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**Protracted Struggle, Protracted Crisis, and Black Education,
1940-2010: A Research Note on Educational Attainment and
Empirical Data in the United States of America**

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the education of Black people between 1940 and 2019 in the United States of America (USA) with special reference to the National Center for Education Statistics. The analysis of the data in this paper covers Black people; White people; Latino people; Asian people; Pacific Islander people; and American Indian/Alaska Native people. To place that period between 1940 and 2019 in context, this paper examines some Black people who wrote about investing in the education of the Black masses before 1940. Those Black people include Frederick Douglass, Richard Robert Wright, Sr., Booker T. Washington, Anna Julia Cooper, W.E.B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Paul Robeson.

INTRODUCTION

During the first decade of the 21st century, Kern (2009) wrote an important paper on the contributions of Gary Becker and Samuel Bowles to human capital theory. She posed that the work of Gary Becker and Samuel Bowles is important because it sheds light on the way investment in the education of the masses in each society can benefit the society. In the view of Kern, “A comprehensive study of both Bowles’ and Becker’s work, may lead to a new educational system, securing the economic status of the U.S. in the new global knowledge driven economy” (p. 1). Kern also informed us that, “Human Capital Development Theory concludes that investment in human capital will lead to greater economic outputs however the validity of the theory is sometimes hard to prove and contradictory” (p. 1).

As part of her discussion of Becker, Bowles, and their connection to advocacy of investing in the education of people, Kern (2009) acknowledged some of the other people who have advocated for that approach. She said that William Petty, a White man who lived from 1623 to 1687, and Adam Smith, a White man who lived from 1723 to 1790, are “the primary cultivators of human capital theory” (p. 2). In the discussion of investing in the education of people, Kern also said that key roles have been played by people like John Locke, a White man who lived 1632 to 1704; John Stuart Mill, a White man who lived from 1806 to 1873; Karl Marx, a White man who lived from 1818 to 1883; and Theodore Schultz, a White man who lived from 1902 to 1998. As Kern has pointed out, Schultz has been “credited with establishing the term ‘human capital’” by Becker (p. 3). Throughout her article, Kern did not mention a single Black person who has written about the need to invest in the education of the masses. She either ignored or overlooked Black people like Frederick Douglass, Richard Robert Wright, Sr., Booker T. Washington, Anna Julia Cooper, W.E.B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Paul Robeson.¹

The purpose of this paper is to examine the education of Black people between 1940 and 2019 in the United States of America (USA) with special reference to the National Center for Education Statistics. The analysis of the data in this paper will cover Black people; White people; Latino people; Asian people; Pacific Islander people; and American Indian/Alaska Native people. To place that period between 1940 and 2019 in context, this paper will examine some Black people who wrote about investing in the education of the Black masses before 1940. Those Black people will include Frederick

Douglass, Richard Robert Wright, Sr., Booker T. Washington, Anna Julia Cooper, W.E.B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Paul Robeson. This paper will utilize a mixed methods approach consisting of the secondary data analysis method and the case study method.

BLACK EDUCATION BEFORE 1940 IN THE USA

Black education before 1940 in the USA doubtlessly started in 1526 when the first known Africans came into the mainland of the present limits of this country. In that year, Spanish explorers attempted to set up a permanent settlement under leader leadership of Lucas de Ayllon. Some scholars maintain that the location of the settlement was in South Carolina. Other scholars maintain that it was in Georgia. However, they agree that the plan failed when some 100 enslaved Africans fled from the Spanish and joined the Indians as Maroons. In order to survive, those Maroons had to pass down knowledge and skills to their offspring. That was the beginning not the end of Black education within the present limits of the USA (Aptheker, 1943/1974; Katz, 1986; Hoffman, 1990/2004,1992; Peck, 2001).

In 1619, the English brought Africans into the permanent settlements they had established in Virginia. The first group had the status of indentured servants. By 1665, that status had changed for the Black masses to chattel slavery as an outcome of several social forces, including the nefarious Anthony Johnson case. Black people responded to chattel slavery by resisting “the peculiar institution” by engaging in malingering, arson, assassination, self-injury, infanticide sabotage of tools and animals, outlying, and the existence of Maroons. The White slaveholders and their supporters responded to chattel slavery by implementing drastic measures aimed at social control by dealing out extreme punishment to enslaved Black people for trying to read and write (Aptheker, 1943/1974; Franklin & Higginbotham, 1947/2011).

Enslaved Black people who gained the ability to read and write were generally seen as dangerous threats to chattel slavery. It was thought that their skills could lead to written documents in the form of fake passes and secret letters. It was also thought that those fake passes and secret letters could be cornerstones in slave rebellions. Likewise, there was a fear that enslaved Black people would read book, newspapers, and letters that would inspire them to want freedom. In the wake of the Nat Turner Slave Rebellion in 1831, some states banned anyone from teaching enslaved Black people to read and write (Aptheker, 1943/1974; Franklin & Higginbotham, 1947/2011).

As part of the effort to exercise social control over Black people, White slaveholders and their supporters sometimes resorted to teaching certain passages from the King James Version of the Holy Bible to enslaved Black people (Jones, 1832, 1842). In contrast to the White slaveholders and their supporters, the enslaved Black people often identified with the oppression faced by the Hebrews as described in the Old Testament. Many enslaved Black people developed a disdain for the New Testament because of their lived experiences in chattel slavery (Woodson, 1921). Howard Thurman (1949), a distinguished Black theologian who served as an advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr., has recalled his grandmother named Nancy Ambrose had a disdain for the New Testament because of her lived experience in slavery.

In an interview with Mary E. Goodwin, Thurman discussed his grandmother Nancy Ambrose. He said, "Occasionally when she was in an expansive mood she would talk about her life as a slave on the plantation in north Florida. Two of those stories I never tired of" (Quoted in Goodwin, 2013, p. 3). Thurman added:

The first: sometimes the plantation owner's minister would be permitted to hold a religious service for the slaves, and he always preached from the same text: "Slaves, be obedient to your masters, for this is right in the Lord." My grandmother said that she made up her mind then and there that if she ever learned to read or if freedom ever came she would never read that part of the Bible. So all the years that I was growing and had the job of reading to her every day, I could never read any of the Pauline letters, except now and then the 13th chapter of 1 Corinthians. Maybe this experience unconsciously influenced my thought when I wrote *Jesus and the Disinherited*. (Quoted in Goodwin, pp. 4-5)

Thurman continued:

My grandmother's second story is even more important to me, but in a different way. She would talk about the times when a slave preacher was permitted to hold services for the slaves of her master's and all the neighboring plantations. I don't remember how often this happened, but that that it happened at all was tremendously important. And then my sister and I would be very still, because we knew what she was going to tell us—this: "It didn't matter what the text was, the minister always ended up at the same place." It was the sort of thing we used to say in college, that it didn't matter where the black preacher started out, he always ended up in Calvary. Anyway I can see her getting ready. Then she would say: "He would stand up, start very quietly and then look around to all of us in the room and then he would say, 'You are not slaves, you are not n----- you are God's children'. . ." And you know, when my grandmother said that she would unconsciously straighten up, head high and chest out, and a faraway look would come over her face. (Quoted in Goodwin, 2013, p. 4)

According to Thurman, his grandmother used those two lessons to help instill a core identity in him. He said that those lessons "transmitted an idiom to me. And there was nothing in my environment that could ever touch this" (Quoted in Goodwin, 2013, p. 1).

Thurman proceeded to explain some aspects of his core identity and how it was developed. Looking back on the lessons he received from his grandmother, Thurman further related that:

It gave me my identity, so I didn't have to wait for the revolution. I have never been in search of identity—and I think the explanation is that everything I've ever felt and worked on and believed in was founded in a kind of private, almost unconscious autonomy that did not seek vindication in my environment because it was in me. This is what I tried to pass on to my children. We have to have someone way to keep from internalizing our environment's negative judgments about us. As long as I keep the environment external to me it cannot control me;

but when I internalize it I become captured by it. (Quoted in Goodwin, 2013, p. 4)

In a very dynamic fashion, Thurman pointed out that the lessons he received from his grandmother shaped his core identity. For Thurman, the core identity was an aspect of the self consisting of key values and norms passed down from one generation to another. With the values and norms that he received from his grandmother, Thurman became an important educator and theologian who was the first Black person to get appointed as a dean at a predominately White university.

On the one hand, Thurman (1979), in his book *With Head and Heart: The Autobiography of Howard Thurman*, acknowledged the impact of his grandmother on shaping his core identity. On the other hand, Thurman (1949), in his book *Jesus and the Disinherited*, related the attitude of his grandmother Nancy Ambrose towards the Pauline letters in the Old Testament of the *Bible*. He wrote:

During much of my boyhood I was cared for by my grandmother, who was born a slave and lived until the Civil War on a plantation near Madison, Florida. My regular chore was to do all of the reading for my grandmother—she could neither read nor write. Two or three times a week I read the Bible aloud to her. I was deeply impressed by the fact that she was most particular about the choice of Scripture. For instance, I might read many of the more devotional Psalms, some of Isaiah, the Gospels again and again. But the Pauline epistles, never—except, at long intervals, the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. My curiosity knew no bounds, but we did not question her about anything. (p. 30)

Thurman added:

When I was older and was half through college, I chanced to be spending a few days at home near the end of summer vacation. With a feeling of great temerity I asked her one day why it was that she would not let me read any of the Pauline letters. What she told me I shall never forget. “During the days of slavery,” she said, “the master’s minister would occasionally hold services for the slaves. Old man McGhee was so mean that he would not let a Negro minister preach to his slaves. Always the white minister used as his text something from Paul. At least three or four times a year he used as a text: ‘Slaves, be obedient to them that are your masters . . . , as unto Christ.’ Then he would go on to show how it was God’s will that we were slaves and how, if we were good and happy slaves, God would bless us. I promised my Maker that if I ever learned to read and if freedom ever came, I would not read that part of the Bible.” (pp. 30-31)

Looking back on the thinking of his grandmother, Thurman expressed that she was conscious of her oppressed status during the era chattel of slavery and how religious teachings by White slaveholders were used to get Black people to accept horrible social conditions in their environment. While still in bondage, Thurman’s grandmother never gave up on her desire to be free of that oppression and made a conscious decision to reject those religious teachings used by White slaveholders to get Black people to

accept oppressive social conditions. Under the influence of his grandmother and others, Thurman (1949) stated that, “It cannot be denied that too often the weight of the Christian movement has been on the side of the strong and the powerful and against the weak and oppressed—this, despite the gospel” (p. 31). Thurman noted that John Newton, a former White slaveholder, was the author of the song *Amazing Grace* and that a ship named Jesus was one of the ones that carried enslaved Black people from the shores of Africa to the shores of the Americas.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS ON BLACK EDUCATION IN THE USA BEFORE 1940

Frederick Douglass was probably born February 14, 1818 in Talbot County, Maryland and died February 20, 1895 in Washington, DC at age 77. During his lifetime, Douglass was a distinguished orator, author, diplomat, and social movement leader. Douglass never received a high school diploma or any type of college degree. Instead, Douglass managed to educate himself through independent study and one-on-one instruction from others. While still enslaved, Douglass learned some basic related to reading and writing from a sympathetic White woman who was the wife of the White man who held him in bondage. After he escaped from slavery at the age of 20, Douglass quickly developed his literacy and became an outstanding writer as well as orator. In addition to writing for some abolitionist newspapers before the Civil War, Douglass wrote and published two of his three autobiographies. He also served as the co-editor of the newspaper *The North Star* and as the editor of *Frederick Douglass's Paper* (Douglass, 1882; Finkenbine, 2008).

As he has noted, Douglass (1882) served as a national leader of Black people in the USA before, during, and after the Civil War. In his leadership role, Douglass presented many speeches about the social issues of the day. On December 1, 1850, presented a lecture on slavery in Rochester, New York. Douglass (1850) informed us that:

The great mass of slaveholders look upon education among the slaves as utterly subversive of the slave system. I well remember when my mistress first announced to my master that she had discovered that I could read. His face colored at once, with surprise and chagrin. He said that, “I was ruined, and my value as a slave destroyed; that a slave should know nothing but to obey his master; that to give a Negro an inch would lead him to take an ell; that having learned how to read, I would soon want to know how to write; and that, bye and bye, I would be running away.” I think my audience will bear witness to the correctness of this philosophy, and to the literal fulfillment of this prophecy. (p. 2)

He continued:

It is perfectly well understood at the South that to educate a slave is to make him discontinued with slavery, and to invest him with a power which shall open him to the treasures of freedom; and since the object of the slaveholder is to maintain complete authority over his slave, his constant vigilance is exercised

to prevent everything which militates against, or endangers the stability of his authority. Education being among the menacing influences, and, perhaps, the most dangerous, is, therefore, the most cautiously guarded against. (p. 2)

Douglass sought to make his audience very clear about the way White slaveholders saw enslaved Black people becoming educated. He pointed out that education among enslaved Black people was perceived as a threat.

In July 1853, Douglass (1853) delivered a speech at the Colored National Convention in Rochester, New York and issued a proposal for an industrial college. Douglass called for a college to be built which would provide Black people with chance to receive vocational education on a systematic basis. As part of his address, Douglass read a letter he had written to Harriet Beecher Stow about the need for an industrial college. To combat poverty, ignorance, and degradation, Douglass said that “the colored men must learn trades; and must find new employment; new modes of usefulness to society, or that they must decay under the pressing wants to which their condition is rapidly bringing them” (p. 37). Douglass also stated that:

We must become mechanics; we must build as well as live in houses; we must make as well as use furniture; we must construct bridges as well as pass over them, before we can properly live or be respected by our fellow men. We need mechanics as well as ministers. We need workers in iron, clay, and leather. We have orators, authors, and other professional men, but these reach only a certain class, and get respect for our race in certain select circles. To live here as we ought, we must fasten ourselves to our countrymen through their every day cardinal wants. We must not only be able to black boots, but to make them. At present we are unknown in the Northern states as mechanics. (p. 37)

In addition to acquiring skills, Douglass urged Black people to get land to build wealth and resources that can be passed down from one generation to another.

Douglass (1853) complained that Black people were facing a social condition which consisted of internal and external bias against Black professional people as well as Black working-class people. He remarked:

We now have two or three colored lawyers in this country; and I rejoice in the fact; for it affords very gratifying evidence of our progress. Yet it must be confessed that, in point of success, our lawyers are as great failures as are our ministers. White people will not employ them to the obvious embarrassment of their causes, and the blacks, taking their cue from the whites, have not sufficient confidence in their abilities to employ them. Hence, educated colored men, among the colored people, are at a very great discount. (p. 35)

To counter the situation, Douglass urged Black professional people and Black working-class to persevere and keep moving forward. Douglass emphasized the need for Black people to have “commendable zeal, industry, perseverance and self-reliance” (p. 36). He complained that, “Slavery, more than anything else, robs its victims of self-reliance” (p. 36).

On September 24, 1883, Douglass (1886) delivered a speech at a Convention of Colored Men in Louisville, Kentucky wherein he stressed the importance of education among other things. Douglass expressed concern about “the widespread and truly alarming illiteracy as revealed by the census of 1880” (p. 17). He took the position that the government should take action to reduce the rate of illiteracy in the USA. Douglass stated:

Certain it is that it will not do to trust to the philanthropy of wealthy individuals or benevolent societies to remove it. The states in which this illiteracy prevails either can not or will not provide adequate systems of education for their own youth. But, however this may be, the fact remains that the whole country is directly interested in the education of every child that lives within its borders. The ignorance of any part of the American people so deeply concerns all the rest that there can be no doubt of the right to pass laws compelling the attendance of every child at school. Believing that such is now required and ought to be enacted, we hereby put ourselves on record in favor of stringent laws to this end. (pp. 17-18)

He said that it was “the imperative duty of Congress to take hold of this important subject, and, without waiting for the States to adopt liberal school systems within their respective jurisdictions, to enter vigorously upon the work of universal education” (p. 680).

Douglass (1886) made it very clear that he believed the Federal government should help individual states to address their educational needs. He stated:

The National Government, with its immense resources, can carry the benefits of a sound common-school education to the door of every poor man from Maine to Texas, and to withhold this boon is to neglect the greatest assurance it has of its own perpetuity. As part of the American people we unite most emphatically with others who have already spoken on this subject, in urging Congress to lay the foundation of a great national system of aid to education at its next session. (p. 18)

Douglass added:

In this connection, and as germane to the subject of education under national auspices, we would most respectfully and earnestly request Congress to authorize the appointment of a commission of three or more persons of suitable character and qualifications to ascertain the legal claimants, as far as they can, to a large fund now in the United States treasury, appropriated for the payment of bounties of colored soldiers and sailors; and to provide by law that at the expiration of three or five years the balance remaining in the treasury be distributed among the colored colleges of the country, giving the preference as to amounts to the schools that are doing effective work in industrial branches. (p. 18)

Long before Booker T. Washington, Douglass was an advocate of vocational education which was also known as industrial training. However, Douglass also made it clear that he believed Black people should have access to a liberal arts education for those who had the skills and desire to succeed in such a curriculum. Thus, Douglass like W. E. B. Du Bois and Ida B. Wells-Barnett, believed in a both/and approach rather than either/or approach to this matter. Also, like Du Bois and Wells-Barnett, Douglass believed that Black people have a right to be in the USA with equality of opportunities and equality of results.

RICHARD ROBERT WRIGHT, SR. ON BLACK EDUCATION IN GEORGIA BEFORE 1940

Richard Robert Wright, Sr. was born May 16, 1855 near Dalton, Georgia and died July 2, 1947 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania at age 92. Over the course of his lifetime, Wright was a distinguished educator, author, banker, and social movement leader. He received a high school diploma from the Storrs School in Atlanta, Georgia; and a B.A. degree and M.A. degree from Atlanta University (later Clark Atlanta University). Wright served as an educator in various locations in Georgia. He served as a principal at an elementary school in Cuthbert. While serving in that post, Wright founded the Georgia State Teachers' Association. During 1980, Wright became the founding principal of Ware High School in Augusta. He remained in that position until 1891. After the Georgia legislature proceeded to establish Georgia State Industrial College (later Savannah State University) in that year, Wright was selected to the founding president. Wright remained in that position until 1921 when he retired and moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to open a bank (Haynes, 1952; Morris, 2008).

Wright (1894) wrote an important book on Black education in Georgia both before and after 1865. The title of the book was *A Brief History of Negro Education in Georgia*. Wright used his book to cover topics such as the first Black grade school in Georgia and the first Black public college; clandestine schools in Georgia before the Civil War; and the first Black teachers in Georgia after the Civil War. He also addressed the public school system in Georgia; missionary and denominational schools; liberal arts education; and trade education.

According to Wright (1894), Black people managed to establish a few clandestine schools in Savannah and Augusta before the Civil War. One of the most notable of those types of schools was operated by Julian Froumontaine. He was a free Black man from Santo Domingo who opened a school to teach free Black people in 1818 or 1919. At that time, the school was operated openly. However, the state of Georgia passed a law forbidding the teaching of all Black people in schools effective December 22, 1829. Before 1829, it was not against the law to teach a free Black person.

Wright (1894) surmised that White slaveholders passed the law because they were afraid that Black people would be able to read abolitionist literature. After the ban was passed in 1829, all Black schools became clandestine including that of Julian Froumontaine. Wright has explained that, "Froumontaine's school, however, flourished under him for more than fifteen years. It laid the foundation of the educational work among the colored people of Georgia. Several of his pupils clandestinely taught schools down to the beginning of the war" (p. 20). He has reported that, "The colored teachers

who were employed to teach the schools in Savannah, the first in the state, were they who had been taught in this clandestine way. At least two of old Julian's pupils still live at Savannah" (p. 20).

After General William Tecumseh Sherman led the Union Army into Savannah in 1864, that city became the site of the first Black school to emerge above ground in Georgia since 1829. Wright (1894) has related that the school was planned by a group of Black men and White men one night. He has written that:

The starting point for colored schools in Georgia was Savannah. They had a romantic beginning. During the latter part of December, 1864, in the splendid old mansion of Mr. Green, a British subject, the magnificent residence now owned by Maj. P.W. Meldrim, the efficient Chairman of the Commission for the Georgia State Industrial College for Colored Youths (the first state institution established for colored youths in Georgia), was held the first conference of white and colored men ever convened in Georgia to consult and devise as to the ways and means of educating the Negro. It was a distinguished and notable gathering and should ever be held memorable. Secretary of War Stanton was the leading figure of that gathering. Gen. Wm. T. Sherman and several of his generals and aides were present; the colored committee consisted of eight or ten leading colored ministers of Savannah. I repeat, it was a notable gathering. For the first time in the history of the commonwealth, colored men, as freemen, met with white men to plan unmolested for the intellectual development of their race. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, was astonished at the wisdom and tact of those untutored black sages. Rev. Garrison Frasier made the presentation. He was a splendid specimen of humanity. His speech was a marvelous piece of untrained eloquence. At this distance of nearly thirty years, the few survivors who heard it declare that it has not been surpassed for tact, wisdom, good sense and eloquence. It carried the day. Secretary Stanton observed that the men's replies to his questions were so shrewd, so wise, so comprehensive, that he believed that they understood and could state the principles discussed as well as any member of the Cabinet. (pp. 16-17)

Wright marveled that Black men and White men had convened in the former home of a White slaveholder to plan for the educational attainment of Black people. In addition to Garrison Frasier, some of the Black men at the meeting were Alexander Harris, Charles Bradwell, John Cox, William J. Campbell, and Arthur Vardell. Wright exclaimed that, "Almost exactly a hundred years before in this same city were enacted laws which made it a penal offense to teach the Negro to read or write. Now these laws were to be annulled and the doors of the school houses and places of learning were to be thrown open forever" (p. 17).

Eventually, the schools began to operate in two main locations in Savannah. One site was a former slave market building known as the Bryan Slave Mart. The other site was the First African Baptist Church. Wright (1894) has written:

The first schools in 1865 were taught at Savannah by the colored teachers, as has been said, in such places as could be secured, as the "old

Bryan Slave Mart” and the basement of the First African Baptist Church. The enrollment was over 500. The teaching was, of course, of the most crude and elementary kind. The height of slavery-time education was to read the commonest print and to be able to write a “pass.” One such Negro in the community was a wonder to his fellows, and often a cause of consternation to the average slaveholder. It is safe to say that there could not have been in all Georgia at the emancipation many who were not wholly illiterate. Outside of Savannah, Augusta and Columbus there were, it is said, not a dozen colored people able to read and write, and in the country places, perhaps not one. This statement is based, so far as possible, upon a thorough investigation, and is made to show the almost unbroken and unrelieved illiteracy and ignorance which reigned over Georgia at the emancipation. (p. 21)

Wright added:

The American Missionary Association soon took charge of the feeble effort referred to above. Mr. Alvord, who accompanied Sherman’s army on its entrance into Savannah, and had charge of the first schools, called to his assistance W.T. Richardson, Supt. of the American Missionary Association’s Educational Work. Mr. Richardson was at once reinforced by the Rev. Mr. McGill, a native Georgian white man, who had charge of a corps of American Missionary Association teachers. The colored teachers had already taught for about three months when the schools were turned over to these white teachers under the American Missionary Association. The Association teachers continued the schools in the “old Slave Mart,” and had schools in the Wesleyan Chapel and the Oglethorpe Medical College. May 1, 1865, the schools were transferred to the Massie school building, now used for white children; it was a great improvement on their old quarters. This Massie school building was, however, used only a short time for colored youths. (p. 21)

According to Wright, “These were the first schools in Georgia. Later, in the same year, 1865, schools were established in Athens and at other points” (p. 22).

During 1871, Georgia established an official public school system for both Black people and White people. For that year, the total public school enrollment of Black children in Georgia was 6,664. By 1880, the total public school enrollment had grown to 86,399 out of a school age population of 197,125, which amounted to 43 percent. Some 10 years later in 1890, the total public school enrollment had increased to 149,779 out of a school age population of around 280,000 (Wright, 1894).

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON ON BLACK EDUCATION IN THE USA BEFORE 1940

Booker T. Washington was born April 5, 1856 in Hale’s Ford, Virginia and died November 14, 1915 in Tuskegee, Alabama at age 59. During his lifetime, Washington was a distinguished educator, orator, author, and social movement leader. Although he was awarded several honorary degrees, Washington never earned a B.A. degree or

higher. He received his high school diploma from Hampton Institute, which later became Hampton University. He served as an educator in West Virginia and Alabama. Washington's first teaching post was at an elementary school in Malden, West Virginia. In 1881, Washington became the founding principal of Tuskegee Institute, which was a grade school. Washington served as its principal or president from 1881 until his death in 1915. Tuskegee Institute remained a grade school during Washington's entire stint at the institution. It did not offer B.A. degrees until 1923 (Washington, 1901; Muggleston, 2008).

On September 18, 1895, Washington (1901) delivered a speech at the Atlanta Exposition. This speech has become known as the Atlanta Compromise. In the speech, Washington discussed the demographics of the South and his perceptions of what Black people needed there. On the one hand, Washington pointed out that Black people was one-third of the population in the South. On the other hand, Washington urged Black people to concentrate on working with the hands and getting land. He also urged Black people to give up the right to vote and to accept segregation. Regarding the vote, he stated that it was wrong that for some Black people "a seat in Congress or the State Legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden" (pp. 218-219). In terms of accepting segregation, Washington said that, "In all things that are purely social we can be separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress" (pp. 221-222). Many White people saluted Washington for urging Black people to accept second-class citizenship, including racially separated schools mandated by de jure segregation and exclusion from government jobs and the like. A lot of Black people became alarmed by that which Washington had to say and saw it as a capitulation to White supremacy.

Between 1895 and 1900, Washington became increasingly conservative as Black people were confronted by the social conditions brought on by what Rayford Logan termed the Nadir. In September 1896, Washington published some of his views on education in an article for *The Atlantic Monthly*. Washington said that he had analyzed the needs of the Black masses and that did not include studying French grammar and instrumental music. However, Washington sent his daughter Portia Washington to Oberlin College to study music and his son Davidson Washington to Exeter, an elite White prep school in New England where he was introduced to the study of foreign language. Thus, he took the position that the Black masses should do as he says and not as he does (Washington, 1896).

Shortly after the beginning of the 20th century, Washington (1901) published his autobiography *Up From Slavery*. In that book, Washington detailed that his conception of industrial education was based on three things. One thing advocated by Washington was the notion that students should be educated so that they will be enabled to meet conditions in the South as they were then and do what the world wants done. A second thing advocated by Washington was the notion that students who graduate from high school should have enough skill, intelligence, and moral character to make a living for themselves and others. A third thing advocated by Washington was the notion that students should feel that labor is dignified and beautiful and not something to try to escape from.

A few after *Up from Slavery* appeared, Washington (1904) published a follow-up to his autobiography. It was titled *Working with the Hands: Being a Sequel to Up From Slavery*. Washington explained that:

The worth of work with the hands as an uplifting power in real education was first brought home to me with striking emphasis when I was a student at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, which was at that time under the direction of the late General S.C. Armstrong. (p. 3)

At Hampton Institute, Washington said that he “learned that pupils could have not only their minds educated, but their hands trained” (p. 11). Under influence of Armstrong, Washington proceeded to develop a theory about working with the hands. He said that from hand work one could develop moral values. During slavery, according to Washington, Black people “had been worked in slavery, but the great lesson which the race needed to learn in freedom was to work” (p. 16). For Washington, Tuskegee Institute was ideal place to base itself upon the Hampton Institute Model and concentrate on teaching Black people to work with their hands as key component of industrial education. On the one hand, Washington praised the industrial education model for the Black masses. On the other hand, Washington criticized liberal arts education as a waste of time and money for the Black masses.

Under pressure from his contemporaries like Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Monroe Trotter, and W.E.B. Du Bois, some five years after the beginning of the 20th century, Washington (1905) was backing down from his position that industrial education was the only pathway for the Black masses. Washington said: “The danger, at present, that most seriously threatens the success of industrial training, is the ill-advised insistence in certain quarters that this form of education should be offered to the exclusion of all other branches of knowledge” (p. 7). He also stated:

It is evident that a race so largely segregated as the Negro is, must have an increasing number of its own professional men and women. There is, then, a place and an increasing need for the Negro college as well as for the industrial institute, and the two classes of schools should, and as a matter of fact do, cooperate in the common purpose of elevating the masses. (p. 8)

Washington further related that “no one understanding the real needs of the race would advocate that industrial education should be given to every Negro to the exclusion of the professions and other branches of learning” (p. 9). When Washington made that statement, that was an important departure from his previous stance. He had assumed the same stance of Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Monroe Trotter, and W.E.B. Du Bois.²

ANNA JULIA COOPER ON BLACK EDUCATION IN THE USA BEFORE 1940

Anna Julia Cooper, also known as Anna Julia Haywood Cooper, was born August 19, 1858 in Raleigh, North Carolina and died February 27, 1964 at age 105. Over the course of her life, Cooper was a distinguished educator, sociologist, author,

and social movement leader. Cooper received her high school diploma from St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute; her B.A. degree and M.A. degree from Oberlin College; and her Ph.D. degree from the University of Paris. It should be noted that Cooper earned her Ph.D. when she was 67 years old. Cooper served as an educator in Ohio, North Carolina, and Washington, DC. Cooper was a teacher, principal, and college president. At St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute, which was later known as St. Augustine's University, and Wilberforce University, she served brief stints as a professor in the 1880s (Cooper, 1892; Springer, 2008).

In 1887, Cooper took a position as a teacher with the Washington Colored High School, which was later known as M Street Colored High School and Paul Laurence Dunbar High School. From 1902 to 1906, Cooper served as the principal of the M Street High School. After a brief departure from the M Street High School, Cooper returned as a teacher and stayed there until 1930. In 1916, the M Street School changed its name to Paul Laurence Dunbar High School. Following her retirement from Paul Laurence Dunbar in 1930, Cooper became the president of Frelinghuysen University in Washington, DC. Cooper was active at the institution as a president, professor, and registrar until discontinued all operations in the 1950s (Springer, 2008).

Shortly before the end of the 19th century, Cooper (1892) published her book *A Voice from the South*. Long before scholars and writers in the 20th and 21st centuries were talking about intersectionality, Cooper explored the intersection of race, class, and sex in her book. As a pioneer feminist, Cooper posed that Black women and Black men should be treated as equals. She saw the Black woman as "a progressive social force" (p. 5). Cooper also saw the Black woman as a "vital element in the regeneration and progress of a race" (p. 1). Hence, Cooper called for Black women to be treated "as an equal, as a helper, as a friend, and as a sacred charge to be sheltered and cared for with a brother's love and sympathy" (p. 5). Additionally, Cooper called for Black women to have equal access to education because she saw them as being capable of "far-seeing designs and brilliant policy, or gainsay" (p. 6).

W.E.B. DU BOIS ON BLACK EDUCATION IN THE USA BEFORE 1940

W.E.B. Du Bois was born February 23, 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts and died August 27, 1963 in Accra, Ghana at age 95. During his lifetime, Du Bois was a distinguished educator, sociologist, author, and social movement leader. Du Bois received his high school diploma from Great Barrington High School in Great Barrington, Massachusetts; a B.A. degree from Fisk University; and a B.A. degree, M.A. degree, and Ph.D. degree from Harvard University. He served as an educator in Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and Georgia and. While still enrolled as an undergraduate student at Fisk University, Du Bois taught grade school in eastern part of Tennessee during the summers in 1886 and 1887. Du Bois took his first teaching position in higher education when he became a professor at Wilberforce University. He stayed there from 1894 to 1896. During 1896, which is the same year he received his Ph.D., Du Bois was hired as a researcher to conduct a study of Black people in Philadelphia. The following year, in 1897, Du Bois became a professor at Atlanta University (later Clark Atlanta University). He proceeded to become the chairman of the first sociology program or

department at Atlanta University. Du Bois served as a professor at Atlanta University from 1897 to 1910 and from 1934 to 1944. During his tenure at Atlanta University, Du Bois conducted some important empirical studies of Black education in the USA. Some of those studies were published as part of the Atlanta University Studies of the Negro Problems (Du Bois, 1968; Holt, 2008).

