural sustainer) of the PAM. For this reason, the current Chapter 7 culminates in a way that continues to delineate my academic research focus, which is

about deepening, characterizing and identifying the underlying Black political thought and Black philosophical traits that are embedded in Black cultural phenomena and Black urban life-enclaves.

The chapter is divided into two major, expanding sections. After the *Introduction*, the chapter is divided into sections that provide a deep discussion and analysis on the Black Detroiters who makeup the population of consumers and producers of Pan African culture and agency. Their captured story solidifies the Pan African cultural political economy of Detroit. The Black Detroiters experiences noted in their responses (consumers and producers) constitute a fourth element of original research contribution.

Alongside the original contribution themes of culture, identity and philosophy interrogated here as new topics to the evolution and enhancement of Black Metropolis theory. This section also explores the primary concerns expressed by these Black Detroiters as it relates to the Black Struggle. Additionally, new tropes of the Pan African Metropolis discovered by my research and laid out in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 are discussed as they relate to their synthesized responses. The *Conclusion* reiterates the foregoing implications of Pan African cultural political economy and its attendant adaptive-vitality (agency), which make up the Pan African Metropolis as they review the main thesis of the dissertation's study.

An introspection of these Black Detroit stories examine questions about culture, race, identity, agency and the linkages between Pan Africanism and Black existentialism in Black Detroit. To that extent, some revelations to the dissertation's research questions will be addressed in this chapter. In review, those research questions are: How do these cultural spaces in Detroit actively produce culture through the every day lives of

Detroiters? How have they employed cultural imaginaries of Africa to serve Pan African and Black Nationalist discourses? How do these spaces reveal alternative norms and values about Black culture in Detroit that are not represented in mainstream representations? How do Detroit's cultural spaces offer representative interventions in the ways that Black cities are understood? How do select cultural practices in Detroit relate to wider systems of power, in this case the challenges to self-determination and political freedom attended by Black Cultural Nationalisms and Pan Africanisms?

A major analysis of this dissertation exposes how Detroit's integral Black cultural spaces and their related orientations of Black life inhabit a vibrant legacy of Pan African agency. In this way, Pan Africanism in Detroit is viewed as a Black historical strength, which led to prominent Black (cultural political) development. Pan African agency also provided various positive self-governing alternatives and interventions for Black people pitted in the racial battlefield of the metropolitan color line.

Moreover, it provided a normative way of life in the way its value system and performative expressions organized Black urban life in Detroit. I insist this occurred even when 'the Pan African citizen' did not realize they were embracing and living to some degree 'a Pan African-based life'. These orientations of Black life are referred to as axes of Black life in the BM conceptual lineage (Drake and Cayton, 1945 and Patillo, 2017). The allegiance to Pan Africanism can be observed in new tropes or axes of Black life that locate and facilitate a type of PAM (Pan African Metropolis). These new PAM tropes include an intense mission/commitment to Black cultural enrichment, and a complicated and preoccupied quest for Black pride and Black unity. Added to that is the ongoing Buying Black participation of Black Detroiters who continually seek to community-build,

ritualize, patronize and support the Charles Wright Museum of African American History, the African World Festival, D-Town Farms and Urban Gardens, and Nandi's Knowledge Café and Bookstore. These four cultural spaces provide frequent examples of how culture is actively produced through the everyday lives of Detroiters. Moreover, these four cultural stations, although a small sample in this initial investigation maintain the stability of a cultural institution in the Black life axes of Black Detroiters. Additionally, these four cultural entities are significant in how they continue to employ cultural imaginaries (Nerlich & Morris, 2015) of Africa that facilitate Pan African, Afrocentric and Black Nationalist discourses.

The ways that culture is actively produced by the lives of the Black community in Detroit include African dance, spoken word and other performance, food security, cuisine, African American holistic health, beauty and cosmetic forms, natural hairstyling and African (gele) wrapping/headdress décor, frequent African art and apparel purchasing or consumption, lecture, oration, community discourse, activism training, African centered education and Afrocentric-Black consciousness-enlightenment projects. Under this emphasis, the Black Metropolis thesis must be reconfigured into a new Black urban framework, if an appropriate descriptive sociological and geographical analysis is to be done on Detroit.

From the Black Metropolis to Pan African Metropolis:

The implications of Detroit's vivacious and normative pan African phenomena supports a reconfiguration of the Black Metropolis (BM) as presented in the dissertation's study. As gathering points, Drake and Cayton derived five tropes from their observations as lenses to look at what Black life looks like. They argued these main tropes stood as

chief indicators or major human concerns for understanding Black life. While I was able to extend Drake and Cayton's five tropes to my Pan African Metropolis (PAM) thesis, my research discovered the prospects of a new set of tropes and their overriding major human concern(s) which I highlight can further help us organize and locate Detroit's Pan African Metropolis.

My qualitative research bore out seven Black existential preoccupations or gathering points (tropes) which show up as the most frequent 'axes of Pan African life' in the responses and stories of the Pan African citizen (PA cultural producers and consumers). Some are combined group tropes, such as the second and fourth group of the tropes. They are: (1) Cultural Enrichment, (2) Black Authenticity-Black Pride-Black Unity, (3) African Heritage, (4) Black Love-Black Transcendence, (5) Buying Black, (6) Generational Legacies and (7) The Black Refuge Space (a form of Black spacemaking).

These Black existential themes are what I refer to as the new tropes of the Pan African Metropolis. Attendant to these stories and responses from the Black Detroiter-respondent and Black Detroiter-respondent is the frequent main concern of the Black struggle as they relate to these PAM tropes. Despite gentrification and the fact that a decreasing proportion of Blacks live in Black neighborhoods, the Black Metropolis is still an important analytical category that structures the experiences and outcomes of many African Americans (Patillo, 2016).

In cases from Detroit to Chicago, Memphis, East St. Louis, Cleveland, Ohio, Chatham-Kent Settlements and Nova Scotia, in Ontario, Canada and so many more, the phenomena of Black placemaking (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson, and Taylor, 2016), which is related here as the collective locations/cultural spaces of the PAM, sites the creative,

celebratory, playful, pleasurable, and poetic experiences of being Black and being around other Black people in the city. Black placemaking refers to the ways that urban African Americans create sites of endurance, belonging, and resistance through social interaction. The framework of Black placemaking and the dissertation's final discussion offers a corrective to existing accounts that depict urban Blacks as bounded, plagued by violence, victims and perpetrators, unproductive, and isolated from one another and largely from the pulse of the city (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson, and Taylor, 2016).

My dissertation's existential narrative situates the Pan African Metropolis as a Pan African refuge and an umbrella house of Pan African placemaking within the context of Detroit's historical Black suffering. This mode of Black suffering pinpoints the external dangers and internal conflicts on Black spaces, Black power, Black development and Black humanity, that can make everyday Black life extremely difficult and mentally debilitating. The groundings of the PAM highlights how Black people make African heritage-based places, not in spite of, but as a response to these cruel existential realities (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson, and Taylor, 2016).

Too much of the historical and media-driven narrative as well as the corpus of social science scholarship on places like 'Black Detroit' and Black people in general in the US is slanted as Zora Neale Hurston's critique cautions "instead of focusing" on Black people's "thousand and one interests', research on Black people and Black communities attends more to the literal and metaphorical Klansman who causes weeping and worrying about if children will 'ever get grown' '' (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson, and Taylor, 2016). Hurston in like mind, is echoing Dubois' methodological caution for the African American Studies scholar to not sociologically and pathologically bind Black

290

people as inherently "problem people" (Gordon, 2002), but as people who go through a particular set of problems unlike many other communities imposed upon by the evil and absurdities of white racism.

> When they say: Black Women can't work together… I don't know what that means! My mom and my girls, me and my girls, my daughters and their girls have caused and provided the support mechanisms for us to move forward… I don't know what that means… that does not exist as a concept that just shows up in my head. When they say: Black men ain't duh [shit]! I don't know that! It has not been true for me (Kai, 2017).

In concert with other scholars, who do not privilege what I refer to as a Black deficit/pathological and Negrophobic lens, this dissertation study's small work hopes to balance the scale (Boyle, 2013, Hunter, Patillo, Robinson, and Taylor, 2016). Marcus Garvey alludes to the refuge of the PAM as "a place in the sun" (1920), during his famous UNIA speech in Harlem at Liberty Hall, where the 1920 Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World, the 'Black Bill of Rights' was inaugurated (Garvey, 1999). Sociologist Thomas Gieryn writes about this Black refuge and Black placemaking landscape, when he asserts, "a spot in the universe becomes a place only when it ensconces history or utopia, danger or security, identity or memory" (Gieryn, 2000: 465).

In this manner, the culmination of the dissertation reveals how Black Detroiters have used the sociality and meaning of culture, identity and philosophy to transform spaces into 'their restorative African heritage homes', when they create stations of psychological rejuvenation, however ephemeral or lasting they may be. For Black Detroiters, Pan Africanism and cultural nationalism functioned in many roles, one significant role is that it fulfilled a psychological and spiritual need for Black Detroiters. This psychological and spiritual aspect of Pan African cultural nationalism may often get

underserved attention and disconnected from its 'strict' political facet. In this sense, PA/BCN created urban spaces of Black refuge, 'Black safe spaces', and a place of needed belonging and respite for Black people from white racial abuse and Black racial trauma (Vaughn, 1997, AWF, 2016, Kai, 2017 and Frye, 2017, Mays, Cochran and Barnes, 2007, Schreibner, 2010, Hardy, 2013 and APA, 2018).

Thus, the characteristic pulse of Detroit's Pan African cultural nationalism, in its metaphysical and physical productions, fostered the healing power of an Afrocentric or Afro-friendly 'home' for African Americans (Kai and Frye, 2017, Ramirez, 2015, Castor, 2014, Schreibner, 2010 and Temple, 2005). Wherever that negotiation of Black psychological, sociological and spiritual refuge occurred, the Pan African Metropolis was usually grounded or located. The centrality of Garvey's Black autonomy quest invoked in the need for a Black/African/Pan African/Afrocentric 'place in the sun' underscores how the PAM is a collective of Black placemaking in Detroit and other national Black city sites of the BM. The notion of Black placemaking is manifested in the dissertation's kindred grammar as places of Black refuge from the danger of the anti-Black external forces as in "lethal policing and destructive urban planning" (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson, and Taylor, 2016).

The external and internal conflict that informs and guides Black politics has created the need for Black Nationalism in the Black community (Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017). Within this political sphere and its related perception, exist the notion that the internal problems of the Black community override the external Black political conflicts of the Black community. This is especially vindicated as the 'myth of Black-on-Black crime', which resides in the same family of the mythic notion that Black people

won't come together for their own independent development. Both of these images constitute the 'stock-normative references', which are alleged through the accommodation of the white gaze captivity of the Black image. These alleged Black epidemics falsely accused Black people of always 'doing bad' in the catch up game, no matter what. These patterns of "racism by the numbers" (Washington, 2008) have been part of the white social control-rhetoric every since Black people left bondage in mass numbers (Muhammad, 2012).

The Black existential or Africana philosophical traits that emerge in Detroit's Black urban life necessitate the long Black intellectual critique of white logic and white consolation. Hence, in the previous references to the narrow-mindedness of Detroit's crises as only a self-driven Black destructive thing, white rationality is thus consoled that white racism and white supremacy is not a greater threat to Black people.

In the fight for control of Detroit's political economy, the squandered, corruption-filled opportunity and fall of Kwame Kilpatrick represent the Black faced-poster boy for this perspective, that Black autonomy is unavoidably pathologically or doomed for failure. This flawed optic feeds its kindred poisoned-perspective, that: Black people are exceptionally more than any other group of people, a greater threat to themselves. In this white logic (which is accommodated by several Black people) Black autonomy, not the socio-existential absurdities of white racism is made to be the downfall or enemy of Black people.

Instead of taking that popular access culture-methodology, the dissertation highlights the school of Black adaptability skill paradigm (Karenga, 2014), which emphasizes in this trajectory how Black people have made dynamic cultural enrichment

places in response to dangerous anti-Black realities (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson, and Taylor, 2016). The tone of this critical elaboration suggests this is Black strength, Black resilience, Black positive contribution, Black tenacity, Black resourcefulness and development, against uncommon community antagonism. Moreover, these levels of Black adaptability strength are normative and not exceptional to the Black community.

Black placemaking refers to the ways that urban African Americans create sites of endurance, belonging, and resistance. The connection to the current historical moment, contends that "one of the reasons that activists have had to insist on what is an otherwise obvious assertion – that 'Black Lives Matter' – is because the social science scholarship on Black urban communities (not to mention mass media portrayals) so rarely captures the life that happens within them" (Hunter, Patillo, Robinson, and Taylor, 2016), and thus the authenticity of Black people's humanity. This is why sociological and geographical scholarship, Black urban studies and spatial science from a Black radical standpoint (Afrocentric unfolding) regarding Black urban life and the Black Metropolis continue to be so relevant, important and necessary.

The accumulated power of Black cultural development and what it means for Black health, Black liberation, Black identity and Black suffering is linked to the Black control of Detroit, which after 1967 and surfaced during the 1970s, in the period of Detroit's Black Power mayor, Coleman Young.

The Black Metropolis, It's Meaning and Scale

The BM is a sweeping historical and sociological model first started with the people of Chicago's South Side from the 1840s through the 1930s. The findings of the BM account offer a comprehensive analysis of Black migration, settlement, community

structure, and Black-white race relations in the first half of the twentieth century. It offers a panoramic and dynamic world filled with captivating people and startling revelations.

Mary Pattillo in a new foreword places the study in modern context, updating the story with the current state of Black communities in Chicago and the larger United States and exploring what this means for the future. As the country continues to struggle with race and the mistreatment of Black lives, *Black Metropolis* continues to be a powerful contribution to the conversation. Patillo reminds us that the Black Belt or Black Ghetto is not synonymous with the Black Metropolis. The Black Metropolis is what Black people create out of the Black ghetto. For Black Detroit, the Black Metropolis is what Black people created out of Black Bottom (Patillo, 2017).

The original BM text on Bronzeville, Chicago began with an introduction by novelist Richard Wright in which he relates some of the research to the themes of his work, particularly the novel, *Native Son.* Wright sets the tone by discussing that America's great problem is in its split consciousness. Wright contends that beyond the crisis of racial discord, there exists a meaning in 'Negro life' that whites do not see and do not want to see (1945). It is this meaning of Black life that deserves attention in its own right, based on its own Black merits and Black self-validation that unites other sister and brother cities in America's Black Metropolises/Black geographies. BM according to Wright was written so that Black people could correctly understand the meaning of their own agency, actions, legacies, Black life and history. Wright insists that BM is a document of the agony of Black people in a white world (Hughes, 1962).

Wright asks an important question that continues to help us frame the future of the BM. If the racial scene depicted here is true, if the points of view presented here are

295

valid, if the meanings here deduced are real, then, why have we not been told this before? To this he answers, "the white problem" (Greener, 1894) has been diluted by various white and Black groups, interracial ones, the political left and right, that include trade unions, commissions, leagues, organizations, councils, committees, etc. In comparison, no such dilution occurs in the political houses of PAM. It is also this agony that the PAM has sought to eliminate and alleviate.

The first section of Drake and Cayton's book on the BM sketches the history of African-Americans in Chicago, up to the early years of the Great Migration, when millions of African-Americans left the Southern United States for Northern cities. The text continues with explorations of the forces, which created the separate Black Metropolis, and how the community related to the wider city. The authors identify five overwhelming human concerns (Pattillo, 2016) of the entire community: "staying alive, having a good time, praising God, getting ahead, and advancing the race" (Drake and Cayton, 1945 and Patillo, 2017) These are the tropes of the Black Metropolis. Many of the institutions and processes described in the Black Metropolis can be found in various city, suburban, Black settlement and rural places throughout the country and the Black world (Hughes, 1962).