Du Bois was the author of many important works pertaining to Black education book on Black education in the USA. Du Bois (1900) published a work titled *The College-Bred Negro*, which was subtitled, "Report of a Social Study Made under the Direction of Atlanta University; Together with the Proceedings of the Fifth Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, Held at Atlanta University, May 29-30, 1900. Atlanta University Press." In that work, Du Bois used it to shed light on social conditions related to college education among Black people. Du Bois informed us that there were 2,524 Black people who had graduated from college by 1898. Of that total, 2,272 were men and 252 were women. He also informed us that the first Black man graduated from college in 1826 and that the first Black woman graduated from college in 1850. The leading place producing Black male college graduates by that time frame was Lincoln University in Pennsylvania followed by Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. Among Black female college graduates, the leading producer was Oberlin College in Ohio followed by Fisk University.

The following year, a work was published by Du Bois (1901) titled *The Negro Common School*. It was subtitled "Report of a Social Study made under the Direction of Atlanta University; Together with the Proceedings of the Sixth Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, held at Atlanta University on May 28th, 1901." Du Bois used that work to shed light on social conditions related to grade school education among Black people. He shared the results of a study of Black grade schools and their educators. Du Bois said that:

The present study grew directly out of the study of last year relating to the College-bred Negro. Fifty-three per cent of the Negro graduates of colleges are teachers and when we add to this the large number of graduates of Normal and Industrial schools who are teaching it is plain that the chief work of the Negro schools thus far has been the furnishing of teachers. At the same time it is clear that the public school system in the South is to-day woefully inadequate. The object of this inquiry is, therefore, to show the present condition of the public schools, the field open to Negro teachers and the need of adequate training for them. The data here presented have been derived from several sources: First, from the printed school reports of the several States; secondly, from the reports of the Freedmen's Bureau and the United States Bureau of Education, and, thirdly, from the returns sent in on three sets of blanks distributed in certain districts. (p. 14)

Thus, Du Bois used a mixed methods approach to conduct his research. It consisted of archival research as well as a survey composed of a research instrument with 17 questions.

Among other things, the findings of Du Bois (1901) provided important insight about the Reconstruction Period and the development of the public school system. He wrote:

Although recent researches have shown in the South some germs of a public school system before the war, there can be no reasonable doubt, but what common school instruction in the South, in the modern sense of the term, was founded by the Freedmen's Bureau and missionary societies, and that the State public school systems were formed mainly by Negro reconstruction governments. (p. 37)

To buttress his point, Du Bois used a quote by Albion Tourgee about the Reconstruction Period and the emergence of the public school system:

They instituted a public school system in a region where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot-box and jury-box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule into the South. They abolished the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all that time no man's rights of person were invaded under the forms of law. (Quoted in Du Bois, 1901, p. 36)

Tourgee was a White man who published important observations about race relations in the South and other parts of the USA.

In 1911, Du Bois and a co-author published a work titled *The College-Bred Negro American*, which was subtitled, "Report of a Social Study made by Atlanta University under the Patronage of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund; Together with the Proceedings of the 15th Annual Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, Held at Atlanta University, on Tuesday, May the 24th, 1910." Du Bois and Dill (1911) used their work to follow-up on issues reported by Du Bois in 1900. They stated that at least 3,856 Black people who had graduated from college by 1909 could be identified. On the one hand, 2,450 were Black men and 514 were Black women who graduated from Black colleges. On the other hand, 549 were Black men and 144 Black women who graduated from White colleges. In terms of Black male college graduates, the leading place producing them by 1909 was Lincoln University followed by Biddle University (later Johnson C. Smith) in Charlotte, North Carolina. The leading place producing Black female college graduates by 1909 was Shaw University followed by Bennett College. Du Bois and Dill issued a word of caution and stated that, "It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Negroes who have graduated from colleges in the North for many of these institutions keep no record of race or nationality of their graduates" (p. 50). They added "It is probably safe to say that 5,000 Negro Americans have graduated from college" (p. 52).

During 1912, a work was published by Du Bois and a co-author titled *The Common School and the Negro American*. It was subtitled "Report of a Social Study

made by Atlanta University under the Patronage of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund; with the Proceedings of the 16th Annual Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, held at Atlanta University, on Tuesday, May 30th, 1911.” Du Bois and Dill (1912) used that work to follow-up on the 1901 report and share to a number of documents that shed light on social conditions related to grade school education among Black people. One document was signed by Anna E. Murray of Washington, DC; Henry Alexander Hunt of Fort Valley, Georgia; and Augustus Granville Dill of Atlanta, Georgia; and W.E.B. Du Bois of New York. That document stated that:

. . . it is certain that of the Negro children age 6 to 14 years of age not 50 per cent have a chance today to learn to write and cipher correctly. Unless we face these facts the problem of ignorance in the race question will soon shadow all other problems. (Murray, Hunt, Dill, & Du Bois, 1912, p. 8).

In their quest for the fair treatment of Black children, Murray et al. (1912, pp. 7-8) came to a resolution and identified the following five problems: (1) The appropriations for Negro schools have been cut down, relatively speaking; (2) The wages for Negro teachers have been lowered and often poorer teachers have been preferred to better ones; (3) Superintendents have neglected to supervise the Negro schools; (4) In recent years few school houses have been built and few repairs have been made; for the most part the Negroes themselves have purchased school sites, school houses and school furniture, thus being in a peculiar way doubled taxed; and (5) The Negroes in the South, except those of one or two states, have been deprived of almost all voice or influence in the government or local schools.

In another part of the larger work, Du Bois and Dill (1912) related that the illiteracy rate of Black people 10 years and over was 79.9 percent for the whole country in 1870. The illiteracy rate of Black people 10 years and over dropped to 70 percent for whole county in 1880. The illiteracy rate of Black people 10 years and over dropped to 57.1 percent in 1890. The illiteracy rate of Black people 10 years and over fell to 44.4 in 1900. Writing in 1911, Du Bois and Dill surmised that, “It is probably that at present something over one-third of the Negro population of the United States is illiterate” (p. 16).

In 1926, Du Bois published an article titled “The Negro Common School, Georgia.” It appeared in the September issue of *The Crisis*. Du Bois (1926) related that his article presented a “study which covers the state of Georgia and is based upon a study of the school reports issued by the state and municipalities” (p. 248). He also stated that those reports were “supplemented by personal visits and inspection of men trained in school work and in social investigation” (p. 248). Du Bois exclaimed that, “For the purpose of this survey over 75 counties were personally investigated” (p. 253). He added: “The limited space will not permit the publication of the entire mass of data collected but a summary of the reports on 23 typical counties is given” (p. 253). One of those 23 was Ware County.

In the case of Ware County, Du Bois (1926) said that it had “31 white schools and 11 schools for colored children. Only one of the latter is owned by the county, 9 buildings being Negro churches and nearly all of these being unfit for school purposes” (p. 260). Du Bois provided some statistics for Ware County regarding 1918 and 1923.

In 1918, there were 6,205 children between 6 to 18 years old. Of that total, 4,192 were White and 2,013 were Black. Some five years later in 1923, there were 7,432 children between 6 to 18 years old. Of that total, 5,154 were White and 2,278 were Black.

Du Bois (1926) said that, in 1923, a total amount of \$26,529.26 were spent on White teachers and \$2,169.15 were spent on Black teachers. During that same year, a total of \$2,516.33 were spent on buildings for White children and \$0 were spent on buildings for Black children; a total of \$3,690.00 were spent on equipment for White children and \$0 were spent on equipment for Black children; a total of \$13,877.80 were spent on supplies for White children and \$0 were spent on supplies for Black children; and a total of \$3,020.00 were spent on transportation for White children and \$0 were spent on transportation for Black children. The study by Du Bois revealed the racial inequality found in Ware County and other parts Georgia.

Looking at the Rosenwald Fund, Du Bois (1926) said that, "The best colored schools in the state owned by the counties are the Rosenwald schools. Beginning July 1, 1924, \$30,000 was appropriated to the State of Georgia by the Rosenwald Fund for the building of Negro schools" (pp. 261-262). However, Du Bois said that "most of the money was not expended" (p. 262). The Rosenwald Fund allowed the following amounts for a school: \$400 for a one-teacher school; \$700 for a two-teacher school; \$900 for a three-teacher school; \$1,000 for a four-teacher school; \$1,300 for a five-teacher school; \$1,500 for a six-teacher school or larger; and \$900 for a teachers' home. The Rosenwald Fund also stipulated that a total of \$200 per room was allowed for additions to Rosenwald schools.

According to Du Bois (1926), there was a total of 132 Rosenwald schools in Georgia by June 30, 1926. During that same year, there was a total of eight Rosenwald school homes for teachers; a total of 409 Rosenwald school teachers; a total of 18,405 pupils in Rosenwald schools; a total of \$144,840 was contributed to Rosenwald schools by Black people; a total of \$28,688 was contributed to Rosenwald schools by White people other than Julius Rosenwald; a total of \$265,507 was contributed to Rosenwald schools by public authorities; and a total of \$114,530 was contributed to Rosenwald schools by the Rosenwald Fund.

In the conclusion of his article, Du Bois (1926) acknowledged some encouraging and discouraging signs. As for a key sign of encouragement, Du Bois remarked that:

The one encouraging sign in the State at present is the Rosenwald program for Negro schools, which is every year increasing its scope and influence. But no outside body can bring education to the great mass of the people. The State, itself, must justly administer its educational facilities to the end that all its children receive an equal opportunity for advancement. (p. 264)

One key discouraging sign that Du Bois observed was the continuing racial inequality. He said that, "While there are 275 accredited public high schools for whites in the State there are only two accredited public high schools for Negroes" (p. 264). Du Bois also said that, "In some counties, there is not a single school building for colored children" (p. 264). In addition, Du Bois stated that "more than half of the children are taught in churches, lodge halls and dwellings" (p. 264). Du Bois further related:

The data collected from counties scattered over the State show that in fifteen counties the schools run less than six months, which is the legal requirement. The churches and lodge rooms which are used for Negro schools are chiefly old, dilapidated buildings, unfit for teaching purposes. In some cases, they have no means of getting light; often there are no desks. In most of the churches and lodge halls, the children sit on plank benches which sometimes have no backs on them. (p. 263)

A second key discouraging sign was the hostility displayed by some White people towards Black people. Du Bois (1926) stated that, "The fact that there is great hostility towards Negro education is attested by the burning of schools in several sections" (p. 264). He added:

Even where county superintendents are favorable to giving some consideration to Negro schools, they are hampered by their school boards, which are hostile in many cases to either his time or the resources of the county being devoted to colored schools. (p. 264)

Thus, Du Bois expressed dismay about the burning of schools. Likewise, he expressed dismay about the hostile White school boards faced by Black teachers and administrators in the segregated school system.

In 1948, Du Bois made the keynote address at a meeting of Sigma Pi Phi. During that address, Du Bois (1948) updated his Talented Tenth theory by calling for a Guiding 100th to step forward in leadership roles. In the wake of the Great Depression and World War II, Du Bois expressed frustration with members of the self-identified Boule. He charged that Sigma Pi Phi had failed to take on the special obligation and responsibility he spelled out in the Talented Tenth theory. He called for the emergence of Black leadership that would embrace making sacrifices instead of an aristocracy. Du Bois called for Sigma Pi Phi to refrain from being:

a group of selfish, self-indulgent, well-to-do men, whose basic interest in solving the Negro problem was personal; personal freedom and unhampered enjoyment and use of the world, without any real care, or certainly no arousing care, as to what became of the mass of American Negroes, or of the mass of any people. (p. 13)

His new Guiding Hundredth theory placed more emphasis on leadership coming from the ranks of the Black working class instead of the Black middle class and Black upper class (Du Bois, 1948).

CARTER G. WOODSON ON BLACK EDUCATION IN THE USA BEFORE 1940

Carter G. Woodson was born December 19, 1875 in New Canton, Virginia and died April 3, 1950 in Washington, DC at age 74. Over the course of his lifetime,

Woodson was an educator, historian, author, and social movement leader. As for his education, Woodson received a high school diploma from Frederick High School in Fayette County, West Virginia; a B.A. degree from Berea College in Kentucky; a B.A. degree and M.A. degree from the University of Chicago; and a Ph.D. from the Harvard University. It should be noted that Woodson did not attend high school until he was 20 years and managed to graduate at the age of 22. He served as an educator in the West Virginia, Washington, DC, and the Philippines. After teaching at his alma mater Frederick Douglass High School for a brief stint, he headed to the Philippines where he taught grade school from 1903 to 1907. He then moved to Washington, DC where he taught from 1909 to 1919 at Armstrong High School and Paul Laurence Dunbar High School (also known as the M Street High School). From 1919 to 1920, Woodson was a professor of history, head of the graduate program in history, and a dean of arts and sciences at Howard University. His next post was West Virginia Collegiate Institute, which later became West Virginia State University. Woodson served as a dean at that institution from 1920 to 1922. He went back to Washington in 1922 and remained there for the remainder of his life building the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (later the Association for the Study of African American Life and History) as a viable organization (Woodson, 1944; Goggin, 2008).

During the second decade of the 20th century, Woodson (1915) published an important book titled *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. Woodson explained that he first sought to write a book about the development of the Black education after 1865. However, Woodson said he found, at the outset of his research, many documents about Black education before 1861. Woodson has related that:

In looking over documents for material to furnish a background for recent achievements in this field, he discovered that he would write a much more interesting book should he confine himself to the antebellum period. In fact, the accounts of the successful strivings of Negroes for enlightenment under most adverse circumstances read like beautiful romances of a people in an heroic age. (p. iii)

Standing on the shoulders of researchers like M.B. Goodwin, J.E. Moorland, Kelly Miller, Richard Robert Wright, Sr., W.E.B. Du Bois, and others, Woodson proceeded to meet his goal and produce a work covering Black education from the beginning of slavery to the Civil War.

Woodson (1915) acknowledged the important work of Frederick Douglass. He gave Douglass credit for being “a leader and advocate of education” (p. 440). Woodson related that Douglass was advancing the idea of vocational training long before Booker T. Washington. He also acknowledged that Douglass identified several cases of secret Black schools during the antebellum period. Woodson identified David Walker as an antebellum Black man who sought to use his literacy skills to “arouse his race to self-assertion” (p. 428). One very important antebellum White writer identified by Woodson was Charles Colcock Jones (1842), who authored a book titled *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States*. Jones, as Woodson noted, advocated that the development of a slavery theology could be used as a form of social control and keep enslaved Black people in a docile state of mind. Woodson also mentioned a work

by Jones (1832) titled *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes: A Sermon Delivered Before Association of Planters in Liberty and McIntosh Counties, Georgia*. In addition, Woodson mentioned a work by Jones (1844) titled *A Catechism of Scripture, Doctrine, and Practice, for Families and Sabbath Schools Designed also for the Oral Instruction of Colored Persons*.

According to Scott (2008a), Woodson completed a manuscript in 1921 of a book he was going to give the title *The Case of the Negro*. The book was going to be published by the Association Press, which was the publishing house of the Young Men Christian Association (YMCA). His contacts with that organization were Jesse Moorland and Channing Tobias. After they reviewed Woodson's manuscript, Moorland and Tobias expressed concern to him that it was too critical of Black preachers. Although Woodson could have published his book with his press, Associated Publishers, Woodson chose not to release the book at all. In fact, the book was not released until 2008 when Daryl Michael Scott chose to publish the manuscript under the name *Carter G. Woodson's Appeal*, which was a nod to the book *David Walker's Appeal*.

Scott (2008a) has speculated that Woodson chose to refrain from publishing the book because he "did not want to rile his funding sources at a critical juncture in his labors" (p. xvi). He has explained that Woodson had received a \$25,000 grant from the Carnegie Foundation and had a similar one pending with the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation. Scott also explained that Woodson had a conflict with J. Stanley Durkee, the White president of Howard University and Thomas Jesse Jones, a White educator who was the darling of White foundations. With the money from the grants, Woodson was able to dedicate his time fully to the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (as the Association for the Study of African American Life and History was then known) instead of engaging in teaching and educational administration.

In the view of Scott (2008a), the emphatic researcher Woodson produced a manuscript which highlights and features a "no-holds-barred style unencumbered by an overbearing scholarly apparatus" (p. xiii). Scott remarked that the manuscript was a "work of social commentary" and is "a reflection of the 1920s, not the 1930s or 1940s" (pp. xvi-xvii). Likewise, he exclaimed that, "I have not found anything to shed light on Woodson's later thinking" (p. xvii). Scott has further posed that the manuscript was very special in that it shed light on how Woodson thought in the 1920s. He has said:

Written at the onset of the New Negro cultural outpouring of post-World War I America, Woodson's *Appeal* reflects the spirit of the times—even if it might have been often too caustic to let loose on its intended audience. (pp. xviii-xix)

For Scott, the manuscript of Woodson is a major work of social criticism which deserves to be read. He pointed out that Woodson used his book to engage in "social criticism against white oppression" and "African American self-criticism" (pp. xxiv-xxv).

As a book, *Carter G. Woodson's Appeal* is organized into 10 chapters. The chapters are titled as follows: (1) What the Negro Is; (2) What the Negro Has Done; (3) Achievements in Captivity; (4) Achievements in Spite of Handicap; (5) The Debit Side of the Ledger; (6) What the Negro Is Learning; (7) Superior Qualities of the Negro; (8) What the White Man Thinks of the Negro; (9) What the Negro Is Thinking; and (10)

What the Negro Wants. In his book, Woodson covered some achievements of Black people in Africa and elsewhere before 1619. Woodson also covered some achievements of Black people in the USA and elsewhere after 1619. Likewise, he covered some challenges faced by Black people in the USA and elsewhere between 1619 and 1865 as well as the period between 1865 and 1921 (Woodson, 2008).

Scott (2008a) has pointed out that a major objective of *Carter Woodson's Appeal* was to issue a rebuttal to the racist ideas espoused in the book by Weatherford (1912) titled *Present Forces in Negro Progress*. It should be noted that Weatherford's book was published by the Association Press, which was the same press which was going to publish Woodson's book. Although he focused on a host of political, economic, and cultural matters, Woodson also addressed education as a social problem facing Black people. He wrote:

The Negro asks also for the opportunity to educate himself. As a citizen and a consumer in the community he pays in the economic sense as much in taxes as any other citizen. Why then should the government spend one dollar for the education of the white child for every twenty-five cents it appropriates to the education of one color? A Negro in the South sometimes cannot secure for the education of his children even the school tax derived from the assessment made on his own property. A part of this often goes to educate the white children of the community in schools from which his children are excluded. The Negro needs, moreover, not a mere makeshift provision for separate schools poorly equipped and conducted by incompetent teachers owning their positions to their ability to play the role of racial toadies. The Negro must have modern school structures and thoroughly educated teachers qualified to use education as the great leverage by which the belated class shall be elevated. (pp. 158-159)

Woodson made it clear that he was an opponent of de jure segregation. In fact, Woodson stated that: "The Negro wants above all the abrogation of Jim Crowism in schools, public places of recreation, on the street cars, and on the railroads. Separate facilities always mean that the Negro must have less than his white neighbor" (p. 160).

In his book, Woodson (2008) examined an aspect of the source of the conflict between Booker T. Washington and some of his opponents, including Ida B. Wells-Barnett and W.E.B. Du Bois. Woodson wrote:

A generation thereafter, Dr. Booker T. Washington came forward with a new idea, intending to bring the race back to realization of their actual circumstances and to induce them to deal with life as it is rather than to dream for the day that it would miraculously become what they wanted it to be. The progress of this education, however, apparently savored of discrimination against the Negro in that it gave the South a chance to restrict the education of the Negro to a mere equipment for menial service while their own youth should receive training in literature, science, and philosophy. The shortcoming to be noted here, however, is not that the Negro believed in any particular sort of education, but that his attitude toward education was utilitarian, that of getting something which

would forever secure to him the benefits which persons lacking cultural advantages could not enjoy. (p. 96)

He continued:

Thousands of Negroes today have a different attitude. Many Negroes now study law, medicine, or theology not to earn a living in the practice of a profession, but to make a contribution to knowledge in these fields. Negro teachers, no longer primarily concerned with solving the problem of earning a livelihood, now to undertake humanity. A number of Negro students now prosecute seriously the studies which they have pursued in college, and a few of them have attained the distinction of being authorities in their chosen fields. (pp. 96-97)

Woodson further remarked that, "Some Negroes have learned that excellence in the field of scholarship is one of the means by which people of color can convince the world of their worth. It is an indirect way to attainment of the recognition and respect given a citizen" (p. 97)

During the third decade of the 20th century, Woodson (1931) published an article titled "The Miseducation of the Negro" in *The Crisis*, which was edited by W. E. B. Du Bois. Woodson began the article by complaining about self-hatred and internalized racism. He informed us that: "In their own as well as in mixed schools, Negroes are taught to admire the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin and the Teuton and to despise the African" (p. 266). In contrast to that predicament, Woodson urged that Black people be taught to admire the African. He wrote:

Negro colleges offer courses bearing on the European colonists prior to their coming to America, and their development here toward independence. Why not be equally generous with the Negroes in treating their status in Africa prior to enslavement, their first transplantation to the West Indies, the Latinization of certain Negroes in contradistinction to the development of others under the influence of the Teuton, and the effort of the race toward self expression in America? (p. 267)

In his view, Woodson thought that it was imperative that curriculum and instruction be designed to counter the self-hatred and internalized found in many Black people.

Two years after his article appeared in *The Crisis*, Woodson (1933) published a book titled the *Mis-Education of the Negro*. In the book, Woodson restated or expanded on some of the ideas he expressed in his essay. For example, Woodson said that:

When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for special benefit. His education makes it necessary. (p. 5)

He continued:

The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worth while, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples. The Negro thus educated is a hopeless liability of the race. (p. 5)

Woodson believed that it was crucial for Black people to control their own minds and do things in their own interests instead of that of others. He argued that educational institutions need to be changed or developed to meet the challenges that Black people face.

Woodson (1933) presented a penetrating analysis of the educational system Black people faced during the third decade of the 20th century. He said that:

The “educated” Negroes have the attitude of contempt toward their own people because in their own as well as in their mixed schools Negroes are taught to admire the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin and the Teuton and to despise the African. Of the hundreds of Negro high schools recently examined by an expert in the United States Bureau of Education only eighteen offer a course taking up the history of the Negro, and in most of the Negro colleges and universities where the Negro is thought of, the race is studied only as a problem or dismissed as of little consequence. For example, an officer of a Negro university, thinking that an additional course on the Negro should be given there, called upon a Negro Doctor of Philosophy of the faculty to offer such work. He promptly informed the officer that he knew nothing about the Negro. He did not go to school to waste his time that way. He went to be educated in a system which dismisses the Negro as a nonentity. (p. 7)

For Woodson, there was a need for Black people to drop the contempt for their own people. Similarly, Woodson posed that there was a need for Black to stop despising the African. Instead, Woodson took the position that there was a need to transfer all educational systems that dismiss Black people as nonentities.

MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE ON BLACK EDUCATION IN THE USA BEFORE 1940

Mary McLeod Bethune, also known as Mary McLeod, was born July 10, 1875 in Mayesville, South Carolina and died May 18, 1955 in Daytona Beach, Florida at age 79. During her lifetime, Bethune made her mark as educator, public administrator, businesswoman, and social movement leader. For her grade school education, Bethune attended the Trinity Presbyterian Mission School in Mayesville, South Carolina and the Normal and Scientific Course of Scotia Seminary in Concord, North Carolina. He graduated from the latter in 1894. That same year, Bethune became a student at the

Bible School for Home and Foreign Missions (Bethune, 1999; Johnson, 1999; Hine, 2008).

During 1896, Bethune began her teaching career at Haines Normal and Industrial College in Augusta, Georgia. That institution was under the leadership of Lucy Laney, who became a Jegna for her. She stayed for almost two years learning how to teach and operate an educational institution. In 1896, Bethune married Albertus McLeod. The following year she gave birth to her son Albertus Bethune, Jr. in Savannah, Georgia where the couple was living. Prior to their move to Georgia, Bethune and husband worked briefly at Kindell Institute in Sumter, South Carolina (Johnson, 1999; Hine, 2008).

Eventually, Bethune and her family moved to Florida seeking more opportunities. After working at several institutions in Florida, Bethune opened the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls in 1904 under the inspiration of Lucy Laney. During 1907, Bethune separated from husband and moved her institution to a new location. Under her leadership and nurturing, the institution experienced continued growth. To fulfill a need in the local community, Bethune proceeded to establish the McLeod Hospital and Training School for Nurses at her institution in 1912 (Bethune, 1999; Hine, 2008).

Bethune was very effective in the organization and leadership of many institutions before 1940. During 1935, Bethune founded the National Council of Negro Women and was elected as its first president. In the following year, 1936, Bethune took a fulltime position in the Federal government as a specialist on Negro Affairs with the National Youth Administration. Bethune used that position to develop several initiatives aimed at helping Black people, including the development of the Black Cabinet. During that same year, Bethune was elected as the president of the Executive Council of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (later Association for the Study African American Life and History) (Bethune, 1999; Johnson, 1999; Hine, 2008).

Although she never published a book, Bethune wrote important diaries and essays addressing Black education in the USA. Some of the essays of Bethune (1938, 1939, 1950, 1951), appeared in *The Journal of Negro* and expressed her views on various topics related to the education of Black people. During the year of her death, the “Last Will and Testament” of Bethune (1955) appeared in *Ebony Magazine*. In that statement, she focused on nine areas, including education. Bethune said:

I leave you a thirst for education. Knowledge is the prime need of the hour. More and more, Negroes are taking full advantage of hard-won opportunities for learning, and the educational level of the Negro population is at its highest point in history. We are making greater use of the privileges inherent in living in a democracy. If we continue in this trend, we will be able to rear increasing numbers of strong, purposeful men and women, equipped with vision, mental clarity, health and education. (p. 107)

Some two years earlier, Bethune (1953) published an important statement in *Negro Digest* titled “Thou God, Seest Me.” Bethune related that, ““If I were young again, I think, as far as I know myself, I would cling to the idea and ideals that have been mine since childhood” (p. 50). She added: “If I had my life to live over again, I should have my

same desires” (p. 51). The record is clear that Bethune spent her life lifting Black people as she climbed with a legacy of race vindication.

PAUL ROBESON ON BLACK EDUCATION IN THE USA BEFORE 1940

Paul Robeson, also known as Paul Leroy Robeson, was born April 9, 1898 in Princeton, New Jersey and died January 23, 1976 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania at age 77. Over the course of his lifetime, Robeson distinguished himself as a professional football player, actor, singer, and social movement leader. Robeson attended the public schools in Somerville, New Jersey. When he was a senior at Somerville High School, Robeson earned the highest score on a competitive scholarship examination open to all New Jersey students. That won him a scholarship to Rutgers College (later Rutgers University) where he was its only Black freshman and the just third Black person to go there in 1919. While at Rutgers, Robeson excelled in the classroom and the football field. During his junior year, Robeson’s academic excellence led to his Phi Beta Kappa selection and his football excellence led to his being chosen as an All-American in 1917 and 1918. Because of his outstanding academics, Robeson delivered a commencement address wherein he presented a synthesis of the philosophies of W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington (Robeson, 1958; Gerlach, 2008).

During 1919, Robeson graduated from Rutgers and headed to Columbia University to study law. To finance his graduate school education, Robeson played professional football with the Akron Pros and Milwaukee Badgers. During 1923, Robeson earned his law degree, but left the field before he took the bar. In 1924, Robeson began a lifelong pursuit of acting in stage plays as well as films. By 1925, Robeson was presenting concerts with a sole focus on the Negro Spirituals (Robeson, 1958; Gerlach, 2008).

In 1928, Robeson developed a deep interest in socialism as an economic system. Robeson was an avid reader and devoured many works pertaining to socialism. He also developed an interest in the Soviet Union as a socialist country. Robeson and his family made several trips to that country where he was treated with hero status. During the 1930s, Robeson, his wife, and child lived in London, England and he became with members of the West African Political Union, including Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta. After the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Robeson came back to the USA and help to establish the Council on African Affairs. In that Pan-Africanist organization, Robeson was joined by Alphaeus Hunton and W.E.B. Du Bois. Eventually, their progressive agenda rendered them an enemy of reactionary forces in the government of the USA as the McCarthy era raged in the USA (Gerlach, 2008; Hunton, 2008).

During the 1930s, Robeson (1931,1934) published two essays that shed light on his views on the relationship between race, culture, and education. One of the essays focuses on the culture of Black people and people can be educated about it. Robeson states that:

Critics have often reproached me for not becoming an opera star and never attempting to give recitals of German and Italian songs as every accomplished

singer is supposed to do. I am not an artist in the sense in which they want me to be an artist and of which they could approve. I have no desire to interpret the vocal genius of half a dozen cultures which are really alien to me. I have a far more important task to perform. (p. 10)

For Robeson, that task included the singing of Negro Spirituals for various audiences, including those in England.

He posed that Negro Spirituals have a direct emotional appeal in addition to their beauty of sound. Robeson also said that:

These songs' are to negro culture what the works of the great poets are to English culture: they are the soul of the race made manifest. No matter in what part of the world you may find him the negro has retained his direct emotional response to outside stimuli; he is constantly aware of an external power which guides his destiny. (p. 10)

He continued:

. . .the negro is an intensely religious creature and that his artistic and cultural capacities find expression in the glorification of some deity in song. It does not matter who the deity is. The American and West Indian negro worships the Christian God in his own particular way and makes him the object of his supreme artistic manifestation which is embodied in the negro spiritual. (p. 10)

Robeson (1931, 1934) saw great beauty in the Negro Spirituals and wanted to share them with the world. Likewise, Robeson saw Black people as more spiritual than religious.

In addition to the Negro Spirituals, Robeson (1931) had a profound interest in languages as well as the Negro Spirituals. He related that one of his goals was to educate Black people their heritage, including language. Robeson wrote:

It is my first concern to dispel this regrettable and abysmal ignorance of the value of its own heritage in the negro race itself. As a first step in this direction I intend to make a comparative study of the main language groups: Indo-European, Asiatic and African, choosing two or three principal languages out of each group, and indicate their comparative richness at a comparable stage of development. It may take me five years to complete this work but I am convinced that the results will be adequate to form a concrete foundation for a movement to inspire confidence in the negro in the value of his own past and future. (p. 10)

Unlike many Black people of his generation, Robeson was very proud of his Black African heritage and said so.

The pride of Roberson (1934) in his Black African heritage manifested itself in a desire to learn African languages. He explained that he was in the process of learning to speak several African languages. Robeson stated:

I went to the London School of Oriental Languages and, quite haphazardly, began by studying the East Coast languages, Swahili and the Bantu group which forms a sort of Lingua Franca of the East Coast of Africa. I found in these languages a pure negro foundation, dating from an ancient culture, but intermingled with many Arabic and Hamitic impurities. From them I passed on to the West Coast Negro languages and immediately found a kinship of rhythm and intonation with the negro-English dialect which I had heard spoken around me as a child. It was to me like a home-coming, and I felt that I had penetrated to the core of African culture when I began to study the legendary traditions, folksong and folklore of the West African negro. I hope to be able to interpret this original and unpolluted negro folksong to the Western world and I am convinced that there lies a wealth of uncharted musical material in that source which I hope, one day, will evoke the response in English and American audiences which my negro spirituals have done; but for me this is only one aspect of my discovery. (p. 10)

In his view, culture was the key ingredient that provided a group an identity. Another view held by Robeson was that language was a key element of culture.

Some three years later, Robeson (1934) published an essay titled “I Want to Be An African” wherein he said that the roots of the Black African heritage are “rediscoverable; and they will in time be rediscovered” (p. 71). Robeson declared that:

. . . I am learning Swahili, Tivi, and other African dialects—which come easily to me *because their rhythm is the same as that employed by the American Negro in speaking English*; and when the time is ripe I propose to investigate, on the spot, the possibilities of such a regeneration as I have outlined. (p. 27)

He argued that many Black people suffer from “an acute inferiority complex” (p. 72). Robeson surmised that it has been drummed into the Black man that “the white man is the Salt of the Earth and the Lord of Creation, and as a perfectly natural result his ambition is to become as nearly white as possible” (p. 72). He posed that the acute inferiority complex can be overcome with formal education or self-education about the Black African heritage.

BLACK EDUCATION AND THE TRICKSTERS IN THE USA: THE CASE OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND RICHARD ROBERT WRIGHT, SR.