In 1945 social scientist St. Clair Drake and his research associate, Horace R. Cayton, published the two-volume *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City,* which attempted to provide the empirical foundation for the notion of a "Black Metropolis". The term, as used by the public as well as by social scientists and urban sociologists, referred to a large and diverse African-American social enclaves composed principally of professionals, small business owners, and a large working class of both

unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. These enclaves emerged during the interwar years in large urban industrial areas in Mid-western cities such as Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Milwaukee. The south side of Chicago, the site of Drake and Cayton's study, contained an elaborate institutional structure that replicated those of native-born whites, as well as those of recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, who occupied distinct ethnic enclaves in the city.

Black Metropolises are the direct product not only of residential segregation and other blatant forms of discrimination, but also of the hard work, creative production, autonomy, development, and ingenuity and political economy of their Black inhabitants. African Americans' overall prosperity during the 1920s was possible primarily because of the dire need for their labor as unskilled workers in Midwestern factories. With the onset of the Great Depression at the end of the 1920s, the Black Metropolis was transformed. In Detroit and Chicago, for example, many working-class African Americans were discharged from unskilled jobs in factories in which many of them had been gainfully employed since World War I. Many African-American domestics also were fired, and Black banks in Chicago's south-side ghetto and Detroit's Black Bottom were closed.

The Pan African Metropolis

From the moment, Detroiter, Rev. A. D. Williams came back from that pivotal Harlem UNIA convention in 1920, he as a principal actor among others set into motion the foundation of Detroit's long attachment to Pan Africanism. It was at that decisive meeting, where Williams would hear Garvey asserts, "All that we have, as a race, desired is a place in the sun" (1920); where the Black Bill of Rights and the Pan African colors,

297

red, Black and green, were both inaugurated. This crucial experience like a raining epiphany led Williams several days later to walk the streets of Detroit, playing the tambourine and waving a red, Black and green flag. He would eventually set up the first Detroit Chapter of the UNIA. Predominantly, much of Black Detroit's organizational, spiritual (such as The Shrine of the Black Madonna/Pan African Orthodox Church), lifestyle, economic and socio-political culture has been filled with a grand infusion of performativity and value system-related Pan African thought.

This way of life is how and where the Pan African Metropolis emerged. The Pan African Metropolis is a type of Black Metropolis, which further develops the expansiveness of the original Drake and Cayton model. The Pan African Metropolis is distinguished by its groundings in the visibly apparent Pan African performative expression and value system orientation, which occupies the lifestyles, philosophies, African heritage celebration, Black placemaking and Black refuge quest (psychological/spiritual/cultural/historical restorative and relief projects) of Black enclaves, that have been developed in the legacies of Pan African cultural phenomena (agency) and Black creative production (Karenga, 2014 and 2003).

The Black philosophy of self-reliance and self-determination has long been referred to in Detroit's Pan African value system by different linguistic idioms, such as "by our own strength, or doing for self, or finding our own way" from the 1920s onward (Jolly, 2012). In my days with the Black Student Union and the unified Black student population at Wayne State University, this philosophy of 'by own strength' would continue in a modified young Black Nationalist expression that would mark and encourage our Black academic excellence principle. We would greet and depart each

other's company with the words "on the strength" (1991 - 2000). This linguistic pattern could be translated as: 'On the strength of our people we will succeed', because we have the same strength to endure and achieve like they did. These philosophical precepts expressed in our sayings were grounded and influenced by the Pan African value system, which was not disconnected from us at all.

Mass members of these same (Pan African) Black Student Union factions would eventually stage a mass sit-in that led to the Department (status) of Africana Studies at Wayne State University. This long history of Black self-determination is made invisible in Detroit, as if Black people in Detroit have always and only existed in a state of static dystopian, unproductive social decay and crime. This is the narrative and image that is frequently attributed to Detroit and other Black urban settings by so many common perspectives, even those of co-signing Blacks. Hence, for those who live outside Detroit, many are coerced to sarcastically lament for any project or visitation that is attached to Detroit.

Unlike Drake and Cayton's initial understanding the Black Metropolis (BM) is not limited to Bronzeville (South Side), Chicago, and neither is the Pan African Metropolis (PAM) limited to Detroit, Michigan. Both models are expansive, not regionally narrow, or reductive in analysis and manifestation. In concert with the BM, the PAM reveals a new set of tropes through my original qualitative research that help organize and place its occurrences; these PAM tropes signify forms of Pan African scripts (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009), which leads to locating the PAM. These PAM tropes, and their indicators as Pan African scripts respond credibly to the overarching research questions that frame the dissertation study. Pan African scripts can be literary, lifestyle,

linguistic and semiotic indicators, that reveal the presence and aesthetic norms of Pan Africanization or Pan African (PA) attributes. From these PA indicators, an extraction of philosophical, cultural, sociological, linguistic and semiotic discourses can be put forth, which help examine, comprehend and situate the ideas that emanate from the producers and consumers story.

The excavation of Pan African scripts provide a deeply applicable and conclusive method for revealing prospects and conclusions, which can verify select African Diaspora-cultural manifestations in Black Detroit. The cultural stability of these manifestations through the common stories of the producers and consumers can further, reflect indicators and verification of the vibrancy and economy associated with Detroit's Pan-African cultural politics.

The Pan African Agent and Countering the Black Struggle

The national struggle that represents Black political culture has been characterized by "the attempt of Blacks to counter various forms of racism that have impeded their efforts to achieve equality with whites in every category of life, in every section of the country" (Walters, 2009, 47). Black people traditionally have used "a politics of conflict to improve their status" (47). This politics of conflict-tradition has "produced a legacy of citizenship rights and principles that have enriched the practice of democracy for all people in American society" (47). The conflict system is due to the racial contract in the world (Mills, 1997), and it assumes that Black political behavior, Black political socialization and Black political culture "is based on a model of conflict that constitutes a historical dialectic of efforts by whites to limit the opportunities of Blacks and control their social function, inviting challenges by Blacks to expand the freedoms they might

enjoy" (2009, 47). For this matter, Black politics is essentially typified by the historical and continuous power struggle between Blacks and whites (Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017).

Hence, the Black struggle of empowerment has occurred in opposition against the exercising of "white sovereignal freedom" (Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017), this struggle has occurred in the context of "ceaseless" dual conflict (Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017). One level of conflict occurs internally within the politics of the Black world. Another level of conflict, which predominates, occurs within the African American offensive against white racial hegemony. Political system is defined here as the way in which authority is exercised by the state and responded to by society, or in this case, the Black community (Walters, 2009).

Additionally, Black politics and Black political culture can be explained by a set of behaviors and norms that has been developed by the Black community, Black intellectual history, Black activism/direct action, Black nationalism, Black culture and Black leaders "to fight against racial oppression" (Walters, 2009, 45). The main concern that contextualized the producer and consumer's story was combating "the Black Struggle" (Kai, Yakini, Frye, 2017 and DeBardelaben, 2017 and Black Detroiter-respondents, 2017). The Detroit Black Struggle per the producer and consumer is defined on a number of interconnected fronts.

The codified language voiced by some of the consumers situates several troubling, yet 'mal-normative' paradigms and lenses in the theorization of Blackness, i.e., the Black image, Black identity or Black racial esteem, intraracially among the perspectives of Black people themselves. The language of several consumers reveals a

conventional preponderance towards Black cultural deficit theory and a gaze frequently hampered by internalized Negrophobia and Black intraracial exceptionalism. The fulcrum of the discussion argues that this is a white (racially bias) gaze-driven narrative and a white (supremacy)-manufactured Black crises-indoctrination tactic, which supports several lethal outcomes, namely, the heavy targeting of Black people as criminals, troublemakers, free riders (non-contributors) and many subsequent killings of unarmed Black males/Black females by white-law enforcement.

The negative-image construction as seen in the split image/split narrative war (Dates & Barlow, 1995) regarding Blackness constitutes a contentious discourse in cultural politics that consolidates in part the struggle around Black authenticity. The primary theme of Black authenticity comprises one of the significant new tropes in the PAM. It usually occurs as a combination trope of *Black Authenticity-Black Pride-Black Unity*. The Black liberation quest for Black authenticity and Black autonomy further encompasses the context of the Black struggle.

Black authenticity and its quest is hampered, informed by and overwhelmed by the myth of Black people as inherently violent or criminal, and thus deserving of any cruel and unusual punishment/extralegal violence advanced unto them. The dissertation maintains this is a Negrophobic-Black image and moral construction and works hand in hand with 'white logic' (Fanon, 1957/1961 and Gordon, 2004) and white consolation (Schwartz & Disch, 1970) in its complicity to conserve policy that subjects Black bodies, Black culture and Black minds to nonstop dreadful dehumanization and terrorism.

The connective story of the producer and consumer highlight the relationship between Black Struggle and Black people's own critical standpoint surrounding their

versions of "who they are". This counter-critical, defiant, and self-validating voice is a critique of the white logic of white racism in the Africana philosopher (Greener, 1894) and Fanonian existential tradition (Fanon, 1957/1961 and Gordon, 2004). Hence, a Black critical standpoint is crucial to questing Black authenticity, where Black people tell their own stories and reflect a corrective existential-truth according to the life they experience differently than whites. Particularly in the Black universe, where Black people have made partial 'places in the sun' that see more keenly and clearly than whites, from behind what DuBois called The Veil, a metaphorical partition of the color line and with the "gift of second sight" (1903), the ability to see the contradictions and injustices of the white racist systems, which many whites become blind to in their complicity and denial of white privilege and anti-Black discrimination (1903).

Hence, the intraracial problem which accommodates this white logic and further advances white absurdities on 'who Black people are authentically', according to the producer and consumer has to do with the problem of Black mental slavery (Akbar, 1999). For example, Pan African consumer21 intimates that the Black festival and Black cultural enrichment, "Reminds Blacks of their strengths" (2016). He/she is responding to the question: How does this cultural space relate to the challenges or prospects of Black self-determination and political freedom? The fact that Black people have to remind themselves of "their strengths" (2016) according to Black Detroiter-respondent21 draws several conclusions. It points to the previously discussed problem of historical memory as it's connected to the problem of perception as a national and local American crisis, and how it is, due to the power struggle between the Black gaze and white gaze (Karenga, 2005 and Ball, 1999).

303

Black Detroiter-respondent21 points to the problem of historical forgetting as an issue in crafting the re-memory of Detroit by white imposition versus Black intervention. The plight of this conflict system for Black people involves the quest for discovering what is 'real' about them, and not exceptionally fabricated from the negative distortions of the captive white mind. This once more requires the journey into the source aesthetics, the African root of Blackness, and not away from it, which Zora Neale Hurston takes her character Janie on in *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) in the Black Everglades (Washington, 1999).

Hurston's linguistic assessment of African American vernacular celebrates that 'African root'. Her novel invested Janie's odyssey of Black self-enlightenment dependent on an acceptance of Black folk traditions, and thus, an acceptance of her African rooted-Blackness or heritage. "Here, finally, was a [Black] woman on a quest for her own identity, and unlike so many other questing figures in Black literature, her journey would take her, not away from, but deeper and deeper into Blackness, the descent into the Everglades with its rich Black soil, wild cane and communal life representing immersion into Black traditions" (Washington, 1999, x). Hurston's unique contribution affirms Black cultural traditions while revising it to empower Black women (Washington, 1999). Janie's journey helps to understand the inner territory and project that marks the quest for Black authenticity as an empowering intervention for Black people.

Hence, the immersion into Black cultural traditions, Black history or (Afrocentric) Blackness, not away from it, is the site of growth and strength for Black people. This immersion helps to remind Black people of the 'good' people, they really are. This is what the quest for Black authenticity is all about. Once Black people have been reminded

of 'who they really are' by a knowledge of their whole Black history (Karenga 2014 and Thiong'o, 2009), which reflects an educational problem (mis-education) as well as a psychological problem (Black self-hatred and Black alien self-disorder/Black shame) then Black pride (Black inner peace) accompanies Black authenticity (Akbar, 1999).

Black Detroiter-respondent21's notions fit into the thematic patterns of Black Authenticity/Black Unity/Black Pride for the most part. One particular question that goes to the heart of understanding the Black struggle and the related main concerns of Black Detroiter-respondents, is: How does this cultural space offer interventions against the ways negative assumptions are made about Black cities? This question is extremely important in addressing the Black Metropolis of today. Intervention as a directional term is key to confirm important insights about Black cultural institutions and Black cities, which could tell us a lot about four major assessments, (1) Black cultural institutions as interventions, (2) what are they intervening against in the sight of Black people, (3) what kinds of things qualify as a Black intervention and (4) what kind of assumptions are made that continue to be harmful and inaccurate about Black cities.

To this question, Black Detroiter-respondent1 offers that, "The conversations you can have with each other because of the closeness of the space" (2016). Her/his response suggests the importance of Black intraracial and proactive dialogue as intervention. The Black Detroiter-respondent in this example is reflecting the functionality and operationalization of Black placemaking. This Black-Pan African cultural space provides a non-hostile, Black-friendly environment to have conversations, which reflect Black cultural-political thought, Black Nationalism and Pan African thought, the cultural space even promotes them. Black Detroiter-respondent2 suggests the nurturing of "unity"

305

(2016) as a significant intervention in, "By displaying unity to all who enters the space – especially all Black people and all Black culture" (Black Detroiter-respondent2, 2016). Unity is the keyword here for the Black Unity-trope. Black Detroiter-respondent3 asserts, "by spreading knowledge" (2016). The phrase "spreading of knowledge" (2016) is an educational pursuit, and thus qualifies as a needed intervention for the Black community and other non-Black communities about Black history. This text content alludes to education. This educational process is certainly about fixing and countering the 'mis-education problem' (Woodson, 1933, Adams, 2003 and LeMelle, 2003) that centralizes the occupational mission of African American Studies/Africology.

Black Detroiter-respondent4's "It provides a very positive outlook for people to explore" (2016) alludes to a pattern of Black image reconstruction and thus reflects the group trope of Black Authenticity/Black Unity/Black Pride. Black Detroiter-respondent4 reveals the intervention as an apparatus that creates a positive Black outlook (view, perspective, image). The location of 'outlook' as a problem is laden with tensions of Black deficit theorization for several Black intraracial gazes. In considering the totality of observational methods used in the dissertation's study, I found that many Black people start from a negative outlook and deficit lens-approach, when talking about Black people's progress, development, and willingness to cooperate and build.

Black Detroiter-respondent5 suggests the intervention lies within the respect and recognition of Black beauty and Black dignity in, "It is showcasing beauty and culture" (2016). The showcasing of Black beauty/Black dignity falls within the trope of Black authenticity/Black unity/Black pride. Black Detroiter-respondent6 feels intervention against negative assumptions about Black cities happens, "By having an open celebration

of our heritage and culture, it gives a sense of pride of who we are" (2016). Upon the second part of the statement, the intervention also lies in Black Pride (BP) and Black Authenticity (BA). Black Detroiter-respondent6 brings BP plus BA together again in: "gives us a sense of pride [Black pride]" (2016). The vital PAM trope of African heritage is revealed in: " celebration of our heritage and culture" (Black Detroiter-respondent6, 2016). The Black Detroiter-respondent sees the cultural space itself as an intervention which, "promotes positive energy" (Black Detroiter-respondent7, 2016), implying a reference that can be situated within the thematic discourse of the Black refuge place.

The intervention dynamic expressed by Black Detroiter-respondent10 has a synthesis of the refuge place and Black authenticity, for its centering point around the image-construction of Black people or Black people, one can see this in, "The space reminds Black people and others of how civil Black people are" (Black Detroiter-respondent10, 2016). Again what is observed here is this permeating notion, defining the Black struggle as the need to repair the depiction/perception of Black pathology associated with Black people conceived around a lack of civility. What can't be ignored here is how this sounds so much like the civilizing mission in colonial grammar, coming from Black people advanced onto 'otherized Blacks'.