In various African cultures, the trickster is an ideal type which can be found in folklore and in real life figures. When Africans found themselves bound on slave ships headed to the Americas, they brought their cultural memory with them. In that cultural memory, the trickster was very prevalent. Within the USA, the trickster could be found in the Brer Rabbit stories from the east of the Mississippi River to the Atlantic Ocean.³ Likewise, the trickster could be found in the Compair Lapin stories from the west of the Mississippi River to Texas.⁴ Following Charles Frederick Hartt and Herbert Huntington Smith, Joel Chandler Harris (1880/1895) raised the issue about the African origin of the animal tales. He argued that “if ethnologists should discover that they did not originate with the African, the proof to that effect should be accompanied with a good deal of pervasive eloquence” (p. xiv). Similarly, Alcee Fortier (1895) informed us that, “In Louisiana we have kinds of tales: the animal tales of which, some are, without a doubt, of African origin; fairy tales or marchen, probably from India; and tales and songs, real vaudevilles, where the song is more important than the plot” (p. ix).

In the Brer Rabbit and the Compair Lapin folktales, the trickster is a cunning figure in the form of an animal. The trickster makes smart moves full of trickery and subterfuge. Despite a lot of trying times and hardship, the trickster often handles the challenges and manages to get a degree of success out of a given situation. However, that success never comes easy and without a lot of difficulty (Bickley, 2018; Bragg, 2018). In addition to discussing the concept of the trickster, Marmillion (1996) has explained that the Compare Lapin folktales “made their way to America aboard the slave ships bound for Louisiana in the 1720’s” (p. ii). It was related by Marmillion that, “Variations of these stories are found in other areas where West Africans settled. The Caribbean Islands, Georgia, and the Carolinas have their own versions of these folktales” (p. iii). Marmillion further related that, “The inimitable trickster, Compare Lapin, may be called by many names: Malice in Haiti; Brother Rabbit in Bermuda; and, in North America, Br’er Rabbit” (p. iii).

Whereas the Brer Rabbit story and Compair Lapin story are animal based, Dunbar (1896) fashioned a legendary poem based entirely on the human experience and the trickster phenomenon. For Dunbar, Black people in the USA managed to wear a mask around White people. That mask entailed a Black person showing and telling White people one thing while that Black person may have been actually thinking or doing something else. Two people who were able to wear a mask, as described by Dunbar, and become tricksters were Booker T. Washington and Richard Robert Wright, Sr.

While carrying out his duties as the first president of Tuskegee Institute (later Tuskegee University as previously mentioned), Booker T. Washington often made trips in the South and North to raise money for his institution. According to Wells-Barnett (1904), Booker T. Washington he was known to tell disparaging jokes about Black people to appease White people. Wells-Barnett has said that:

. . . some will say Mr. Washington represents the masses and seeks only to depict the life and needs of the black belt. There is a feeling that he does not do that when he will tell a cultured body of women like the Chicago Woman’s Club the following story:

“Well John, I am glad to see you are raising your own hogs.”

“Yes, Mr. Washington, ebber sence you done told us bout raisin our own hogs, we n----- round here hab resolved to quit stealing hogs and gwinter raise our own.” The inference is that the Negroes of the black belt as a rule were hog thieves until the coming of Tuskegee.

There are those who resent this picture as false and misleading, in the name of the hundreds of Negroes who bought land, raised hogs and accumulated those millions of which they were defrauded by the Freedmen’s Savings Bank, long before Booker Washington was out of school. The men and women of to-day who are what they are by grace of the honest toil on the part of such parents, in the black belt and out, and who are following in their footsteps, resent also the criticism of Mr. Washington on the sort of education they received and on those who gave it. (p. 519)

The advocacy of industrial education only for the black masses delivered with his disparaging jokes about Black people garnered Tuskegee Institute a lot of money. During his lifetime, Tuskegee Institute was one of the best endowed Black institutions because of the money it received from White capitalists like Andrew Carnegie and Hollis P. Huntington.

As he carried out his duties as the first president of Georgia State Industrial College (later Savannah State University as previously mentioned), Richard Robert Wright, Sr. often had to interact with White people who made up its Board of Governors. According to Haynes (1952), Wright was once placed in a very difficult position because of the action of Booker T. Washington. She has stated that:

One day one of the Commissioners of the school, Mr. Ashmore, came out and entered President Wright’s class in Virgil. He listened awhile, and as he left the room said: “Wright, I want you to cut this Latin out and teach these boys to farm.”

In an ingratiating manner President Wright told Mr. Ashmore they were learning to farm and he didn’t see why they could not learn a little Virgil, too. Mr. Ashmore flew into a rage and threatened to have him relieved of his position. Other members of the Board of Trustees, he reminded President Wright, felt just as he did about the matter. President Wright didn’t answer him further, but lost no time in arranging an interview with General Peter W. Meldrim, president of the Board of Trustees.

General Meldrim had supported him, for the most part, in all his plans for the school. This time, the General told him he was in complete agreement with Booker T. Washington. A college education was not best for the Negro. He would have to cut out that Latin and Greek and teach the students to work and make a living. President Wright went home almost discouraged. He thought the matter through and decided to “find” a way or make one.

In his next interview with General Meldrim he was as pleasant as a basket of chips. He agreed with the General in everything except one. They saw eye to eye, he told him; but he would have to apologize for saying one thing. He couldn’t understand how he, a white man and a leading citizen of Georgia, had to let a Negro from Alabama in the person of Booker T. Washington, tell him how to run the Georgia State Industrial School. He said as General Meldrim winced

under this comparison he didn't try to press his point; just sat there disappointed and dejected. General Meldrim looked at him with a half smile and replied, "Wright, you're doing all right. Go ahead the way you're going. (pp. 90-91)

Thus, Wright, in the role of a trickster, managed to hold on to his job as the president of the Georgia State Industrial College and he managed to keep his higher education track at the institution.

To get an idea of Wright's approach to education, Haynes (1952) interviewed several of his former students. One of those former students informed Haynes that Wright "preached higher education" (p. 90). Another one of his students, Perry Cheney, stated that Wright was "remarkable in that many times he looked men of opposing views between the eyes, told them what he thought and yet retained his position; and not as a handkerchief-head, either" (p. 91). Nevertheless, Wright found himself having to deal with the consequences of Booker T. Washington's advocacy of industrial education only for the Black masses. Like W.E.B. Du Bois, Wright took the position that the Black masses should have access to higher education, professional positions, and skilled laborer positions, as well as farming positions.

BLACK EDUCATION BETWEEN 1940 AND 2019 IN THE USA

On its official website, the National Center for Education Statistics (2019) published some data addressing Black education in the USA. The data in this analysis have been drawn from "Table 104.10. Rates of High School Completion and Bachelor's Degree Attainment Among People Age 25 and Over, By Race/Ethnicity and Sex: Selected Years, 1910 Through 2019." That table provides data for the following racial and/or ethnic categories: Black; White; Latino (aka Hispanic and Latinx); Asian/Pacific Islander; and American Indian/Alaska Native. It does not offer any data for Latinos in 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970; Asian/Pacific Islanders in 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990; American Indian/Alaska Native in 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000.⁵

The data for 1940 were as follows: 24.5 percent of all people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 7.7 percent of Black people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 26.1 percent of White people 25 and above were high school graduates; 4.6 percent of all people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 1.3 percent of Black people 25 and above were college graduates or more; and 4.9 percent of White people 25 and above were college graduates (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

In 1950, 34.3 percent of all people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 13.7 percent of Black people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 36.4 percent of White people 25 and above were high school graduates; 6.2 percent of all people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 2.2 percent of Black people 25 and above were college graduates or more; and 6.6 percent of White people 25 and above were college graduates (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

As for 1960, the data were as follows: 41.1 percent of all people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 21.7 percent of Black people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 43.2 percent of White people 25 and above were high

school graduates; 7.7 percent of all people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 3.5 percent of Black people 25 and above were college graduates or more; and 8.1 percent of White people 25 and above were college graduates (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

In 1970, the data were as follows: 55.2 percent of all people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 36.1 percent of Black people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 57.4 percent of White people 25 and above were high school graduates; 11 percent of all people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 6.1 percent of Black people 25 and above were college graduates or more; and 11.6 percent of White people 25 and above were college graduates (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

In terms of 1980, the data were as follows: 68.6 percent of all people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 51.4 percent of Black people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 71.9 percent of White people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 44.5 percent of Latino people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 17 percent of all people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 7.9 percent of Black people 25 and above were college graduates or more; and 18.4 percent of White people 25 and above were college graduates or more; and 7.6 percent of Latino people 25 and above were college graduates or more (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

For 1990, the data were as follows: 77.6 percent of all people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 66.2 percent of Black people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 81.4 percent of White people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; and 50.8 percent of Latino people 25 and above were college graduates or more (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

Regarding 2000, the data were as follows: 84.1 percent of all people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 78.9 percent of Black people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 88.4 percent of White people 25 and above were high school graduates; 57 percent of Latino people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; and 85.7 percent of Asian/Pacific Islander people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 25.6 percent of all people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 16.6 percent of Black people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 28.1 percent of White people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 10.6 percent of Latino people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 44.4 percent of Asian/Pacific Islander people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; and 80.8 percent of American Indian/Alaska Native people 25 and above were high school graduates or more (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

In 2010, 87.1 percent of all people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 84.6 percent of Black people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 92.1 percent of White people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 62.9 percent of Latino people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 89.1 percent of Asian/Pacific Islander people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 29.9 percent of all people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 20 percent of Black people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 33.2 percent of White people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 13.9 percent of Latino people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 51.6 percent of Asian/Pacific

Islander people 25 and above were college graduates or more; and 16 percent of American Indian/Alaska Native people 25 and above were college graduates or more. In 2010, the data was further broken into Asian category and Pacific Islander category. The data show that 90.2 percent of all Asian people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 52.8 percent of all Asian people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 80.8 percent of all Pacific Islander people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; and 25.6 percent of all Pacific Islander people 25 and above were high school graduates or more (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

During 2019, the data were as follows: 90.5 percent of all people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 88.8 percent of Black people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 94.6 percent of White people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 71.5 percent of Latino people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 36 percent of all people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 26.3 percent of Black people 25 and above were college graduates or more; and 40.1 percent of White people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 18.8 percent of Latino people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 57.3 percent of Asian/Pacific Islander people 25 and above were college graduates or more; and 16.8 percent of American Indian/Alaska Native people 25 and above were college graduates or more. In 2019, the data was further broken into Asian category and Pacific Islander category. The data indicate that 93.8 percent of all Asian people 25 and above were high school graduates or more; 58.6 percent of all Asian people 25 and above were college graduates or more; 87.9 percent of all Pacific Islander people 25 and above were high school graduates; and 28.1 percent of all Pacific Islander people 25 and above were college graduates or more (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

IMPLICATIONS OF THIS REPORT ON BLACK EDUCATION BETWEEN 1940 AND 2019

This report on Black education between 1940 and 2019 has several implications. One significant consequence is that it sheds light on Black education before 1940 in the United States with a focus on the contributions of Richard Robert Wright, Sr., Carter G. Woodson, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Anna Julia Cooper. Each one of the titans of Black education managed to acquire knowledge and skills in a racist society under very difficult circumstances. A second consequence is that it sheds light on two important tricksters in Black Education, namely Booker T. Washington and Richard Robert Wright, Sr. The tradition of the trickster among Black people in the USA is an Africanism brought from the motherland. A third important consequence is that it sheds light on Black education between 1940 and 2019 with an emphasis on empirical data from the National Center for Education Statistics. This paper offers educational attainment rates for various decades regarding racial and ethnic groups such as Black people, White people, Asian/Pacific Islander people, American Indian/Alaska Native people, and Latino people.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the education of Black people between 1940 and 2019 in the USA with special reference to the National Center for Education Statistics. It has placed that period in context by examining some Black people who wrote about investing in the education of the masses before 1940. Those Black people included Frederick Douglass, Richard Robert Wright, Sr., Booker T. Washington, Anna Julia Cooper, W.E.B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Paul Robeson. Each one of those Black people possessed social capital acquired from other people in their social environment.

Bourdieu (1986) has explained that social capital, one of the three types of human capital, consists of knowledge and skills passed down from one generation to another. It is important to note that Bourdieu saw social capital as a phenomenon that can be passed down from one adult to another. An important example of the phenomenon of social capital being received is Carter G. Woodson. He received knowledge and skills from teachers as well as Civil War veterans.

In the case of Woodson, he did not get his high school diploma until he was 22 years old. He proceeded to get a B.A. from Berea College at age 26, a M.A. from the University of Chicago at age 28, and a Ph.D. from Harvard University at age 31. His experience shows that it is never too late pursue educational attainment. Woodson exemplifies the resiliency of the human spirit in that a person can bounce back from a previous failure and make an important educational accomplishment before reaching age 25. This is especially true when human beings step up to help another human being to gain valuable knowledge.

The Federal government of the USA has used age 25 as important benchmark regarding educational attainment. That benchmark shows that a vast majority of Black people will get their high school diploma by age 25. The empirical data shows that 85 percent of Black people will have a high school diploma by age 25; and 20 percent of Black people will have a college degree by age 25. To ignore or overlook this data is to engage in the shortcomings of the nefarious deficit model.⁶

NOTES

1. It should also be noted that Angela F. Kern did not mention Pierre Bourdieu. In the case of Bourdieu, he developed other concepts related to human capital, including social capital, cultural capital, and physical capital. As used in this paper, human capital is a concept which refers to the wealth producing capacity of a people. It is based on the notion that improvements in education help to develop the wealth-producing capacity of a people. This definition of human capital draws on Schultz (1961), Becker (1964, 1993), Coleman (1988), and Kern (2009). Social capital, as used in this paper, is a concept which refers to the knowledge and skills passed from one generation to the next. An example of social capital is knowledge and skills about the educational system and process. This definition of social capital draws on Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1987, 1988), and Bowles and Gintis (2002), and Claridge (2004, 2015, 2020). As used in this paper, cultural capital is a concept which refers to educational institutions, libraries, and museums wherein ideas and norms are passed from one generation to another to build wealth. Examples of cultural capital include the Oakland Museum in Oakland, California; Oakland Public Library in Oakland, California; Richmond Museum

in Richmond, California; and the Richmond Public Library in Richmond, California. This definition of cultural capital draws on Bourdieu (1986) and Throsby (1999). Physical capital, as used in this paper, is a concept which refers to buildings, roads, and bridges that help a society to deal with challenges in its environment and build wealth. Examples of physical capital include the Student Services Building at Contra Costa College; Ronald V. Dellums Federal Building in Oakland, California; Highway 80 in San Pablo, California; and the Carquinez Bridge in between Pinole, California and Vallejo, California. This definition draws on Coleman (1988) and Throsby (1999).

2. Some five years later, Washington (1906) detailed his original goals for Tuskegee as an institution. Washington stated:

From the very outset of my work, it has been my steadfast purpose to establish an institution that would provide instruction, not for the select few, but for the masses, giving them standards and ideals, and inspiring in them hope and courage to go patiently forward. I wanted to give Negro young men and women an education that would fit them to take up and carry to greater perfection the work that their fathers and mothers had been doing. I saw clearly that an education filled with a "divine discontent," without ability to change conditions, would leave the students, and the masses they were to guide, worse off than they were in their unawakened state. It was my aim to teach the students who came to Tuskegee to live and to make a living, to the end that they might return to their homes after graduation, and find profit and satisfaction in building up the communities from which they had come, and in developing the latent possibilities of the soil and the people. To establish this idea, the Tuskegee Institute, with its 1,500 students, its 156 officers, teachers and employees, its 86 buildings, and its varied ramifications for extension work, has come into existence. (p. 515)

However, Washington also made it clear that he was not entirely opposed to a liberal arts education. Washington said, ". . . Tuskegee's emphasis on industrial education implies by no means a lack of appreciation of the colleges and professional schools. The race needs both kinds of education, and each type of institution complements the work of the other" (p. 516). Washington further argued that "the only kind of knowledge that has any sort of value for a race that is trying to get on its feet is knowledge that has some definite relation to the daily lives of the men and women who are seeking it" (p. 519). He took the position that one of the best ways to test a person's knowledge is to "compel" that person to act or take action (p. 519). As Thornbrough (1969) pointed out, it was imperative for education to have a practical value in Washington's view. Washington was very clear that he did not believe in knowledge for the sake of knowledge. He believed that education was about making a dollar even if it meant accepting second-class citizenship. Thornbrough charged that Washington had a "deprecatory attitude toward politics" (p. 8). For the positions of some of Washington's key opponents, see Du Bois (1903) and Wells-Barnett (1904).

3. See Harris (2010) for a discussion of trickster figures among Black people in Georgia. Her discussion includes Brer Rabbit as a trickster figure. Cf. Harris (1880/1895),

4. See Fortier (1888, 1894/1995) for a discussion of trickster figures in Louisiana. His discussion includes Compare Lapin as a trickster figure. Fortier (1888) made the following complaint:

It is quite difficult to make a complete collection of the negro tales, as the young generation knows nothing about them, and most of the old people pretend to have forgotten them. It is a strange fact that the old negroes do not like to relate to those tales with which they enchanted their little masters before the war. It was with the greatest trouble that I succeeded in getting the following stories. (p. 101)

Cf. Saxon (1945/1987). In his collection of folklore from Louisiana, Saxon included tales regarding the Axeman, Needle Men, Gown Man, Hugging Molly, Domino Man, Jack-the-Clipper, Devil Man, Coco Robichaux, and Annie Christmas.

5. Under the auspices of the Pew Research Center, research analysts Luis Noe-Bustamante, Lauren Mora, and Lopez (2020) conducted a national survey in the USA of the attitudes of Latinos toward the term Latinx. The researchers reported that “only 23% of U.S. adults who self-identify as Hispanic or Latino have heard of the term Latinx, and just 3% say they use it to describe themselves, according to a nationally representative, bilingual survey of U.S. Hispanic adults conducted in December 2019” (p. 1). According to the study, 76 percent of Latinos have never heard the term Latinx, 20 percent of Latinos who have heard the term do not use it, and 3 percent of Latinos who have heard the term use it. The researchers explained that:

The emergence of Latinx coincides with a global movement to introduce gender-neutral nouns and pronouns into many languages whose grammar has traditionally used male or female constructions. In the United States, the first uses of Latinx appeared more than a decade ago. It was added to a widely used English dictionary in 2018, reflecting its greater use.

Yet the use of Latinx is not common practice, and the term’s emergence has generated debate about its appropriateness in a gendered language like Spanish. Some critics point to its origins among U.S. English speakers, saying it ignores the Spanish language and its gendered form. Still, there are examples of the term’s use in Spanish in the U.S. and abroad. Meanwhile, others see Latinx as a gender—and LGBTQ—inclusive term, reflecting a broader movement within the U.S. around gender identity. (p. 1)

Regarding the respondents, the researchers reported that 14 percent of Latino high school graduates or less had heard of Latinx; 2 percent of Latino high school graduates or less use the term Latinx; 31 percent of Latino with some college had heard of Latinx; 5 percent of Latino with some college use the term Latinx; 38 percent of Latino college graduates had heard of Latinx; and 5 percent of Latino college graduates use the term Latinx. Furthermore, it should be noted that racial and ethnic categories used in the USA have been designated by the Office of Management and Budget, as indicated by Humes, Jones, and Ramirez (2011). The Office of Management and Budget tells us that

Latinos are an ethnic group and not a racial group. Following the Office of Management and Budget, it was pointed out by Humes et al. that, "People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be any race" (p. 2).

6. For discussions of the strength model and the deficit model, see Perry and Delpit (1998).

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Teaching About Social Problems: Key Concepts

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Abstract

This paper examines some of the key concepts that can be used to teach about social problems. In addition to social problems and the sociological imagination, those concepts include the three core sociological theoretical perspectives; sociological methods; social institutions such as government, the economy, the family, health-care systems, and education; social inequality such as racism, poverty, and sexism; unconventional or deviant behavior in the form of crime and delinquency, alcoholism and drug abuse, pornography and the sex trade; and global concerns such as violence, war, and terrorism. Those concepts also include economic systems; political systems; corporations; multinational corporations; global corporations; health; health disparities; nuclear family; extended family; alternative family; endogamy; exogamy; educational attainment; educational achievement; empirical research; empirical data; race; ethnicity; minority group; class; gender; identification; the system of White supremacy; binge drinking; heavy drinking; lynching; mass incarceration; and social movements. The position of the present writer is that understanding the definitions of social problems, the sociological imagination, and the other concepts is essential towards the development of solutions to social problems in terms of their causes and their effects.

Introduction

During the 1890s in the United States of America (USA), sociology emerged in academia as a separate discipline from philosophy. As was the case with other social sciences, it began to develop a body of theory and a body of methods. Sociology also quickly developed a host of special interest areas that evolved into subdisciplines. One of this was the special area which became known as social problems. W.E.B. Du Bois (1897) was one of the first to use the term social problem or social problems. He delivered a pathbreaking paper titled "The Study of Social Problems" wherein his approach to sociological theory and sociological methods were delineated. Du Bois quickly demonstrated how a sociologist could go beyond the armchair approach and car-window approach to conduct research of a quantitative and qualitative nature. While serving as a professor at Atlanta University, Du Bois taught sociology and coordinated the annual "Atlanta University Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems."¹

By the beginning of the 20th century, a host of sociologists were endeavoring in the study of social problems. Whereas Du Bois was engaged in his work at Atlanta University, other sociologists were doing their work at the University of Chicago, Columbia University, and elsewhere. As the 1920s unfolded, textbooks began to emerge with social problems in the title. Among the authors of those works were Towne (1921), Ellwood (1924), Galpain (1924), P. Parsons (1924), Odum (1925), Beach (1925), Dow and Wesley (1925), Groves (1925, 1927), and Gillin, Dittmer, and Colbert (1928).² In addition to their research, those authors were deeply interested in teaching about social problems to their students.

This paper will examine some of the key concepts that can be used to teach about social problems. In addition to social problems and the sociological imagination, those concepts include the three core sociological theoretical perspectives; sociological methods; social institutions such as government, the economy, the family, health-care systems, and education; social inequality such as racism, poverty, and sexism; unconventional or deviant behavior in the form of crime and delinquency, alcoholism and drug abuse, pornography and the sex trade; and global concerns such as violence, war, and terrorism. Those concepts also include economic systems; political systems; corporations; multinational corporations; global corporations; health; health disparities; nuclear family; extended family; alternative family; endogamy; exogamy; educational attainment; educational achievement; empirical research; empirical data; race; ethnicity; minority group; class; gender; identification; the system of White supremacy; binge drinking; heavy drinking; lynching; mass incarceration; and social movements. The position of the present writer is that understanding the definitions of social problems, the sociological imagination, and the other concepts is essential towards the development of solutions to social problems in terms of their causes and their effects.

Examination of the Concepts

In this paper, a social problem refers to: “Any undesirable condition or situation that is judged by an influential number of persons within a community to be intolerable and to require group action toward constructive reform” (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 392). According to Jary and Jary (2000), social problems include “aspects of social life seen to warrant concern and intervention” (p. 577). On the one Theodorson and Theodorson stated that examples of social problems are “juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, crime, prostitution, divorce, chronic unemployment, poverty, and mental illness” (p. 392). On the other hand, Jary and Jary said that examples of social problems are “crime, domestic violence, child abuse, poverty, drug abuse” (p. 577). Long before Theodorson and Theodorson or Jary and Jary, Du Bois (1898a) related that, “A social problem is the failure of an organized social group to realize its group ideals, through the inability to adapt a certain desired line of action to given conditions of life” (p. 2). Du Bois also posed that “a social problem is ever a relation between conditions and action, and as conditions and actions vary and change from group to group from time to time and from place to place, so social problems change, develop and grow” (p. 3). Long after Du Bois, others like Loseke (1999) as well as Spector and Kitsuse (1973, 2017) said that social problems are social conditions that meet three criteria: (1) they affect many people and threaten the values of an influential group; (2) they have become issues of public debate; and (3) they can be resolved through collective action.

As used here, the term sociological imagination refers to the ability of people to participate in social life and step back and analyze the broader meanings of what is going by using sociological concepts (Mills, 1959). Mills has noted that, “The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations

between the two within society” (p. 6). He also noted that “by means of the sociological imagination that men now hope to grasp what is going on in the world, and to understand what is happening in themselves as minute points of the intersections of biography and history within society” (p. 7). Mills delineated a position that the sociological imagination may inevitably raise these three questions: (1) What is the structure of this particular society as a whole? (2) Where does this society stand in human history? (3) What varieties of men and women prevail in this society and in this period? (p. 7).

The term sociological perspectives (aka theoretical perspectives) are sets of concepts and theories (Harrison & Harrison, 2002a). Three core or major sociological perspectives include conflict, functionalist, and interactionist. and interactionist perspective. The conflict perspective is based on the insights and theories of Karl Marx and he is its fountainhead. A key concept of that perspective is conflict. The functionalist perspective is based on the insights of Emile Durkheim and he is its fountainhead. Function is a key concept of that perspective. The interactionist perspective is based on the insights of Max Weber and he is its fountainhead. A key concept of that perspective is social interaction (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Jary & Jary, 2000; Cromartie, 2021b).³

Sociological methods refer to research processes used by sociologists to collect qualitative and quantitative information and data. Five basic sociological methods are the survey, observation, experiment, case study, and secondary data analysis. The survey is a research method that uses questionnaires and interviews as research techniques. The two types of surveys include a total population survey and a sample survey. The observation is a research method that uses participant observation and unobtrusive measures as research techniques. The experiment is a research method that uses observation (of control groups and experimental groups) as a research technique. The case study is a research method that uses documents as research techniques. The secondary data analysis is a research method that uses documents as research techniques (Babbie, 2004).

Empirical research, or an empirical study, refers to a research study which has been conducted in a careful and systematic manner and uses methodology that can be replicated by another researcher (Babbie, 2004). An example of that type of research was conducted by the present writer for his dissertation at the University of San Francisco (Cromartie, 1993). Empirical data, or empirical evidence, was the type of data collected by the present writer for his dissertation at the University of San Francisco (Cromartie, 1993).

Social institutions, also known as institutions, refer to “a stable structure of roles and statuses” (Harrison & Harrison, 2002d). They also refer to an “interrelated system of social roles and norms organized about the satisfaction of an important social need or function” (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 206). One example of a social institution is government. A second example is an economy. A third example is a family. A fourth example is a health-care systems. A fifth example is education. The term government refers to: “That central agency or complex totality of interrelated organizations exercising over-all control over a society or a territorially delimited subdivisions of a society” (Theodorson & Theodorson, p. 175). Theodorson and Theodorson have related that, “Governments exist in complex societies as formal agencies of social

control, in contrast to the informal traditional forms of control in nonliterate or simple societies” (p. 175). Governments can be found in the USA, Nigeria, China, India, and the Philippines.

The term economy refers to the “dominant form of economic activity characterizing a society” (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). Similarly, the term economic system refers to the way a society functions in terms of its production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. Economic systems provide a framework and a form of social organization with interrelated roles, patterns of norms, and patterns of values that govern economic activity (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). One type of economic system is a capitalist organized for private profit and a market economy. In a capitalist economic system, money is exchanged for goods and services. A second type of economic system is a socialist organized for the meeting of basic human needs and a market economy. Money is exchanged for goods and services in a socialist economic system. A third type of economic system is the mixed economy which has features of both capitalism and socialism. In a mixed economy economic system, money is exchanged for goods and services. A fourth type of economic system is the communist organized for the meeting of basic human needs and without a market economy. Money is not exchanged for goods and services in a communist economic system. An example of a capitalist economic system is the USA. China is an example of a socialist economic system. An example of a mixed economy economic system is Canada. No country has ever created a communist because it would not have a market economy (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Jary & Jary, 2000).

A political system is a structure in societies that determine who gets what, when, and how (Laswell, 1936). Laswell posed that ruling elites and counter-elites manipulate power in a given society. In the case of the USA, the political system has three branches of government at the national level or macro level. Those three branches include the executive branch, senate branch, and house branch.

Corporations refer to types of economic formal organizations (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). Theodorson and Theodorson state that a corporation is also “a recognized legal entity with the right to own property, enter into contracts, and otherwise conduct business in the name of the organization” (p. 80). One example of a corporation is NIKE. A second example of a corporation is Chase Manhattan Bank.

Multinational corporations refer to corporation that has a presence in at least two or three countries and engage in international business related to manufacturing, production, and sales (Corporate Finance Institute, 2022). The Corporate Finance Institute said that multinational corporations operate in a home country and others. One example of a multinational corporation is NIKE, a corporation with factories in the USA and China. A second example of a multinational corporation is Ford, a corporation with factories in the USA and Mexico.

Global corporations refer to a corporation that has a presence in every continent and engage in international business related to manufacturing, production, and/or sales (LaMarco, 2018). La Marco explained that, “A global corporation, also known as a global company, is coined from the base term ‘global’, which means all around the world. It makes sense to assume that a global company is a company that does business all over the world” (p. 1). One example of a global corporation is Chase Manhattan Bank. A second example of a global corporation is Cocoa-Cola. A third

example of a global corporation is Hilton and Hyatt Hotels. A fourth example of a global corporation is American Express.

The family is group of people related by blood, marriage, or adoption. There are major types of the family. One type of family is the nuclear family. A second type is the extended family. A third type of family is the alternative family (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Jary & Jary, 2000; Harrison, 2002f; Furstenberg, Harris, Pesando, & Reed, 2020).

The term nuclear family is a family structure composed of a man, woman, and their children if they have any (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Jary & Jary, 2000). Theodorson and Theodorson referred to nuclear family as, "The basic unit of family organization" (p. 149). They explained that, "The nuclear family may be a separate family or a part of a larger family. A husband with two wives would be a member of two nuclear families, or a compound family" (p 149).

In this paper, the term extended family refers to a family structure composed of two or more generations live in the same household or in close proximity (Jary & Jary, 2000). Jary and Jary stated the extended family includes "a group of people, related by kinship, where more than two generations of relatives live together (or in very close proximity), usually forming a single household" (p. 209). One example of an extended family could be a father, mother, child, and grandparent living in the same household. A second example could be several nuclear families or alternative families living in close proximity on the same street or in the same neighborhood. The extended could be based on geography or simply blood or marital ties.

As used here, the term alternative family, which is also known as a non-traditional family, refers to a family structure that has a different norm from the nuclear family (Furstenberg, Harris, Pesando, & Reed, 2020). One example of an alternative family can consist of a single mother and her children. A second example of type of an alternative family can be composed of a single father and his children. A third example of an alternative family can consist of two women and their children if they have any. A fourth example of an alternative family can be composed of two men and their children if they have any. A fifth example of an alternative family can be a group of people engaged in a group marriage.

Endogamy refers to marriage within one's racial group or ethnic group (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Jary & Jary, 2000). Theodorson and Theodorson reported that endogamy deals with the "custom requiring marriage within one's own social group" (p. 131). Their examples include kin unit, a religion, and a social class. Jary and Jary related that endogamy involves "a rule describing marriage within a social group" (p. 185). They offered lineage, caste, class, and ethnic affiliation as examples.

As a concept, exogamy refers to marriage outside one's racial or ethnic group (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Jary & Jary, 2000). Theodorson and Theodorson stated that exogamy concerns a "custom requiring an individual to marry outside a specific group of which he is a member" (p. 138). The examples they used are a family, clan, and village group. Jary and Jary said that exogamy is connected to "a rule prescribing marriage outside a given group" (p. 201). Their examples consist of lineage, caste, class, and ethnic affiliation.

Health-care systems refer to institutions that have been organized to take care of the physical and mental needs of individuals. On the one hand, there are health-care institutions that are organized by government agencies to meet the needs of citizens

and residents. On the other hand, there are health-care institutions that are organized by private corporations to maximize profits—even at the expense of sick people. In the USA, there are Health-Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) wherein members pay a premium or fee to get health-care services from a single entity like Kaiser or Sutter Delta. There are also Preferred Provider Organizations (PPOs) wherein members pay a premium or fee to get health-care services from multiple entities like Blue Cross-Blue Shield in the form of a network of participating providers (Jary & Jary, 2000; Medical Mutual, 2022).

In this paper, health refers to an aspect of a person wherein one may or may not be suffering from a sickness or illness (T. Parsons, 1951). Good health means that one is not suffering from an illness or sickness which has rendered that person helpless or in need of help. In contrast, bad health means that one is suffering from an illness or sickness which has rendered that person helpless or in need of help. T. Parsons (1951) posed that, “The functional setting of medical practice and the cultural tradition in the most general terms medical practice may be said to oriented to coping with disturbances to the ‘health’ of the individual, with ‘illness’ or ‘sickness’” (p. 289). For T. Parsons, health modern medicine has long been geared toward “controlling disease” instead of preventing disease (p. 290). T. Parsons pointed out the presence of the “sick role” as a factor in the realm of health (p. 320). He also pointed out that, “By institutional definition of the sick role the sick person is helpless and therefore in need of help” (p. 296). Among other things, T. Parsons explained that people in the sick role are placed in a “special relation to people who are not sick” (p. 211). T. Parsons asserted that people in the sick role have a degree of “conditional legitimation” in the eyes of people who are not sick. Thus, some people in families guardedly try to determine whether a person is sick or playing sick to get special treatment. T. Parsons reminded us that, “It is possible to have a sick role, and to have treatment of illness institutionalized, where the role of therapist is not of the modern professional type. Treatment by kinsmen is a common example” (p. 320).