This Black urban discourse tension undergirds Black Detroiter-respondent15's response. Yet, it is nuanced around Black ghetto ruin operating in his/her contention, that the intervention lies once more in the power and problem of correcting tragic racialized perceptions, gazes and narratives about Black life, such as in "Somewhat showcases a neighborhood in good condition as culturally sound" (Black Detroiter-respondent15, 2016). "In good condition as culturally sound" (Black Detroiter-respondent15, 2016) is

another codified assortment of keywords and phrasing that thinks of Black culture/Black life/Black neighborhoods as "culturally unsound" (Black Detroiter-respondent15, 2016) and distinctively loaded with 'bad things'. This type of thinking is referred to as Black cultural crisis/Black cultural deficit thesis (Rose, 2008) around Black life. The other perceived norm is one that centers on tensions of myth and reality, that good conditioned and culturally sound Black neighborhoods are rare.

A similar engagement is focused on in Black Detroiter-respondent16's regard of intervention in "Because its so harmonious and pleasant" (Black Detroiter-respondent16, 2016). Black Detroiter-respondent10 - Black Detroiter-respondent16 all encompass ideas around the image and depiction of Black people in urban iconography as mostly violent neighborhood antagonist to each other (Massood, 2003). In this they address a major part of the Black struggle as it regards the plight of humanizing Black humanity (Gordon, 1999 and 2000).

In this way these Black Detroiter-respondents responses comprise a complicated story, which situates Black authenticity/Black unity/Black pride at the foreground of many of their contentions. The case of Black Detroiter-respondent11's, "This event is peaceful, shows diversity of Blackness, economics, culture building" (2016), presents another overlap with Black refuge place, from the keyword "peaceful" (Black Detroiter-respondent11, 2016) and 'Buy Black', another PAM trope from the keyword "economics" (Black Detroiter-respondent11, 2016), and cultural enrichment, the primary and most frequently expressed PAM trope from the keywords "cultural building" (Black Detroiter-respondent11, 2016). Black Detroiter-respondent13's similar use of the keyword "peaceful" (2016), regarding the behavior of others on Black people has been

conventionalized here, as a synthesis, drawing on the refuge place from the 'outside' element of state-sanctioned violence unto Black people and the behavior of Black people to one another. The notion of safe-for-Black people is particularized by the addition of the keywords "civil manner" (2016) in Black Detroiter-respondent13's response, which translates as moral and lawful behavior, thus relatable to the Black authenticity/Black pride/Black unity grouped trope. Black Detroiter-respondent13's content continues to attest to how Black people may see themselves racial exceptionally and how they see the weight of this 'uncivil manner' myth or reality, as distinctive to Black struggle.

Similarly, Black Detroiter-respondent16, embeds the Black refuge place (Black placemaking) and Black behavior, again from the Black authenticity/Black pride/Black unity grouped trope, in "Because its so harmonious and pleasant" (Black Detroiter-respondent16, 2016). Black Detroiter-respondent18's intervention-assessment is configured "by providing physical activities" (2016), while Black Detroiter-respondent19's complexities intervention between passive and deliberate, in "I would consider intervention a more aggressive and deliberate thing. I would consider this 'passive' (though still powerful) place and living" (Black Detroiter-respondent19, 2016). Both Black Detroiter-respondents seem to allude to the Black refuge place trope and the positive notion of Black placemaking.

The many dynamics and tensions of the internal Black political context, illuminates more effectively, the Black Detroiter-respondent's response "it helps promote conscious thought" (Black Detroiter-respondent26, 2016), referring to how the AWF as a Black cultural space employs cultural imaginaries that serve Pan African/Nationalist thought. The Black Detroiter-respondent's response was taken to be operating from an

understanding of two overlapping PAM trope groups, Black Unity/Black Pride and Black Love, which is connected to Black Transcendence. Black Pride emerges as an identifier for the value Black people place on themselves and as a response to the way Black people are devalued in the lens of Negrophobia, cultural deficit and Black scapegoating. The denial of Black people's value and contribution as a main concern is made vividly clear in assertions such as, "The events show that we as African Americans are still important" (Black Detroiter-respondent17, 2016), and regarding the African presence inquiry, "by promoting visual and physical functions tangible to cultural pride" (Black Detroiter-respondent18, 2016). This sense of cultural pride is synonymous with Black Pride and finding renewed value and the quest for (self-conscious) identity (health) in one's submersion in Afrocentric Blackness, not away from it (Washington, 1990).

Pan African scripts are also conveyed by the cross-pollination of several PAM tropes such as in the synthesis of Black Unity, Black Love and Black Pride, and African heritage, which can be seen in ways where the Black Detroiter-respondent felt closer and linked to other Black people and felt closer to Africa, expressed in statements like Black Detroiter-respondent15's answer to: "Yes, I feel closer to the people" (2016). 'The people' in this instance refers to the global diaspora-majority of Black people. One outstanding combination where the categorical paradigm of "Black Love" is felt and embodied in African cultural heritage is by Black Detroiter-respondent17's statement, "Events that involve African culture makes you feel the presence of Black Love. These events help shape the lives of the future, the children" (Black Detroiter-respondent17: 2016).

At the same time, Black Detroiter-respondent17 is imparting a positive generational legacy expressed by the keywords "future" and "children" (Black Detroiter-respondent17, 2016). Generational legacy is another important trope that helps locate the PAM emergence. This Black Detroiter-respondent puts together a mini-story which touches at least four of the PAM tropes, Cultural Enrichment, African Heritage, the key word frequency of 'culture' identifying a cultural enrichment experience and an immersion in African heritage. Black Love and Black Transcendence, co-joined is signified by the exact phrase "Black Love", and Generational Legacies is specifically expressed by the main concern of 'shaping' the lives of "the future; the children" (Black Detroiter-respondent17, 2016). The 'generational legacies' theme stresses the importance of Black intergenerational learning and connectivity.

The politicization of Negrophobia and its attendant narratives continue to determine how the white racially bias gaze-external narrating facilitates an internally, accepted or shaped narrative of Black-racial exceptionalism upon the Black community, which is narrowly pathological. As if no ethnic group has their share of pathologies, especially if we consider the long, continued realities of white terrorism imposed upon the lives of Black people. What purge of truth speaking from the Black activist-intellectual is required to bear on whites' behavior in this pathology of white privilege-history constantly repeating itself? No doubt, racial exceptionalism in this exposure is a very limited way of seeing Black people's worth and capacity as non-standard human beings collectively, whereby several problematic conjectures reiterate the myth that Black people are "unavoidably" and thus normatively inferior (Gordon, 2009).

Two months before the presidential campaign of Barack Obama ended, a survey found that one quarter of whites maintained negative views of Blacks that were laced with the usual suspects of stereotypes. The top three white gaze-impulses about Blacks according to white respondents were that: (a) they were terrified of Black crime, (b) Blacks use race as a crutch, and (c) Blacks are not as industrious as whites (another code phrasing for Blacks thought of as normally lazy). Yet, nearly a quarter of them claimed they'd vote for Obama. From the instant Obama declared his candidacy, the overwhelming majority of whites, approximately in every poll taken were obstinate that race had absolutely nothing to do with their decision to vote for him or not (Hutchinson, 2011 and Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017).

In this insidious Black inferiority conjecture, Black people are 'normally' lazy, unlawful, and 'morally degenerate' and use racism as an excuse to not succeed. Conversely, whenever Black people are good, great, responsible, lawful and successful American contributors, this is alleged as not the Black norm, but exceptional for Black people's abilities, progress and social navigation and adaptive skills. More recently, we find straight Black men being isolated in the mainstream of humanity (Young, 2017) with this Black inferiority conjecture, coded as fundamentally dangerous, uncivil, unproductive, non-contributing and incompatible to progressive life, community, with progressive Black women and in family development/responsibility (Curry, 2017 and Young, 2017).

An example of this problematic can be found in a recent article, "Black Straight Men are the White Men of Black People" (Young, 2017). These harmful theorizations of Black masculinity are typified by the internalization in Black people of white negative

norms about Black people. Their lethal discourse exonerates consequences of white macroagression, where Black men and Black women are constantly misrecognized as 'fundamentally damaged goods' with an inherent incompatibility to civil life, that is without parallel to any other ethnic group or race of men and women. This kind of unscholarly writing, which, Young's article carries on, assumes that the Black community and Black men are just one dystopian mess, who just need to do better. It embodies the swamp element-appeal of social media, where you can find a post daily proclaiming that Black men, or Black women 'are the only race/gender of people' who are alleged as doing something bad, like nobody else does 'bad'.

These conjectures are made without being based on any kind of sensible and critically empirical study. It is not even journalism (Songhai, 2018). These types of articles on Black people are usually based out of painful thick air that exists in the internal Black struggle. Of course there can never be a study of legitimate support that could prove this 'exceptionally bad' behavior only in Black people or Black men, anyway. This is what the discussion means by the use of racial exceptionalism as a preponderant way of seeing Black people, both by the white community and by several Blacks themselves.

Young's article exposes for us, something very compelling about the internal nature or intraracial element of the Black political struggle and its distorting effects in living through the psychosocial intensity of the Black struggle. Observed here is how troubling mal-nourished theories on Blackness continue to be constructed in pop-pseudo intellectual appeal. Young's irresponsible handling of intersectionality and gender reveals how it can be used misguidedly as a weapon that condemns Black-straight masculinity as

fundamentally toxic, dangerous and incompatible to the lives of Black women and Black children (Curry, 2017). In this instance, by accommodating Black cultural deficit theory, intersectionality and gender lens is misapplied and misguided as a divisive Negrophobic formula that continues to falsify and make crisis-level much of the historical norms between Black men and Black women. Without an Afrocentric methodology as its anchor and compass, Young's discourse amounts to an "oppression witch-hunt" (Good, 2017).

Cultural deficit determinists have been using this divisive 'Black-on-Black blame game' since post emancipation (Kennedy, 1998 and Muhammad, 2012) whereas they contend that the disparities we see in the Black community are due primarily to Black people's own-collective dysfunctionality (Boyle, 2013). It does not account for and thus, absolves white responsibility (Boyle, 2013), white/anti-Black racism, paradigmatic anti-Black sentiment, and the presence of their combined structural obstacles in systemic manifestations (Darity, Jr., 2009, 1).

These ideas about Black men exist within the continuity of Woodson's "Miseducation dilemma" (1933/1999), where the "seat of the trouble" (1), lies among a number of Blacks, who have been 'academically trained' and negotiated to comply with 'educated contempt' towards Black people, and thus think more highly of themselves than they think of other Black people. This is what it means to have low racial esteem (Walker, 2017). The 'seat of the trouble' as Woodson sees it, is thus a problem of study and orientation based in paradigmatic anti-Black sentiment and how it is embraced by both white discourse and Black pop-scholars fronting for this white apparatus. Likewise, DuBois would refer to this as the problem of studying Black people as inherently "problem-people" (Gordon, 1997). In Young's reading, Black straight men are 'shaded'

once more in ways that naturalize contempt for them, and continues to seal a 'foreign-to the Black community cohesiveness-agenda', the belief that Black men are a more supreme enemy of Black women, more than the shared antagonisms of anti-Black racism.

Articles like these may provide provocative appeal to the pain many Black women face, but the price of the ticket is too expensively damaging. Rather than gain a valid understanding of these struggles, they continue to feed the way some Black people are lured to distort the Black condition, and exploit the responsive dynamics between Black men and Black women. For what these perspectives do is distort white supremacy and white maleness as a safety zone, much safer than the average Black man. Woodson (1933) told us more than 80 years ago, that, to espouse in any form, regarding the Black man, "that his face is a curse" (1933, 3) is where lynching begins, "there would be no lynching if it did not start" here in these spaces of indoctrinated, condemned Blackness (1933, 3 and Muhammad, 2012).

What are the implications of this lethal thinking? We know this by its death-dealing scourge on the lives of Black males as young as Tamir Rice. A main component of the Black political conflict system is thus contextualized by Young's article; it exposes the implications of deep driven divisions in the Black community as real tensions that characterize the internal Black struggle, and its problematic impact of viewing and cohering Black unity and Black identity. These theorizations of Blackness are harmful by the way they disrupt the capacity of Black bonding and Black love. Young's article in counterpoint reflection may allow us to understand the imperative of Black unity, Black transcendence and Black Love in African American life in its revolutionary ramifications,

brought out in the utility of the PAM. It is under this vigorous light, the current research and its notion of the PAM should be understood in part.

For this reason, the counter-narrative of a Black existential (Black philosophy tradition) standpoint in which the dissertation is informed by, allow us to bring more philosophical justice and Black authenticity to shatter the Black crime fixation-Black social decay-lenses that has overshadowed the current understanding of the power of the Black presence in Detroit (Walton, et. al, 2017). Many of the Black Detroiter-respondents have revealed and verified in part, that by a kind of restoration process through African heritage, cultural enrichment and Black consciousness identity constructions, African Americans continue to be very active and influential in not just shaping their future, but the fabric of American political cultures, national heritage and the democratic integrity of universal freedom (Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017, Ellison, 1986, Henri, 1976 and AWF, 2016).

Black City Tropes in the Pan African Metropolis

The life of Albert Cleage and JoAnn Watson and the cultural stability of the Shrine of the Black Madonna, later called the Pan African Orthodox Church exemplify the quintessential Pan African citizen in the PAM, and how Drake and Cayton's original tropes of the BM can be found, or extended to the PAM. Cleage (or Jaramogi Abeyman), Watson and the SBM/PAOC represents the BM trope of "serving God" (Drake and Cayton, 1945 and Patillo, 2015) through a Pan African functionality and Black life axes. Moreover, the Pan African relationship to serving God in Detroit is quite abundant and versatile (Kai, 2017). From the perspectives of the Pan African producer, the impact of the BM trope of serving God, within the PAM can be felt via the

Rastafarian tradition in Detroit (Kai, Yakini and Frye, 2017). The super influence of Bob Marley in how worldwide his concepts and beliefs spread, and the way he was able to influence all kinds of people to consider his ideas, both on God and how Black people should love and treat one another, covers this trope effectively (Kai, 2017). Bob Marley's influence in the Detroit spiritual community is both grounded in the BM trope of Black people's occupation with serving God, and the trope of Black transcendence and Black love, which I contend occupies the location of the PAM.

Pan African thought, Pan African values and performative Pan Africanism is tied to an expressive and fundamental practice of serving God in Marley's influential blueprint of Rasta music and the Rasta-Black liberation project. This PA cultural blueprint has been repeated all over the place by all kinds of people. Hence, the Black world has been influenced deeply by these PA cultural, social, economic and political traditions (Kai, 2018). Detroit possibly standouts in this tradition, because Detroit is this international city, where all of these influences exist and there have been several periods in Detroit's history where these influences were specific and specifically organized in the way the impacted the Black community (Kai, 2018).

One major example is the period of Pan African activist Ed Vaughn and his famous bookstore in Detroit; the fact that he and his contemporaries were able to produce a regularity of PA thought, organizations, name changes (African name adoptions), and lifestyles that had a PA foundation (Kai, 2018). "All of our roots are PA, in the sense that our shared story is true, that there was a period of time when people were going into the continent and bringing out people against their will, from various backgrounds and nations and communities and villages and languages and cultural value systems and

putting them all together and causing them to have to figure out – how to exist together and work together and sustain together against all odds then we've grown from a PA root. And our cultural mores and traditions are from that PA root whether we know it or not" (Kai, 2018).

The strong body of work regarding Black linguistics (Smitherman, 2004 and Holloway, 1999) for one verifies the perspective of the producer regarding the intentional presence of African Americans' African root and consequently, why the Pan African tradition remains a normative and vibrant adaptive strength not just limited to Detroit's Black community, but the Black universe. The progressiveness of Black Detroit is not historically isolated from that same development template, but a central international part of it. "There are certain things, that goober that yam, there are traditions of the African way of life, like I said, Baba and Mama, and Miss Sadie, the respect and reverence of elders in the daily way we address them, all of those things reflect" (Kai, 2018) 'the African Mother'.