As used here, health disparities refer to “differences in the incidence/prevalence, mortality, and burden of diseases and other adverse health conditions that exist among specific population groups in the United States” (Clark, 2004, p. 1). Health disparities have been found among the five leading causes of death and death rates in the USA. They have also been found among the five leading causes of death and death rates within the whole state of California, within the whole Contra Costa County, and the Los Medanos Community Healthcare District. When comparative analyses have been conducted of the data regarding Black people and White people, significant differences have been found in terms heart disease deaths, cancer deaths, stroke deaths, chronic lower respiratory disease deaths, and unintentional injuries deaths (Clark, 2004; Cromartie, 2007, 2008).

Education is the “transmission of knowledge by either formal or informal methods” (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 127). It also involves the processes and outcomes available in formal and informal settings wherein knowledge and skills are transmitted among people. The transmission of the knowledge and skills can take place both in and outside of educational institutions and their classrooms. For instance, it is possible for one to become self-educated by reading books written by others and

learning that information. One example of self-education during the 19th century was Frederick Douglass (1892). An example of self-education during the 20th century was Malcolm X (1965).

The term educational attainment refers to “the highest level of education that an individual has completed” (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021, p. 1). According to the U.S. Census Bureau, educational attainment “is distinct from the level of schooling that an individual is attending” (p. 1). An example of educational attainment is the earning of a high school diploma or GED. A second example of educational attainment is the earning of an associate’s degree. A third example of educational attainment is the earning of a bachelor’s degree.

In this paper, the term educational achievement, also known as academic achievement, refers to the knowledge one has acquired while attending school (Lynn, 1988). Irwin, Zhang, Wang, Hein, Wang, Roberts, York, Barmer, Bullock Mann, Dilig, and Parker (2021) noted that families and poverty can impact educational achievement. They stated that, “Families provide educational tools and opportunities to children in a variety of ways, including exposure to enrichment activities and technology, access to schools, and familiarity with educational processes” (p. 8). Irwin et al. also said that “living in poverty, living in a household without a parent who has completed high school, and living in a single-parent household are associated with poor educational outcomes—including receiving low achievement scores, having to repeat a grade, and dropping out of high school” (p. 8).

Social inequality refers to “the existence of unequal opportunities and rewards for different social positions or statuses within a group or society” (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 201). It also refers to a state of not being equal in terms of material and nonmaterial resources that affect the life chances of people (Jary & Jary, 2000). One example of social inequality is racism. A second example of social inequality is poverty. A third example of social inequality is sexism.

Racism is an “ideology based on the belief that an observable, supposedly inherited trait is a mark of inferiority that justifies discrimination against people with that trait” (Harrison, 2002e). Racism is also an ideology based on power which holds that one race is superior to another race. As an ideology, racism has been used to deny equality to racial minorities by the dominant White race in the USA. The dominant White race has used institutions to deny equal opportunities in the areas of jobs, contracts, and educational slots. Racial minorities have sought to resist White racism by using racial nationalism around economic, political, and cultural matters (Pinkney, 1976; Harrison, 2002e; Atuahene, 2018; Cromartie, 2021c, 2021d). In the case of Atuahene, she made a distinction between institutional racism and individual racism.

The system of White supremacy, which is also known simply as White supremacy, refers to a concept that is used to reflect White hegemony in the form of undue influence and power over an economic system and political system at the macro level. It includes White institutional racism, White individual racism, White ethnocentrism, White skin privilege, and White nationalism. The system of White supremacy has been manifested around the world through colonization, genocide, expulsion, slavery, mass incarceration, segregation, forced assimilation, accommodation, cultural imperialism, economic imperialism, and other forms of domination. Advocates of the system of White supremacy have included White

terrorists in the Ku Klux Klan and non-White accommodationists (Robeson, 1958; Fuller, 1964; Cress-Welsing, 1991; A.N. Wilson, 1993; Bush, 2009; Saad, 2020).⁴

Poverty refers to a social condition in the form of a “low standard of living that lasts long enough to undermine the health, morale, and self-respect of an individual or group of individuals” (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 307). Theodorson and Theodorson asserted poverty is “relative to the general standard of living in the society, the distribution of wealth, the status system, and social expectations” (p. 307). Jary and Jary posed that poverty involves “the lack of sufficient material and cultural resources to sustain a healthy existence” (p. 480). They made a distinction between absolute poverty or primary poverty and relative poverty or secondary poverty. On the one hand, absolute poverty refers to “a lack of the basic requirements to sustain physical life; the subsistence poverty of not having sufficient food and adequate shelter” (p. 480). On the other hand, relative poverty “is used to demonstrate the inadequacy of definitions of absolute or primary poverty by referring to the cultural needs of individuals and families within the context of the rest of society” (p. 480). Jary and Jary added: “It is a relativistic definition which relates poverty not only to physical needs but also to the norms and expectations of society” (pp. 480-481).

Sexism refers to “any attitudes and actions which overtly or covertly discriminates against women or men on the grounds of their sex or gender” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 551). Jary and Jary state that both women and men can be a victim of sexism. One example of sexism is a situation wherein women are paid less than men for doing the same work. A second example of sexism is women being denied certain positions although they can perform the duties of the job. Whereas some women face misogyny from some men who hate women, some men face misandry from some women who hate men (Nathanson & Young, 2006; Bradley, 2012).

Deviant behavior refers to nonconformity to social norms in a group or society (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). Deviance can vary from one society to another. For instance, social behavior that is accepted in one society may not be acceptable in another. One example of deviant behavior in the USA includes crime by adults. Another example of deviant behavior in the USA consists of delinquency by juveniles. Both examples are factors in mass incarceration.

Alcoholism and other drug abuse refers to dependency or addiction of alcohol and other drugs (Selner, 2018). Dependency involves a mental or physical craving for a drug (Selner, 2018). Addiction involves a physical dependence on a drug (Selner, 2018). Whereas alcohol is a legal drug, thousands of people die from its effects in the USA. Illegal drugs like fentanyl, methamphetamines, heroin, and cocaine also kill people, it does not do so at the same rate as alcohol (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 2022). Heavy drinking, also known as heavy alcohol use, refers to a phenomenon for men related to “consuming more than 4 drinks on any day or more than 14 drinks per week” (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 2022, p. 1). In contrast, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism said that heavy drinking as a phenomenon for women involved “consuming more than 3 drinks on any day or more than 7 drinks per week” (p. 1). The National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism also reported that SAMHSA “defines heavy alcohol use as binge drinking on 5 or more days in the past month” (p. 1). Regarding the consequences, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism further related that, “Alcohol is a factor in the deaths of thousands of people ages 18 to 22 every year in the United States” (p. 1). The National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism added: “The most recent NIAAA

statistics estimate that this includes 1,519 college students ages 18 to 24 who die from alcohol-related unintentional injuries, including motor vehicle crashes” (p. 1).

Binge drinking refers to a pattern of drinking that brings the blood alcohol (BAC) levels to 0.08 g/dL or higher (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 2022). According to the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (2022), binge drinking “typically occurs after a woman consumes 4 or more drinks or a man consumes 5 or more drinks—in about 2 hours” (p. 1). In contrast, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism reported that the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration has defined “binge drinking as consuming 5 or more alcoholic drinks for males or 4 or more alcoholic drinks for females on the same occasion (i.e., at the same time or within a couple of hours of each other) on at least 1 day in the past month” (p. 1). In addition, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism reported that the Monitoring the Future (MTF) survey “defines binge drinking as having 5 or more drinks in a row in the past 2 weeks” (p. 1).

Pornography refers to sexual images of women or men that may or may not violate the norms of a given society (Jary & Jary, 2000). Examples of pornography include the images people look at in *Playboy* magazine and *Playgirl* magazine. The sex trade refers to illegal or legal sexual activity which involves money exchanged for those services rendered. Examples on the slave trade include illegal activity on the streets of San Francisco and legal activity in the brothels of Nevada.

Global concerns refer to globalization in the form of social conditions that affect large numbers of people and have become a matter of public debate (Jary & Jary, 2000). Examples of global concerns include violence, war, and terrorism. Violence involves “the infliction of physical harm to the human property, or to human property, by physical force, using the body or weapons” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 670). Jary and Jary pose that, “The ability to marshal physical force is often a determining factor in social actions, e.g. in domestic relations between husbands and wives, or parents and children” (p. 670). One type of violence is collective violence. It involves violence by a relatively large number of people. An example of this type took place when a mob of White people lynched a Black man and forced other Black people to leave Forsyth County in 1912. A second type of violence is interpersonal violence. It involves violence by an individual or a relatively small number of people. An example of this type took place when a gang member shot at a member of another gang and missed, but killed an innocent pregnant woman who was in the area (Summers & Markusen, 1999).

Lynching is a form of violence that involves at least three people taking the life of another person as an act of terrorism (Guzman, Foster, & Hughes, 1947). Guzman et al. have pointed out that the participants at a December 1940 conference convened at Tuskegee University set up criteria for a definition of a lynching. The criteria were as follows: (1) There must be legal evidence that a person was killed; (2) that person must have met death illegally; (3) a group of three or more persons must have participated in the killing; and (4) the group must have acted under the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition. Using such criteria, some 4,000 Black people were lynched in the USA between 1877 and 1968. The Equal Justice Initiative (2017) has pointed out that, “Of the 4094 African American lynching victims EJI documented, nearly 25 percent were accused of sexual assault and nearly 30 percent were accused of murder” (p. 30). According to the Equal Justice Initiative, other Black people were lynched for arson, robbery, non-sexual assault, vagrancy, and “speaking to white people with less respect or formality than observers believed was due” (p. 29). Many years before the Equal

Justice Initiative emerged, Wells-Barnett (1895) initiated empirical research on lynching by collecting empirical data in a systematic and careful manner. She reported that her research indicated that most Black people lynched by White people for being prosperous, trying to vote, or being seen as uppity by racist or jealous White people. Based on her research, Wells-Barnett reported that 1892 was the year with the largest number of lynching victims. Between 1892 and her death in 1931, Wells-Barnett was a leader in the struggle against Black people getting lynched.⁵

War refers to a “state of collective physical conflict between politically organized groups (nations or subnations) that are not bound together by social bonds of interdependence and a degree of interaction sufficient to make the settlement of disputes by peaceful means the most practical and rational alternative (for both sides) to armed conflict” (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 464). Theodorson and Theodorson posed that war is at times “a form of international disorganization” (p. 464). They also said war is at times “a result of the concentration of conflict and cooperation on the hands of a few representatives of the opposing territorial units” (p. 464). Theodorson and Theodorson implied that war can take place at the micro, middle, or macro levels of analysis. An example of war at the micro level can involve two families like the Hatfield and McCoy family groups. War at the middle level can be exemplified by the Crips versus the Bloods or the Norteno versus the Surenos. An example of war at the macro level reflects the conflict between the USA and Afghanistan or the USA versus Iraq.

Terrorism refers to “a form of politically motivated action combining psychological (fear inducing) and physical (violent action) components carried out by individuals or small groups with the aim of inducing communities or states to meet the terrorists’ demands” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 636). Jary and Jary also described political terrorism “as the use of violence by a group either acting on behalf of, or in opposition to, an established political authority” (p. 636). They identified “three major types of politically motivated terrorist behaviour” (p. 636) Those three types include revolutionary terrorism, sub-revolutionary terrorism, and terrorist action.

Race is a social construction based on biology and physical characteristics (Cox, 1948/1970; Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Harrison, 2002e). Cox (1948/1970) described a race as a group of people with “significant physical characteristics” that are accepted as marks of distinction (p. 317). Theodorson and Theodorson (1969) related that Homo Sapiens belong to the same species, but can be divided into several classifications or divisions based on “hereditary characteristics” (p. 328). Harrison (2002e) reported that race is a social construction because the definition can vary from one society or country to another. Racial group is a term synonymous with the race concept and is a social construction that refers to a group of people based on biology and physical characteristics. Racial relations refer to the social interaction between racial groups in the USA and elsewhere. Races and racial groups in the USA include White people; Black people; Asian people; Native Hawaiian and Alaska Native people; and American Indian and Alaska Native people. It also includes the Some Other Race category people (Humes et al., 2011; Hixson, Hepler, & Kim, 2011, 2012; Rastogi, Johnson, Hoeffel, & Drewery, 2011; Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012; Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012).

The term ethnicity refers to a social construction based on culture and shared ancestry (Jary & Jary, 2000; Humes et al., 2011). Jary and Jary (2000) state that ethnicity is a “a shared racial, linguistic or national identity of a social group” (p. 193). Humes et. al. (2011) said that ethnicity “can be viewed as the heritage, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person’s parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States” (p. 2). Although it is sometimes used as being synonymous with race, they are two separate concepts. In the case of ethnicity, it can be based on both material culture and nonmaterial culture. Ethnicity is synonymous with the term ethnic group. Cox (1948/1970) has related that, “The term ‘ethnic’ may be employed generically to refer to social relations among distinct peoples” He added: “Accordingly, an ethnic may be defined as a people living competitively in relationship of superordination or subordination with respect to some other people or peoples within one state, country, or economic area” (p. 317). Each race or racial group can be broken down into ethnic groups based on language, nationality, religion, etc. For example, the White race consists of ethnic groups such as Italian people, Polish people, German people, Jewish people, Lebanese people, Spanish people, and Latino people. The Black race consists of ethnic groups such as African American people, Nigerian people, Ghanaian people, Jamaican people, Haitian people, Puerto Rican people, Cuban people, Brazilian people, Jewish people, and Latino people. Ethnic relations refer to the social interaction between ethnic groups in the USA and elsewhere (Cox, 1948/1970; Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011; Humes et al., 2011).

In this paper, a minority group is a social construction that refers to a group of people who often have a history of being “singled out and discriminated against, often because of racial or ethnic differences” (Harrison, 2002e). Minority groups often find themselves “excluded from full participation in society,” as Harrison noted. The concept of a minority group is based on politics as well as power. Minority groups involve those who have been singled out for differential and unequal treatment or it can reflect their population in a society relative to the dominant group. On the one hand, some minority groups are racial groups who have been singled out for differential and unequal treatment. Racial minorities include Black people; Asian people; Native Hawaiian and Alaska Native people; and American Indian and Alaska Native people. On the other hand, some minority groups are ethnic groups who have been singled out for differential and unequal treatment. Latinos fall into that category (Humes et al., 2011; Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). Webster (1972) has pointed out that there are some White ethnic groups who are ethnic minorities and have been socially disadvantaged like racial minorities at times. He defined socially disadvantaged as “persons or groups whose chances for the complete maximization of their talents or potentials are limited by societal factors related to poverty and, or racial, caste, or class attitudes and practices” (p. vii). Webster also noted that White ethnic groups sometimes have the “absence of group cohesiveness” and the absence of “a cadre of militant leaders” (p. vii). For the purposes of politics and affirmative action, White women were declared a minority group because of a history of being singled out for differential and unequal treatment. White women also benefited more from affirmative action than non-White women and non-White men (Kohn, 2013).

Class, also known as social class, refers to a concept or social rank based on a combination of occupational prestige, income, level of education, and wealth (Harrison, 2002c). Over the years sociologists have defined class in different ways. Marx (1867/1976) believed that class ranking is based on whether people can be placed in the bourgeoisie, petit bourgeoisie, proletariat, or lumpenproletariat. Weber (1920/1958) believed that class ranking is based on wealth, power, and prestige and in turn that determines whether one is upper, middle, or lower class. Cox (1948/1970) believed that the class system involved a “variant of that social-status order which followed the breakdown and atomization of the European estate system” (p. 143). Cox exclaimed that social-class systems “are phenomena peculiar to capitalism” (p. 143). Examples of class include upper class, middle class, working class, and lower class (Harrison, 2002c).

As used here, the term gender refers to a social construction based on culture to distinguish the traditional masculine qualities associated with males and the traditional feminine qualities associated with females (Jary & Jary, 2000). Jary and Jary noted that gender is often used synonymously with the term sex. However, sex is based on biology in contrast to gender. Nevertheless, Jary and Jary pointed out that in “common usage” gender also includes “the distinction between males and females according to anatomical sex” (p. 243). Related concepts in sociology includes gender identity, gender roles, and gender stratification.

Identification is a social process whereby an individual chooses role models and attempts to imitate their behavior (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Jary & Jary, 2000). Theodorson and Theodorson stated that identification involves taking on “the values, standards, expectations, or social roles of another person or persons (for example, one’s parents) into one’s own behavior and self-conception” (pp. 194-195). They also asserted that identification “includes modeling one’s self after another person, having a sense of ‘oneness’ with him, and being able to put one’s self imaginatively into his position” (p. 195). Jary and Jary said that identification involves “the copying of another’s behaviour closely with the desire to be as much like that person as possible” (p. 288). An example of identification would be a young boy or young man taking on the behavior of an older boy or man as a role model.

Mass incarceration refers to “a network of policing, prosecution, incarceration, surveillance, debt, and social control that is rooted in, builds upon, and reproduces economic and racial inequality and oppression” (Institute of Mass Incarceration, 2022). According to the Institute of Mass Incarceration, “Some refer to this network as the carceral state, the penal state, or the criminal legal system” (p. 1). The American Liberties Union (2022) related that, “Despite making up close to 5% of the global population, the U.S. has more than 20% of the world’s prison population” (p. 1). The American Liberties Union added: “Since 1970, our incarcerated population has increased by 500%--2 million people in jail and prison today, far outpacing population growth and crime” (p. 1). Jary and Jary (2000) have described incarceration as “the separation of people from the normal routines of everyday life within organizations such as prisons . . .” (p. 293). They have also related that, “Long-term incarceration can lead to the problem of institutionalization, and so to problems of adjusting to independent existence, e.g. for former prisoners . . .” (p. 293). During July 2021, the USA was the

leading country in world regarding the number of people incarcerated. There were 2,094,000 people incarcerated in the USA; 1,710,000 people incarcerated in China; 759,518 people incarcerated in Brazil; 478,600 people incarcerated in India; and 475,009 people incarcerated in the Russian Federation. Sadly, some people in the USA were sentenced to death row and executed although they were innocent (Scheck, Neufeld, & Dwyer, 2000; Stevenson, 2014; Szmigiera, 2022).

Social movements refer to organized collective behavior aimed at changing or reforming institutions or the social order itself (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Jary & Jary, 2000). In the case of Black people, Frazier (1949/1957) said that the “social movements have consisted of deliberately organized efforts to achieve common goals” (p. 520). Frazier further related that social movements seek to enlist the “participation and support” of the Black masses. According to Frazier, “The first social movements among Negroes appeared in the movement among the free Negroes in the North for separate church organizations during the last decade of the eighteenth century” (p. 521). Frazier pointed to the emergence of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (aka AME Church) in 1787 led by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones. Other pre-Civil War social movements identified by Frazier include the Gabriel Insurrection; Denmark Vesey Insurrection; Nat Turner Insurrection; Convention Movement; and the Underground Railroad Movement. Frazier also acknowledged the Black Abolitionist Movement led by Robert Purvis and others. Among the post-Civil War social movements Frazier identified as having developed before 1948 the “Pap” Singleton Movement; Niagara Movement; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League; Great Migration Movement (aka mass migration to northern cities); Garvey Movement; Harlem Renaissance Movement (aka Negro Renaissance Movement); National Negro Congress; and the March-on-Washington Movement. Of course, there were some social movements that Frazier did not include before the pre-Civil War period and after the post-Civil War period. Cases in point are the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association led by Callie House and others; the Club Movement of Black women led by Ida B. Wells-Barnett and others; and the Anti-Lynching Movement led by Ida B. Wells-Barnett and others (Wells-Barnett, 1970; Berry, 2005).

Summary and Conclusion

This paper has examined some of the key concepts that can be used to teach about social problems. In addition to social problems and the sociological imagination, those concepts include the three core sociological theoretical perspectives; sociological methods; social institutions such as government, the economy, the family, health-care systems, and education; social inequality such as racism, poverty, and sexism; unconventional or deviant behavior in the form of crime and delinquency, alcoholism and drug abuse, pornography and the sex trade; and global concerns such as violence, war, and terrorism. Those concepts also include economic systems; political systems; corporations; multinational corporations; global corporations; health; health disparities; nuclear family; extended family; alternative family; endogamy; exogamy; educational attainment; educational achievement; empirical research; empirical data; race; ethnicity;

minority group; class; gender; identification; the system of White supremacy; binge drinking; heavy drinking; lynching; mass incarceration; and social movements. The position of the present writer is that understanding the definitions of social problems, the sociological imagination, and the other concepts is essential towards the development of solutions to social problems in terms of their causes and their effects.

In the USA, sociologists, who examine sociologists in the USA, stand on the shoulders of W.E.B. Du Bois. Within six years of the emergence of the first department of sociology in the USA at the University of Chicago, Du Bois (1898a) published his essay "The Study of the Negro Problems" in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Before he published his essay, Du Bois presented it as a paper at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science during 1897. In his paper, Du Bois offered a definition of a social problem. He also described his empirical approach to the study of social problems faced by Black people in the USA. Du Bois provided details regarding his interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approach to research. He stated that his research methodology on Black people in the USA involved (1) historical study; (2) statistical investigation; (3) anthropological measurement; and (4) sociological interpretation. The empirical approach of Du Bois reflected what is now termed mixed methods by Babbie (2004). His empirical approach also reflected both quantitative and qualitative research.

Because of his race, Du Bois has not received full due and credit for his pioneering efforts related to the study of social problems in multiple areas. The same is true for Ida B. Wells-Barnett and her study of social problems in multiple areas. Both began to publish their pioneering research efforts during the 1890s. Whereas Du Bois (1899a) explored his research on Black people and their social problems in Philadelphia, Wells-Barnett (1895) explored her research on Black people who got lynched as a social problem. Both pioneering studies from the 19th century deserve to be never forgotten.

Notes

1. During his first stint at Atlanta University, Du Bois coordinated the annual Conference on the Negro Problems and edited the conference proceedings. He also conducted for some important studies for the U.S. Department of Labor. See Du Bois (1898b, 1899b, 1901). For an important study by one of the proteges of Du Bois, see Wright (1903).
2. For some reports on sociology at the high school level in the 1920s, see Finney (1923) and Gifford (1926).
3. For key works by the three major fountainheads, see Marx (1867/1976, 1885/1978, 1894/1981); Weber (1920/1958); and Durkheim (1897/1952).
4. Both Frazier (1949/1957) and Nkrumah (1965/1984) expressed concern about imperialism as a social condition.
5. For a discussion of Black lynching victims in the USA placed in an international context of racial oppression, see Padmore (1931/1972).

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Beyond the Human Tragedy

The Long-Term Environmental Impacts of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

By

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Keywords Russia, Ukraine, environmental, ecology, war, nuclear, water, air, pollution, contamination, infrastructure

Abstract The ravages of war are significant and tragic for the human population. The devastation caused by the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 cannot be overstated in terms of cost to human lives. Yet, there are other significant damages that need to be considered to grasp the total cost. The environmental damage from the Russian invasion will have long-term impacts that may result in decades of destruction to the air, water, and soil of Ukraine.

“War is nothing but a continuation of politics with the admixture of other means.”

— Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (1832)

Introduction. Perhaps at the time the collection of articles was assembled by his wife and made into the 8-volume war-opus, Clausewitz was correct. Yet, it is hard to imagine that he would have drawn such glowing conclusions about the results of armed conflict today.¹ The belligerents of any war reap destruction upon all aspects of society. Efforts to understand previous conflicts have often started with the first ‘war to end all wars’ now more than 100 years ago. Kramer (2008) used a handful of examples to document the horrors levied upon European combatants that cost millions of lives, destroyed countless antiquities, and plundered the social conscious of the world.² Lives were not the only thing lost in World War I. Medieval cathedrals and art went up in flames; as did generations of culture.³ More recently, clinical psychologists have demanded that more deliberation regarding the human consequences, even for the ‘winners’, be factored in prior to the first shot being fired.⁴ Others have built upon this research to address questions related to war making as type of failure of diplomacy where all societies suffer casualties.⁵

The question that drives the research here is not about bombs and buildings or other human-centric losses. These are critical. However, there are other matters to consider. Specifically, in any situation where war rages, there will be environmental damages.

Ecology and Conflict. Westing (2012) noted that at the ‘International Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in 1972, the environmental impact of war emerged and grew as a topic of research in the natural and the social sciences.’⁶ The groundbreaking treatise *Harvest of Death* (1971) used the chemical and biological warfare in Vietnam and Cambodia as case studies for exposing the largescale ecological damage.⁷ Additional efforts to document the ‘irreparable damage caused by war’ have had a plethora of possibilities to examine as the fog of war is lifted and the ecological ruins are discovered. For example, the environmental crisis following the first Gulf War and the massive oil field fires may linger for decades.⁸ But, this was not the first time this issue arose.

As early as the 1950s, researchers at Columbia University’s Bureau of Applied Social Research found that Nazi destruction during World War II extended beyond human costs. Here, it was documented that infrastructural costs due to heavy aerial bombing campaigns in cities like London and a series of German cities laid waste by Allied forces had ecological dimensions that effected human health and the environment.⁹ Yet, more of the focus here was on the human costs. Follow up studies echoed these findings and remained human-centric.¹⁰ Even when issues, such as soil conditions, were analyzed, it was mainly from the perspective of how this could impact human beings.¹¹ Specifically, most such studies described ‘ecological’ costs as those associated with labor, families, and other social matters. And there can be no doubt that these losses are important.

Perhaps no other work makes this point stronger than *Ecological Imperialism* (Crosby 2004).¹² Even when shots are not fired and canons remain still, the process of one people bringing to a new land their seeds and diseases, disturbs the flora and fauna of the indigenous country. When armed conflict is coupled with that, the ecological nightmare is only just beginning. In situations where there are invading armies committing genocide, the level of the tragedy only is exacerbated. One such project looked at the Rwandan tragedy of the 1990s and found, besides the horrific toll on human life, the conflict impacted conservation and environmental protection efforts.¹³ Lastly, even when the crisis is self-inflicted, like Mao’s war on China, widespread annihilation is certain to go beyond humans.¹⁴ The destruction of the ecosystem in China may be even greater than the genocide committed against the Chinese people.¹⁵

The Ukrainian War. With these concerns in mind, attention shifts to the more current and tragic Russian invasion of Ukraine. Specifically, those with potential long-term environmental impacts. As a continuation of the conflict that began at least 8 years ago, Russian forces crossed into Ukraine on February 24, 2022. The human losses thus far are almost 8,000 people.¹⁶ Scholars across the globe have condemned this action because of fears of economic woes¹⁷, especially shocks to the stock market¹⁸, and health worries¹⁹, especially those related to the COVID pandemic.²⁰ One such consequence that has implications for both economic and health matters have been the drastic increase in global oil prices.²¹

Political implications, especially for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the European Union (EU), have turned into existential arguments regarding purpose and the future of said organizations.²² Almost all American and European leaders agree that Russia must not be permitted to further destroy the Ukrainian people and threaten a wider conflict.²³ There can be no

doubt that the human toll has been high and the present refugee crisis in Europe is something most people have never witnessed.²⁴

The Environment. Beyond the human tragedy is the long-term environmental concerns. Environmental damage in Ukraine caused by Russia will impact both the economic and public health sectors and cause further harm to the ecology.²⁵ Many would think about the obvious ecological impacts of war on the urban landscape and subsequently on rural farmland.²⁶ Tanks rolling through towns certainly destroy everything in their path. Urban landscapes and agriculture suffer tremendously as bombs rain down on buildings destroying infrastructure and laying waste to fields necessary to feed people.²⁷ Infrastructure includes, for the purposes here, drinking water facilities, sewer treatment plants (and the conveyance system),²⁸ and landfills.²⁹ For example, one of the long-term environmental outcomes of the Bosnia crisis was the seepage of leachate from landfills in the karst soil and groundwater.³⁰ The same was true in Iraq.³¹ Access to safe drinking water has more than just a public health component. Damages due to armed conflict in drinking water facilities can force people to use unsafe means to sanitize the water or tap into surface or groundwater in unsustainable ways.³²

All of these are prerequisites for modern, urban life. But there is more. Artillery with high levels of nitrates is known to poison the soil and the water from storm water runoff.³³ Some reports indicate that Russian troops have deliberately targeted freshwater sources through Ukraine to aggravate the human suffering.³⁴ Humans simply cannot live without water for much more than 3 days. Russia appears to be doing everything possible to exhaust the water resources of the Ukrainian people.

Maybe the most direct environmental casualty here is the air. The presence of persistent organic pollutants (POPs) has been shown to remain long after conflicts have been resolved. For example, the Serbian crisis resulted, *inter alia*, in degraded air quality for years due to POPs.³⁵ Another more obvious example is the lingering air quality concerns following the Kuwaiti oil fires.³⁶ Other studies indicate that air pollution during wartime hangs heavy even when combatants sue for peace. The lack of bullets in the air does not mean that it is safe to breathe.³⁷ The Russian troops continue to foul the air as bombs drop from the sky and as missiles smash buildings. This is not just the chemical and biological impacts from the weapons, but through so much particulate matter (PMs) being kicked into the air following explosions or the crumbling of buildings. The World Health Organization (WHO) still reports high levels of PM through the Mediterranean states from conflicts in the 1990s and 2000s.³⁸

Again, though, this effort here is not simply about the human costs. There are other lifeforms demanding the right to survival in Ukraine. According to the Earth's Endangered Creatures website, Ukraine has 79 endangered species.³⁹ These endangered species include mammals, birds, fish, insects, and amphibians. The Russian invasion has not led to better protection for these creatures. While many of them dwell closer to the Polish border⁴⁰, freshwater resources and grazing areas have been compromised.

Still, the Crimean Sea area is home to many of Ukraine's endangered species.⁴¹ Some of the world's most endangered species are in the Crimean Sea. Also, as troops threaten the Black Sea are,

many species only found in Ukraine (such as the Sandy-Mole Rat) are bordering extinction.⁴²The priorities of an occupying power often have little to do with preserving the flora and fauna of the conquered land and sea. Persistent pollution from shells and bombs will continue to pollute the ecology across many diverse environments and compromise the ability of all species to flourish.⁴³

There can be no doubt that the air, water, and soil of Ukraine has been worsened by the invasion of Russia. Further, it is hard not to associate the invasion with advanced decline for Ukraine's endangered species. Nevertheless, the blasting of the two nuclear power plants in Ukraine may be the biggest ecological catastrophe. According to the *Green Left Weekly* (2022), the Russians have deliberately and without regard to public safety bombed the Chernobyl power plant.⁴⁴As a reminder, the Chernobyl site was an immediate concern due to radiation and a long-term scourge due to massive increases in cancer rates in Ukraine and surrounding states.⁴⁵The long-term impacts on the environment, especially the soil and plant-life, are still a concern.⁴⁶While the facility has been closed for years and an exclusion zone established, the violation of Ukraine's sovereignty has been compounded by Russian troops targeting the area.⁴⁷The disturbance of the area has caused many to wonder whether Chernobyl may become weaponized against the Ukrainian environment. Even under the most ideal conditions, Chernobyl remains a critical concern.⁴⁸

On the other hand, the Zaporizhzhia thermal power station is an active facility and one of the biggest in all of Europe. Prior to the recent conflict, there were already concerns regarding the plant's air emissions and water discharges coupled with potential radiation leaks.⁴⁹ Further, all nuclear power plants have waste disposal issues that must be regulated as extremely volatile and hazardous.⁵⁰ Waste disposal was a worry before the first Russian troops landed.⁵¹This requires a high-level of technical expertise and significant financial expenses. Related issues of biodiversity, human health, air, and water contamination all are on higher alert due to this conflict.⁵²

Conclusions. Environmental conditions in Ukraine before the 2022 Russian invasion were already a concern, especially water quality.⁵³Also, urban air quality compared to other EU neighbors was lower quality.⁵⁴Yet, as discussed in Pereira *et al* (2022), the Russian war on Ukraine is about more than just the obliteration of a country as all aspects of the ecology have deteriorated. War leads to poor air, water, and soil that impacts humans, plants, and animals. All of these can erode efforts to foster sustainability, climate change mitigation and adaptation, and enhance biodiversity.⁵⁵ These concerns lead to quality of life and health challenges. And as such, these have societal and culture ramifications that could take generations to restore.