The PAM Trope of Cultural Enrichment

In the continuing exploration of the dissertation's corresponding parts, Chapter 7 further emphasizes lessons from Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, that: our understanding of African Americans and Black urban life is improved by first understanding the struggle and restoration process that is pervasive and imperative to embracing African heritage celebration and the way it can impart Black dignity, Black self-value/Black self-affirmation/Black self-validation and increased Black racial esteem (Kernan, 2003 and Holloway, 2005, Henrik-Clarke, 1986/2008).

In this way, the consumer voices uphold primarily a mission of cultural enrichment/education of "their roots" or "their history", and quest/resolution toward Black authenticity Black unity, and Black pride in that ranking order. Cultural enrichment, Black authenticity, Black pride and Black unity key themes among others comprise some of the new tropes of the Pan African Metropolis. The Pan African Consumer as one of the central Pan African citizens observed here, disclose that their chief concerns also lie with the possibilities of establishing foundational ways of Black transcendence over the Black struggle. The notion of Black transcendence over Black struggle, however ephemeral or lasting, additionally provides another new trope of the Pan African Metropolis (Black Detroiter-respondent, 2016).

The examination of the Pan African citizen (Pan African cultural producers and Pan African Consumers) reveals the endurance of working Black existential idealism (Garvey: Jolly, 2013) reflecting the needs and hopes of Black Detroiters, and a minor tremble of Afro-pessimism (Jolly, 2013, 7). Yet, at the same time, a complicated relationship to African heritage, Black culture, Black authenticity, Black unity and Black pride exist. The Black identity crisis-problems (Black shame and Black self-hatred) surrounding these categorical paradigms foster and describe the aim of African heritage reconnection as a methodology in "the quest for wholeness" (Thiong'o, 2009, 72 and Jolly, 2013, 35).

In this 'quest for wholeness', there is also a quest for the 'whole truth of Black/African history' and 'what Black people feel they really are'. This latter part directs and substantiates the quest for Black authenticity within a "split image and split historical narrative war" (Dates and Barlow, 1993, and Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace,

2017). In this split image/split narrative war, the white-dominated media 'mis-educates' the connective spheres of Black/white and other non-Blacks, by several stock optics and manufactured crises-discourse that promote Negrophobia and the sense that Black culture and Black people are static, dystopian, destructive, unenterprising, diseased and single-handedly pathological and deficient. This apparatus of Negrophobia media further propagates denial, distortion and deflection strategies about Black humanity, Black historical contribution and America's racism. This split image/split historical narrative controversy is best understood from the following caption,

> Content analysis of the mass media has consistently shown routine day-to-day coverage of African Americans is predominantly negative and stereotypical; Blacks are portrayed as poor or criminal, or they were shown as athletes and entertainers. Although this kind of coverage is on the decline in mass media, due to diversity in employment, today media still fails to display the full diversity of Black humanity. There remains a kind of 'split image' in the portrayal of African Americans, as the old stereotypes persist especially in the coverage of crime and poverty (Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017).

Examples of this continuing stereotypical coverage can be seen in the way unarmed Black victims are portrayed as more menacing than racially-animus-terrorizing usually white policemen with guns. Among this racial stigma process is the coverage of Black people protesting against racial injustices as "looters and thugs" or "Black identity extremists" (Beydoun and Hansford, 2017, German, 2018, Bass 2018, Bass/CNN 2017 and Bass/Congressional Black Caucus 2017) via the Black Lives Matter campaigns or in the Ferguson/Michael Brown. The same depiction of Black people as "looters and thugs" was used in the Hurricane Katrina coverage in 2005. In this same coverage whites were described as "finding food" (Dyson, 2006, 72, Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017, 98).

Similarly, one of the overriding narratives of the 1967 Detroit rebellion was that Black people were destroying their own neighborhoods aimlessly, more deceptive looters

320

and thugs rhetoric (Vaughn, 1999, and Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017). Hence, Black people captured in the practice of historical erasure and the subtracting of Black contribution are consistently labeled as 'troublemakers' for a number of reason, even when they stand up for themselves, stand up for other Black people, are pro-Black and when they stand up their rights and justice.

This same demonization process is applied in ways both internally and externally to the Black community, when Black people in America are alienated for being Pan African, or referring to themselves as 'Africans'. The fact that J. Edgar Hoover and Cointelpro stated that "Black nationalism is the greatest threat to the US in the 70s" (Southers, 2018) is not coincidental to these problems of perception and historical narrative.

Something that is profoundly intriguing and troubling at the same time is that the research uncovers a considerable number of Black Detroiters (via the Black Detroiter-respondent voices) who hold similar Negrophobic views to the white gaze-captivity about proletariat Blacks in Detroit. These views among Black people are referred to as collective "low racial esteem" (Walker, 2017), where a Black person generally thinks more highly of theirselves (high self esteem) in contrast and connection to the degrading and low-rated way they feel about other Blacks on the whole. These views cosign a normative optic of 'condemned Blackness' often due to several historical layers of Black shame indoctrination; internalized Negrophobia and Black socialized inferiority complexes advanced onto Black people by whiteness rationality and idolization (Henrik-Clarke, 1968, Muhammad, 2010, Parris, 2011 and Walker, 2017).

For many Black Detroiters in previous generations, the resuscitation of Africa became a proud organizing force and positive-self affirming cultural aesthetic against toxic and self-calamitous Europeanization (Karenga, 2014) and Detroit's local-regime's white control. According to some of those Detroiters from those prior generations, this 'proud organizing force' has declined somewhat in comparison to earlier iterations of Detroit's Pan African identities and positionalities (Yakini, 2016). Nonetheless, overall these Pan African voices still register Detroit considerably as an epicenter of Black Nationalism, Pan Africanism and Afrocentric cultural identification and Black heritage celebration. These Black cultural-political identities and positionalities continue to glow in many ways, still vibrant in goals, hopes and the social imagination of Black unity, a significantly, highlighted imperative, concern and problematic (PAM trope) according to the Black Detroiter-respondent and the Black Detroiter-respondent.

These Black cultural-political identities and positionalities glow alongside many challenges of Black divergence, with the hope and prospects of a shared day of Black consciousness awakening, with the hope and need to "stay woke", often anchored in an African connection' central to the Black Liberation Movement. In this spirit and revelation, several Black Detroiters have made a consciousness and paradigmatic shift beyond a colonized image of Africa and African heritage, an image and constitution that time after time has been deliberately distorted by the white narcissistic gaze (Henrik, 1986).

A Black Struggle Concern: Healing from, and Defining a Major 'Black Sickness' as White Supremacy

For the Black Detroiter-respondent and the Black Detroiter-respondent, they assert the AWF provides Black refuge, and is an embodied critique of white supremacy and moreover helps improve conditions of Black suffering. Additionally, the Black Detroiter-respondent and Black Detroiter-respondent as the voices of the Pan African citizen positionality in the Pan African Metropolis, describe and reveal white supremacy as the source of the primary sickness or sicknesses that ail Black people and contribute to modes of Black suffering. Cultural producer Malik Yakini articulates this best in the following assertion:

> We [Black people] are deeply afflicted from the internalization of white supremacy, and notions of inferiority and that manifest in so many different ways in our life. One of the ways that it manifest is in physically impacting our health and impacting our mental health as well (Yakini, 2017).

What is the template that continues to be played for the last 500 years, that has continued to hold Black people as a cohesive group in a certain place, with a certain pattern of behavior? What is it? This template has been enacted in and on every colonized people on the planet. The root patterns of that socio-political, economic, cultural and historical template reveal that Black people experiences are quite similar, the cruelties that has been beset upon Black people, globally, "I don't know the worse [suffering among people], I just know its terror and sadness and grief, and being told one day I can't hold you as an enslave person anymore and then you just out there, because there are no services for you, let's all come together and heal our psychological wounds, it's none of that" (Kai, 2018).

The Black Detroiter-respondent mission is thus committed to what they express in there own similar-template-way as the continuing modernization of the colonized mind, and the ill effects of the culture of white supremacy and white terrorism/racial trauma on the Black psyche (Fanon, 1957 and 1961, and Gordon, 2015).

"How weak is a tree without some deep roots? This is a metaphor for us. Look at out situation, when we look out at our community, we know what's wrong!
We know that it is the lack of self-knowledge and values that is one of our biggest problems" (Kai, 2018). Hence, cultural enrichment plus self-knowledge is revealed here as the formula for Black positive behavioral and psychological development. The Black Detroiter-respondent argues that Detroit as a Black community suffers from being mis-educated and "uninformed about who they are, their uninformed about where 'we've' been and where we want/need to go and how to do these things" (Kai, 2018).

In this way, the Black Detroiter-respondent contends their cultural places like the Charles Wright serve as a Black refuge that helps to right what is wrong in Detroit's Black community (Kai, 2018). "What I love about having this space [the Charles Wright], it's like when I went to Howard University, one of the things I loved about being there, was that it was the validation, it was the confirmation of all the stuff I was seeking as a Black/African descended young person to ground myself in, to find a foundation for. There was this university with scholars who said yes, you are more than the enslaved African that had been put in front of you as your history. You are grounded in people who have invented and been the first that innovated and created, and survived and strived, and maintained, that is the type of assurance a person needs to cure themselves and step into the world as a whole human" (Kai, 2018).

The Black Detroiter-respondent asserts this assessment of the "white problem" (Greener, 1894) as the Black sickness is "carried in your DNA" (Kai, 2018). The same 'sickness' as the Black Detroiter-respondent reports is feed to Black children who don't know why they're acting the way they do, or feel the way they do. "Because it's all coming through without us having dealt with these things [centuries of dreadful Black suffering]; and it's in so many people, it's in so many people!" (Kai, 2018). From the point of view of the Black Detroiter-respondent, a pivotal decision of Black consciousness growth is required, a paradigmatic gathering point is necessary, a meeting of the minds where Black people meet up and say, "I'm a product of this damaged history and societal reality and so are you!" (Kai, 2018).

This notion of psychological and spiritual illness affects everyone, those who are considered Black/African and all those who are considered European descent/white and/or non-Black. No one survives unscathed. In the location of internal Black community conflicts, its like being in a prison, which the Black community is all locked in together (Kai, 2018). Part of the healing starts with the death of the denial discourse (Alexander, 2011) and deflection tactics, "we have to just admit to ourselves that all of us have been damaged by these [harsh] historical realities" and their continuation (Kai, 2018).

Black transcendence in the vision and mission of the Black Detroiter-respondent Producer occurs when Black people in the PAM rise up to the point, where denial is let go, and the emergent Pan African citizen (or Black person) admits that problem of white supremacy driven-colonized mind syndrome to themselves and then looks to alleviate the patterns of behavior and societal conditioning and societal institutions that continue to

transport that racial trauma and 'democratic insanity' (Akbar, 1999 and Karenga, 2014) forward. "If you want to tell me you're the one sane person, you're the one untouched, clean person, that has come through the American society… um, that would be very interesting to experience. It's doesn't sound real to me. Everybody is in a sick environment and they all are infected by that sick environment [of racism]" (Kai, 2018). But, what about those that maintain the systems that continue to perpetuate this same behavior and result? The understanding to this question reveals the main related issue according to the Black Detroiter-respondent.

But for those who have instituted this system, and those who benefit from that system, which is a lot of different people; this is their system as they intended it to, those who benefit from it. They see things working as they intended, and thus they are not easily persuaded to seek change, or support change. In this respect, 'this system' is not some self-generating thing that works on its own; it requires the human hands of whites and Black collaborators. It is the conscious acts of people making certain decisions everyday; to forge and maintain an anti-Black neurosis/conviction and deciding to carry out certain conscious acts everyday (Kai, 2018).

This sickness of racial trauma is further emphasized when cultural producer Mama Njia Kai, claims, "Let me say that we create this safe space" [within the spatial boundaries of the Charles Wright and the African World Festival], and create spaces where we can talk about what's going on, a lot of information and news is shared during this weekend within the festival programs, but we are still surrounded by the realities of this society" (2017). The phrase 'safe space' is key to understanding and operationalizing the concept of the Black refuge-place (and its kindred manifestations of Black

placemaking) from white supremacy and white racism. These spatial balances of Pan African Black refuge and Black placemaking are thus inscribed with African memory and the performance of Black revolution (Osumare, 2009), and the cultivation of Black dignity, Black pride, and Black contribution-awareness, which contest white supremacy and white racism by "fighting oppression with celebration" (Stevens, 1995).

The PAM and its various 'houses' of Black refuge/Black placemaking are thus founded on a celebration of the sites and environments that reposits African memory, Afro-futurism and the Black Atlantic, etc. (Osumare, 2009). For both the Black Detroiter-respondent and Black Detroiter-respondent the reconstruction of Black contribution is a fight against Black historical erasure, the deceptive stigmatization of the Black presence alongside a deceptive perception of inherent Black social decay, which in the captivity of the white psyche all rationalizes white's anti-Black neurosis.

Hence, these four cultural spaces provide an education and enrichment of Black people's 'true and whole' history (Karenga, 2014, Black Detroiter-respondent 2017 and Black Detroiter-respondent, 2017), which serves as a critique and dismantling of the poisons and infections of white myths, white gaze, white rationality and white supremacy. In this countering of the Black struggle, the Black Detroiter-respondent contends that the AWF, Charles Wright, Nandi's Knowledge Café and Bookstore, and D-Town Farms restores and strengthens Black Detroiters and visiting Black communities to "face what we suffer" (Kai, 2017).

Hence, the Pan African manifestations, which include programs, that facilitate cultural/Black historical enrichment, Black pride, Black uplift and African heritage celebration in the locations of the PAM, "absolutely" (Kai and DeBardelaben, 2017)

327

restores and strengthens Black people to face what Black people, racially suffer. These cultural restoration-stations exist with the intentionality of being a space that is safe, celebratory and uplifting, positive, and heart-warming, to emit to its Black cultural consumers an "energy that carries us, so that when we leave here, we have made connections with people, with things and information that will also help us as we move forward" (Kai, 2017). In the extended sense, all of these elements that point to the groundings of the PAM, suggest that racial trauma is both a key factor in understanding Black struggle and the functionality and emergence of the PAM.

Psychological Rejuvenation: PAM and Healing Black Inferiority Complexes

"Maybe you don't see that the sound guy is African American, the engineer, the lighting technician [are all African American] that, the people you have to interface with, whether they're security or the festival director are all reflecting back to you who they are and that without a preaching makes its own statement… it's for the purpose of allowing us an opportunity to run our stuff… it generates a space where you can be you and you can bring your best and it can be displayed" (Kai, 2017).

The fact that the festival is on the grounds of the CHWM, that it's on the grounds of the African American museum and the festival is created and produced by people of African descent and is populated by, and the infrastructure is that of people of African descent pushes back against and provides an embodied critique of the inept Black stereotype, or the racial myth that Black people can't self-govern themselves. "I have been so out of those conversations of owning that type of thought in my head, don't get me wrong… I am aware of its existence… I am aware of its penetration into the minds and hearts of our society… for folks who are melaninated for those who are not. It's not

where I operate from" (Kai, 2017). The sentiments of Mama Njia as the representative Pan African citizen and Pan African cultural producer also suggest a profound revelation concluded by the dissertation's analysis, that Black autonomy comprises the optimal form of the Black liberation project or Black universal freedom, and this notion of Black autonomy defines the heart of the Pan African Dream and characterizes the social contours of the PAM.

Conclusion

The story of the Pan African (cultural) producer and consumer in the dissertation's original study attempts to illustrate how Black people resist Black suffering and resourcefully heals from African heritage shame. Moreover, their story attempts to demonstrate how Black people cultivate progressive identities, Black agency and positionalities against anti-Black racism through 'spatial empowerment', Pan African Black placemaking and Pan African spaces of Black refuge, where racial uplift and embodied critiques of white supremacy are embedded in these places of 'safe', Black social geography.