The attempt here to frame the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in terms that go beyond the human suffering and deaths was not meant to trivialize the war. Instead, the goal here was to address those other issues that should be considered. Namely, the long-term ecological costs will be generational. It will not be fixed because of a cessation of hostilities or a peace treaty. Further, there can be no doubt that many other issues, such as deforestation or coastal erosion, must be addressed. While the nuclear power plant at Zaporizhzhia being (mis)managed by Russians is a vital worry, other industrial facilities, such as coal-fired power and chemical manufacturing plants, are also enduring fears.⁵⁶

The wave of environmental refugees and their subsequent resettling spawned in Ukraine could hinder all efforts to rebuild both infrastructure and remediate the natural environment.⁵⁷In short, the Ukrainian invasion by Russia is costing lives and destroying the ecology.

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Uniforms, Generals, and Tanks: Oh My! Military Intelligence in Ukraine

Synopsis of a Presentation by Dr. William Kirtley,
NSSA Summer Virtual Seminar, 21 June 2022

1. What is military intelligence?

Military intelligence refers to the collection, analysis, and distribution of information relevant to military operations. Leaders of countries use intelligence to enhance security, prepare for battle, and have done so since the beginnings of armies and wars. In the Biblical story, David's two brothers, acting as intelligence analysts, probably warned him that Goliath was a huge warrior and their younger brother had only one shot. This presentation highlights how Russian strategic, operational, and tactical military intelligence influenced the course of the war in Ukraine.

2. What does strategic intelligence reveal about the two countries?

Strategic intelligence made it clear to all parties involved that Russia had a marked advantage at the onset of the invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022. Russia is the largest country in the world with a population of 142 million people. The Russian army is twice the size of the Ukrainian army and better equipped. Ukraine has a population of 43 million people and is somewhat smaller than the state of Texas. The Ukrainian army is equipped with obsolete Russian equipment dating to when Ukraine gained its independence in 1991.

The Russians continue to refer to Ukraine as a province of Russia. Ukrainians insist that since they gained independence the political and grammatical correct term for their country is simply "Ukraine." Both countries speak Slavic languages. All Ukrainians speak Russian, but not all Russians speak Ukrainian. Vladimir Putin mistakenly believed that Russian-speaking Ukrainians would automatically support Russia in the conflict. Such was not the case. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy comes from a Russian speaking family.

On the operational level, Ukraine has the advantage of interior lines of communication. They can shift troops to meet Russian threats at various parts of their borders. On the tactical level, Ukrainians are adept at using the terrain to channel Russian forces into choke points and killing zones. The Russians, on the other hand, seem to have forgotten everything they learned in the last ten years and reverted to an older style, reminiscent of World War II (DuPlain & Kranish, 2022).

3. Why did the US and Russia underestimate Ukrainian capabilities?

US intelligence agents correctly predicted that Russia would invade Ukraine. However, command authorities failed to heed the director of the Defense Information Agency, Lt. Gen. Scott Berrier's insistence that eight years of conflict had hardened Ukrainian will and that arms shipments and training by US forces increased their capability to resist. Hesitation on the part of the US to send aid to the Ukraine was perhaps the result of learning the wrong lesson from the swift collapse of the

government in Afghanistan. In addition, US authorities overestimated the strength of the Russian army (Merchant, 2022).

Putin ignored similar intelligence from “on the ground” agents. He believed that his “special operation” would proceed just as the 2014 capture of Crimea took place. Russian troops would move quickly across the border, seize the capitol, and institute a compliant Russian-leaning government. The President of Russia distrusted his generals and revealed invasion plans only to a select few advisors. No one dared inform him that the situation had changed. Putin’s generals feared telling him an attack against a protracted well-established defense would suffer six times the casualties as the offense (Karber, 2015). As a result, from 24 February to 22 May 2022, the Russians lost 1195 tanks, so many that they have moved 50 year-old T-62 tanks from deep storage to the battlefield (Ukraine Latest, 2022). British Intelligence sources noted the Russians have faced extraordinary and unacceptable losses, including 40,000 service members, which is up to 55 percent of their total force (Shinkman 2022).

4. How has Vladimir Putin changed his overall strategy?

Putin actually tried several strategies at the same time. His first impulse was to order a coup de main to seize Kiev and replace the government. Ukrainians halted the initial thrust and took full advantage of the targets presented by the forty-mile stalled convoy of Russian vehicles. Putin diverted resources from this main thrust to squeeze Ukraine by attacking on several different axes. This plan enjoyed some minor successes but has devolved into a virtual stalemate. Russian Generals now advocate the use of massive artillery fire and encircling movements by smaller units to gain territory and wear down Ukrainian forces. The Institute for the Study of War provides the best website for following the daily course of the war at www.understandingwar.org.

5. What does this uniform tell you about invasion of Ukraine?

Ukrainian intelligence officers found rations with expired use dates and dress uniforms in abandoned Russian vehicles. They also found a tank decorated for a celebratory parade adorned with the orange and black ribbon of St. George, one the Russian armies highest honors, and decorated with a red star (Roushan, 2022). Other parade-ready tanks displayed the hammer and sickle flag symbolic of the Soviet Empire (Wright, 2022). Putin thought Kiev would fall in two or three days. He wanted his soldiers to look good in the victory parade. It turned out that they could have made better use of rations and ammunition.

6. How did the structure of the Russian army lead to its poor performance?

The Russian army is composed of 70% contract soldiers and 30% conscripts. Contract soldiers enlist for three years, are fairly well trained, and receive \$1100 USD a month. Conscript soldiers serve one year, are poorly trained, and subject to hazing (McCardle, 2022). They earn \$25 a month. These soldiers perform less skilled tasks on land and sea. More than half of the crew of the Russian guided missile cruiser *Moskva*, the ship sunk by a Ukrainian missile, were conscripts. These draftees constituted the bulk of the casualties (Petrenko, 2022).

Russian law forbids the use of conscripts in wars outside Russia. Putin claims that he has not sent any conscripts to Ukraine. The facts indicate otherwise. *Reuters* news service reported Russia has prosecuted around a dozen army officers for sending 600 conscripts to fight in Ukraine (Russia punishes, 7 June 2022).

A typical Russian division has three 900-man regiments. One is made up of all contract soldiers. They were the first units to invade Ukraine. The second regiment is made up of contract soldiers whose mission is to train the conscripts in the third regiment. When the war began the Russians divided this force into two mixed contract-conscript units. The contract soldiers became front-line fighters. The conscripts assumed support tasks such as driving trucks to maintain supply lines. Ukrainian intelligence reported low morale and poor motivation for conscript soldiers that were in no hurry to resupply the contract soldiers that formerly abused them.

7. What is a Battalion Tactical Group (BTG)?

Russian regiments are sub-divided into Battalion Tactical Groups (BTG), a combined-arms operational maneuver unit used by the Russians. Each BTG has from 600-800 contract soldiers. It is comprised of 3-4 motorized (mechanized) infantry companies and a tank company. The tank company fields around ten tanks, variants mounted on the same chassis from T-64 to T-90. Approximately 200 infantrymen ride in 30-40 infantry fighting vehicles (BMP-2, BMP-3). Russia has 117 BTG's in the Ukraine, 50 of which are in the Donbas region (Karber). Russian Generals persist in sending columns of unsupported vehicles into congested areas. On 4 May, the Russians lost an entire Battalion Tactical Group after repeatedly trying to cross the Irpin River. The remains of their tanks and armored fighting vehicles littered the battlefield (Galey, 2022).

8. Why have the Russians lost so many tanks?

Ukrainians exploited a design vulnerability of Russian tanks. They attack the top and sides of the turret with US Javelin and the British New Generation anti-tank weapon (NLAW) (See appendix A). The Russians wanted a lower silhouette for their tanks. They eliminated one crewman, the loader, and added an automatic loader for their tanks (T64 thru T-90). They stored ammunition in a bustle located on the ring joining the turret of the tank to the chassis. Any rupture of the ring or the top of the tank by an anti-tank missile detonates the stored ammunition creating a "Jack-in-the-box" effect, blowing off the top of the tank, and killing the crew (Suciu, 2022).

9. What have the Russians tried to improve the survivability of their tanks?

The newer T-90 Russian tanks have blast panels, such as those used on US tanks, and store less ammunition in the turret. These improvements improved survivability from rocket propelled grenades (RPG) and helped keep the turret in place, but have not markedly improved overall survivability (Armored Vehicles, 2022).

10. What else have the Russians tried?

Russians weld cages to the top of their tanks to defeat missile attacks. This provides a 50-50 chance of survival against anti-tank weapons with nose fuses like rocket-propelled grenades. However, modern anti-tank weapons like Javelins and

NLAWS employ a tandem high explosive warhead that gives them a 90% success rate for destroying Russian tanks. Wags dubbed these cages “emotional support armor”(Guttman, 2022).

11. Why has Russia lost a dozen generals?

Retired four-star general and CIA director David Petraeus observed that the Russian army does not depend on a highly developed command system based on experienced NCOs and Junior Officers such as employed by the US. They have “too many colonels and not enough corporals” (Why?, 2022). For these reasons, Russian generals often move forward to vulnerable positions on the edge of the battlefield. A Russian armored vehicle ran over a Colonel and a General (Folmar, 2022). The command and control vehicles used by Russian commanders are festooned with easily identifiable aerals. Russian generals dangerously broadcast in the clear without encryption, used the internet, and borrowed cell phones from civilians. Ukrainians used this intelligence to locate and eliminate Russian generals with artillery, sniper units, and drones.

12. Why do soldiers of both sides ride on top of their vehicles?

Armored personnel carriers are vulnerable to lethal weapons commonly found on the modern battlefield:drones, artillery, anti-tank weapons, and 40mm cannons. When attacked, the best course of action for infantry is jumping off the vehicle and dispersing. The Russians bought cheap poorly-made tires from the Chinese for their wheeled vehicles. These tires afford little traction in the slippery Ukrainian mud. As a result, they are confined to congested road networks and provide easy targets.

13. What technical intelligence sources help the Ukrainians?

US spy agencies have worked closely with the Ukrainians. US technical intelligence sources monitor everything that flies in the air above the Ukraine. If a squadron of Russian aircraft target a military airport, the US notifies the Ukrainians so that they can move their aircraft to safety. Russian aircraft consistently bomb empty airfields. A number of private open sources provide imagery of the battlefield from small space satellites. Capella Space, Maxar Technology, Planet Lab, and BlackSky geospatial intelligence provided detailed images of the Russian traffic jam on the road to Kiev. In the communications satellite field, Elon Musk shipped SpaceX Starlink terminals to Ukraine to provide Internet service the Russians cannot knock out. Open source intelligence is the analysis of easily accessed data gathered from non-governmental sources. The head of the security service of the Ukraine commented on the importance of such intelligence and observed, “those who support open-source intelligence operations deserve to be thanked for the hard, yet vital, work that they do to support Ukraine’s national security” (Smart, 2022).

14. Is there any truth to Putin’s denazification claim?

Russian soldiers indoctrinated with Putin’s asertion that Russian forces invaded Ukraine to de-Nazify the country, reportedly asked villagers, “Where are the Nazis?” If they are anywhere, they are confined to a small group in the Azov Battalion. Many members of this unit died defending the city of Maritupol, recently captured by

Russian forces. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, formerly an actor and comedian, has Jewish parents. Several of his relatives died in the Holocaust. He defended the Azov Battalion on German television stating that it was a National Guard formation that was part of the army and had nothing to do with politics (Didenko, 2022). Some of the Battalion's 900 members display Nazi symbols and tattoos. A spokesperson for the group admitted that 15-20% of its members were neo-Nazis (fandom.com, 2022).

15. How is intelligence used for propaganda purposes?

The Main Intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine sends articles favorable to their cause to main-line news services. *TVP World* reported the intercept of an order to Russian armed forces to kill all POWs in the city of Popasna in the eastern region Ukraine (How does, 22 April 2022). *Urkinform* quoted a Russian soldier from an intercepted phone call to his mother, "We have all come to terms with the fact that if we go there we won't come back" (Russian military, 11 June 2022). Another phone intercept recorded this conversation: "Our commanders left.... They said: 'We will not go to war.'" (Russian officers, 17 June 2022).

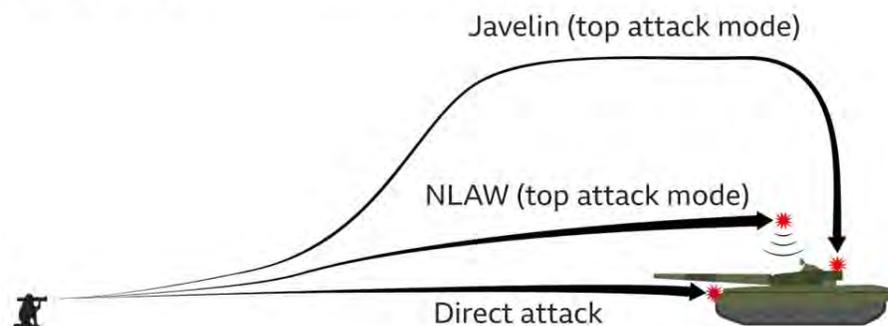
16. Can Ukraine win the war with Russia?

Russia has superior numbers of tanks and long-range artillery. The US and other countries are remedying that shortfall and providing the Ukrainians with anti-tank weapons that can destroy any enemy vehicles that get closer than five kilometers. As the two forces reach parity, neither side can decisively defeat each other (Rustamzade, 2022). US secretary of Defense, Lloyd Austin says Ukraine can win the war, if they have the right weapons (Austin, 2022). Intelligence analysts predict August of this year will be crucial as the tide of battle changes.

Appendix A

Attacking from above

How NLAW and Javelin work



Note: Not to scale

Source: BBC research



Resources

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Perspectives from California Cannabis Industry Insiders

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Introduction

There is a gap in the research on the determinants of entrepreneurial success in the licensed cannabis industry. “As of April 1, 2022, 18 states, DC, Guam, and the Northern Mariana Islands allow for the recreational use of marijuana” (Congressional Research Service, 2022, p. 13). Currently, there is a gap in the literature regarding how this changing business environment has affected cannabis business owners. This paper takes a systematic look at the unique pressures entrepreneurs face within the industry today. The interviews presented in this study are a snapshot in time and report the perceptions of California cannabis business owners as they adapt to a rapidly changing business environment. The individuals interviewed shared vital information useful for those inside and outside the "inner circle" of the cannabis industry. Observations from these interviews revealed the extent of black market activities, strategies for entrepreneurial success, and observations around how the market has changed with legalization. The findings contained within this paper should be of keen interest to aspiring entrepreneurs and policymakers within this space.

Research Objectives

Our objective is to find the characteristics and strategies of cannabis entrepreneurs that lead to success. Identifying best practices will increase access to consumers, help current businesses grow and will supply more jobs in local communities.¹ There are six questions that these interviews answered.

¹ These interviews were extracted from a are part of a larger ongoing study that seeks to provide licensing agencies, local governments, business development organizations, the cannabis industry, and consumers with the tools to evaluate, enhance, and promote legal, safe, and fair innovation in the industry.[#] Our goals include: (a) providing state and local licensing agencies clear guidance on which cannabis businesses are likely to be successful, (b) producing a clear history of how newly licensed cannabis businesses and jobs are related to formerly unlicensed businesses, and (c) providing local and state agencies a better understanding of how firms relocated after licensing.

1. What role does a *vibrant illegal market* play in the licensed cannabis market?
2. What are the unique *pressures confronting licensed operators* of cannabis businesses?
3. Do cannabis entrepreneurs use the same *measures of success* and have the same goals that are typically found in the literature?
4. What are the best *business strategies for achieving success*?
5. How is *equity and opportunity within the industry* perceived?
6. What is the cannabis *business outlook*?

Responses to the above questions are discussed below.

Methodology

One of the thorny issues of any research endeavor is having to translate abstract concepts into measurable variables. No single survey instrument can tell the whole story.² The qualitative interviews were conducted in the first half of the year 2022. The objective was to gain rich insights from the research participants that could not have been obtained in any other manner (Fowler, 2002). Carmines and Zeller (1979, p.23) name three elements of construct validity: 1) specifying the theoretical relationship between measured concepts, 2) examining the empirical relationship between the measures of concepts, 3) interpreting the empirical evidence. The interviews were a

² Our approach to evaluating success factors within the industry utilizes three primary research techniques: 1) conducting geographic information systems analysis to evaluate locational movements of cannabis businesses; 2) distributing online surveys to a representative sample of cannabis business entrepreneurs and conducting quantitative analysis of that data; 3) conducting interviews to obtain qualitative data about current industry trends and perceptions. This latter technique will be the emphasis of this paper.

valuable exploratory activity that found important variables, as well as salient themes and patterns from participant's meaning structures or perceptions of their reality.

This portion of the research project applied an ethnographic, qualitative approach, to evaluating the subject matter. Ethnography is a participant observation approach in order to understand a particular group's activities and relationships from that group's perspective. Although ethnography is not an universally agreed-upon approach, the method "aims to generate practical and theoretical truths formulated as interpretive theories" (Jorgensen, 1989, p. 23). Our sampling approach in selecting the participants can best be described as judgmental sampling. Interviewees were selected based on their reputations for entrepreneurial success and we were able to obtain a variety of business backgrounds within cannabis, such as cultivators, manufacturers, and retailers. While this best practice approach is not without its limitations, the sampling method optimizes the availability of limited resources yet can yield significant in-depth understanding of the phenomena in question (Teddlie and Yu, 2007).

We conducted semi structured individual interviews online via Zoom. The research aims were disclosed to participants, and everyone provided informed consent. We consider this cohort to be a hybrid "focus group" model. Interviews were conducted separately one-on-one. By conducting each interview individually, we controlled for potential cross contamination and demand characteristics that can present in a group setting. There were ten knowledgeable individuals interviewed. The participants were instructed to turn-off their camera, remove their name, and avoid references to any personally identifiable information to ensure anonymity. Interviews were conducted

using a script that the experimenters read from to maintain consistency between participants.

Survey Participants Backgrounds

All participants identified as being the primary executive of their company either CEO, President, or Owner with ninety percent indicating they had “a lot” or “total” voice in the company. Most participants identified as serving in a business development and sales, fiscal management and compliance, or operational management and staffing role within their company. Seventy percent of the respondents were between the ages of 30 and 49. Forty percent of survey participants had 5-10 years of business experience and fifty percent had 10+ years of experience in the industry, which suggests that most came with prior experience in the unregulated market.³ Sixty percent of the respondents were male and forty percent were female based on response to the question about “sex.” An equivalent ratio identified as being man and woman based on the “gender” question. One hundred percent of respondents were White and did not identify as being Hispanic. Eighty percent had some type of college degree, such as an associates, bachelors, or master’s degree.

Participants had diverse backgrounds in the industry. Some were involved in cultivation activities and others were involved in activities further down the value chain, such as manufacturing, distribution, or retail. Sixty percent of the respondents were the sole owners of their cannabis operation. Thirty percent had a second partner and ten percent had three owners. Fifty percent of these businesses employed between 20 – 250 full-time employees, the remaining businesses employed ten or fewer full-time employees. Sales revenues were similarly distributed with fifty percent of businesses

³ California began issuing adult-use cannabis business licenses in 2018, four years before our interviews.

generating between \$1,000,000-\$10,000,000 in gross annual revenue. Twenty percent of businesses earned between \$20,000,000 - \$50,000,000 in gross annual revenue and twenty percent earned less than \$150,000 annually. Forty percent of businesses had more than one physical location or franchise. Sixty percent of participants considered their pricing strategy to be mid-range. Meanwhile, thirty percent considered their products to be affordable and only ten percent felt they operated at premium pricing.

Survey Findings

A Vibrant Illegal Market

Proposition 64, effectively decriminalized recreational marijuana within the State of California, and among other objectives sought to: “take nonmedical marijuana adult-use cannabis production and sales out of the hands of the illegal market and strictly controlling the cultivation, processing, manufacture, distribution, testing, and sale of nonmedical marijuana adult-use cannabis through a system of state licensing, regulation, and enforcement.” (Sec. 10(b)(c)). Despite this policy aim, research participants expressed strong doubts that the illegal market had been eliminated. All participants suggested that the illegal market was not only active but continuing to operate illegally was enabling many businesses to survive. They reported bypassing the tax and regulatory system, illegal sales are more profitable than regulated sales. They also allow businesses to export into lucrative out-of-state markets. Several of the participants estimated that about 70-80% of all canna-businesses in California actively take part or in or are in some way connected to the illegal market. One individual mentioned that if the business was not propped up with sufficient funding it was “the only way you could survive.” Meanwhile, another said, “it’s way more restrictive, costly,

and risky to be in the licensed market than to be in the traditional market,” especially in Humboldt, Mendocino, Trinity, Monterey, and Santa Cruz counties.

The illegal market was described in diverse ways: for instance, some referred to the illegal marketplace as being the “traditional,” “unlicensed,” “unregulated,” “illicit,” “shadow,” or “black” market. Regardless of the terminology used, the illegal market described any business practice that deliberately bypassed the regulatory process or oversight. One person described the practice of employing undocumented labor from foreign countries, “the biggest cheat in cultivation activities... they’re all getting paid in cash.” Another respondent noted that some businesses are not properly withholding or reporting payroll obligations to the state. The “black market is so much simpler” according to one interviewee.

The most common technique used to engage in illegal market activities appears to be the diversion of product away from the “track and trace” system. This could be conducted by either growing the product in an unlicensed area or facility, or unknowingly selling their product to a licensed distributor who has no intent of engaging in lawful activities or keeping the license long-term. Once the distributor has the product, they can divert the raw materials to unregulated or out of state markets claiming a substantial portion of the product was damaged or spoiled. If law enforcement detects the unlawful practice, the business simply closes and moves to a new area under new ownership and a new business name. Several participants described these businesses as being “burner” or “dead-end” distributors. One research participant felt the practice was more common in Southern California, particularly Los Angeles.

When asked what was enabling these illegal practices to continue, participants expressed many common themes. First, the primary impetus was excessive taxation and regulations. Many felt businesses could not survive in the current regulated market. If taxes and regulations were reduced to levels akin to other states, like Oregon, several people felt there would be less incentive to participate in the illegal market. One participant also noted that the penalties for citations or violations were not high enough, especially for bigger businesses. Typically classified as a “misdemeanor,” or resulting in a nominal fine, many operators simply do not care if they are found to be violating the law and just keep doing the illicit practice, considering the fines as part of the cost of doing business. In their mind, the worst-case scenario is that they will be forced to close. If so, they will apply under a new name and set up shop elsewhere.

Several individuals felt the regulations were so loose that they allowed people to do what they want. One participant noted, “there’s no real track and trace program in the state from a cultivation standpoint.” The product only really starts to be tracked at the point of packaging/manufacturing to retail. Some individuals speculated that state regulators were aware of these unlawful practices and may be looking the other way to ensure the cannabis market did not implode on itself due to falling commodity prices. Without an ability for businesses to divert product outside of the state, they felt the industry may no longer be financially sustainable.

Despite the proliferation of illegal activity within the market, none of our research participants suggested that their businesses were actively engaged in these practices. Furthermore, they felt the benefits of the regulated market in terms of proving credibility and legal business relationships were worthy of the industry to still pursue. They felt

anyone who has taken the effort to get licensed, ultimately intended to sell in the licensed market and ideally avoid these illegal practices.

Pressures Confronting Licensed Operators

Research participants felt that the illegal market was not only thriving, but something legal operators had to be involved with to remain competitive. As such, examining the forces working against legal operators would be worthwhile. Repeatedly, the research team heard complaints about the tax, fee, and regulatory environment of trying to run a cannabusiness within the State of California. Many felt that cultivators were more impacted by tax policy, while manufacturers, distributors, and retailers are more hurt by onerous regulations.

In some cases, operators were unhappy with federal taxation policies. Internal Revenue Code Section 280E does not allow businesses to deduct normal business expenses related to the sale of controlled substances (aka Cannabis). While the Courts have interpreted the measure to not explicitly exclude Cost of Goods Sold (COGS) or inventory costs, other common costs associated with running a business, such as general overhead, accounting, legal, and other essential services, are not allowed to be deducted. Moreover, unlike any other industries, the cannabis sector is excluded from these financial services due to a federal prohibition. This federal tax issue affects the selection of business structure. One participant said that businesses intentionally get set up so an LLC is just representing the cultivation end of the business, and another company focuses on the administrative work so the expenses can be written off.

Banks and credit unions alike are hesitant to serve the industry as they fear sanctions, such as losing access to Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) or

National Credit Union Administration (NCUA) insurance. As such, cannabis operators are significantly limited in borrowing and saving money through traditional banks. One participant lost five bank accounts in just the past two years. 100% of the respondents to the online survey answered “cash” was the most usual form of payment used. The inability to export products across state lines was cited as a point of frustration as well.

In terms of state taxes and regulations, most of the participants expressed concerns about the tax rates being set too high and regulations being too burdensome at each step in the process. According to one respondent, “if you move an inch, you have to report it.” Meanwhile, some respondents did not understand why the State is not placing a limit on total acreage of growing sites. They felt small farms cannot compete with large operators. Outside of state taxes and regulations, some participants expressed general distrust in state government. In fact, one participant expressed concerns that by their mere participation in this study that might be “feeding the fire that moves policy in a direction that does not benefit us.” Based on their involvement on advisory committees, they felt there had been a lot of promises about support for small business, but no follow through. While the participants felt they were heard at the county level, Humboldt County in this case, on the state level this was not the case. They felt associations and lobbyists had more influence over cannabis tax and regulatory policy than small business leaders.

State enforcement activities were cited as an area of concern for some respondents. According to one person, the enforcement agents come out and look around, but only focus on a very narrow spectrum of compliance issues. Furthermore, agents may know extraordinarily little about cultivation. According to one person, they

met agents who did not know “whether they were looking at male or female plants... they didn’t have a clue.” Several interviewees felt that license holders were simply being asked to keep up with a lot of busy work. Additionally, the process for weighing the plant was arbitrary and typically based on averages and estimates. One can game the calculations. Instead of tagging a given plant, one just throws a tag in the bed. According to one participant, “it is impossible to use it for tracing purposes. There are corners you can cut.”

At the local level, the county in which an operator locates can have a significant impact on the degree of success as large regulatory differences exist. For instance, one respondent stated “in Lake County, you can grow ten acres. In Mendocino, you can only grow a quarter acre.” Interviewees mentioned the burden of the permitting process not only the direct licensing costs, but all the indirect costs that go into maintaining roads and following environmental regulations. According to one respondent, “the permitting process is constantly a part of the battle, it never ends,” regardless of whether one holds a permit. To ensure compliance, business owners must engage consultants, such as environmental scientists, the engineers, accountants, and attorneys, further adding to the cost of compliance.

In addition to regulatory forces, the industry has been hard hit by a downturn in market prices. One individual estimated that the flower price in Humboldt County, for example, had dropped about 60-70% leading many cultivators to go bankrupt. Many respondents expressed frustration that taxes were not adjusted with changing market prices. Several individuals believed there was a glut of overproduction, as high “as 9 million pounds” globally. When there is overproduction, co-ops cannot survive because

the market cap does not allow them to work together due to challenges in achieving scale. Let us assume “each farmer has one acre, and there are eight farms. It takes more than that to be able to buy the real estate, etc. And now you are only dependent on those eight farms, because they have limited how many people can be a part of the co- op.” One individual proposed that the state set up a minimum price in a manner like the food tax subsidies traditional agricultural farmers within the Midwest.

Measures of Success

Each interviewee was asked to specify their most important measures of success within their business. Several respondents saw profit, profit margins, revenues, positive cash flow, and other traditional financial success measures as being most important. One respondent boiled the concept down to simply having the “ability to pay the bills” or having the ability to remain a going-concern or survive, as being a measure of success. Others expressed this idea on more non-financial terms as the ability to sell a product, “if you’re producing and the price is down but you’re still able to move your product that people purchase, that is a level of success.”

Some participants focused on internal measures of success, such as achieving quality or realizing efficiency improvements. This can involve working on new efficiencies to make things faster, product standardization, and research and development into the right strains allowing the company to differentiate from their competition. “Having differentiated strains and products” is important. “Yield or production per square foot has to be off the charts” according to another interviewee. The ability to bring in talent and the right people is key. Several respondents noted challenges with finding adequate talent to effectively market their products, as well as

individuals with specialized knowledge like accountants, chemists, and chief executive officers.

While external financial metrics and internal operational measures may not be dissimilar from other industries, some respondents mentioned more altruistic measures of success that one may describe as more of a corporate social responsibility nature. For instance, some respondents noted their obligation to create jobs, meet payroll obligations, or compensate their existing employees with a livable wage or good salary as being extremely important. According to one participant, “a lot of our staff show up every day because they believe in this business, and it helps provide services to the community.” One participant mentioned her obligations to be offering resources and services to our community of farmers. Maintaining safe operations was also cited by one participant as being important.

Business Strategies for Achieving Success

It was felt by a couple of the participants that vertical integration can help profitability. One respondent noted “the only ones who are making money in this industry have a vertical stack of licensing, from cultivating all the way to retail.” Another stated that “if you can stack all those licenses, you have a lot more profit margin.” One either needs to achieve exceptionally large scale or focus on a boutique strategy to collect those margins all the way through the supply chain. Several respondents thought that profit margins were higher the further down the value chain an individual found themselves. For instance, profits were higher for retailers than cultivators/farmers. When prices crashed, some people felt that everyone in the value chain kept their margins, except for cultivators. Many felt large cultivators had a distinct advantage over

smaller cultivators. Becoming a microbusiness was an aspirational goal for one participant.

Knowledge of botany, chemistry, and plant sciences was considered an important differentiator among many. One person felt being a cultivator was more important than being a businessperson. For a cultivator, knowing such things as how to mitigate damages arising from pests, fungus, or disease, applying the right levels of water or fertilizer and being able to run advanced weather stations and other hydro technologies are critical skills. And sometimes one just gets lucky by having a lack of natural pests and disease, which allows the grower to achieve maximum yield for their particular process. “Everyone’s process is a bit different” according to one observer.

Meanwhile, others felt that having basic business skills (or having employees/consultants with these skills) was vital to the success of the business. For example, financial skills were considered important, i.e., being able to project cash flows, read spreadsheets and project ahead, as well as learning the economics behind the products. Human resource management was valued. Being able to train the right people for the right job. According to one person, “being knowledgeable in the industry is relevant, otherwise it feels like I’m holding employees’ hands the whole time.”

Marketing strategy and support was considered an essential element to success among many of the respondents. Achieving success through traditional and emerging digital/social media pathways (e.g., Instagram, Twitter, Facebook) was considered vital. Business intelligence data was cited as being important too. “You have to know what’s selling, what people want in terms of the strains and more,” said one individual. Branded products were perceived to be more valuable or profitable than selling oil or flower in

bulk. Customer engagement and effective supplier relationships were perceived to be correlated with financial success. Gaining a branded place in the market as far as having consumer packaged goods indicates is a level of success, as opposed to just being a wholesaler. Although the process can be expensive, branding is essential according to focus group participants.

Some participants felt that geographical location may play a role in the success or failure of a given business. For example, the cost of services is higher in the Emerald Triangle (Humboldt, Mendocino, Trinity counties) in relation to other parts of the state. Fuel and other transportation costs (e.g., wear and tear on vehicles), permits and fees, local taxes, environmental compliance costs, labor costs, and insurance can only vary according to the location where a business performs most of the business. Furthermore, the style of cultivation can vary from region to region: indoor vs. outdoor techniques, small versus large scale, strains, and soils, etc.

Equity and Opportunity within the Industry

To assess the extent of equity within the industry, the research team asked a series of questions of males and females concerning opportunities. Many key informants interviewed characterized the industry as being heavily dominated by men, especially within the upper ranks of the industry. Female business owners cited challenges associated with accessing capital and more significant obstacles in achieving “buy-in” within their business networks. One participant estimated that only about three percent of female-owned canna businesses are funded by private capital. Many participants corroborated the idea that there is bias within the industry. In terms of there being advantages or disadvantages to being a man or woman in the industry,

some participants felt there was no more bias than in any other industry. Most believed that on average men are paid more than women and when it comes to higher level executive positions men usually get the job. Further, some female participants felt males had a stronger voice in the rules and policy making process at the state and local level. One participant estimated that only five percent of the governmental cannabis meetings were attended by females. “We don’t ever get called on; we don’t get heard.”

One female respondent noted that “it can be very hard to separate business and personal life, so it ends up affecting your family, especially if you live on the farm.” She highlighted that if the business is struggling, then the family is struggling. This individual felt the mental stability of the community is really struggling, regardless of one’s sex. From family to friends to customers to the other farmers, tensions are high and there has been a noticeable increase in suicides. Some small business entrepreneurs are surviving by engaging in ancillary activities, such as cannabis consulting work. According to one participant, “if it were not for consulting, I probably would have lost my farm.” In addition, the potential risks may be higher for women, including the inherent danger associated with being surrounded by significant levels of valuable inventory and cash. And threats have been known to have been made against salespeople and others trying to conduct work within the industry.

Despite being underrepresented, one male respondent noted women offer many benefits including compassion, open-mindedness, willingness to collaborate with other people in a way that is not ego-driven in nature. Another participant felt that women were more effective at marketing activities. Furthermore, some participants suggested

that representation within the industry is becoming more balanced, with a current mix now of seventy percent male versus thirty percent female ownership within the industry.

Business Outlook

Fifty percent of participants felt general business conditions would be about the same one year from now. Thirty percent expected better conditions and twenty percent anticipated worse conditions. More selective descriptive statistics associated within the online survey results are reflected in Appendix A. We intentionally do not go into great depth synthesizing these results because they may not be representative of the entire industry in California given the sample size.

Limitations

We did not deploy random sampling in selecting these participants and only ten individuals took part in the survey. With that being said, the results of online “pre-test” survey activity have been included in the appendices as we believe these preliminary responses may offer some perspective on the business strategies and outlook of this particular cohort that may have influenced the way they answered interview questions.

Conclusion

Legal canna-business is a new industry facing significant growing pains. This paper seeks to provide an overview of these challenges as identified by the canna-business owners themselves. It suggests ways to evaluate, enhance and promote ongoing legal, safe, and fair innovation in the industry, making it an invaluable reference to aspiring entrepreneurs and policymakers interested in this industry.

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Appendix A – Online Survey Results (n = 10)

In comparison to others, how successful do you think your business is?

Scale	1 (Unsuccessful)	2 (Slightly successful)	3 (Moderately successful)	4 (The same as others)	5 (Successful)	6 (Very successful)	7 (Extremely successful)
Results	20%	20%	40%	0%	0%	20%	0%

In the last 12 months indicate whether your company trends in the following areas:

	Decreased	Increased	Remained About the Same
Employees	40%	40%	20%
Contract Workers	33%	11%	56%
Wages/salary per Employee	30%	50%	20%
Sales Growth	60%	40%	0%
Profits	80%	10%	10%
Capital Investment in Equipment	30%	30%	40%
Number of Facilities/Locations	10%	10%	80%
Size of Facilities/Locations	10%	20%	70%
Working Capital or New Investment	60%	10%	30%

Please indicate your risk tolerance across multiple areas

	Aggressive	Moderate	Low
General approach to risk	60%	30%	10%
Marketing tactics	10%	50%	40%
Research & development	80%	20%	0%
Technology adoption	40%	60%	0%
Customer sales	60%	20%	20%
Product diversification	20%	70%	10%
Compliance activities	10%	10%	80%
Outsourcing	10%	30%	60%
Lobbying	80%	20%	0%

Why do you think your customers buy from you?

	1 (Not important at all)	2 (Somewhat important)	3 (Moderately Important)	4 (Important)	5 (Very Important)
Advertising	40%	20%	10%	10%	20%
Brand reputation	0%	10%	10%	30%	50%
Family or friendship ties	40%	20%	20%	10%	10%
Location	30%	30%	10%	20%	10%
Product loyalty	0%	20%	30%	30%	20%
Pricing	10%	0%	10%	30%	50%
Quality of products or services	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Variety of products or services	0%	20%	40%	10%	30%
Other	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%

How difficult have the following been for your company?

	1 (Not an important issue)	2 (Somewhat of an issue)	3 (A moderate issue)	4 (An important issue)	5 (A very important issue)
Access to finance	0%	0%	20%	10%	70%
Availability of skilled staff or experienced	10%	0%	50%	10%	30%
Competition from legal businesses	10%	10%	10%	20%	50%
Competition from illegal businesses	10%	0%	20%	10%	60%
Environmental compliance	50%	10%	10%	20%	10%
Finding customers	10%	0%	20%	30%	40%
Finding suppliers	50%	0%	20%	10%	20%
Government red tape	10%	0%	20%	20%	50%
Labor costs	10%	20%	20%	0%	50%
Material costs	0%	30%	20%	10%	40%
OSHA/Labor law compliance	60%	0%	30%	0%	10%
Paying employees and suppliers	20%	20%	10%	10%	40%
Tax compliance rules	20%	0%	10%	10%	60%
Theft/robbery concerns	10%	40%	20%	30%	0%
Timely customer payments	0%	20%	30%	10%	40%
Track and trace requirements	20%	20%	30%	10%	20%
Zoning issues	60%	20%	10%	10%	0%
Other	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%

Please rank the following business strategies in the order of importance to your company's success:

	1 (Not important at all)	2 (Somewhat important)	3 (Moderately Important)	4 (Important)	5 (Very Important)
Consultant (e.g., CPA, attorney, etc.)	40%	0%	10%	30%	20%
Lab or Testing Services	30%	20%	0%	30%	20%
Management Service Providers	50%	20%	20%	10%	0%
Trade Associations	30%	30%	20%	10%	10%
Networking with Other Business Owners	0%	0%	60%	20%	20%
Written Business Plans	10%	30%	20%	30%	10%
Other	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%

Has this business ever received or considered funding from the following sources? Check all that apply.

	Yes, currently or previously used	No, would like but inaccessible	No, did not attempt
Business residual income	75%	13%	13%
Business credit lines	40%	50%	10%
Fixed loans from other businesses	22%	22%	56%
Fixed loans	0%	63%	38%
Owner's contributions	90%	10%	0%
Personal gifts (family, friends, etc.)	30%	20%	50%
Personal loans (family, friends, etc.)	89%	0%	11%
Personal credit cards	78%	11%	11%
Private equity capital	40%	20%	40%
Other (please specify)	40%	0%	60%

Which inventory management system is your business utilizing?

Leafly	50%
QuickBooks	50%

Which Point of Sale software is your business utilizing?

Custom (In-House)	50%
METRC	25%
QuickBooks POS	25%

What type of advertising or marketing software does your business utilize? Select all that apply.

Instagram	35%
Facebook	22%
MailChimp	22%
Google Analytics	9%
Constant Contact	4%
Twitter	4%
Other	4%

What is the primary accounting/payroll software your business utilizes?

Quickbooks	50%
Excel	21%
Aatrix	21%
Xero	7%
AccountingSuite	0%

Which of the following business intelligence tools are utilizing by your company?

Headset Insights	40%
Meadow	20%
Link4	20%
AGS	20%

How would someone today get started in this business?

- R1: Work for someone or fund their own business. No cannabis bank loans out there.
- R2: It is exceedingly difficult. You would need permits and a property that qualifies do those permits. You would distribution channels as well for they are hard to come by, especially for small farmers like myself.
- R3: Having a skill that is needed- whether it is cultivation, business, marketing, sales - or for entry level jobs being dependable and trustworthy.
- R4: I do not know there is a clear path to a career in the cannabis industry currently, unless you are enthusiastic about working with cannabis, I would not currently recommend it.
- R5: The easiest way to get into the industry is investment. The best way to get a job is through referral. This industry still has unique challenges it still must overcome. The federal policies toward cannabis businesses and the IRS 280e tax code enforcement make it impossible to run a legitimate operation. This engenders corruption and discourages a culture of integrity within the industry. Most owners and investors only care about \$. Cannabis a rough industry to get into. This is a fundamental problem with many ag based jobs. Cannabis has the advantage of consumer interest to attract potential talent, however the pit falls in the industry are many.
- R6: there is still a lot of opportunity in the industry. There are many jobs available statewide. Depending on one's skill sets and interests, there is a diversity of options. It is wise to work for a credible company to gain experience and to see if it is a career that one would like to pursue.
- R7: By working for others in the industry. Even if you must start at the bottom. Absorb as much as you can from a licensed legal operator or multiple operators.
- R8: In Mendocino, it would almost have to be buying an existing operation. The County program is in disarray and getting an annual license is difficult at best.
- R9: Experience in different business, not necessarily cannabis
- R10: Buy a piece of land. Having a lot of capital. Or working their way up from within a company.

Your submission must follow the following guidelines:

1. *A title page with title of article, author/authors, and school affiliation. Nothing else on the title page. Type style is Arial font –16 point.*
2. *Journal Articles - No more than 20-24 pages of **double-spaced** text with Arial font in 12 point type, with 1 inch margins and full justification.*
3. *All footnotes and other supporting material must go at the end of the text and the supporting information does not count for number of pages. Graphs and charts can go within the text itself, if appropriate.*
4. *Style of paper should follow APA style guidelines or other well accepted guidelines. Style should be consistent within paper.*
5. *Do **NOT** paginate any of the text.*
6. *Submission of the article is done electronically; do not mail the article or a CD. Email will confirm receipt of the article.*

Face-to-Face Teaching in a Pandemic World: What Successful Educators Know

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Face-to-Face Teaching in a Pandemic World: What Successful Educators Know

Abstract

COVID-19 has had an undeniable impact on higher education in many ways. Several years ago, colleges and universities had to transition to a remote-only learning model almost overnight. The pandemic not only disrupted higher education as we knew it, but it changed education in many ways. Bresnick (2021) indicate that some of those changes are for the better and will have value even after the pandemic restrictions are lifted. As the pandemic becomes “endemic” it is important to capitalize on the lessons that we have learned thus far in the pandemic. Notwithstanding, some educators found themselves in a challenging situation relative to transitioning to the online environment and adopting a student-centered learning environment. While the online teaching modality can facilitate interactive student learning, it can also be a challenging job to keep students engaged and reduce classroom distractions in the classroom learning environment (Treve, 2021). As the pandemic becomes “endemic” it is important to capitalize on the lessons that we have learned thus far in the pandemic. This research investigates how educators can use innovative teaching and learning techniques to bridge the gap from the remote modality used during the pandemic to post pandemic times as we pivot back to face-to-face classes. There are multiple strategies that educators can capitalize on to capture innovations of the present time. They include: 1). Changing up the teaching approach, including the utilization of active learning; 2) Focusing on student engagement; 3) Maintaining the educator-student partnership, and 4) Continuing online learning (Bresnick, 2021).

Introduction

Higher education in the United States underwent a massive, unexpected change in March 2020. Institutions of higher learning were forced to close their campuses and move students to remote learning (Latino, n.d). Since then, educators have had to re-evaluate how classes should be taught and delivered. At the advent of the pandemic, educators had little time to prepare for online learning and had to learn how to teach through various video conferencing applications, such as Zoom. Consequently, educators had to learn how to transition their classes to the online environment (Sevy-Biloon, 2021). The online teaching modality provided a feeling of psychological safety to the learning community during the pandemic (Mishra, Gupta, & Shree, 2020). Notwithstanding, some educators found themselves in a challenging situation relative to transitioning to the online environment and adopting a student-centered learning environment. While the online teaching modality can facilitate interactive student learning, it can also be a challenging job to keep students engaged and reduce classroom distractions in the classroom learning environment (Treve, 2021).

There were other online modality challenges which included teacher preparation program challenges and stress to both faculty and students. Higher education institutions had the challenge of creating learning environments for student teachers

doing their preparation to meet the teacher education program requirements which was affected by COVID-19 conditions in schools and universities (Carillo & Flores, 2020). After many months into the pandemic, faculty members at all levels confirmed that their stress levels were higher given that the workload was higher, and morale was lower. Work balance was also highly affected (The Chronicle of Higher Education, 2020). Research shows that academic workload, separation from school, and fear of contagion contributed to students' perceived stress during the pandemic (Yang et al, 2021).

COVID-19 has had an undeniable impact on higher education in many ways. Several years ago, colleges and universities had to transition to a remote-only learning model almost overnight. The pandemic not only disrupted higher education as we knew it, but it changed education in many ways. Bresnick (2021) indicate that some of those changes are for the better and will have value even after the pandemic restrictions are lifted. Lessons learned from the pandemic that can be integrated into future plans that can be considered include: using technology for hybrid learning to engage students; creating more professional development for the effective integration of technology into instruction and learning; and responding to the social and emotional wellness needs of faculty and students (Teich, 2021). As the pandemic becomes "endemic" it is important to capitalize on the lessons that we have learned thus far in the pandemic. One proposed strategy is to employ educational technologies that promote active learning, including annotation, collaboration, data and text analysis, and visualization tools (Mintz, 2022).

This research investigates how educators can use innovative teaching and learning techniques to bridge the gap from the remote modality used during the pandemic to post pandemic times as we pivot back to face-to-face classes. In other words, how can we capitalize on the teaching and learning techniques used in remote learning and maximize them in the renewed format of face-to-face classes during present times?

Literature Review

The pandemic has forced educators to reconsider their approaches to teaching. Research indicates that while some students wanted to return to face-to-face classes right away for various reasons, some students found online learning to meet their individual learning styles and needs (Sevy-Biloon, 2021). There are multiple strategies that educators can capitalize on to capture innovations in the present time. They include: 1) Changing up the teaching approach, including the utilization of active learning; 2) Focusing on student engagement; 3) Maintaining the educator-student partnership, and 4) Continuing online learning (Bresnick, 2021).

Theme 1 - Changing up the Teaching Approach: Active Learning

One of the key approaches to consider as educators change up the teaching approach, is the utilization of active learning. This is a common thread in the literature as we move from pandemic to endemic. If you think of anything a teacher might ask students to do, answer questions in class, complete assignments, and projects outside of class, or

anything else other than sitting passively in a classroom, you will find that people classify this as active learning (Brent & Felder, 2016).

The Missouri S&T Center for Advancing Faculty Excellence (n.d.) further explains that in this process, students are fully engaged in the learning process instead of sitting at their seats passively listening to a lecture. Using this technique allows the students to work together to solve problems, produce ideas, apply concepts, and discuss important issues. The University of Minnesota's Center for Educational Innovation (2022) reminds us that educators do not need to do away with the lecture format. One option to make the lecture format more effective, is to add in small active learning strategies to enhance the lecture format.

The benefit of active learning is a common theme in the literature. The Hake (1998) study compared student learning gains in introductory physics courses, which demonstrated that interactive courses were over two times as effective in promoting conceptual understanding as compared to traditional ones. Freeman et al. (2014) reported results from 225 studies across STEM disciplines, comparing traditional lecture to active learning. The findings of this study indicated that students' average exam scores were shown to improve by approximately 6% in active learning classes. Further, students involved in traditional lecture were found to be 1.5 times more likely to fail as compared to those in classes with significant active learning. Further, (Wieman, 2014) posit that active learning strategies can achieve better educational outcomes. Lastly, more current research from a Carnegie Mellon University (2021) study demonstrates that learning is more effective when it is active. Students learn more from active learning than they think that they do, and it may be important to allow students to know this as they navigate the learning process (Reuell, 2019).

Selected Active Learning Techniques. The following are some selected examples of active learning strategies which can be used to enhance educational outcomes for active learning (Center for Research on Teaching and Learning, University of Michigan, n. d., p. 86-87).

Clarification Pauses: During the lecture, allow students time to reflect on the information. After waiting, ask if students need to have anything clarified. Ask students to review their notes and to ask questions about they have learned so far.

Writing Activities such as the "Two Minute Paper": At an appropriate point in the lecture, ask the students to take out a blank sheet of paper. Then, state the topic or question you want students to address. Give them two minutes to write about this topic or question.

Large-Group Discussion: Students can discuss a topic in class based on an assigned reading, video, or problem. The instructor may prepare a list of questions to facilitate the discussion.

Think-Pair-Share: Have students work individually on a problem or reflect on a passage. Students would then compare their responses with a partner and synthesize a joint solution to share with the entire class.

Cooperative Groups in Class: Pose a question for each cooperative group while you circulate around the room answering questions, asking further questions, and keeping the groups on task. After allowing time for group discussion, ask the students to share their discussion points with the rest of the class.

Peer Review: Students are asked to complete an individual homework assignment or short paper. On the day the assignment is due, students should submit one copy to the instructor to be graded and one copy to their partner. Each student then takes their partner's work and, depending on the nature of the assignment, gives critical feedback, and corrects mistakes in content and/or grammar.

Group Evaluations: Similar to peer review, students may evaluate group presentations or documents to assess the quality of the content and delivery of the information.

Brainstorming: Introduce a topic or problem and then ask for student input. Give the students a minute to write down their ideas, and then record them.

Case Studies: Use real-life stories that describe what happened to an individual, community, family, or school to prompt students to integrate their classroom knowledge with their knowledge of real-world situations, actions, and consequences.

Hands-on Technology: Students would use technology to get a deeper understanding of course concepts or theories based on the situation.

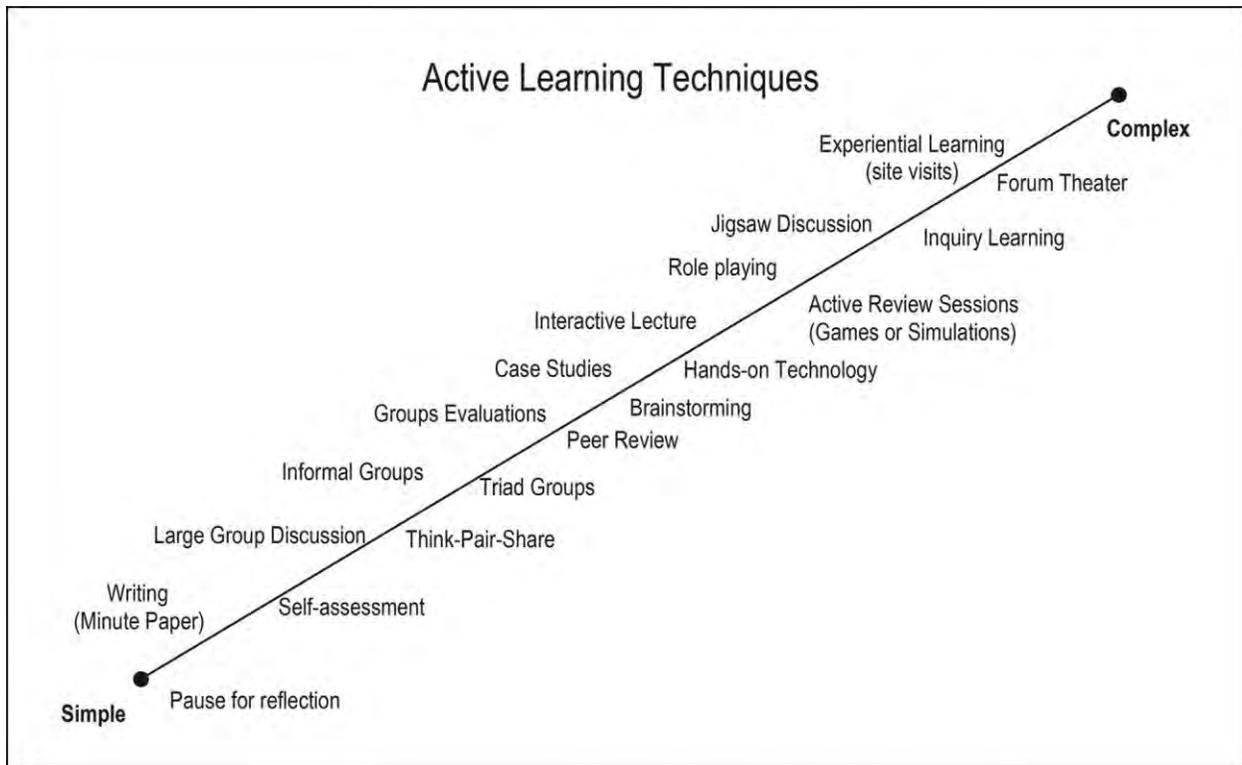
Role Playing: Here students would be asked to "act out" a part or a position to get a better idea of the concepts or theories being discussed.

Interactive Lecture: The instructor breaks up the lecture at least once per class for an activity that lets students work directly with the material. Students might observe and interpret features of images, interpret graphs, make calculations or estimates, etc.

Jigsaw Discussion: Using this technique, a general topic is divided into smaller, interrelated pieces (e.g., a puzzle is divided into pieces). Each member of a team is assigned to read and become an expert on a different topic. After each person has become an expert on their piece of the puzzle, they would teach the other team members about that puzzle piece. Finally, after each person has finished teaching, the puzzle is reassembled, and everyone on the team knows something important about every piece of the puzzle.

Experiential Learning: Plan site visits that allow students to see and experience applications of theories and concepts discussed in the class.

The illustration below provides various options for implementing active learning techniques arranged by complexity and classroom commitment as discussed above. (Center for Research on Teaching and Learning, University of Michigan, n.d., p. 86).



Source: Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, University of Michigan.

Theme 2 – Keeping Students Engaged

The classroom culture changed to a culture of high distraction during the COVID-19 pandemic (Brown, 2021). During pre-pandemic times student engagement and attendance were typically synonymous, with student participation assessed by student attendance in classes, however, when COVID-19 restrictions were imposed, this meant that no one could be physically present and student engagement in the learning environment took on a different format. Today, however, online interactions and discussions are indicators of student engagement and enthusiasm (Cowell, 2021).

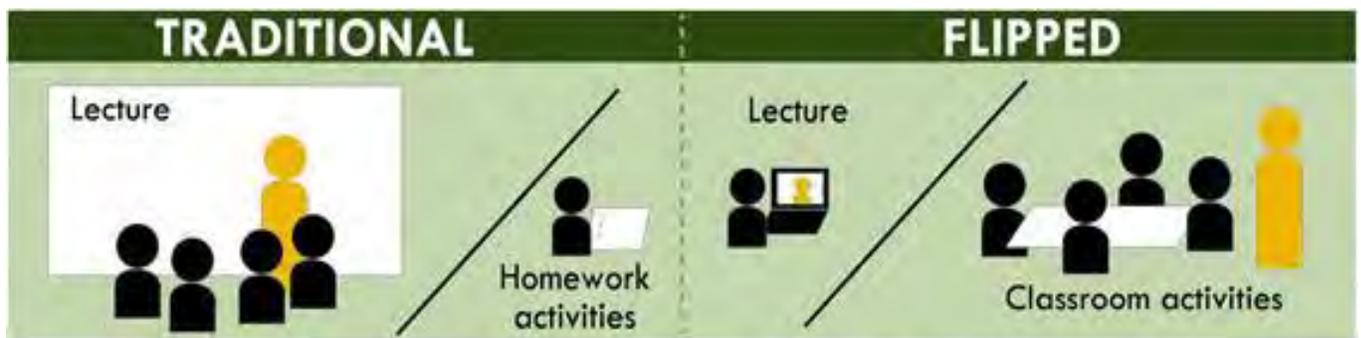
Results of the Wu and Teets (2021) study reveal that student engagement decreased during the COVID-19 pandemic with underrepresented students color affected and reporting greater decreases in skills engagement, participation engagement, and performance engagement. Research confirms that adaptability (the ability to respond to change) has a direct correlation with student engagement. Results of the Zhang et al. (2021) study found that adaptability and student engagement are significantly positively

correlated with positive academic emotion. The study also found that adaptability not only predicts student engagement, but it also affects student engagement.

Brock and Hundley (2021) suggests that there are many ways to engage students, including: sharing enthusiasm for learning, integrating technology to enhance the lesson to increase engagement, and increasing the use of students' use of notetaking models such as Cornell Notes, teacher-prepared notes, and other notetaking models to maximize learning. Relative to keeping students engaged, educators can capitalize on technology as a way to keep students' attention and to engage them. Interactive games such as: Kahoot, Poll Everywhere, Jeopardy, Wheel of Fortune, and Yellowdig are some possible suggestions to embrace technology to maximize student educational outcomes.

In addition to technological techniques, the “flipped classroom” which advocates active learning is also another pedagogical tool that can engage students. In a flipped or inverted classroom students study the course material outside of class with the aid of textbooks, video lectures, and other resources so that in-class time can be devoted to discussion and educators can help students work through problems individually and in groups. The benefits of the flipped classroom include: 1) students have the opportunity to take control of their learning; 2) students have the opportunity to receive more feedback and one-on-one time with the teacher; and 3) the flipped classroom encourages collaborative learning, which in turn allows students to learn together and to help each other (Bedrina, 2021).

There are many ways to flip a classroom. The fundamentals of this technique is to have students view and/or listen to lectures outside of the class and allow class time for hands-on activities. The educator can then be more of a facilitator of learning and course content can be tested using various vehicles. The illustration below helps explain how a flipped classroom works (The Center for Teaching Excellence at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, n.d.).



Source: Center for Teaching Excellence at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley.

Theme 3 - Maintaining the Student-Professor Partnership

Academic success requires a significant commitment from both students and educators. Educators on one hand should be responsive to the needs and feelings of students (Johnson, 2019), while on the other hand, it is also important that students be responsive to the educator as well. These dual relationships can forge a strong strategic partnership and positive bond.

Bowen and Watson (2017) report that a single educator can make a big difference in a student's life and that the most important combination of factors in college turns out to be: 1) an educator who cares about the student as a person, 2) an educator who makes the student feel excited about learning; and 3) a mentor who encourages the student to pursue their dreams. According to Bowen and Watson, a student who encountered all three of these experiences, were twice as likely to be engaged at work as students who did not. Only 14 percent of college graduates reported having experienced all three of these factors in college (Bowen and Watson) so there is room for mentorship and for making a difference in the lives of students.

Research confirms that the influence of teacher-student relationships on learning is enhanced when teacher-student relationships are strong. Students of varied ages, experiences, and backgrounds who perceive their teachers to be supportive of their needs and interests are likely to be more engaged, more motivated, more self-directed, and more socially connected at school than their peers (Saul, 2015). Further Saul suggests that positive teacher-student relationships are socially contagious. Students who experience positive relationships with teachers are more likely to try to develop similar bonds with others.

Research supports the premise that the impact of a caring educator can go well beyond the classroom extending to one's future career and wellbeing. Matson and Clark (2020) report based on a Gallup Poll that graduates who strongly believed that a professor cared about them as a person were 1.9 times more likely to be engaged at work and 1.7 times more likely to be thriving in their wellbeing. Zegarra (2019, p. 2) states that "professors can be a student's best secret weapon as they can divulge professional information that reveal ways to enter the discipline and may even know of available entry-level positions in the discipline. Forming a bond with the professor allows the teacher to provide informative and helpful guidance in one's eventual career".

Theme 4 – Continuing Online Learning

As the pandemic eases, many institutions are realizing that properly planned online platforms will allow them to better serve students, including nontraditional students. Many institutions are reassessing how online learning can further enhance student learning by offering greater flexibility than in-person options especially for hybrid and virtual modalities (Fitzgerald, 2022). Zipper (2022) contends that as institutions navigate through COVID-19, there is an opportunity to rethink and improve student learning through online learning and that it is important to realize that online learning is capable of much more than what students experienced at the advent of the pandemic during

Spring 2020. While COVID-19 created challenges in higher education, there is much that we can learn from reassessing the teaching and learning experiences which allowed us to pivot to online learning. Findings from the Bashir et al. (2021) study confirm that a majority of students reported positive experiences with online open-book assessments, and most would welcome this format in the future. The majority of students did not face technical issues and had good internet connectivity.

Implications

This research has implications for the way that educators can maximize educational outcomes for students in the use of innovative teaching and learning techniques for online learning based on what worked during the pandemic. These innovative techniques such as active learning and student engagement can be further enhanced post-pandemic for the online and hybrid modalities. Teacher characteristics such as caring and flexibility may also continue to serve educators and students in the post-pandemic classroom environment. Future research should explore the relationship between active learning and academic achievement post pandemic in all modalities, including online and hybrid modalities. It would also be important to study the impact of stress and mental health trends post-pandemic in higher education for both educators and students.

Conclusion

The more that we know about teaching and learning innovations as we continue to navigate through COVID-19, the better that we can develop productive solutions to maximize educational outcomes for students. Four strategies that can be beneficial to institutions and educators during the present time as we navigate through COVID-19 to maximize educational outcomes, include: 1) changing up the teaching approach, including the utilization of active learning, 2) keeping students engaged in the classroom (virtual and in-person); 3) maintaining effective student-teacher partnerships, and 4) continuing online education now and in the future.

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Culture and Climate in Higher Education

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- If we surveyed the group to determine the most important element in running a university, some may say fiscal support; others may say legislative support (or support of policy makers) or even local support.
 - Others may say that planning is most important. Planning involves the entire university: the physical plant, the staff, and the academic programs.
 - If the planning is one-sided, there could be problems. If the best academic programs are offered face-to-face and there is heightened enrollment, if the planning did not include parking places for all the students, the university has a problem.
 - That's why we pay the big bucks to university administrators—to plan in a balanced fashion based on data.

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- How do university administrators plan? Do they just go into a large conference room and make a list of what they want for the university? It has been my experience that there is a great deal of data collected before the planning begins. There is enrollment history data, enrollment projections data, state and national academic data, economic data and projects, k-12 school populations data, and the university culture and climate.
 - Let's look closely at what the culture and the climate of a university are.
 - What comes to mind if I say "University of Alabama"? Do you automatically think of their world renowned School of Medicine or their Cancer Treatment Center. No, we think of their football team and their record.
 - What about Harvard? Do we know if they have a football team?

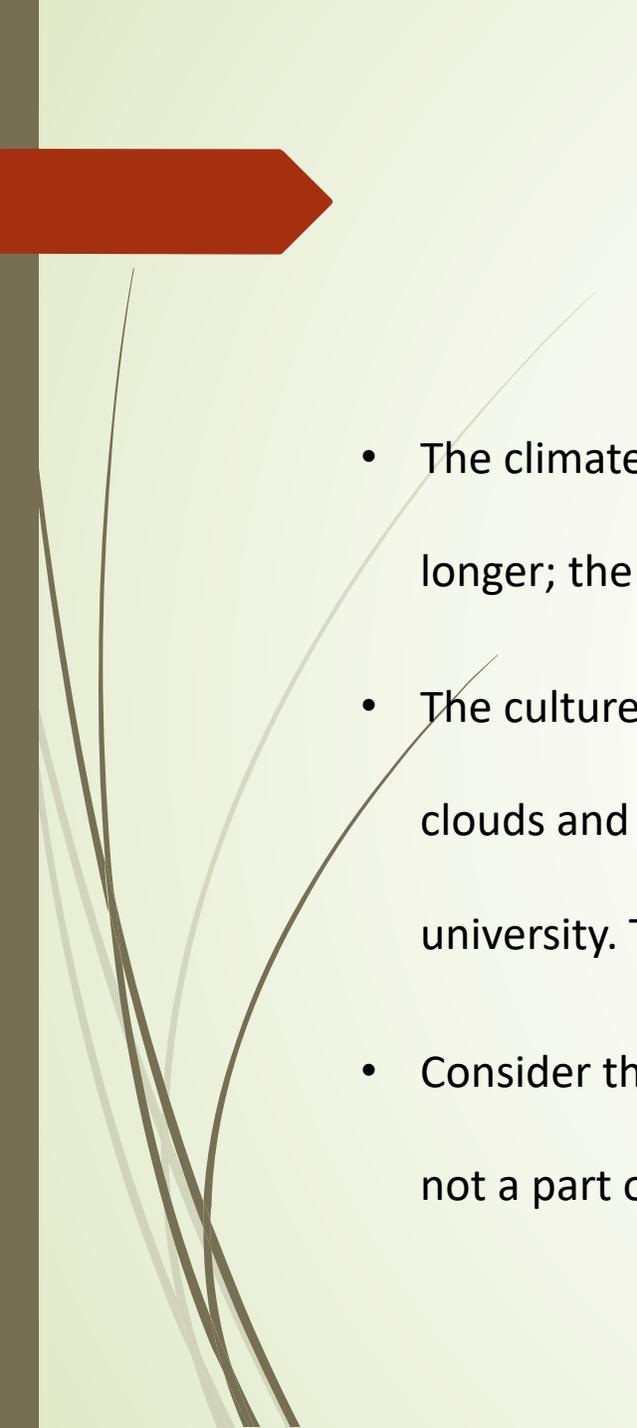
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- If I say Duke University, what comes to mind? Everything including basketball, football, and Coach K.
 - Do we know these things because we've attended either of these universities? Probably not. We know them because of their publicity, their reputation.
 - How do they get their reputation? Their reputation is a reflection of their culture as a university, something they have developed. In these three cases, the reputation was deliberate.
 - If I mention Texas A&M, you may think of their football team. If you attended TAMU, you are aware that students stand during football games, and if you're a graduate, you know that alums meet every April 23 to observe Aggie Muster.
 - The Duke Blue Devils, the Texas Aggies, the Carolina Tar Heels, the Wake Forest Demon Deacons, and the University of West Florida Argos—all these team titles are a major component of the culture of these schools. (I took the liberty of mixing Division One and Division Two schools).