These socio-geographic spaces are collectively determined here as the locations and groundings of the Pan African Metropolis (PAM). Hence, the AWF, the Charles Wright Museum of African American History, D-Town Farms and Nandi's Knowledge Café and Bookstore represent Black refuge places and thus a form of Black placemaking most characteristic of the PAM. The cultural production, cultural consumption, Black identity and Black philosophy that these cultural institutions impart all make up the complex vibrant, tropes/axes of Black life that formulate the site of the PAM. Black spatial empowerment occurs organically through the political, spiritual, economic,

intellectual and psychological restoration, which occurs in these spaces and by the political socialization, represented in their legacies of Black cultural politics, African heritage pride and their manifestations of Afrocentric empowered consciousness.

The sentiments of these representative Pan African citizens (the Black Detroiter-respondent and Black Detroiter-respondent) suggest a profound revelation concluded by the dissertation's analysis, that Black autonomy comprises the optimal form of the Black liberation project or Black universal freedom, and this notion of Black autonomy defines the heart of the Pan African Dream in the aspirational projects and the social contours of the PAM. Moreover, the emerging tropes of the PAM suggest that the Black optimal effect of the observed Pan African cultural spaces lies in their capacity to facilitate the simultaneous realization of the cultural enrichment of African heritage, Black unity, Black pride, Black authenticity and Black love. This is what the dissertation study has defined as the moment of Black transcendence in the American 'African city' that JoAnn Watson begin ushering in at the preface of the dissertation.

Chapter 8
Pan Africanizing the Black Metropolis Theory: A Conclusion

"Detroit is predominantly Black. The local news vilifies Black people, but in a space like this, Africans are celebrated & united" – (cultural consumer, African World Festival, 2016)

Introduction

The final chapter provides a summation of its culminating parts to seal the dissertation study. Wherein, the study argues that Pan African agency, and its landscape of Black historical contribution has enhanced the understanding of Black Metropolis. It has done this by providing a lens on an overlooked relationship between the characteristic of Black cities as it regards their African heritage cultural preservation, as sustainable development via its traditional celebrations practices. By this excavation the Black city has through its creation of a distinctive cultural political economy, manifested a new kind of Black Metropolis, a Pan African Metropolis in cities like Detroit. The thesis has three overarching themes in which it uses as lenses to expand on Black Metropolis theory, they are: culture, identity and philosophy. The objective of the dissertation study is supported by qualitative field research done at the African World Festival.

The Conclusion chapter of the dissertation thus ties the way I approach this pattern of Black Agency. My case study is about Detroit and the undervalued presence of its Pan African Agency situated within the cultural political economy of the Black city. My study goes beyond the social pathology paradigm and incorporates a notion of Black agency as an authentic heroic facet of the Black city. One of the major contributions of the dissertation study, is that it presents new findings of Black city tropes from my qualitative research program that I assert and originate as representative of the 'Pan African city'.

From this vantage point, the dissertation study examines and illuminates the far-reaching meaning of cultural politics in Detroit. The chapter sections thus provide a culminating meaning that is extracted from the intersections of Black political theory, Black metropolis theory and Pan African theory. After the presiding introduction, what follows next, are three sections, which outline the Conclusion chapter. The first section discusses the enhancement of Black Metropolis theory as the thesis insinuates. According to the majority of cultural consumers surveyed within the Black placemaking of the African World Festival, the most telling enhancement of Pan African placemaking is the spreading and cultivating of a much needed-'Black group and self love'. The case study of the Detroit African World Festival was referred to as a place that makes Black people feel closer, and that it reinforced 'a shared link in peace", these critical reflections were annunciated several times by the cultural sustainer.

Its subsection, *Beyond Detroit's Pathology Fixations and Compulsions*, offers a brief exploration and critical reading on how theories of Detroit have been fixated in an obsession with social pathology-ghetto paradigms and how this is problematic to the Black urban study and overshadows the multilayered significant contributions, progress and agency of Detroit's Black city. Its emphasis rest on the central paradigm of the thesis, adaptive-vitality (Karenga, 2010) as the quality of Black agency that manifest Detroiters as shapers of a distinct vibrant American city.

The issue of the Black pathology hegemonic theorization is the same issue of Black deficit they are used interchangeably to construct a dystopian netherworld of the Black city. This methodological affliction of the urban study is further complicated by how much of evaluating what is good and compelling about Detroit is often blocked from

view due to the problem of the white gaze. The problem of white gaze, historical erasure, mis-education and Black shame are all tied to this issue of preponderant misjudgment as theory and tendency for seeing Black lives (Ellison, 1986).

The second section, recounts the cultural political economy of Detroiters through their impact and transactions as cultural producers and cultural consumers, and their shared agent-roles as the cultural sustainer/historical legacy preservationist of African heritage seen through the centrality of a major Black community organ, African heritage festivals. The impact and disclosure of their roles offers new contributions to urban Black culture. The third and last section attempts to explore how the dissertation study in synthesis contributes to the relevance of Pan Africanism, centered on the dynamics between linkages in Black identity, African heritage and Pan African identity.

The fundamental framework the thesis is anchored in is that there is Black resistance and Black conquest in urban spatial and celebratory movement and development (Lorde, 1983, 1984; Olson, 2000). A 'spatial war' defined by race, and the ways Black Detroiters waged spatial resistance against white antagonism thus expresses more accurately the racial battleground of Detroit discussed throughout.

The celebratory tradition for African Americans, wherein African heritage celebration is key, produced the tradition of the African heritage festival, such as Detroit's African World Festival. The African World Festival of Detroit thus outlines domains where political forces and political meaning are charged, and challenges for power and control are embedded in historical and cultural confrontation. Karolee Stevens' (2011) argumentation offered that Blacks/Africans in the Diaspora fight oppression through heritage celebration and preservation establishes this as a main

groundwork for the dissertation's thesis (Bullard, 2007; Calmore, 1995; Darden & Thomas, 2013; Johnson, 2013; Halifu, 2009; Irobi, 2007; Jackson, 1988; Massey & Denton, 1993; Stevens, 2011; Velez, 2017).

For urban study scholarship, it furnishes an alternate theory of Detroit; a part of this alternative theory of Detroit serves as a critique of the urban study that relies on ghetto and social pathology paradigms. In this way, the dissertation study moves in its parts to ultimately formulate three insightful revelations, that: (1) Pan African agency, Pan African placemaking and/or African heritage celebration/preservation reveals alternative norms and values about Black culture in Detroit that are not represented in mainstream representations. (2) Pan African agency, Pan African placemaking and/or African heritage celebration/preservation offer representative interventions in the ways that Black cities are understood. (3) Pan African agency, Pan African placemaking and/or African heritage celebration/preservation (through select cultural practices in Detroit) relate to wider systems of power, in this case the challenges to self-determination, equality and political freedom attended by Black Cultural Nationalism.

To that end, the dissertation study embarked on an original theorization that Detroit's Pan African legacies represent a slighted and unsung autonomous Black political strength (a cultural-political-economy strength), whereby its distinctive latitudes of "rise and triumph" in the evolution of Black Metropolis (BM) phenomena is conceptualized. The notion of 'rise and triumph' refers back to the conceptual language of the BM (Reed, 2014; Widick, 1975). Through the course of this BM language, and conceptualization, an original descriptive analysis is put forth here, that Detroit's Black Metropolis manifested the rise and triumph of a "cultural-political-economy", which

locates a more accurate-contemporary BM, originally coined here as the Pan African Metropolis.

This interpretation, calls forth a dispensation where one must begin to see the house of Pan-Africanism in the light of a foremost traditional element for discerning the future of the Black Metropolis, and thus what can be identified as a site for up-to-date tropes of BM theorization (Patillo, 2017). In the case of Detroit's Black urban life Pan Africanism serves as a major constituent, gathering point, and unifying agent for its axes of Black life.

In this multifaceted determination of the Black Metropolis and theory of Detroit, one must consider the ways Black Detroit has resisted the accommodationist politics vested in the white coloniality of anti-African conditioning, what I have attributed throughout as the running connections between African heritage (Black) shame, (Afro)-Negrophobia (Palmer, 2006), Black scapegoating and the Miseducation problem. The rise of Detroit's BM is signaled by African Americans in Detroit pressing more and more for community control and self-sufficiency, as they did this, they increasingly identified domestic racial oppression with colonialism. The location of Black racial oppression as a global singularity erected a new methodology of liberation, and empowerment, one seen through a Pan-African/anti-colonial lens (Jolly, 2013).

Throughout the history of the United States, it has perceived of itself in harmfully limited ethnoracial terms and criteria, as a people united by 'white' common blood and 'white' skin color. This same white racial determinism has also conceived of limited terms and criteria for legitimization, and rationality through the coercive homogenization, or 'imitation' of white peoples lives, or what Langston Hughes refers to among the many

335

Black scholars as 'white folks ways'. In its legal invention (circa, late 1600s) and supportive cultural mythology of white supremacy it has undermined Black equality and Black development. At the same time it has not recognized the strength of Black contributionism in the confrontation of these obstacles to the veracity of the United States cultural, political, intellectual, scientific, cultural and economic infrastructure.

This unresolved problem has made the erasure of African American contribution, value and worth customary through several methods of study and on several educational levels. An ultimate consequence of this historical erasure is the problem of misperception and historical memory for who Black people are, what is truly important to Black people and what comprises the level of sophistication by which Black people construct their everyday lives.

In recent years this struggle for Black people and very American problem has been attributed to the notion of "hidden figures" from the publication of the book and movie adaptation. Furthermore, is has defined the African American struggle in respect of Black independence, Black autonomy and the quest for Black authenticity, i.e., who 'owns' the projection and narrative of the Black image, Black morality, Black progress and Black competence. The erasure and reductionism of Black life is moreover reinforced by the methodological affliction of Black deficit/Black pathology in the urban study and urban sociology (LeMelle, 2003).

In this light, it has made normative thinking about Black urban spaces as plagued by values and mindset, overwhelmingly entailing socio-moral isolation, which solidifies a stigmatized category of "unavoidable inferiority" (Gordon, 2002), where the systematic suffering of Black life is scapegoated as an internal Black problem-only, and thus self-

336

made (Wacquant, 2004).

From this very limited racialized perspective, African Americans did not belong in the American nation, were not considered citizens, were denied several warranted honors, access and credit, and would never be accepted as full members. This denial of United States 'full' citizenship and value was institutionalized through several anti-Black practices and legalized, government-supported underdevelopment, which has never been totally resolved and is still carried on through new forms.

Pushed to these crossroads, where the unremitting fact of forced, legalized and practiced segregation became quite clear, the fact of Black life became a social location, whereby Black people created and developed the refuge/placemaking of their own Black world. This Black world constituted a number of Black dignity-reinforcement customs, which constructed parallel organizations and parallel institutions of cultural political economy.

As a result of this unrelenting white denial, Black people have evolved distinct and parallel institutions to counterbalance and safeguard themselves from steadfast exclusion by the white establishment (Wacquant, 2004). Hence, in contrast to very limited 'white terms' of heroic historical narrative and conception of the United States, Black people are really shapers of a distinct vibrant city and a distinct progressive and exciting life. They invent distinctive lifestyles tied to African heritage. The vigor of Black contributionism through Black culture underpins the Black city. The role of cultural sustainer for African heritage within African American identity and lifestyle by both the producer and consumer demonstrates agency. In this way, the producer and the consumer both activate the agent-role of cultural sustainer of African roots in Black

adaptive development. The culminating clarification for cultural studies (Morley, & Chen, 1996), explains why African Americans choose to buy Pan African products and participate in these distinct Pan African cultural consumption practices.

It follows the same reason Black people were waiting on Black Panther. The celebrated Black American response to the film spoke to internal community debates about continental Africans participating in African slave trades and having resources that were not used to saved or aid Black people in the diaspora and America caught in the clutches of slavery. For this matter, Black American people yearn to make peace with Africa, and to interrogate notions of rejected Africaness, and thus, find their own value, dignity, connection and pride in their African heritage. The film also confronted the legacies of Martin, Malcolm and Nelson through its compilation of hero characters of T'Challa and Eric Killmonger as different political perspective that permeates the Black community. It is this source of heroic agency and sophisticated Black political underpinnings that Black people are interested in seeing reflected of their own history, fiction and imagination, a representation that does not steal Black dignity, but reinforces it.

The shock regarding the collectively massive response to Marvel's Black Panther by African Americans suggests that many 'non-Blacks' as well as other Black people have been mis-educated to believe that African Americans on the whole suffer from a 'big disconnect-syndrome' as it regards Africa, and their African heritage. The gala embrace of the film with its strong Black masculine heroic constructions highlight how the Black community is embedded or embodied in Pan African layered defining motifs. Although, some obstinate Pan Africanists may decry the relevance of the film for the

338

'real life' of Pan African history, the film nevertheless bolsters the weight of this dissertation study. It reflects an undeniable occurrence for those who see the Pan African pulse as flatlined.

Yet, Black Panther reconfirmed what many of us already knew, that African heritage pride and the desire to reconnect to a positive sense of African agency was already resonating surreptitiously, below the perception of some onlookers, interlopers, appropriators and academic tourists. From Tarzan to Muhammad Ali's, "rumble in the jungle", many of us in the Black community already new, like all the coming of age-Black children who read and bonded with Marvel's Black Panther comic book. The fact that it was written by two Jewish guys didn't stave off our psychological need for a 'Black hero' who came from the 'mythical' place we were stolen from. We were smart enough to know that these two Jewish authors were attempting to break a contemptible color line of the comic book-literary world.

They seem to know something we knew in our hearts and souls, like all the Black history we had been taught by our teachers, and like all the positive Black men in our communities, they realized Black heroes were cool and important too. Many of us intuitively already knew in our ancient-future spirits, we were dreaming of a Pan African dream.

Hence, despite the continuing struggles in America's cities, African Americans have not been passive reactors, but remain active forces in the transformative processes of American political, intellectual, social and cultural veracity. Despite the claims of others (Carnell, 2018), the study overall reinforces why Pan Africanism is not dead. Pan

Africanism is not dead, because it represents an enduring heritage strategy and leading adaptability apparatus of Black people in control of their cultural-political economy.

The illumination of Detroit's Pan African agency and cultural political economy demonstrates that Black people are profound self-determinists contributors, whom often have to recast their heroic odyssey in the corrective light of their own history and metanarratives. The unique cultural-political economy and history of Black Detroit was consistently waged on contested racial terrain (Bates 2012; Boyd, 2017; Jolly, 2013; Sugrue, 2009). Yet, the complexity, value and many-sidedness of this historical narrative regarding Black contribution and Black resistance continues to remain mostly hidden, dismissed and undervalued (Jolly, 2013).

Black Metropolis Theory, Enhanced: The Contemporary Pan African Agency of Black Detroiters

The cultural history of Black Detroit is defined by the predominant Pan African trope of Black self-determination (Franklin, 1984; Smith, 1999; Thompson, 1999; Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017). This historical legacy as it was deeply founded in the long memory and activities of Pan African agency consolidated Pan African tropes as enduring elements of Detroit's Black urban life. These Pan African tropes, such as: cultural enrichment, African heritage connection/celebration, Black unity/Black pride, Black Love, Buying Black, generational legacies and Black refuge may now define a constituent-general quality of the Black city in the contemporary African American encounter.

The quest for Black universal freedom constitutes an all-embracing political meaning in Detroit's Pan African script. This agenda informed and ingratiated the post-war Civil Rights, the Black Power, Soul/Post Soul Aesthetic, Black Cultural Nationalists,

Black Aesthetics Movements and presently the New Black Aesthetic Movement, with its continuity of Black politically conscious hip-hop (Jolly, 2013; Neal, 2002; Smith, 1999). The processes of political socialization toward Black consciousness took place in the 'everyday talk' of several Black Detroit places such as the record shop and barber shop, these were considered safe Black spaces, with a message still resonating that these movements produced (Harris-Perry, 2004; Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017, 65).