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- Schools, universities, and other organizations work hard at maintaining a positive culture and an inviting climate. What's the difference between a climate and a culture? They are very different, but they are somewhat associated.
 - Sergiovanni says that "School culture includes values, symbols, beliefs, and shared meanings of parents, students, teachers, and others conceived as a group or community." He further states that includes common meanings and shared assumptions, traditions and cultures.
 - Hoy and Miskel describe culture as the "shared values and basic assumptions" that an organization has. School culture is developed over years of work and is slow to change. This means that a new leader can go into an institution with a vision of a different culture but it will be slow to change.

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- Climate, on the other hand, can be changed more rapidly. Hoy and Miskel indicate the difference between the two as “organizational culture can be defined in terms of shared beliefs . . . organizational climate focuses on shared behavior.” Right away you can see a problem if these two entities are not congruent.
 - Kane et al. have said that “Climate is how people feel in the school and culture is a deeper sense of how people act in the school.” You might say that the climate is the mood of the school.
 - It may be difficult to draw a direct link from school (k-12) climate and culture to that of a university. It may be easier to draw the connection from school to organization to university because the university is a more elaborate organization than the school and the university is, because of its size, more likely to have internal and external examples of climate and culture.

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- If you are a member of an accreditation visiting committee, you can identify the culture of the school/university by the written material that the school or university has prepared as a description of their school/university for you to review. It is there in black and white and parts of it will be repeated to you by the administration and faculty that you interview.
 - What you observe during your accreditation visit will be the climate of the school. Think of it this way: the climate of a school can change just the same as the climate outside your window: from sunshine to rain to snow (depending on the season and depending on the pervading spirit of the season).
 - Yes, you can have different seasons of climate, depending on whether it's the height of football season or if it's the week of exams.

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- Consider the example of parents and children: the culture of the university is like what the parents have taught the students to believe in, to practice, events to observe, ways to behave, and a basis for their beliefs.
 - The climate of the university is like what the students learn to do aside from the things their parents taught them, how they interact with others, the confidence (or lack of it) that they show, their attitude toward achievement, and their behavior in general. It's what is happening now.
 - The culture can be viewed as the best of what has happened in the past that is wished to be passed on to the next generation. Can culture and climate be positive or negative? Yes. We like to think of our alma mater as a shining example of what university life should be, but sometimes the culture of a university can over the years develop negative aspects due to administrative actions (or lack of), the economy, or other.

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- The climate can go sour much more quickly. The culture is slower to change and the effects last longer; the climate can change quickly, both showing improvement or becoming negative.
 - The culture and the climate are so similar and yet are so different. Think of the difference between clouds and rain. The clouds could be described as the culture and the rain could be the climate of the university. They both can affect each other but they're not the same (except to the climatologist).
 - Consider the Kent State University shooting. That will always be a part of their culture but probably is not a part of their climate in today's world.

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- Think of culture as reputation and climate as personality.
 - Think of the differences in the following; which is culture and which is climate?

Fraternity Misbehaviors (Climate)

Establishing your campus as a veteran friendly campus (culture)

National football champions (culture)

A president retiring after 20 years (the end of an era?) (culture)

A protest march (climate)

- So you can classify culture and climate by their transitory nature: Culture is what has developed over a long period of time and climate is what's happening now.

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- Hoy and Miskel on Climate: School climate describes it instead of evaluating it. Climate reflects the dominate patterns of behavior. Think of the characteristics of a personality; that can be likened to the personal characteristics of a school climate, its personality, those characteristics of a school that influence the behavior of those attending/working at a school. “Put simply, the set of internal characteristics that distinguish one school from another and influence the behavior of each school’s members is the organizational climate of the school. . . . Indeed the climate of a school may roughly be conceived as the personality of the school—that is, personality is to the individual as climate is to the organization.”
 - Ouchi (1981, p. 41 describes organizational culture as “symbols, ceremonies, and myths that communicate the underlying values and beliefs of that organization to its employees. “

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- Mintzberg (1989, p. 98) cites culture as “the traditions and beliefs of an organization that distinguish it from other organizations and infuse a certain life into the skeleton of its structure.”
 - Schein (1992, 1999) says that culture is a “deeper level of basic assumptions, values, and beliefs that become shared
 - Hoy and Miskel tell us that “Levels of culture go from superficial to deep and from concrete to abstract with norms” such as: support your colleagues and don’t criticize the principal to Abstract Premises such as the nature of human nature and the nature of human relationships.
 - Each of us could write about the culture and climate of the schools and universities that we’ve worked at or attended.

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- Online, I found a number of climate surveys, primarily on diversity. Generally, these universities embrace diversity and are striving to get feedback on the current status of their institutional climate regarding diversity and inclusiveness, although covid has affected diversity on many campuses.
 - In 2003, D.K. Allen wrote (in England) pointed out that higher education was experiencing rapid change which was leading to more and more careful strategic planning within higher education. He pointed out six issues that were related to this change, including whether the changes were determined by persuasive power or coercive power.

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- He pointed out the advantages of using collegial approach over that of using a managerial approach with the managerial approach leading to a vicious cycle (staff being de-motivated, less willing to take risks, and more likely to resist change) and the collegial approach leading to a virtuous cycle (more positive interpersonal relationships, more willingness to accept change and to be more open with others).
 - A person can then determine that as a university chooses a managerial approach to plan change, the climate or the university will veer in the direction of control.

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- The Pew Research Center in 2019, after an extended review of the public view of higher education, indicated that the “public has grown wary about the politics and culture on college campuses” .
 - Of the critical issues of the day of higher education (increasing costs, preparing graduates for their future jobs, changing demographics, and adapting to technology), meeting the needs of these issues may be delayed or disrupted by the climate and culture on college/university campuses.
 - Clark (1980) notes that there four cultures, not just one at a college/university: that of the specific discipline, i.e., mathematics; the academic profession, i. e., the professors; institutional cultures, i.e., those elements that have developed from the operation of the institution itself; and that of the national system, i.e., certification and accreditation systems.



Identifying and carefully defining the culture and the climate on a university campus is step one in making long range plans for the campus. One way some universities are doing this is to administer periodic surveys to students, staff, and supporters to gauge the mood of the campus toward specific campus goals, particularly diversity.

- Wise university administrators will review the different cultures and climates within their universities as the initial step in their long-range planning

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Music in the classroom

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Introduction

- ▶ Music is an effective, stress-free, and fun form of treatment that can enhance student learning.
- ▶ Benefits of Active engagement with music:
 - 1) can positively affect the way that the brain processes information
 - 2) enhance the perception of speech and language
 - 3) improve students' ability to communicate with others and learn to read (Hallam, 2010; Bokiev, Bokiev, Aralas, Ismail, & Othman, 2018).
- ▶ Experiencing music perceived as calming can reduce aggressive behavior and feelings of anxiety and stress (Ziv & Dolev, 2013; Goldbeck & Ellerkamp, 2012; Saarikallio & Erkkila, 2007).

Techniques for Stress and Anxiety

- Choose quiet, organized music in the background as children enter the classroom (Buchanan, 2013).
- Select short songs or excerpts of songs (1 – 2 minutes in length) for transitions – reading time, lunch, getting ready for gym (Buchanan, 2013).

Techniques for Focus

- ▶ Utilize “freeze dance” music activities in the classroom to work on focus (alert or calming) and impulse control (Anderson, 2021)
- ▶ Any song can be turned into a “freeze dance”
- ▶ General Rules for “Freeze Dance”:
 - ▶ 1) Dance when the music plays
 - ▶ 2) Freeze in place when it stops

Techniques to Improve Social Skills

- ▶ Play turn taking games using only one instrument or individual instruments.
- ▶ Examples of turn-taking instrumental games for improving social skills include (Wilhelm & Graber, 2018) :

1) Orbit

2) Performer and Audience

3) Drum Circle

4) Conductor

Techniques for Speech/Language Impairments, Listening, and Memory

- ▶ Use familiar children's songs such as Old McDonald, Row row row your boat, and Twinkle twinkle little star-pairing visuals (toys, gestures, pictures) with key words and phrases (Holly, 2018; Stanton, 2018; Farnell, 2015).
- ▶ Leave a pause or space in the song for the child to supply the missing words
- ▶ Old McDonald is excellent for memory as students have to remember the animals supplied in sequence.

Techniques for Speech/Language Impairments, Listening, and Memory Part II

- ▶ Instruments are used to practice the concepts of fast, slow, togetherness, stopping, going, loud, and quiet.
- ▶ Drums, maracas, tambourines and rhythm sticks are easy instruments to play and are used to work on volume and pitch (Holly, 2018; Stanton, 2018; Farnell, 2015).
- ▶ An exercise for small group is to encourage the children to use language to direct the group in a song.

Techniques for Speech/Language Impairments, Listening, and Memory Part III

- ▶ Children can tell each other what to play, deal out instruments, and explain how to play using commands like “start” and “stop.”
- ▶ A xylophone or set of drums that the child can hit in conjunction with each syllable will help the child with childhood apraxia of speech emphasize and visualize each spoken syllable in multisyllabic words (e.g., “bu-bble-gum” would be three hits, one on each drum, piano or xylophone key).
- ▶ Listening games comprised of slow and clear lyrics encourage children to “listen” to key words, concepts, or instructions in songs (Holly, 2018; Stanton, 2018; Farnell, 2015).

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Questions

- ▶ How have you used music in your classroom?
- ▶ What was your purpose for incorporating music into your classroom?
- ▶ What did you do?
- ▶ How did your students respond?
- ▶ Did your students respond as you had expected?
- ▶ If you have not used music in the classroom, what kind of support do you feel you need?

UTOPIAS

Literary, Backwoods and Dystopian

National Social Science Association
Real time Virtual Summer Seminar
Program

June 21, 2022

Dr. Andrew J. Waskey, Emeritus
Dalton State
Dalton, Georgia

EUTOPIA

- EU-TOPIA IN Greek is
- **eu**=good and
- **topia** =place

- The Garden of Eden was an eutopia

- eutopia is an ongoing human aspiration

UTOPIA

- U-TOPIA IN GREEK is *u*=no
- topia=place
- So utopias are no where to be found
- They are located only in imaginations

THE QUEST FOR UTOPIA

- The quest for a good place has ancient roots
- Literary remains of eutopian aspirations
- Go as far back as the Assyrians.

THE QUEST FOR UTOPIA

- There were more than several
- literary utopias
- produce in ancient times

THE QUEST FOR UTOPIA

- PLATO'S UTOPIAS
- *The Republic*
- *The Laws*
- *Atlantis (Timaeus and Critias)*
- some include *The Statesman*

THE QUEST FOR UTOPIA

- Aristotle, a pupil of Plato's, discussed ideal cities
- In ***The Politics*** he takes pains to critique Plato's imaginary cities as dreams that never were.
- Aristotle replaces Plato's utopias with ideal cities fashioned from empirical studies and history.

CHRISTIAN NON-UTOPIA

- Early in Christian history utopianism was rejected
- Because a utopia creates a new Tower of Babel by human hands
- The Kingdom of God is being built by divine hands

CHRISTIAN NON-UTOPIA

- None the less, Christian social actions have had profound influences
- All without seeking to create an utopia

UTOPIA

- What is a utopia?
- Utopias are perfect or ideal cities, societies or lands
- where all the problems or social evils have been eliminated.

IMAGINARY

- Authors of utopian literature have followed a formula:
- 1st – get lost
- 2nd – discover utopia
- 3rd – get a tour of utopia to discover how it has eliminate the great evil(s) of society
- 4th –get in trouble and flee utopia so that
- 5th – a report can be written on utopia

IMAGINARY

- What does the report say?
 - It tells how the utopia has eliminated the problem of evil and
 - how the writer's report to his society can also eliminate the great evil, solving the problem of evil.
-
- What is the great evil?

IMAGINARY

- The great evil varies between utopian thinkers.
- For Karl Marx the great evil was private property
- For Socrates it was ignorance.
- For Samuel Butler it was technology
- For Edward Bellamy it was capitalism
- Many other evils have been identified.

IMAGINARY

- To understand the great evil it is important to know that for the utopian the problem of evil has:
 - An origin.
 - Bad effects
 - A solution

IMAGINARY

- Imagine that one is listening to a political or social change speaker (or most any politician) on a soap box advocating changes.
- Where did this evil come from?
- How does it hurt people?
- What ought we to do?

Imaginary Utopias

- What are utopian writers doing?
- Writing an piece of fiction which is used as a mirror to show the ills of society.
- And to offer a solution to society's ills.

LITERARY UTOPIAS

- Thomas More—Utopia
- Francis Bacon—New Atlantis
- Tommaso Campanella—City of the Sun
- Samuel Butler—Erewhon
- Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward
- William Morris—News from Nowhere
- James Hilton—Lost Horizon (Shangri-la)
- B. F. Skinner—Walden Two

IMAGINARY UTOPIAS

- Thomas More (*Utopia*) was the first to use the term “utopia” thereby creating the genre.



Imaginary Utopias

- Francis Bacon's utopian ***New Atlantis*** used
- Plato's ***Atlantis*** where a great society was existed with advanced technology
- In the tour he finds ***New Atlantis*** is run by scientists and engineers who have greatly advanced via the empirical method knowledge

Imaginary Utopias

- Francis Bacon
- Knowledge is power.
- Get new empirical knowledge by
- Torturing Nature with our questions until she answers us.
- In order to overcome with new knowledge the ossified Aristotelianism of his day

IMAGINARY UTOPIAS

- Francis Bacon was interested in refrigeration
- He caught a fatal case of pneumonia trying to freeze a freshly killed chicken in the snow (1626)
- Refrigeration preserves food and saves lives

IMAGINARY UTOPIAS

- Francis Bacon
- Refrigeration matters
- refrigeration would have to await the 20th century and inventors and scientists like Clarence Birdseye, or
- Carl A. Swanson, or
- ZZTop to sing about “TV Dinners”

IMAGINARY UTOPIAS

- Samuel Butler's *Erewhon* (no where written backwards) is
- Discovered on South Island, New Zealand
- Where technological change has been abolished
- Imagine if we could escape today's technological changes
- Like the Amish resisting technology

IMAGINARY UTOPIAS

- Edward Bellamy
- ***Looking Backward*** has a Rip Van Winkle protagonist who goes to sleep in the 1880s where Boston is a capitalist city
- Julian West awakes in 2000 to discover that Boston is city organized as a socialist utopia.

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

- Utopias to organize societies on a socialist or communistic system have been around at least since Plato's utopian dialogs
- Seneca asserted that all the evils in the world began with private property

SOCIALIST UTOPIAS

English

- Socialist utopias believe that private property is the great evil.
-
- Robert Owen used the New Lanark mill in as a place for his communalist social experiments
- Robert Owen—A New View of Society

SOCIALIST UTOPIAS

American

- Edward Bellamy –*Looking Backwards*
- Christian Socialism
- Sleeps like Rip Van Winkel from 1880s to 2000 when awakes in Boston to find a beautiful socialist utopia where capitalism has been abolished.

FRENCH UTOPIAN Socialists

- Charles Fourier—selections
- Etienne Cabet (1778-1856)—*Voyage en Icarie*
- Savinien Cynero de Bergerac—*Warfare on the Moon*

BIBLICAL ECONOMICS

Does the Bible's imperatives to care for the poor make a case for socialism?

When the Book of Acts says (2:44) ...the disciples had all things in common... does this mandate Christian socialism?

Most have said no.

Biblical Economics

- Many socialists have used the Bible to denounce:
- Capitalism
- Materialism
- Consumerism
- Individualism
- And more

Socialist Utopias

- Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were opposed to literary utopias.
- Their solution was “scientific socialism”
- Creating a socialist utopia with a perfected humanity has been their goal

Socialist Utopias

- Socialist, Communists and others have denounced utopianism while pursuing their brand of utopia.
- The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 ended the seventy year social experiment
- The perfect New Soviet Man never arrived

Socialist Utopias

- Mao sought to establish an Marxist utopia.

The Chinese Communist Party has never abandoned this goal.

Will it be achieved or will another “cure” for China arise?

SOCIALIST Utopias

- Socialist experiments are still ongoing in Vietnam
- Laos
- Cuba
- With struggles in Venezuela and elsewhere
- None have hordes of people seeking the good life there.

Socialist Utopias

- Generally people flee socialist or communist utopias.
- Where do they go?
- Capitalist or market economy countries.

CURRENT LITERARY Utopias

- Today literary utopias are flourishing.
- Utopian visions have expanded into a large number of sub-genres
 - Utopian Scifi
 - Humanist Utopias
 - Scientific Utopias
 - Social Utopias
 - Economic Utopias
 - Political Utopias
-

CURRENT LITERARY Utopias

- Feminist Utopias
- Black Utopias
- Chinese Utopias
- Rural Utopias
- Urban Utopias
- Intentional Utopias
- Socialist Utopias
- Marxist Utopias
- Christian Utopias
- India Utopias
- Echronias Utopias
- Structural Utopias
- Geographic Utopias

LITERARY UTOPIAS

- Underground Utopias
- Futuristic Utopias
- Science Fiction Utopias
- Marx may have won Russia and China and Viet Nam, et al, but
- he lost the literary war.

Real Utopian Experiments

- Many attempts have been made to create perfect or utopian communities:
- Oneida
- Shakers
- New Harmony
- Christian Commonwealth

BACKWOODS UTOPIAS

- Oneida Community
- A Christian perfectionist communal society founded by John Humphrey Noyes in New York in 1848.



Oneida

- Millennialists who believed that by living a communal perfect sinless life would force the return of Jesus Christ.
- All things including sex were held in common. Noyes and others had sex with all females and females with all males.

SHAKERS



Shaker History & Theology

- Founded in England and brought to America by Mother Ann Lee.
- Practiced celibacy in contrast to Oneida Utopia
- Shakers were Millenarian utopians who expected Christ to return soon. Their worship was aimed at removing sin.

Shaker Dance Worship



Shaker



- South Union Shaker colony near
- Auburn, Kentucky



SHAKER COLONY

Organized, 1807, as Gasper Society of United Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. Building program started and trade established in textiles, seeds, mill products, and purebred cattle. Peak membership 350; acreage 6,000. Most prosperous period 1840-60. Last western colony to disband, 1922. Museum moved here, 1972, with handicrafts and furniture of the Shakers.

1972

KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

KENTUCKY DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS

1455

Shaker Furniture



Rappites

- Rappites were founded by Georg Rapp.
- He heard voices and attributed them to God.
- A mystic influenced by Swedenborg



NEW HARMONY

- Known as Rappites,
 - Harmonites or
 - Harmonists
-
- First colony, Harmony, was just north of the Ohio River

New Harmony

Religious Views

- Believed Christu would return in their lifetime.
- The purpose of the community was to be worthy of Christ.
- A kind of millennial perfectionism

New Harmony Map



New Harmony

- The Rappites, developed New Harmony at the confluence of the Wabash and Ohio Rivers at the Illinois line.
- River transportation was essential in 1814 and afterward.
- Held all things on common

Rappites & New Harmony



New Harmony



New Harmony

- The Rappites sold New Harmony to Owenites
- Robert Owen has conducted a communal experiment at New Lanark near Glasgow, Scotland

New Harmony

- The Owenites including Robert Owen did not last two years at New Harmony
- Why?

Rappites to Owenites

- Rappites were hard working Germany farmers and builders
- Manual labor was natural for the Rappites
- The Owenites were artists, musicians, intellectuals etc.
- In two years they almost starved to death because no one did manual labor.

Christian Commonwealth (near Columbus Georgia)

- In 1896-1901 post-millennialists created a Christian socialist utopia.
- The colony would aid by human effort the Second Coming of Christ
- It ended in 1901 because of insufficient income and internal opposition which meant that evil overcame their theology.

Utopian Side Effects

- Some utopian experiments have left artistic or cultural effects behind
- For the Oneida Colony it was dinnerware
- Shakers left Shaker furniture styles
- Christian Commonwealth left peaches

Georgia Peaches

- Most of the members of the Christian Commonwealth were from the Midwest
-
- Planted thousands of fruit trees
- Began the Georgia peach industry

Georgia Peaches

Georgia became the
Peach State



Thanks to a utopia

CALIFORNIA UTOPIA

- Utopias or intentional communities are numerous in northern California.
- Maybe it's the tree pollen that compels the formation of such centers north of San Francisco---
- Holy City, Pisgah Grande, Cloverdale...
- Boal, Iain, Janferie Stone, Michael Watts and Carl Winslow. Eds. *West of Eden: Communes and Utopia in Northern California*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012.
Kindle 2

Dystopia

- In Greek dys = bad
- Topia= place
- Dys-topia = bad place

CALIFORNIA DYSTOPIA

- SO, If northern California has many utopias, is southern California the land of California dystopias??

Centered around El Cajon, perhaps?

- A dystopian box???

DYSTOPIA

- Quite often Dystopias are Utopias gone bad.
- Dystopias are depicted in anti-utopia novels.

DYSTOPIAN NOVELS

- The Time Machine
- Brave New World
- Animal Farm
- 1984
- Fahrenheit 451
- The Handmaid's Tale
- Hunger Games

DYSTOPIAS

- While the term is old, not many dystopias were written before 1945.
- Since then a huge number of dystopias have been published often to a teen age audience.

DYSTOPIAS

- Until World Wars 1 and 2 most millennialists were optimistic post-millennialists
- Amillennialism has been the Church's mainstay from Patristic times and especially since St. Augustine's ***City of God***

DYSTOPIA

- Pre-Millennial Dystopias have exploded since 1945 in part due the establishment of the State of Israel.
- Pre-Millennialists see the Battle of Armageddon and the Tribulation as preludes to the Millennial Reign of Christ.

DYSTOPIAN LITERATURE

Youth Today

- While utopias are still being written, many of today's youths are enchanted by dystopias.
- Why

DYSTOPIAN LITERATURE

Youth Today

Youth today seem to be enchanted by dystopias because:

Dystopias are exciting.

Dystopias reflect the chaos in their lives.

Dystopias reflect the absence of a religious center in their lives.

DYSTOPIAS

- Amillennialist reject both the Post-Millennial and the Pre-Millennial teachings
- Amillennialists believe that the Kingdom of God will develop by divine action to improve the world
- Christ will return suddenly in the fullness of time

MILLENNIAL DYSTOPIAS

- Pre-Millennialists have no incentive to imagine utopias when all is going to the Devil.
- Or to the Satanic Anti-Christ
- The *Left Behind* series is typical Pre-Millennialist dystopianism

POST APOCALYPTIC DYSTOPIAS

- Dystopias that are secular now abound.
- As literature dystopias now outnumber utopias.
- Dystopias are set in the times after a catastrophic apocalyptic event that destroyed much of the world.

-

SECULAR DYSTOPIAS

- Dystopias have an agent of evil such as:
 - TERMINATOR = machines
 - WALKING DEAD = virus
 - BOOK OF ELI = atomic war
 - HUNGER GAMES = war
 - INDEPENDENCE DAY = alien invasion
 - WATER WORLD = atomic war

POLITICS OF DYSTOPIAS

- In today's political world a favorite dystopian scenario is catastrophic climate change.
- The movie "Water World" is an example where the ice caps are melted flooding the earth.
- .

Dystopian Realities

- In the year 1000 A. D. there was great anticipation of the Anti-Christ and the Second Coming of Christ.
- In the year 2000 A. D. many held the same hopes for the Second Coming.
- Y2K was feared
- .

Dystopian Fears

- However, the Y2K computer melt down was the catastrophe that many feared.
- It did not occur.
- None the less: Survivalists prepared and are still preparing for some apocalyptic catastrophe.

Utopias vs. Dystopias

- While utopias and dystopias appear to be opposites they are not.
- The opposite of a utopia would be an anarchistic state of nature where nothing is controlled.
- Utopias and Dystopias share several common elements

Utopia v. Dystopia

Common Features

- Individualism cannot be allowed because it would cause the decline of the perfection of the utopia.
- Hence, totalitarian
- Individualism cannot be allowed because it would interfere with the totalitarian control of “Big Brother”
- Hence, totalitarian

Utopia v. Dystopia

Common Features

- Anti-individualistic
 - Deterministic
 - Controlling
 - Totalitarian
 - Egalitarian
 - Justice claims
 - Socialistic
- Anti-individualistic
 - Deterministic
 - Controlling
 - Totalitarian
 - Egalitarian
 - Justice claims
 - Socialistic

Utopias v. Dystopias

- One of the major problems for utopians today is how to promote utopia in the face of a growing dystopianism
- Neither secular nor religious utopias are dead.
- Neither secular nor religious dystopias are dead.

Utopian or Dystopian Future

- Both utopianism and dystopianism are influencing the global political system.
- So also are apocalyptic, millennialism and messianism.

▪

Utopian or Dystopian Future

- The quest to build an eutopia by human hands is alive and well.
- Perfectionism is a utopian goal
- It can be called the “Tower of Babel” syndrome.

The Politics of Utopianism and Dystopianis

- Both utopianism and dystopianism
- are currently important influences on
- public policies across the globe.
-

Politics of Utopianism and Dystopianism

- Traditional “muddling through”
- with an incremental approach that seeks socio-economic amelioration
- is continually challenged by utopian or dystopian ideologies.

Politics of Utopianism and Dystopianism

- Why are both utopianism and dystopianism flourishing?
- The human zeal for progress, perfection and a just public policy is
- An eutopian aspiration

Summary

- Utopias and Dystopias incorporate many ideas which are unlikely to go away.
- The aspiration for eutopia is humanly inherent
- Ideas
- Perfectionism
- Idea of Progress
- Millennialism
- Messianism
- Apocalyptic
- The problem of evil

FINIS

- Laudamus Dei

A Review of Structural Issues in K-12 Pandemic Learning in the United States

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Introduction

In the spring of 2020, in the face of the emerging coronavirus pandemic, many American schools found themselves quickly pivoting from classroom learning to a number of distance learning systems. This pivot was meant to keep students safe from the threat of SARS-CoV-2, which at the time was an emerging disease about which very little was known. This rapid shift to pandemic learning, however, both illuminated and exacerbated systemic inequity issues that were already present in the American public school system.

Some of these inequities were familiar to policymakers and educators before the pandemic, such as equal access to technology, while some rose alongside the coronavirus pandemic, such as loss of social-emotional learning and grade-level benchmarks (Lake et al., 2022). Because the pandemic has interrupted or altered three consecutive school years now, schools still struggle to regain a sense of normalcy in the classroom (Lake et al., 2022).

Each new COVID variant has introduced a new structural problem to educators, causing them to scramble to adapt in-person learning materials to remote curricula. The switch was expected to be temporary, but schools have not yet fully recovered. Issues within the classroom were compounded by socio-economic and political issues of the Delta and Omicron variants, such as quarantine policies that lacked uniformity and teacher absences due to a nationwide shortage of COVID mitigation strategies (Pitts, 2021; Dusseault & Pillow, December 2021). Issues of access, equity, and communication among teachers, students, and parents persists. Two calendar years after school closures, teachers still report difficulty engaging with students, especially

those that have continued to incorporate e-learning tools in their classrooms, whether remotely or in a physical space (Diliberti & Kaufman, 2020).

The problems that were uncovered by public school response to the Coronavirus pandemic are largely intertwined. Initial issues with equitable access to distance learning materials during the first round of lockdowns caused gaps in learning (Dusseault et al., 2021). Paired with isolation, pandemic learning led to devolvement of social-emotional learning and an increase in mental health problems in K-12 students (Lake, 2020). COVID-19 also struck the world at a time when the United States was facing great political upheaval, which impacted how schools were able to respond to safety concerns during the pandemic (Kamenetz, 2022). All three of these social, political, and cultural impacts to American public schooling were furthered by the challenges brought to school districts across the country with each new COVID variant. These pandemic learning issues created an environment for at-risk students to fall even further behind their peers.

Equity and Access

The pandemic has illuminated many structural issues within K-12 public schools, most substantively equitable access to distance learning materials. Many districts struggled with the transition to distance learning during the first school closures as their students did not have access to adequate technology to complete their school projects. For instance, many students did not have a home computer, had tech-illiterate parents that could not help their students with distance learning curricula, or struggled with the technology challenges of online learning (Heyward, 2021).

American schools before the pandemic struggled with a massive learning gap between students with a low socioeconomic status and a high socioeconomic status, with poor students underperforming compared to their wealthier peers (CRPE, 2022). Low-income elementary schools fell behind high-income elementary schools by 20% in math and 15% in reading during the pandemic (Kuhfeld et al., 2022). Teachers are still struggling to address the learning gap that was widened by the lack of access to technology and the learning loss from COVID disruptions in the past three years.

Additionally, many students (and some teachers) lacked access to internet with enough bandwidth to participate in online schooling. Students who had poor internet quality were unable to keep up with virtual class meetings, access online assignments, or had to split Wi-Fi between multiple devices as siblings worked on e-learning projects at the same time. One example of this was given by the American Civil Liberties Union as they suggest that Wi-Fi should be a public utility like water or electricity: their case study examines a single-parent household of seven that split a smartphone hotspot between six siblings all working on distance learning projects simultaneously (Ault, 2021).

Schools that serve a majority of Black or Hispanic students and/or students with a low socio-economic status report that internet access was a primary barrier for students completing pandemic learning classwork (Schwartz et al., 2020). Low-income students and students of color were among the most likely to fall behind their peers before the pandemic, as well as students with disabilities and English Language Learners (Schwartz et al., 2020; Stelitano et al., 2021). Additionally, the distance learning issue that teachers reported that the most challenging distance learning issue

was student engagement, and it was compounded by technology access issues (Diliberti & Kaufman, 2020). This learning loss is accelerated by internet that is spotty, slow, or weak.

Phases of the Pandemic

When the Coronavirus pandemic broke in March of 2020, schools across the country quickly pivoted to distance learning, often without properly training teachers or providing a curriculum capable of sustaining students who were suddenly learning from home. This initial failure to train teachers and provide a sustainable online curriculum was followed by two more school years interrupted by COVID-19, which contributed to learning loss, teacher stress, and inequitable education (Diliberti et al., 2021). As each COVID variant impacted the American education system, each stage furthered learning loss and other systemic inequities (Dusseault et al., 2021).

The Delta variant peaked at the start of the 2021 fall semester, when most schools decided to return to in-person learning (Dusseault & Pillow, August 2021). Delta is more contagious than the first wave of COVID in the United States, causes more severe illness, and—most frightening for teachers and parents—can infect children (Wu, 2021). This stood in stark contrast to several natural-lab case studies from around the globe that showed astonishingly low chances of COVID either infecting or being transmitted by children (Bailey, 2021). Without fully recovering from the learning loss, lack of communication, and technical difficulties of the first lockdowns in 2020, schools had new pressure to create quarantine policies that would keep students and staff safe while also keeping students on track while they were away.

Without federal guidelines for public schools, quarantine policies varied among states and districts. In one stark example, “Wichita Public Schools [allowed] exposed students to return to class immediately, provided they wear a mask for 14 days and take daily rapid antigen tests for eight days”, while some Alaska schools allowed “up to 24 days” if students had contact with an infected relative (Pitts, 2021; Dusseault et al., 2021).

Omicron, which was first identified in the United States the day after Thanksgiving in 2021, brought supply-chain issues alongside a mass exodus of educators, which left in-person classrooms without a qualified teacher or the supplies to prevent and screen for COVID-19 (Lieberman, 2021). One teacher in Vancouver, WA claims to have spent hundreds of dollars out of his own pocket to create classroom air purifiers using box fans (Kamenetz, 2022). Even with access to masks, air purifiers, and testing kits, there was no nation-wide consensus on best practices for classroom mitigation measures. The social and political pressure to return schools and classrooms to normal had many districts reversing their COVID safety requirements. During the 2021-2022 school year, the number of districts that required masking in schools dropped from 90% to 74% over the fall semester alone, which contributed to increasing numbers of teachers who could not work as they quarantined or awaited COVID test results (Dusseault & Pillow, December 2021).