The location of this Black subjectivity in Detroit's African American social geography however has been fraught by efforts to make it 'invisible' through the politicization and historicity of Negrophobia, which has sustained a dominant pathological purview on Black urban life (Asante 2009; Karenga, 2010; Okafor, 2014).

The Pan African citizens who frequented the variety of Black placemaking in Pan African Detroit symbolize not just hidden, but ignored voices. The conflict system between the Black gaze and white gaze brings to surface the problem of memory and the problem of misperception surrounding Black bodies for both Blacks and whites, as a national and local American crisis (Ball, 1999; Karenga, 2005). Due to the way these voices are ignored and hidden, and/or are not exalted, the problem of historical forgetting is no less an issue in the re-memory of Detroit (Boyle, 2004; Gottesdiener, 2014; Smith, 2001). The widespread growth of racial consciousness (circa, 1920s-1960s), unified all classes of African American society, this cohesive unification has not disappeared completely. The long foundational memory, which began with Garveyism's enormous imprint on 1920's Detroit, revolutionized a cultural-political-economic value system that permanently defined its Black urban way of life, infrastructure and leadership.

Several occurrences of Black placemaking in Pan African-based cultural institutions reflected a major growth and adaptive-strength of the Black establishment. This Black establishment and institution-base became the Black consciousness pulse of the community and produced its centers of Black political socialization. The 'Black enlightened' education/liberation 'sermon' was wedded to everyday Pan African consumption and production in spaces that were dedicated to and fashioned a modality of Black awakening. These stations of 'Black awakening' were the Nation of Islam, the African centered school system, various African restaurants, Shrine of the Black Madonna, Charles Wright African American History, the African World Festival, Republic of New Africa, Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X local holidays, Nandi's' Knowledge Café, D-Town Farms, Ed Vaughn's Bookstore, etc. Through their Pan African agency, their landscape collectively comprised and developed the makings of a Pan African Metropolis.

This new Pan African Metropolis that came about during Detroit's Black Arts Movement crystalized a variety of enhancements to the antecedent Black Metropolis. The ensuing racial solidarity of this Pan African agency bonded the community's mentality into a core desire for "spatial hegemony", and thus control of spaces where Black people dominate (Bates, 2012; Jolly, 2013; Reed, 2011; Thompson, 1999). This spatial aspiration reflected the need and wish for autonomous communities, and a Black world's attempt to 'reclaim' an, 'African home'. Ultimately, Pan African placemaking in its grand total manifested the Pan African Metropolis, which created for Black people, spaces/places where they felt a special belonging.

These safe spaces like the African World Festival and Charles Wright Museum, are where Black people can speak their mind about racial trauma and express the ideological thoughts of Black liberation, Black consciousness and Black power. This spatial longing is a desire for Black people to have, legitimize and validate their 'own thing'. Hence, the transcending agency and power of love, self-love and love for people is how the Pan African Metropolis enhances the Black Metropolis. The 'Black Love' (positive Black racial esteem) mission, antidote and core value constitutes the superlative enhancement that is added to Drake and Cayton's Black Metropolis theory. Yet, for this Black ultimate state of love to take place, the Pan African (Black city) tropes of Black pride and Black unity are usually also present. This is what I refer to as the *Black Psychological Rejuvenation Effect:* Black love is a produced state, with the alignment of Black pride, Black unity and African heritage celebration.

The majority of the cultural consumers all expressed this Black love trope in their interactions with the cultural political economy. Thus, the spreading of Black self-love and Black group-love is promoted through the sociality of Black placemaking in the Pan African Metropolis. This 'Black Love' effect is underscored or expressed over and over again by Pan African producers and consumers in passionate assessments that epitomize this argument. The following example illustrates this best: "Events that involve African culture make you feel the presence of Black Love. These events help shape the lives of the future, the children" (Black Detroiter, participant of AWF, 2016). This response by a cultural consumer typified the enhancement value that was visibly representative of Black Detroiters agency. The outstanding message conveyed by both cultural producers

and cultural consumers was that Black Love is felt and embodied in African cultural heritage celebration and preservation.

The denial of Black people's value and contribution as a main concern is made vividly clear in many of these assertions. Black Pride in African heritage and the synthesis that occurs from this, as Pan African leanings emerged foremost as an identifier for the value Black people placed on themselves. Black pride in African heritage as a testament to Pan African leanings also emerged as a response to the way Black people felt they were devalued in the white imposed lens of Negrophobia, cultural deficit and Black scapegoating in Detroit.

The Rise of Pan African Cultural Political Economy in Detroit

"Culture is the fourth pillar of sustainable development" (UNESCO, 2019). The Black city has produced Motown, Soulville, African heritage festivals and the Pan African Metropolis, among its important highlights. Black urban culture's central attribute is the "idea of the Black community itself; a Black community, based on shared history, linked fate and memory, and includes persons of African descent of all classes, ethnicities and regions" (Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017, 58). Table 7.2 (See Appendix) provides empirical evidence of this defining element of Black culture, and its attendant racial group-identity-consciousness (Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017, 58). Yet, the unique experiences of African Americans are either dismissed and disregarded as not valuable to learn about, so their exist a willful ignorance and willful distortion that African Americans are keenly aware of via the contradictory evidence on America's race problem. In this way, African Americans' collective memory and thought reveal attitudes and opinions about America, which are both affection and disaffection.

African Americans have developed perhaps the most distinctive form of political culture in the United States (Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017). Black culture continues to be an agent for Black political socialization. Historical erasure and the notion of the 'white man's burden' has always been about the great theft of Black and indigenous culture or ways of life (Rowe & Tuck, 2016). White re-settlement promoted as the only viable and legitimate revitalization spirit continues this process of historical erasure and attempts to make Black cultural productions complicit with the contemporary whiteness readings of Detroit. Accordingly, these erasure customs have a capacity to brainwash people of African descent and other (non-Black) ethnic groups to determine that Black people are exceptionally derelict and passive non-contributors in the enterprise of their own racial uplift. Consequently, these customs foster Miseducation, which can lead to internalized Black shame.

Within this cultural hegemonic struggle, Black Detroiters have used the sociality and meaning of culture, identity and philosophy to transform spaces into 'their restorative African heritage homes', no matter how fleeting or permanent. For Black Detroiters, Pan Africanism and cultural nationalism functioned in many roles, one significant role is that it fulfilled a psychological and spiritual need for Black Detroiters. The psychological and spiritual aspect of Pan African cultural nationalism does not received the attention warranted it. The notion that Africa is a holy, or sacred land of heritage for African American renewal, like Israel is a sacred, holy land for Jews does not permeate the American heritage consciousness, the same way. Even, many African Americans have problems embracing this notion.

In confronting the identity crisis and cultural appropriation of Black America, the characteristic pulse of Detroit's Pan African cultural nationalism, in numerous metaphysical and physical productions, fostered the healing power of an Afrocentric or Afro-friendly 'home' for African Americans (Castor, 2014; Frye & Kai, 2017; Ramirez, 2015; Schreibner, 2010; Temple, 2005). Wherever the socio-geographic negotiation of that Black psychological, sociological and spiritual refuge occurred, the Pan African Metropolis was usually located.

Pan African Congress-USA in Detroit:
The Vitality of Relationships Between Continental Africans and African Americans

Detroit has a uniquely instrumental contribution in the history of Pan Africanism. The illustration of its global/local connection suggests a storehouse of activity. Accounts of Pan African transnational connections took place in the many stories that emerged from the work of the Pan African Congress-USA (1970s) in Detroit. This was significantly dynamic and steady through its sponsorship of students from the continent of Africa (Mwakikagile, 2007). The relationship between continental Africans and African Americans during the 1970s Black Arts Movement constitutes a complex high point in the long foundational pulse of Detroit's Garveyism/UNIA footprint of the 1920s (Essien, 2011; Mwakikagile, 2007).

Of special note is Godfrey Mwakikagile's life with African Americans in Detroit, Michigan as he recounts (2007). Mwakikagile interest in Black America goes back to 1966 when he applied to Lincoln University, the college Alma matter of Langston Hughes, while still in secondary school. Mwakikagile first becomes interested in Lincoln after reading Nkrumah's autobiography; Nkrumah attended Lincoln as well in 1960s

(2007). Yet, Mwakikagile never makes it to Lincoln, he eventually ends up in Detroit during the 1970s.

In pursuit of his education, African Americans would eventually play a pivotal role in him reaching his goal. Mwakikagile had become well acquainted with several African Americans because many of them had come to Tanzania. This appeal was due to Nyerere's faithful reputation as a Pan Africanist, who accepted African Americans and other Blacks in the African diaspora. Additionally, Nyere's unwavering support for African liberation movements and African socialism made a deep impact on those who wanted to break the grip of western powers on continental African economies (Mwakikagile, 2007).

Mwakikagile's journal on the intricate nature of African American and continental African relations explores a litany of African-based identity formations and Pan African philosophy at work by African Americans in Detroit. His analysis and narratives situates a broad historical perspective in which (continental) Africans and African American (Black) nationalist leaders, activists and intellectuals perceive their connections in the early 20th century.

When Mwakikagile becomes a student at Wayne State University in Detroit, he begins a long exploration in witnessing African American Pan African expressions. While a student at Wayne, he gets a chance to meet Robert Williams in 1975, the famous militant-civil rights advocate and author of *Negroes with Guns* (1962). While working at the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in Dar es Salaam, Mwakikagile finds an issue of *The African World* published in Greensboro, North Carolina. The edition had somehow found its way to Tanzania. After reading the article about Malcolm X

Liberation University in Greensboro, it fuels his interest in Malcolm and the civil rights struggle in US.

As he continued reading, he came across an article on a young 28-year Benjamin Chavis (later to become an NAACP leader and outspoken member of the Nation of Islam during the 1990s after his scandal). From these encounters Mwakikagile begins to understand and empathize with the plight of African Americans, which included stories of police brutality and most notably in the persecution Chavis was going through because of his political activism. All of these moments had a profound effect on him. It widens his thoughtfulness and appreciation of civil rights/human rights in the American Black milieu as well as the global Black experience (Mwakikagile, 2007).

It was also in the same issue of *The African World* that he saw a photo of the legendary Detroiter, and Pan African architect and mentor to many, Ed Vaughnn. Vaughnn at the time is one of the leaders of the Detroit-based Pan African Congress-USA. Mwakikagile's luck becomes further illuminated when he notices a caption about the organization's scholarship program for African students. All this time, he had been trying to pursue an education in America, and it was now right within his grasp. However, instead of writing to the Pan African Congress-USA in Detroit, Mwakikagile wrote to *The African World* for a subscription, thinking that he wanted to enroll in the Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, NC. When the Malcolm X Liberation University did not fulfill his needs, he wrote the organization and asked them if they would sponsor him, while still in possession of the caption about the Pan African Congress-USA in Detroit. Within a few days he got a call from the Detroit. The director

of the program Malakia Wada Lumumba, a professor of psychology in Detroit called (2007).

The scholarship director confirmed that he was offered a scholarship. The organization also paid for his plane trip to Detroit. Professor Lumumba like many African Americans had chosen a Swahili name, Malakia, which means "Queen". For Detroit in the 1970s, this was and still remains a popular custom in the African American community. Mwakikagile discusses that his new life in Detroit begins because of the transnational outreach program facilitated by the Pan African Congress-USA in Detroit.

On the flight from New York to Detroit, Mwakikagile meets a Liberian woman, Yormie Amagashie who is also traveling to Michigan, but to Lansing, the home of Malcolm X. Yormie's sister was supposed to pick her up in Detroit, but by the time they reach there Michigan destination, her sister is not there. A Pan African Congress-USA, Detroit (PACUD) member Kali, picked both Mwakikagile and Yormie up who had both been dressed in African attire. The African attire served as a sign for PACUD to recognize its incoming African students. Kali expressed that Yormie would be taken care of until her sister came to get her.

In this way the Pan African Congress-USA demonstrated a strong and stable desire to embrace continental Africans as members of the African family in the Pan African context. Akousa Ahadi, another member of the PACUD offered to take Yormie in. Ahadi would later move to Liberia, Yormie's home. Yormie stayed with Ahadi about two weeks. Mwakikagile's journey allows us to see Pan Africanism at its best in a personal way and through Detroit's continued special contribution to its local and global streams. Like the experience of many continental Africans, the PACUD had gone out of

349

its way to both sponsor and create kinship with African students who were in need. He, Yormie and others alike became the biggest beneficiaries of the Pan African family from Black Detroiters whose roots stretched all the way back to Africa, but were displaced and forcibly planted on American soil. The PACUD had a lasting impact on the lives of so many continental Africans students. Many of them became national leaders, when they went back to African after completing their education at Wayne State University, University of Michigan, Eastern Michigan University and Michigan State University.

The African students that the PACUD sponsored included Kojo Yankah from Ghana. Yankah was one of the first two students who were sponsored by Pan African Congress-USA. He eventually became a Member of Parliament and later cabinet member under President Jerry Rawlings. Others included Amadou Taal from the Gambia who held several cabinet-level posts under President Dawda Jawara and was Gambia's chief's economist. Another one of the first two students to be sponsored together were Olu Williams from Sierra Leone, who went on to get a PhD in agriculture from the University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Kwabena Dompre from Ghana was also sponsored by PACUD. He worked closely with President Hilla Limann as a high-level government official after going back to Africa.

In his odyssey in Detroit, Mwakikagile emphasized the fact that Detroit has so much to offer in terms of Pan Africanism. Moreover, many of the students who stayed at the PACUD house cherished the efforts by the organization to bring together Africans from different countries interacting under one Diasporic roof. The PACUD days for the African students contributed a great deal to their awareness of Africa within the globalizing world. In this period Detroit distinguished itself as a hotbed of Black political

activism, unrivalled anywhere else in the country. All of these students achieved their goals with the help of the PACUD, and they all lived in the house owned by the PACUD. "Those were the best days of our lives, interacting with our brethren, African Americans. It was truly a Pan African organization" (Mwakikagile, 2007, 69).

Some of the members of the PACUD knew Malcolm from the beginning of his "Detroit Red" days. Malcolm had strong ties to Detroit. Many of Malcolm's family members still live in Detroit to this day. Malcolm's eldest brother Wilfred Little Shabazz was a resilient Garveyite throughout his life in Detroit. Malcolm's best friend, Riley Smith, who adopted an African name; Kwame Atta was a leader of the PACUD, when Mwakikagile was in Detroit during the 70s. Like many other Pan African Congress members of Detroit, Kwame went back and forth to Ghana, before moving to Ghana permanently with his family. Milton Henry and his brother Richard Henry took the African names of Gaidi and Imari Obadele; both knew Malcolm and his father Earl Little, a follower of Marcus Garvey, who made frequent trips to Detroit.

After Malcolm's assassination, the Obadele brothers with other Black nationalist formed the Malcolm X Society in Detroit to honor and implement Malcolm's ideals. The Republic of New Africa (RNA) founded in Detroit in 1968, grew out of the Malcolm X Society (MXS). Both the RNA and the MXS demanded reparations for the descendants of African slaves in the US. Even after Garvey's death, Detroit remained an activist center in the Garvey tradition. The Pan African Congress-USA based and founded in Detroit considered itself inheritors of Marcus Garvey's legacy (Mwakikagile, 2007).

Topologies of Black Metropolises

As stated before the concept of the Black Metropolis, should be considered in what Pattillo, a Chicago school expert, who has elevated the work of Drake & Cayton refers to as "the future of the Black Metropolis" (2016). By this Pattillo means how the Black Metropolis must be considered as an expansive and not limited concept beyond Drake & Cayton's original work. Or not just limited to the Chicago school as the all-defining model.

In this sense, there exist topologies, city characteristics or organizational schemes that may distinguish them individually, and regionally, while also classifying them as a collective unit. This suggests that Black Metropolises are relative to their distinctive and similar regional history as it regards, Black migratory and restrictive currents. In other words, their characteristics are determined by what accounts for the individual, regional, national and global racial realities of its Black populations.

To that extent the literature does account for a set of topologies or city characteristics that tend to define the Black Metropolis. Yet, these Black city characteristics or their organizational schemes must be extended to the southern region of the US, and not the just the northern Black existential criteria as Pattillo stresses this as well. This southern region would include such Black metropolises as Memphis, Birmingham and Lexington, Kentucky. That being the case, the discourse here has identified Lexington as a 'model' for this southern Black metropolis context. But, even Lexington, I would argue speaks to a broad analysis of what comprises a Black metropolis. Hence, three emergent factors governed the processes of Black urban formation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One of the main organizing

schemes of the Black metropolis is demographic change, we see this in the Great Migration building the Black community in northern cities, but these metropolises don't always start off predominantly Black. They become predominantly Black through their demographic change usually resulting from white flight, spatial restrictions and spatial distancing, which is guided by various episodes of heightened racial animosity on the part of whites.

This animosity finds expression in the desire of whites to distance themselves and to segregate Blacks in all areas of social contact. This suggests the continuum of the color line imperative, and its obsessive mission of keeping Black people in what is deemed by whites as 'their places'. Once Black people breach the color line, the so-called invasion, or takeover of 'white spaces', more distancing by whites usually occurs. For that matter, as the geographical presence or population of Black people increased, white racial animosity increased (Katzman, 1973; Kellogg, 1982).

This is turn, results in a response from Blacks to seek out racially homogenous neighborhoods as a form of protection, Black cultural sustainability and an expression of Black racial pride. A second factor that organizes Black metropolis is "the set of social attitudes of whites towards Blacks and vice versa" (Kellogg, 1982, 22). All of the post 1960s racial conversion of northern spaces, after Black-deferred dreams exploded like raisins in the long hot sun of white racism (Hatcher, 1970), in such places like Detroit, Watts, Newark, Plainfield, PA, Philadelphia, Harlem, Rochester, Baltimore, St. Paul, MN, etc., the Black communities are troubled by the abusive police, a discriminatory housing and public accommodations, and the disrespect of the non-Black merchant class.

In response white flighters all devise a Negrophobic-crime riddled narrative of these Black spaces. Expectations of Black behavior become cemented to criminality. Status threat by whites incorporate rising levels of racism toward Black people. This rising pattern results in more virulent discriminatory practices (white backlash) in all spheres of social intercourse. This in turn gives credence to more and more distancing by whites and at the same time, a notion by whites that they are under attack (DiAngelo, 2018; Kellogg, 1982). The third factor of Black city topology is the land-rent arrangement of the city. The absence or presence of efficient mass transportation became the primary determinant for broad patterns of residential and racial concentration. Access to moderate income enabled access to certain peripheral areas or subdivisions for whites. The majority of Black people were at the opposite end of the spectrum for the most part, lacking the same degree of income.

In this income inequality and gap, they were restricted to specific areas based on their low income, where inexpensive housing, (often subpar) could be purchased or rented (Sugrue, 1996). These segments redlined by the housing market concentrated a high Black geographical presence and shaped sites of Black metropolis. This phenomenon was constant whether the housing was located in long established central-city neighborhoods or newly developed subdivisions (Kellogg, 1982).

In sum, Black metropolis topologies are characterized by demographic changes taking place in a social context of rising white racial animosity, and in a geographic condition of the industrial or the modern city structure. These same demographic changes and their related social forces contributed to both northern and southern organizational schemes of Black metropolises. In both instances, the extent of racial distancing

increased as Black residential and geographical concentration took shape on the cities (Kellogg, 1982). The key difference between northern and southern Black metropolises lies in the different locations of emergent Black residential concentrations. This involves the third factor, which comprises the residential setup of the city. The establishment of Black metropolises in the south took place in the context of the preindustrial, pedestrian city, while northern development occurred in the industrial or modern city progression. The modern city structure was represented by an efficient transportation system and the move away from the centrally located (inner city) business axis (Kellogg, 1982).

On a final note, the sustainability of Black culture, Black pride and Black unity thus begins to take expression as vital linkages that cohere and maintain the intactness and future of the Black metropolis. This has to do with the fact, that Black people are responsively seeking the core element that defines the central organizing attribute of Black life, the Black community (a cohesion here that is indicative of linked fate and shared struggle) and its often racially harmonized forms of socio-cultural protection. The response by Blacks in this way to seek insulation, refuge and protection from white racist-mistreatment, suggest the quality of Black placemaking as the (Black) refuge feature in the determinants of Black sociality and Black solidarity (Kellogg, 1982; Walton, Jr., Smith & Wallace, 2017).

Hence, Hitsville, USA that branded Detroit as 'Motown', in its colossal impact of Black cultural placemaking, from local to global satellite is the sister to Soulville, USA, which defined the Stax, Memphis cultural-Black community (Meek & Morren, 2015; Wiedower, 2017). In the overall sense, the metaphor of 'Soulville' is ubiquitous to the Black placemaking-refuge, which describes a definitive hallmark of the Black

Metropolis. Aretha Franklin addresses and articulates this in her song, "Soulville" (Heller, 2013; Martin, 1994). She is talking about *her homecoming*, where she as a 'Black woman' can find " a place where she feels most comfortable" (Martin, 1995, 644) in the harmony of Black life that gives her back what she is missing. We see this as she brings Titus Turner's lyrics to life, "Show me the way to get to Soulville, baby/Show me the way to go, the way to go home/Show me the way to get to Soulville, baby/That's where I belong…Talkin' 'bout the candied sweets/Down in Soulville/Talkin' 'bout the Black-eyed peas/Down in Soulville" (Heller, 2013; Martin, 1994).

Aretha sings of a reconnection with her Black spirituality, and a psychological rejuvenation based in her deep Black cultural roots (which is another way of saying her African heritage), that she'd been forsaking in the economic-burden of appealing to white consumption and white validation (Heller, 2013). The interrogation of the 'Soulville' metaphorical landscape thus reinforces what has been pointed to earlier that Black metropolises are embedded with a topology that provides a psychological haven for Black people from a hostile white part of the world (Martin, 1995). The vision, mission and experience of Black community life reveal the sought after warmth and sense of belonging attached to African American designations of home (Martin, 1995).

Countering The Miseducation Problem Through African Heritage Festivals

The celebrations of Black/African heritage festivals in African American communities illustrates how Black political culture works and how they provide access to significant cultural enrichment and educational experiences that are not always present in white mainstream education and cultural practices. African heritage festivals serve as a process of cultural reconstruction, political meaning and the transmission of knowledge

to all generations, for those unable to access formal higher institutional education (Owusu-Frempong, 2005).

Although, African American communities celebrate different kinds of Pan African festivals each year, not much has been published on this subject and it constitutes an underserved topic. In this same unsung light, the notion of the Pan African festival as a macrocosm for the elaborate cultural political economy of the Black city constitutes an adaptive longevity of Black agency, whereas this central mechanism illustrates a new kind of Black Metropolis. The growth of the Pan African Metropolis has also never been approached. Detroit as a Black city is an example of several Black city spaces across America, such as Brooklyn, Memphis, Cleveland, Oakland, DC, New Orleans and the famous neighborhood of Harlem.

These cities all manifest what this study contemplates, a new revelation of Pan African culture, identity and philosophy that distinctively defines a Black city. In this context, the Black (Pan African) Metropolis has become a mecca for the phenomena of Afrocentric-Black placemaking and its form of Black refuge. The expressions of its spatial resistance can be noted in the Black self-determination-meanings of the Black festivals, such as Detroit's African World festival and by extension its Blackworld reconstruction of Africa. The Afrophillic Black festival and the tropes newly discovered by the dissertation's qualitative study such as: cultural enrichment, African heritage, Black pride, Buying Black, Black transcendence, generational legacies, educational and Black refuge signify contested racial, historical, and intellectual spatial realignment against the attempted domination of white spatial entitlement.

Due to the historical erasure and, the cultural and philosophical theft from institutional and educational legacies of the slave system and colonial damage, not all, but many African Americans have been deprived of a meaningful connection to Africa and their African heritage. Much like the movie Black Panther did, but in a more regular and standardized way African heritage festivals as a phenomena of Black placemaking in the Black city help restore this balance and connection through their imperatives and values of cultural enrichment and corrected historical education.

The Cultural Entrepreneur as Cultural Sustainer of African Roots

Pioneering Pan African cultural entrepreneur and cultural producer, Ed Vaughn's assessment of the African heritage festival (African World Festival) from Chapter 4 bears on the role of the cultural producer/entrepreneur as a cultural sustainer-agent. Vaughn also helps us to comprehend the importance of the African heritage festival in the cultural political economy of Detroiters. Moreover, his assessment below reveals how it functions to define and develop contributions to new Black urban culture.

> The festival is a continuation of the Pan African Movement… if our people could see the correlations between African people here and there, the songs, the dances, if our people could capture that sense of pride, I'd see Detroit being a much better place to live for everyone (Heron, 1983, 4C).

Vaughnn is one of those Detroit's legends in the Pan African community. His role as a pioneering historian and Detroit cultural entrepreneur, exemplifies the cultural producer, who shares the agent-role of cultural sustainer with the cultural consumer. Vaughn's Black Star Bookstore, named for Marcus Garvey's UNIA shipping enterprise, like the Shrine of the Black Madonna (church and bookstore) influenced, impacted and nurtured the placemaking and people of the Pan African Metropolis and its Pan African consumer and producer. Vaughn's vast influence and tutelage further guided and

358

cultivated a next generation of producers and consumers. This positive generational legacy continued and contributed new Black urban culture and macro elements of the Black cultural political economy in Detroit.

> "We [Black people] are deeply afflicted from the internalization of white supremacy, and notions of inferiority and that manifest in so many different ways in our life" (cultural producer, Yakini, 2017).

The cultural producers (entrepreneurs) like Malik Yakini of D-Town Farms, Ed Vaughn of Vaughn's Blackstar Bookstore, Albert Cleage of the Shrine of the Black Madonna, Mama Njia of the Charles Wright African World Festival of Detroit and Mama Nandi (Lucy Frye) of Nandi's Knowledge Café express a well-defined Pan African script that underscore a fundamental quality, the espousal of Black leadership-autonomy and healing-liberation from the poison of white supremacy. As a promoter of Black autonomy and Black self-love (Black authenticity), the cultural consumer is opposed to idolizing white control and opposed to dependence on the white establishment.

What they have come to recognize, as 'white control' has historically been a destabilizing and inconsiderate agent to Black empowerment and the durability of Black equalized urban development. D-Town and Malik's mission is to inspire Black people to resist the existing systems of Black suffering and thus facilitate the opportunity for Black people to envision a future of a Black Metropolis that prospers within these kind of social relations.

Yakini and Mama Njia was greatly influenced by the sermons at The Shrine of the Black Madonna church, and thus by Jaramogi's (Albert Cleage Jr.) Black Christian Nationalism and Ed Vaughn's Pan African Bookstore. They both grew in their roles as (Pan African) cultural consumers to cultural producers.

"Embracing our culture is important/promotes truth and wisdom/reminds Blacks of their strengths/shows Black cities in a positive light/puts aside everything they said we couldn't do" (5 cultural consumers, 2016).

For consumers of the culture, the 'world of Africa' in Detroit (Heron, 1988) doesn't collapse on a single Black identity. Instead it offers a psychological and cultural space for Black meta-identities to co-exist in freedom, harmony, peace, safety and dignity, "beyond the reach" (Nyamnjoh & Shoro, 2009, 35) of Detroit's long grip and footprints of white racism (Gilroy, 1987; Jackson, 1988). In this way, the cultural consumer is freed from the "burden of acting white" (Akom, 2008) and from the widespread racial conditioning of whiteness idolization (Morrison, 1971; Smitherman, 2014).

Hence, the spreading of Black self-love and Black (group) love is promoted through the sociality of cultural consumers. The motivation toward Black group love/the building of high racial esteem exemplifies the enhancement value that was visibly representative of Black Detroiters agency. The outstanding message conveyed by both cultural consumers and cultural producers was that 'Black Love' is felt and embodied in African cultural heritage celebration and preservation.

The cultural consumer and their consumption of Pan Africanism, sustains their African heritage while enabling a mental, spiritual and physical re-connection of their African descent no matter how they are differentiated by history, language, region, phenotype and culture in the African Diaspora with each other. This happens through the Black urban culture institutions of African heritage festivals, Pan African cafes and bookstores, and the African Marketplace(s), within a thriving infrastructure of cultural political economy.

"We just really have to do for self, and we have to communicate for self, and build with self. That's really what we [Black people] have to do" (Frye, 2017). "Who are we at Nandi's? We're all of those Pan Africans and Black Nationalist, because we're all those Africans, like Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad, Nelson Mandela… yes that's who we are, we're all of them" (Frye, 2017). "No matter where you're coming from you're still an African, and I'm still telling people that. So Africa is in your heart, but in this place you're going to get Africa. I don't really have to tell people the address anymore. I was so proud to set a flag in a pot that sits outside… just look for that red, Black, and green flag" (Frye, 2017).

Mama Nandi, Lucy Frye, a cultural producer/cultural entrepreneur exclaims that's where you will see her "Little Africa" at Nandi's Knowledge Café and Bookstore, it is a cultural station where "people come of like mind" (Frye, 2017). These like-minded people represent the cultural consumers. Nandi's place houses thousands of books, which run the gamut of Black discourse and Pan African thought. It also houses an impressive and extensive collection of African art, so much so that many cultural consumers "feel like they're in another world" (Frye, 2017). That other world speaks to cultural consumers longing for Black refuge. Mama Nandi's testaments help explain the odyssey of the cultural consumer; her notes capture what they as Black people want. They want the (group love/racial esteem-building) sociality and consumption that enriches their lives, and represents their enduring relationship with Black consciousness awakening, Black agency and Africa.

The Pan African consumer 'finds Africa' at Nandi's in several ways, such as in the types of books that allude to the study of Africa and the origins of African Americans,

361

and the several texts on African American culture, intellectual thought and Black politics. Mama Nandi's Black placemaking characterizes the way Pan African philosophy continues to influence the Black consciousness of the Pan African consumer in the Black urban experience of the Pan African Metropolis. "Some of it got lost along the way, but inside of us is Africa. You could be thinking about little stuff, like why do I think this way? - That's Africa! It's not just you, that's your ancestors; they're giving you something. In this world they think it's weird, but we're Africans (Frye, 2017).

Many of the customers "don't think that a space like this exists in this country. Or in the inner city, in a Black neighborhood"(Frye, 2017). For the Pan African consumer, "it is a space where people can come learn and talk about Black culture, and learn from other people" (Frye, 2017). Nandi's is a conversation space "where we can get some solutions" (Frye, 2017). In her stories, which are situated in the lineage of Pan African placemaking in Detroit, Mama Nandi underscored the conception that her Knowledge Café and Bookstore is a Black refuge place several times. "Nandi's is a safe space for Black people because we talk about; what if this happens? What if the lights go out? What if we can't eat any more? Well at Nandi's place we've got answers and solutions. We remind Black people not to forget where you come from. We haven't always had this fashionable access to everything… Nandi's is just that space, where we can meet together and, we can move in a group as one" (Frye, 2017).

What the cultural consumer seeks at Nandi's is a place that nurtures Black collectivist ethos, Black survival instinct, adaptive skills and proactive knowledge (Frye, 2017 and Walton, Jr., Smith and Wallace, 2017). Nandi's like several cultural-political houses in the Pan African Metropolis of Detroit, signify stations of 'Little Africa' (Frye,

2016). Mama Nandi attest to this, "If you come in Nandi's you're coming to Africa. I often tell people, you see Africa is not just a continent. But do you know where Africa is for Black people? It's in your heart. We are always going to be Africans no matter what. Bob Marley says this, " no matter where you're from you're still an African" (Frye, 2017).

There is a kind of spirit that doesn't fit in a place like Nandi's. This 'unfit spirit' is the kind that is complacent with, and rationalizes the indoctrination of anti-Black racial conditioning. "Well we have this group of Black people that thought that "Hey the 'ice is colder on the other side'… amongst the white people. These Black people didn't want to live amongst Black people, because some are just too Black. See Nandi's is a place that is maybe too Black. They may say that we're too Black… Which means Black people not liking other Black people. Saying too Black is Negrophobic, whether it's white people, or Black people it's all Negrophobia. Yes, their spirit won't work in Nandi's; I get them all the time" (Frye, 2017). This group who will not 'feel or cherish the spirit' is antithetical to the cultural consumer.

When Mama Nandi refers to "the ice is colder on the side", she is expressing an analogy of Black shame, she is conceptualizing how in the long maintenance of racial segregation, the split worlds also help cultivate a split consciousness that fostered contempt for Black people in other Black people. Albeit, many of the physical conditions in the Black separate world, like schools were better in physical condition in white communities, but not always were the metaphysical benefits in the white world suitable or healthy for the psychological and spiritual development of the Black self/Black psyche. Hence, not everything that developed among Black people in their separate and

autonomous community building should be dismissed as being a Black deficit for Black people. Mama Nandi's hint of 'white water' (Taulbert, Cooper & Reid, 1996) is kindred to what Dubois classified as the "burden of being white" (Akom, 2008). It alludes to the problem of Black shame; the way it was cultivated in Black people, by the conditions, mores, taboos, literature, trauma, myths and depictions of racial subordination and humiliation that reinforced white supremacy that Black people would eventually internalize.

These central thematic motivations are very important to most of Black urban life. Their discovery reveals new tropes in the lineage of the Black Metropolis thesis. Thus, they can be viewed as indicators which help locate the Pan African Metropolis and certify the power Black people have in the emergence of the Pan African political economy. Detroit's emergence of its Pan African Metropolis (circa, 1960s-1970s) comes out of its Black Arts Movement (Thompson, 1999). Its enduring continuum of Pan-African axes of life, configures how Detroit, becomes what former political theorist and councilwoman, JoAnn Watson's first refers to as an "African city" (Heron, 1989) in the dissertation's *Introduction* Chapter.

The Pan African Metropolis as a grand total of Black placemaking must be regarded in how its oppositional cultural framework in Black cultural, philosophical and identity self-determination provides a delivery system for Black politics. Black politics is referred to here as the political mission for Black liberation, justice, equality and representation. These essences of the Black city and its Black dignity values in African heritage and Black culture have persisted as forms of Black resistance. Because they intentionally reframed Black people from European marginalization and its narrative that

mythologize Anglo heritage as the standard for political sophistication and frame whiteness as the center of life, power, intellect, aesthetic, autonomy and 'the light' (Noggle & Stacey, 2005).

The 'African Home' Topology of Black Cities:
A New Way to Talk About Pan Africanism

Black identity formation, African heritage and Pan African thought in the Pan African Metropolis (PAM) are drawn together and grounded in two centralizing beliefs of Black Nationalism, that "Africa is a special homeland for Blacks", and that white people collectively want to keep Black people subordinated (Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017, 83). Walter Rodney asserts to "talk about Pan Africanism" is "to talk about international solidarity within the Black world we live", and that it consequently requires a series of responsibilities; the first responsibility is to "define our own situation" (Campbell & Worrell, 2006).

Almost on a weekly basis, the news presents events particularly as it relates to the troubled encounter of out-of-control policemen shooting down and abusing unarmed Black people, where we see the theft of Black dignity (Johnson, 2017). This persistent phenomena among so many others forms of anti-Black mistreatment determines how the "situated knowledge" (Johnson, 2017) in the material and psychological conditions in which Black people live reinforces a dramatically different philosophy of existence from white people.

Out of this situated knowledge of existential wisdom and Black suffering, the relevance of Pan Africanism as a unity-binding methodology and adaptive-strength-agency that (re-) instills Black dignity and constructs safe places of belonging and self-love, remains strong. The continued relevance and impact of Pan Africanism suggests an

Afro-future coordination of the Black Metropolis as was depicted in the fictional world of Wakanda. Where the progress of African heritage meets the needs of a technological, scientific and ecological marketplace as well as continues to apply an Africentric aesthetic to cutting-edge expressions of Afro postmodernity.

The collection of empirical evidence on Black racial group consciousness and identity indicates that the Pan African identity continues to be resilient, despite what many Black people often believe, or say with each other, or to themselves. This data analyzed in thorough detail and collected from interviews and surveys reveal that most Black people felt "what happens generally to Blacks in this country, will have something to do with what happens in their [own] life" (AWF, 2016, DeBardelaben, Frye, Kai, & Yakini, 2017; Dawson 2003; Walton, Jr., Smith, & Wallace, 2017, 58).

To this end, linked fate and levels of shared disillusionment continue to define African Americans commitment to the undying embrace of Pan African leanings (Dawson, 2003; Songhai, 2018; Thompson, 1999; Walton, Jr., Smith & Wallace, 2017).

The Pan African identity that is most relevant to Black identity formation of Black Detroiters and their permanence of African heritage preservation is the tendencies to emphasize racial solidarity, self-definition, self-reliance, self-determination and various levels of cultural, political, social and economic separation from white America. These Black Nationalist tendencies are in large part due to the fact and perception "that America has yet to live up to its promise of racial fairness" (Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017, 82).

In this context, the Pan African identity has labored under a lot of confusion and rejection, which has served to obscure its positive adaptive-vitality. For the same reason

Pan African identity is not viewed as an adaptive-strength, so too is Black pride, or Black as a distinct identifier (HBCU, Black actor, Black professor, Black entrepreneur, etc.,) not understood by many as an adaptive and strategic strength that is antithetical to white supremacy, even by many Black people. Although, many Black people practice some form of Black Nationalism in their political sentiments, many beg off, overtly identifying under its umbrella. Most of this is due to the negative connation an insidious white repressive historical gaze has given to it. The Counter intelligence program of the FBI, with such fabricated tales of 'Black identity extremists', and the lethal assassination of many famous Black Nationalists throughout history are part of this slander and vilification process.

Common reactionary confusion around Black Nationalism for many is that it is static and uniform. It is in fact, quite complex, fluid and multidimensional, having at least two dimensions that characterize it. These two perspectives are community nationalism and separatist nationalism. The first advocates control and support communities where Black people dominate. The second rejects inclusion within the white dominated state and seeks the creation of a new homeland (Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017, 83).

Under this light, the Pan African identity is not about a limited way of defining Blackness. On the contrary, it functions as a harmonizing collectivist-agent, because "there is no single route for attaining the Pan African dream" (Nyanmeh & Shoro, 2009, 21). Another confusion is that Pan Africanism is anti-white in the sense of white nationalism racial animus and terrorist history. In all the cultural producers and cultural consumers in their Pan African leanings, that I interviewed and surveyed no reference toward Black self-love and Black group-love meant white hatred as an operating

ideology. BN is thus, ignorantly equalized to white nationalism. White nationalism is based in and dedicated to white supremacy and white terrorism. BN is based in and dedicated to equality, peace in racial justice and racial harmony of all people. In other words BN/Pan Africanism has been consistently driven by egalitarian motives. This false equivalency-game that Black Nationalism and white nationalism is the same continues to be used by many whites and accommodating Blacks to justify the mistreatment of Black people, and vindicate white privilege and anti-Black racial discrimination. This false equivalency-tactic resurfaced in the latest legacy of the Cointelpro, when the FBI claimed groups like Black Lives Matter were Black Identity Extremists.

Pan Africanism is the most celebrated and popular form of Black Nationalism. Its ideals are arguably an attempt for Black self-affirmation, self-definition and self-determination with regard to Black culture and racial progress. It also functions to remind Black people of their historical contributions and encourages Black people's constant adaptive skills and strengths for the ongoing challenges of race relations. Those most unfamiliar with African American epistemics, perspectives, values, thought and dialogue seem to appoint themselves historically to tell African Americans what is best for them, without the phenomena of that lived experience. All of this is complicated by the fact, that one can have Black Nationalist leanings, but reject Pan Africanism.

Like the racial battleground that provided the cultural political formation of an African heritage-based Black identity, lifestyle and marketplace in Detroit, African Americans' strong adherence to Pan African identity is filled with historical complexity. It is a consequence of Black collective strategies, Black distrust, Black suffering and Black disaffection particularly related to the white supremacy indoctrination. This

368

indoctrination is most felt in the compulsion toward whiteness idolization, with its myths, beauty ideals and lies that rationalize racial exclusion and anti-Black sentiment (Walton, Smith & Wallace, 2017).

As a matter of fact, in contravene to European/Anglo-American narratives of history, the formation of Black identity through the embrace of African heritage to the manifestation of a Pan African orientation may be quite unique to the global reality of power and domination. The spiritual citizenship inhabited by the Pan African aesthetic might represent the only positive, non-racist and non-supremacist nationalist-identification in the catalog of 'mankind's' historical record on the planet.

Unbeknownst to many people is the mere fact, that Black Nationalist thought is the positive-opposite of white nationalism and may prove to be globally, one of the most inclusive and sensible egalitarian motivations that have ever existed in political history. For these reasons, Black cultural nationalism presides in the lives of the Black community as a multiple-encompassing group ideology, which surrounds and produced the emergence of the Pan African Metropolis. In this realm, much Black agency and Black progress is owed to the guidance and 'woke states' provided by the lengthy continuum of the Pan African identity.

All in all, the revelations from the dissertation study *Pan African Agency and The Cultural Political Economy of the Black City: The Case of the African World Festival in Detroit*, should help to dispel some of the stigmas associated with the unapologetic Pan African life. It should also discount the fabricated belief by numerous naysayers who say that Pan Africanism is dead. As they falsely alleged it has no valuable and strong functionality in contemporary times and for the future of Black people.

Conclusion

In the era (2018-2019) of the Black consciousness-raising and positive injection of Wakandan folklore with its metaphorical reimagining of Africa brought on by the Marvel Black Panther excitement, the future of the Black Metropolis for many Black cities may lie within the prospects of 'the Pan African city'. Hence, the emphasis on the indicators of a 'Pan African Metropolis' (PAM) stressed throughout the discussion and analysis profess a sort of Afro-future envisioning of the Black Metropolis.

It requires scholars and laypeople to begin to understand a major intention of Coogler's Black Panther-handling and my study on the PAM lays in the undervalued story of the African reconciled self (the Afrocentric identity) in Black Americans as positive agents of urban change, rather than the portrayal of that same Black face as a 'negative object' of urban dysfunction, or vicious demeaning stereotype. The internalization of Black shame in the form of African heritage displacement by many African Americans fits neatly in the many tentacled agenda of white domination.

Furthermore, the internalization of Black shame has been discussed as a problem that white supremacy produces and is remedied by the Pan African vibrations of Black placemaking. Yet, this perpetual socialization or psychological indoctrination (what Akbar approaches through his psychological slavery formulation) has also worked to obscure the adaptive strength progress in Afrocentric thought. Afrocentric thought and philosophy is thus attacked and denigrated in this white-access-driven and white-knowledge validation establishment that also operates on and exploits Black shame. In the mutual methodologies of this anti-Afrocentric school, what is further overshadowed is the 'real way' Black people for the most part have created a functional Black dignity-

program in claiming their connection to their living African heritage. A suitable and necessary amount of intelligence, diligence, patience, balance and reason will certainly show that Black people in Detroit celebrate their African heritage and use it make 'a place in the sun' for themselves as Garvey first explains the need for, during the UNIA convention in Black Harlem (1920).

Hence, African American's 'Africaness' has never been socially dead, blank slated or wiped out, it has often in truth, reinvented itself. This is why so many African Americans are Pan African and actually love being Pan African. Their allegiance to Pan African thought and interaction is a testament to that, because they intentionally insist on that the African root will never be 'enslaved' out of them. This understanding constitutes both the challenge and the story of Black resistance through their everyday unapologetic Pan African lifestyle.

This is why Black people have a custom of calling each other 'Kings and Queens', because of their claims to their African heritage as a way to revive Black dignity, especially in the long cycle of poisonous disruptions due to white supremacy, slavery and colonization. The Pan African legacy accounted for in Detroit and the production of its PAM is thus in part, a Black self-love story about the liberation from white validation and in that 'Black love story', Black autonomy and the quest for Black authenticity represents the fullest expression of Black universal freedom and equality.

The notion of the spatial embedded with political conflict among Black and whites, addresses how critical race spatial analysis frames effectively, the contributions of Black Detroiters under PA/BN phenomena. The racial battleground juxtaposed against the productivity of Black people in the Pan African Metropolis' productions such as

AWF, The Shrine of the Black Madonna Church and Bookstore, Ed Vaughn's Pan African Bookstore, the Charles Wright Museum, Nandi's Bookstore Café, Nation of Islam, D-Town Farms, etc., allows a better understanding of Black urban life, culture, philosophy and identity in its own right.

Further consideration of the 'woke moment' of the Wakanda/Black Panther inspired Pan African consciousness, is very telling of the desire for African Americans longing to find dignity, heroism and pride in African reconnection. Hence, the progressive siting of the Pan African Metropolis (PAM) will involve the expanding conception and social imagination of an Afro-future. This Afro-future development of the PAM implicates how African Americans will continue to be very influential in shaping their future and the fabric of American political cultures and enlightenment values.

Finally, in its multidisciplinary framing, the dissertation study sought to reveal the integrative relationship between political theory, cultural phenomena and the urban study. Black political theory/Black philosophy is addressed by the pedestal of Africana critical theory and in the concepts, autonomy and authenticity, to posit something unexplored about the Black existential condition in the Black Metropolis.

Pan African thought is presented as a school of Africana (American) philosophy, and Black political and existential thought. Cultural studies (Morley, & Chen, 1996) are approached through an examination of Pan African cultural nationalism in Detroit's Black Metropolis, which help to excavate and locate the Pan African Metropolis and its Pan African cultural political economy.

The future study will expand my thesis to other Black cities, such as Roxbury, Memphis, East St Louis, South Side-Chicago, Romulus, Cleveland, etc. I could do a

study just on healing in Pan African agency in the Black city. In the Afterword of the dissertation, the case for Oakland as both a Black and Pan African metropolis is made as a potential insight into this future study. The case of Detroit is brimming with the landscape of Pan African agency in the healing arts.

The African Heritage Festival provides this cultural political economy interface. Producers, who are usually cultural entrepreneurs and the contemporary expansion of the "race man and race woman"-New Negro of 1920s – 1950s and consumers create transactions within the central African Marketplace; where they buy and sell ideas about African Heritage; this happens locally at the African World Festival. Both of these groups of Pan African citizens share the crucial role of cultural sustainer in the Pan African Metropolis.

To this great extent, in stark evidence from the qualitative ethnography, a refutation against those who say Pan Africanism is dead is needed. On the contrary, Pan Africanism remains relevant and alive. For the Black world, it marks the wisdom, peace and love strategy of "situated knowledge" (Johnson, 2017). It contributes to Black identity, it keeps alive Pan African identity through core values of African heritage celebration.

APPENDIX

Table 7.1

Percentage of Support for African Americans Autonomy in Mass Public Opinion

Statements of Survey	Percentage Agreeing
Blacks should rely on themselves and not others.	68
Blacks should control the government in Black Communities.	89
Blacks should participate in Black-only organizations Whenever possible.	67
Blacks should shop in Black stores whenever possible.	84
Black children study an African Language.	70

Source: *Michael Dawson and Ronald Brown, "Black Discontent: The Preliminary Report of the 1993-1994 National Black Politics Study, "Report 1, University of Chicago. The results are based on a representative, randomly selected sample of the Black population. Percentages are of respondent agreeing with the statement*

Table 7.2

Survey Data of Black People on Black Community

Overall Statements from Survey	Percentage Agreeing
Black people feel close to other Black people in this country.	90
Black people feel they share a common, or Linked fate with other Black people in this country, and somewhat in with Black people in other parts of the world.	69

Source: *Michael Dawson,*
Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics, 1994.

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