Staff shortages were further compounded by supply chain issues that affect teachers’ access to COVID mitigation measures, like masks and testing. Many schools pulled other staff—such as counselors, aides, and administrators—from their regular duties to cover classrooms while teachers are sick or waiting on COVID test results.

The teaching staff shortage was about more than schools missing regular teachers; districts also faced a severe lack of qualified substitutes, with some districts shortening the process or changing the requirements needed to become a substitute teacher (Reilly, 2021; Davis et al., 2021). Classroom disruption caused by the staff shortage is especially concerning for students who already suffered from learning loss due to other pandemic complications, including lack of access to quality technology during distance learning.

Loss of Grade-Level Benchmarks

In the RAND Corporation’s 2020 American Educator Panels—an examination of teaching and learning strategies from across the United States—teachers reported that catching students up to grade level was their top concern in the 2020-2021 school year. They also reported that only 62% of fully remote students were completing their assignments, compared to 82% of students in fully in-person classrooms (Diliberti & Kaufman, 2020). Learning loss is so great that even students who do not fall into the most heavily impacted demographics are going to graduate with less knowledge and skills than high-school graduates before the pandemic (Lake et al., 2022).

“[Teachers] feel like they’re responsible for all the learning this year but also all the learning lost for the last 18 months”, one educator interviewed by NPR attested (Davis et al., 2021). This extra expectation contributes to teacher stress and thus the mass exodus of educators during the pandemic. The staffing crisis of the Omicron era threatens to deepen the learning loss gap; a lack of qualified substitutes is having school staff and administrators act as classroom sitters rather than educators while

teachers are quarantined or waiting on COVID test results (Dusseault & Pillow, December 2021).

School districts across the country have faced lower enrollment, with some larger school districts seeing 50,000 less students than before the pandemic. The reasons for lower levels of public school enrollment varies between social-economic status: high-income parents, unimpressed with public schools' resources and catch-up curricula, have the means to choose other, more expensive schooling options; low-income parents, while surviving the pandemic-fueled recession and job loss, are having trouble keeping their students in school as they battle housing and job insecurity (Hubler, 2022; Schwartz, 2022). The widening socio-economic gap through differentiated schooling also deepens the issues of social inequality that have put low-income, nonwhite, ELL, and disabled students at risk of falling behind their peers.

Loss of Social-Emotional Learning

The United States is experiencing a mental health crisis among young people, which was exacerbated by the isolation of lockdowns and quarantines during the first wave of the pandemic. During the summer of 2020 there was a sharp increase in children under 18 admitted to emergency departments for mental health, including panic attacks and suicide attempts (Leeb et al., 2020). Students of color and girl and nonbinary students more commonly experienced an increase in anxiety and depression symptoms, deepening the pandemic learning equity issue (Chu & Lake, 2021). The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimate a nearly 51% increase in suicide attempts by girls aged 12-17 (Yard, 2021). This is compounded by the fact that more

than 200,000 children under 18 lost a parent or caregiver due to COVID-19 (COVID Collaborative, 2022).

K-12 students struggling with mental health issues usually receive treatment through community organizations, which includes schools (Leeb et al., 2020). The student mental health crisis has progressed on two axes during the pandemic: there are more children experiencing mental health issues for the first time, and there is less access to community spaces for treatment of mental health problems.

Since returning to in-person learning, teachers have witnessed students' pandemic trauma manifesting as mental illness as well as a noticeable stall in their social-emotional development. Because many students have spent the past three school years in COVID limbo and have missed opportunities for Social-Emotional Learning (SEL), they are maturing more slowly than expected. One teacher interviewed by NPR explained, "if you think about this year's ninth graders, the last time they had real school was some time in seventh grade. As much as middle school was already a difficult place to be, there's a lot of important things that happen with kids and milestones and maturing..." (Davis et al., 2021).

Many of these mental health and SEL challenges appear as behavioral symptoms: compared to pre-pandemic rates, students are acting out more frequently and in ways that show less maturity. The same group of high school teachers who described their incoming freshmen as virtual seventh graders also said, "trauma [from the pandemic] has come back in the way that high school kids act out. Discipline type issues: their attentiveness in class, trying to divorce them from their cell phone that they

had unfettered access to last year.... It's the normal high school things, it just feels like it's exponentially more" (Davis et al., 2021).

Teacher stress has also dramatically risen, and dealing with students' behavioral issues is a major reason for the mass exodus of educators during the pandemic (Steiner & Woo, 2021). Educators who have remained in their positions still rank social-emotional learning as a high concern. In a 2021 survey of superintendents, researchers found that "ninety percent of district leaders expressed either 'moderate' or 'major' concern about students' mental health" (Diliberti & Schwartz, 2022, p.3). Teacher stress and student behavioral issues remain a distraction in classrooms that are already struggling to "return to normal"; each stage of the pandemic has impacted the classroom in a way that exacerbates these issues.

Political Landscape, Race, and Urbanicity

The United States is at an extremely high level of political polarization that seems to have crept into almost every facet of American life, and its impact on public schooling was influenced by the 2020 election. Combined with an already devastating amount of learning loss, its effects on younger generations—Gen Z and Gen Alpha—may ripple farther than it already has. In a survey performed by the RAND Corporation, almost 75% of school leaders agreed with the statement "Political polarization about COVID-19 safety or vaccines is interfering with our ability to educate students" (Schwartz, 2022). This also comes at a time when public trust in the CDC is waning, making it difficult for school boards to make decisions for their districts (Pollard & Davis, 2021). In fact, school reopening plans for the 2020-2021 school year fell right along party lines, with Republican-majority school districts more likely to push for in-person learning and

Democrat-majority schools more likely to push for COVID mitigation strategies to be included in school policy (Hartney & Finger, 2021; Vestal, 2020).

Political leanings intersect with race, urbanicity, and socio-economic status to create a powerful storm of factors that influence school policy, both about course content and about COVID-19 mitigation strategies. White, rural, and midwestern parents are the least likely to request mitigation measures, including vaccinations or e-learning options. In contrast, Black and Hispanic parents are particularly wary of returning to in-person learning; more than 75% of Black parents supported safety measures like masking and testing for their students to return to school (Schwartz et al., 2021).

A RAND survey in July 2021 found that more than one-third of white parents agreed with the statement, “I am not concerned that COVID-19 is a significant risk for my child,” while only 8% of Black parents, 12% of Hispanic parents, and 13% of Asian parents agreed with the same statement (Schwartz, 2022). These school policy battlegrounds are made more ferocious by the systemic prejudice paradox: a recent study published in *Social Science and Medicine* found that learning about systemic issues exposed by COVID, particularly issues of healthcare equity among nonwhite racial and ethnic groups, causes Americans to mischaracterize the severity of the pandemic and to be less likely to request and enforce mitigation strategies (Skinner-Dorkinoo et al., 2022). In this way, systemic prejudice also interferes with school policy, putting at-risk students in a more precarious position to fall behind their peers.

Conclusion

There are a number of structural issues within American K-12 schooling that the coronavirus pandemic revealed, but each of them is tied to an equity issue. Students of

color and students with a low socio-economic status were most likely to lack access to adequate technology for distance learning. They were also among the most likely to fall behind their peers before the pandemic, the most likely to experience mental health issues as a result of the pandemic, and among the groups least likely to return to school after pandemic lockdowns.

The political and social tensions that arose during the 2020 election cycle contributed to these issues as well. Distrust in government bodies such as the CDC as well as heightening tensions between political parties caused tension in local school boards, which hindered school districts' abilities to make fact-based decisions about pandemic policies. This heightened political tension was coupled with a serious social phenomenon that caused white Americans to disbelieve the severity of the pandemic when learning that people of color were disproportionately affected by COVID; this caused white parents to be less insistent about in-school safety measures and students of color to fall further behind their peers.

Learning loss was already a risk for poor students, students of color, students with disabilities, and English Language Learners. The problems of pandemic learning furthered these issues in a number of ways, from not being able to access their schoolwork to being at a higher risk for contracting COVID-19. Coupled with supply chain issues that left schools without COVID safety measures like tests, masks, and air purifiers, increasingly infective variants of SARS-CoV-2, and K-12 teachers facing previously unseen levels of burnout, inequity in American public schools skyrocketed, leaving at-risk students lagging behind their peers.

In the words of the State of the American Student report for fall 2022, “The kids aren’t all right now, but many weren’t all right before” (Lake et al., 2022). Disrupted schooling due to the coronavirus pandemic worsened issues that were already present in public schools, but solutions to these problems can come from the research that outlines their severity. Understanding peri-COVID inequity can allow school districts to rebuild in a way to better serve their students.

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**Hallowed Grounds, Pan-Africanism, and Ghana:
The Case of the W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore,
and Kwame Nkrumah Burial Sites**

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Abstract

This paper examines hallowed grounds of Pan-Africanism in Accra, Ghana. It provides contemporary descriptions and images of places where three major Pan-Africanists are buried in Accra, namely the (1) W.E.B. Du Bois burial site; (2) George Padmore burial site; and (3) Kwame Nkrumah burial site. This paper argues that the three sites are sacred places that should be venerated by Black people in Africa and the Diaspora. It also argues that W.E.B. Du Bois was a Jegna to both George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah. The research methodology employed here is a mixed methods approach involving the observation method and the case study method.

Introduction

Between 1900 and 1945, Black people from the Diaspora and Africa and held gatherings in various parts of the world wherein the term Pan-Africanism was used an explicit theme. In 1900, Black people held the Pan-African Conference in Manchester, England and it was attended by W.E.B. Du Bois. During 1919, Black people held the First Pan-African Congress in Paris, France and it was attended by W.E.B. Du Bois. In 1921, Black people held the Second Pan-African Congress in London, England and it was attended by W.E.B. Du Bois. During 1923, Black people held the Third Pan-African Congress and it was attended by W.E.B. Du Bois. In 1927, Black people held the Fourth Pan-African Congress and it was attended by W.E.B. Du Bois. During 1945, Black people held the Fifth Pan-African Congress and it was attended by W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah.¹ Unlike Marcus Garvey who never called himself a Pan-Africanist, the opposite is true with W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah (Shepperson, 1970).² There is a written record of each one of those three men calling himself a Pan-Africanist (Du Bois, 1955; Padmore, 1947/1963; Nkrumah, 1957a, 1968a).

As used in this paper, the term Pan-Africanism refers to an international form of Black nationalism. In contrast, the term Black nationalism refers to racial solidarity and collective behavior around economic, political, and cultural matters. On the one hand, Pan-Africanism has an international scope involving racial solidarity and collective action around economic, political, and cultural matters in two or more countries. On the other hand, Black nationalism has a national scope involving racial solidarity and collective action around economic, political, and cultural matters in one country. In this typology, one can be a Black nationalist and a Pan-Africanist or a Black nationalist only. Similarly, one can be an advocate of racial solidarity and collective action around economic matters, but not political and cultural matters or one can be an advocate of all three. Within this framework, W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah were Pan-Africanists and Black nationalists.³

Hallowed grounds, as used in this paper, refer to places wherein the elders have left enduring legacies and/or the ancestors have a final resting place. Hallowed grounds can be found around the world in large cities, small cities, small towns, and villages. They are sacred spaces that can and should be venerated (Lincoln, 1865; Williams, 2009; Kenan Institute for Ethics, 2022). As used in this paper, the term Jegna refers to a role model and special person who has (1) been tested in struggle or battle; (2)

demonstrated extraordinary and unusual fearlessness; (3) shown determination and courage in protecting Black people, their land, and their culture; (4) shown diligence and dedication to Black people; (5) produced exceptionally high-quality work; (6) dedicated themselves to the protection, defense, nurturance and development of Black young people by advancing Black people, places, and culture. Jegnoch refers to a plural form of Jegna and multiple role models and special people who meet certain criteria (Nobles, 2002).

The purpose of this study is to examine hallowed grounds of Pan-Africanism in Ghana. It will provide contemporary descriptions and images of places where three major Pan-Africanists are buried in Accra, namely the (1) W.E.B. Du Bois burial site; (2) George Padmore burial site; and (3) Kwame Nkrumah burial site. The research questions were as follows: (1) What is the contemporary condition of the W.E.B. Du Bois burial site in Accra? (2) What is the contemporary condition of the George Padmore burial site in Accra? (3) What is the contemporary condition of the Kwame Nkrumah burial site in Accra? (4) What is the evidence that W.E.B. Du Bois was a Jegna to George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah? This study will also examine some implications of the research. The research methods for this study consist of a mixed methods approach composed of the observation method and the case study method. The research techniques include direct observation and digital photographs of the burial sites and content analysis of primary and secondary sources, including autobiographies, biographies, and other documents.⁴

Review of the Literature

The literature related to W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah consists of primary and secondary sources including government reports, autobiographies, and biographies. The primary sources include autobiographies written by W.E.B. Du Bois and Kwame Nkrumah. They also include other types of works used by W.E.B. Du Bois and Kwame Nkrumah to disseminate their ideas and analyses of social conditions. Although George Padmore did not write publish an autobiography, he, like W.E.B. Du Bois and George Padmore, used other types of works to disseminate his ideas and analyses of social conditions.

W.E.B. Du Bois and His Books

During his lifetime, W.E.B. Du Bois (1940, 1952, 1968) wrote three full-length autobiographies as well as many other books. The first autobiography by Du Bois was *Dusk of Dawn: An essay Towards a Race Concept*. It was released when Du Bois was 72 years-old and a professor of sociology and the chairman of the Sociology Department at Atlanta University. Some 12 years later, when he was 84 years-old, Du Bois published his second autobiography titled *In Battle for Peace: The Story of My 83rd Birthday*. The third and final autobiography was published posthumously. It was simply titled *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*. That book was published five years after his death.⁵

In his book *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, some of his experiences in Ghana were explored by Du Bois (1968). The Jegna relationship he had with Kwame

Nkrumah was also addressed in that book. Du Bois included part of a letter he wrote to Nkrumah in 1957 advising him on foreign and domestic policy issues. He stated:

Today, when Ghana arises from the dead and faces this modern world, it must no longer be merely a part of the British Commonwealth or a representative of the world of West Europe, Canada, and the United States. Ghana must on the contrary be the representative of Africa. (p. 400)

Du Bois continued:

The consequent Pan-Africa, working together through its independent units, should seek to develop a new African economy and cultural center standing between Europe and Asia, taking from and contributing to both. It should stress peace and join no military alliance and refuse to fight for settling European quarrels. It should avoid subjection to and ownership by foreign capitalists who seek to get rich on African labor and raw material, and should try to build a socialism founded on old African communal life, rejecting the exaggerated private initiative of the west, and seeking to ally itself with the social program of the Progressive nations; with British and Scandinavian Socialism, with the progress toward the Welfare State in India, Germany, France and the United States; and with the Communist States like the Soviet Union and China, in peaceful cooperation and without presuming to dictate as to how Socialism must or can be attained at particular times and places. (p. 400)

For Du Bois, it was important that Ghana follow a path wherein “Pan-African Socialism seeks the Welfare State in Africa” (p. 400).

Du Bois (1968) made it clear to Nkrumah that it was imperative for him to seek to meet the needs of the working class and peasants in Ghana. He advised Nkrumah not to follow the path of the African bourgeoisie who signed pacts that allowed the continuation of colonization. Du Bois said the following positions should be taken by Nkrumah’s Ghana:

It will refuse to be exploited by people of other continents for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the peoples of Africa. It will no longer consent to permitting the African majority of any African country to be governed against its will by a minority of invaders who claim racial superiority or the right to get rich at African expense. It will seek not only to raise but to process the raw material and to trade it freely with all the world in just and equal terms and prices. (p. 400)

He further advised Nkrumah to develop in Ghana a type of Pan-Africanism that “will seek to preserve its own past history, and write the present account, erasing from literature the lies and distortions about black folks which have disgraced the last centuries of European and American literature” (p. 400).

As a thinker and a doer, Du Bois (1968) believed in Black nationalism and Pan-Africanism as forms of racial solidarity and collective behavior around economic,

political, and cultural matters. Regarding cultural nationalism, Du Bois urged Nkrumah to take the following actions:

Seek to save the great cultural past of the Ashanti and Fanti peoples, not by inner division but by outer cultural and economic expansion toward the outmost bounds of the great African peoples, so that they may be free to live, grow, and expand; and to teach mankind what Non-Violence and Courtesy, Literature and Art, Music and dancing can do for this greedy, selfish, and war-stricken world. (pp. 400-401)

Throughout his long life, Du Bois was committed to Black nationalism and Pan-Africanism and he urged Nkrumah to do the same. Du Bois thought this was a viable way forward for Africa in general and Ghana in particular.

Although he was an advocate of structural integration, Du Bois was also an advocate of Black nationalism. On the one hand, Du Bois advocated structural integration and took the position that Black people in the USA should have access to all jobs, contracts, and educational slots that they have interest in and are qualified for.⁶ On the other hand, Du Bois advocated Black nationalism and took the position that Black people should have racial social and collective behavior around economic, political, and cultural matters in the USA.⁷ In terms of structural integration, Du Bois earned degrees at Fisk University (a historically Black university) and Harvard University (a historically White university). He also published one of the first books in the Harvard Historical Studies Series and was a co-founder of the NAACP, which was an integrated organization from the outset. As for his commitment to Black nationalism, his membership in all Black organizations included the American Negro Academy, National Afro-American Council, and the Niagara Movement (Du Bois, 1896, 1940, 1968). These organizations called for Black people to have racial solidarity and collective action around economic, political, and cultural matters.

The commitment of Du Bois to Pan-Africanism was exemplified by his attendance at the first Pan-African Conference and the first five Pan-African Congresses. Du Bois took a leading role in each of those six gatherings where the major theme was Black people having racial solidarity and collective action around economics, political, and cultural matters on an international level. As the 19th century came to an end, Du Bois (1897) wrote an important report wherein he called for “Pan-Negroism” (p. 10). Du Bois used the term Pan-Negroism in the same way that Henry Sylvester Williams used the term Pan-Africanism. Throughout the first six decades of the 20th century, Du Bois published many articles with a focus on Pan-Africanism.⁸ He often used the terms Pan-Africanism and Pan-Africa as synonymous.

During his lifetime, Du Bois maintained a lifelong interest in the plight of Black people in the USA, other parts of the Diaspora, and Africa. When he started out as a scholar, Du Bois (1892, 1896) focused on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and its consequences for Black people in the USA, other parts of the Diaspora, and Africa. Africa remained a key focus in the writings of Du Bois until he died in 1963. During each of the six decades he lived in the 20th century, Du Bois produced an important work with Africa as a focus.⁹

In the first decade, Du Bois (1903b) published a book titled *The Souls of Black Folk* wherein he informed us that roots of the Negro Spirituals reach back to Africa. During the second decade, Du Bois (1915) published a book titled *The Negro*. In that book, Du Bois looked at the African background of Black people in Africa before colonization, including ancient Egypt and the empires of Mali, Songhay, and Ghana. Although he did not publish a book during the third decade with Africa as a theme, Du Bois (1935b, 1938b) wrote two articles for *Foreign Affairs* with a focus on Africa. One of those articles published in 1935 was titled “Inter-Racial Implications of the Ethiopian Crisis.” The other article published in 1938 was titled “Black Africa Tomorrow.” In the fourth decade, Du Bois (1947b) published a book titled *The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part which Africa has Played in World History*.

During the fifth decade, Du Bois (1952) published a book titled *In Battle for Peace: The Story of My 83rd Birthday*. Du Bois used the book, in part, to explore his participation in the Council on African Affairs, which played a major role in supporting emerging liberation movements in Africa. In the sixth decade, Du Bois (1962f) published a report titled *Proposed Plans for an Encyclopedia Africana*. In that report, Du Bois outlined the plans for the Encyclopedia Africana and introduced us to the term “Afro-centric.” Du Bois used the term to refer to a social condition wherein Africa and people of African descent are placed in the center rather than the periphery of an analysis. W.E.B. Du Bois was one of the first persons, if not the first, to use the term Afro-centric long before Molefi Asante. In his report, Du Bois wrote that he was “unashamedly Afro-centric, but not indifferent to either the impact of the outside world upon Africa, or to the impact of Africa upon the outside world.” Du Bois emphasized that his *Encyclopedia Africana* was designed to have an “Afro-centric emphasis” wherein Africa and people of African descent would be the central focus (p. 1).¹⁰

George Padmore and His Books

As mentioned above, George Padmore never published an autobiography.¹¹ However, he did cover some of his experiences and thoughts about Ghana in other books. A major work by Padmore (1947/1963) was the book *Colonial and Coloured Unity; A Programme of Action; History of the Pan-African Congress*. That book included the proceedings of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, which was attended by W.E.B. Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Amy Ashwood Garvey, Issac Theophilus Wallace-Johnson (aka I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson), and many others.¹² The Fifth Pan-African Congress was an important gathering which paved the way for many liberation movements in African countries. It also helped to mobilize of Black people in the Diaspora to support those movements. His book was first published two years after the Fifth Pan-African Congress. Some 19 years later, the book was reprinted in a revised edition.

During the 1930s, Padmore departed from the Communist Party as an active member. Padmore (1935) wrote an open letter to Earl Browder wherein he criticized some of the actions of that organization. His letter was published in *The Crisis* by W.E.B. Du Bois.¹³ About 20 years later, Padmore (1956) published a landmark book titled *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa*. His friend

Richard Wright (1956) wrote a foreword to that book. Wright declared that Padmore “is my friend” and that, “George is, in my opinion, the greatest living authority on the fervent nationalist movements sweeping Black Africa today” (p. 11). Du Bois (1968) also praised Padmore for the insight he displayed in that book.

Like Du Bois and Nkrumah, their friend George Padmore was a man of action and ideas. He sought to use his pen as a weapon against colonialism and imperialism both before and after 1935. Prior to 1935, Padmore (1931) wrote a book titled *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*. He used that book to explore how capitalism causes exploitation and oppression for Black workers in the Diaspora and Africa. After 1935 and before the Fifth Pan-African Congress, Padmore (1936, 1937, 1945, 1946) wrote a series of books wherein he analyzed the impact of imperialism and colonization. Those books had titles like *How Britain Rules Africa* (1936); *Africa and World Peace* (1937); and *The Voice of Coloured Labor* (1945). Padmore and Pizer (1946) joined forces to write the book *How Russia Transformed Her Colonial Empire: A Challenge to the Imperialist Powers*.

Between 1947 and 1956, Padmore continued to explore the dynamics of colonialism and imperialism. One of his titles was *Africa: Britain’s Third Empire* (1949). A second title was *The Gold Coast Revolution: The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom* (1953). In the latter book, Padmore explored how the people in Ghana created social movements to wage struggle against colonialism and imperialism. He followed that book up with his magna opus titled *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa* (1956). That book drew praise from Richard Wright and W.E.B. Du Bois for the insight and foresight shared by Padmore on Pan-Africanism as an ideology.

Kwame Nkrumah and His Books

Like W.E.B. Du Bois, his Jegna, Kwame Nkrumah wrote multiple autobiographies. The first appeared the same year Nkrumah (1957a) his country became independent and was titled *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*. Some 11 years later, Nkrumah (1968a) wrote his second autobiography titled *Dark Days in Ghana*. In the first book, Nkrumah presented an account of the actions and events that led to Ghana achieving its independence and becoming a sovereign country. According to Nkrumah, his book tells the story of his life from his birth in 1909 to the independence of Ghana in 1957.

In *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame*, Kwame Nkrumah (1957a) informs us that he was born during 1909 into the Nzima branch of the Akan ethnic group. He related that his father worked as a goldsmith and his mother as a market trader. Following his completion of grade school, Nkrumah taught school briefly before he moved on to attend the Government Training College for teachers in Accra. That institution later merged with the Prince of Wales College in Achimota and became known as Achimota College. After he received his teaching certificate in 1930, Nkrumah became a teacher at the Roman Catholic Junior School located in Elmina. He then moved on after two years to become the head teacher at Roman Catholic Junior School located in Axim. Next, Nkrumah became a teacher at the Roman Catholic

Seminary in Amissano, which was located near Elmina. While teaching at that seminary, Nkrumah had his nationalism fired up by articles written by Nnamdi Azikiwe, a Nigerian from Onitsha, and I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson, a Sierra Leonean. The colonial authorities ended up expelling both men from the country because their writings were seen as sedition.

From 1935 to 1945, Kwame Nkrumah (1957a) was a resident of the USA. In 1939, Nkrumah earned a B.A. degree in economics and sociology from Lincoln University in Cheney, Pennsylvania. Three years later, in 1942, Nkrumah earned a B.A. degree in theology from Lincoln Theological Seminary. That same year, Nkrumah earned a M.S. degree in education from the University of Pennsylvania. In 1943, Nkrumah earned a M.A. degree in philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania. Nkrumah has written that, "I managed within two years to complete the courses and the preliminary examinations for the doctorate. All that remained before the degree could be conferred on me was the writing of the thesis" (p. 34). However, Nkrumah decided to leave the USA and his doctoral program after he became very ill. Nevertheless, Nkrumah managed to become an instructor at Lincoln University where he taught "philosophy, first year Greek and Negro history" from 1939 to 1945. He said that the *Lincolnian*, the magazine of Lincoln University, voted him as "the most outstanding professor of the year" in 1945 (p. 34).

While attending the University of Pennsylvania, Kwame Nkrumah (1957a) helped to establish an organization known as the African Students' Association of America and Canada. Nkrumah recalled that organization was the beginnings of his political activities in the USA. The organization published a newspaper called the *African Interpreter*. Other members of the organization included Ako Adjei, the future Minister of the Interior in Ghana, and Jones Quartey, a future official with the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies at the University College, Achimota. The organization also included a Ghanaian contingent and a Nigerian contingent. According to Nkrumah, the Ghanaian contingent took the position that African liberation movements fighting against colonialism needed to be "linked" with other African liberation movements to achieve success. In contrast, the Nigerian contingent took the position that African liberation movements fighting against colonialism did not need to be linked with other African liberation movements. Looking back on the position of the Ghanaian position, Nkrumah said:

We believed that unless territorial freedom was ultimately linked up with the Pan African movement for the liberation of the whole African continent, there would be no hope of freedom and equality for the African and for people of African descent in any part of the world. (p. 44)

For Nkrumah, a key need was African unity and he became committed to Pan-Africanism for the rest of his life.

In 1945, Nkrumah (1957a) left the USA and headed to England and stayed there two years. Nkrumah said that his initial purpose of going to London was "to study law and, at the same time, to complete my thesis for a doctorate in philosophy" (p. 52). He added: "As soon as I arrived in London, therefore, I enrolled at Gray's Inn and arranged to attend lectures at the London School of Economics" (p. 52). Nkrumah stayed in that

country until 1947. While there, Nkrumah associated with George Padmore, T.R. Makonnen, Peter Abrahams, and Ako Adjei. He joined the first three in the planning of the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Whereas Du Bois served as chairman of the Sixth Pan-African Congress, Nkrumah and Padmore served as co-secretaries. Nkrumah said the Sixth Pan-African Congress was “a tremendous success and was attended by over 200 delegates from all over the world” (p. 53). He credited the Fifth Pan-African Congress with having “provided the outlet for African nationalism and brought about the awakening of African political consciousness. It became, in fact, a mass movement of Africa for the Africans” (p. 54).

Kwame Nkrumah (1957a) reported that two entities emerged following the Sixth Pan-African Congress. One was a Working Committee to set up the Pan African Congress as an official organization with a headquarters in London. The purpose of this entity was “to act as a kind of clearing house for the various political movements that would take shape in the colonies” (p. 55). Nkrumah was appointed as the general secretary, but the entity was not successful because of a lack of funds. The second entity was West African National Secretariat. Nkrumah was appointed to the general secretary position. Although this entity also suffered from a lack of funds, it managed to survive longer than the other entity and carry out its expressed mission. The purpose of the West African National Secretariat was:

. . . to put into action the new Pan African nationalism, with particular reference to West Africa and with the object of calling a West African National Congress and of directing the programme of self-government for the West African colonies, British as well as French. (pp. 54-55)

Other members of the West African National Secretariat included Ashie Nikoe, Wallace Johnson, Bankole Akpata, Awooner Renner, and Kojo Botsio. The West African National Secretariat published a newspaper called *The New Africa*. The subtitle of the newspaper was “The Voice of the Awakened African.” Its motto was “For Unity and Absolute Independence.”

During 1947, Kwame Nkrumah (1957a) received a letter asking that he return to his home country and take on the position of general secretary of an emerging organization known as the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). The letter was signed by his old friend Ako Adjei, who explained that the Executive Committee of the UGCC needed his help in uniting the intelligentsia with the masses. Nkrumah received another letter signed by J.B. Danquah asking him to take the position. After brief stops on a ship in other African countries, Nkrumah returned to his homeland and quickly engaged in political activities under the aegis of the UGCC. The colonial government responded by arresting Nkrumah and several other officials of the UGCC in 1948. They were held for a period of one month before being set free. Upon his release, Nkrumah assumed his political activities.

Kwame Nkrumah (1957a) broke away from the UGCC in 1949 and formed his own political party known as the Convention People’s Party (CPP) during the same year. The Central Committee of the CPP included the following nine people: Kofi Baako, Kojo Botsio (secretary), Dzenkle Dzewu, Krobo Edusei, K.A. Gbedemah, Ashie Nikoe, Kwame Nkrumah (chairman), Kwesi Plange, and N.A. Welbeck. The agenda of

the CPP included “positive action” against colonialism (p. 119). The CPP advocated “self-government now” as viable alternative to colonialism (p. 111). In contrast, the UGCC was willing to settle for a relatively slower pace for self-government.¹⁴ Eventually, Nkrumah was arrested in 1950 by the colonial authorities as a threat and imprisoned along with several colleagues. He was freed in 1951 after the CPP won many Assembly seats in one of the first open elections held in his homeland. Nkrumah became the “Leader of Government Business” of his homeland (p. 138). He also began to take on the tasks of making the transition of heading a provisional government to serving as the head of state of a sovereign country. In 1952, Nkrumah became the prime minister after being elected by the Assembly. Later, he would become the president of the country which changed its name from the Gold Coast to Ghana.

In his second autobiography titled *Dark Days in Ghana*, Kwame Nkrumah (1968a) explained how he found out about the coup on February 24, 1966. Nkrumah was on a state visit to Peking when he found out that he had been overthrown. Many supporters of Nkrumah reached out to him and sent messages of solidarity. For example, he received a message from Sekou Toure, president of Guinea, urging him to come to that country. As a gesture of Pan-Africanism of the highest order, Sekou Toure held a rally in his country and announced that he was going to make Kwame Nkrumah a president of the country. Nkrumah said that the leaders of the coup in Ghana included Akwasi Amankwa Afrifa, an officer in the Army; Joseph Arthur Ankrah, an officer in the Army; Anthony K. Deku, a police official; John Willie Kofi Harley, a police official; Emmanuel Kwesi Kotoka, an officer in the Army; J.E. Nunoo, a police official; Albert Kwesi Ocran, a police official; and Bawa Andani Yakuba, a police official. This group of four military officers and four police officials called themselves the National Liberation Council (NLC).¹⁵ In contrast, Nkrumah called them the Notorious Liars Council and said they committed treason. Regarding the impact of the coup on his family of procreation and family of orientation, Nkrumah said:

In the six-roomed two-story house where I lived with my family, troops were allowed to run riot, seizing clothes and other intimate personal possessions including rare old books and manuscripts. My wife and children, although not physically harmed, were not permitted to take a single thing with them when they were turned out of the house and forced to take refuge in the Egyptian Embassy. My mother, 80 years old and almost blind, who was staying at Flagstaff House, was forcibly ejected and told to go “where you belong”. I understand some friends took her to Nkroful where I was born. Later, the actual house in which I was born was burnt down on “N.L.C.” orders.

My mother was forced to appear before a ‘commission of enquiry’ with the ideas of making her admit that I was not her son and indeed was not a Ghanaian at all. I am proud to know that she resolutely refused to say anything of the sort and conducted herself with the utmost dignity. (p. 26)

After the soldiers attacked his home, they also attacked other sites associated with members of Nkrumah’s government.

In addition to his first and second autobiographies, Kwame Nkrumah published eight other books during his lifetime dealing with African people and the fight against

colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism. One book was titled *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology* (1961). A second book was titled *Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in the Struggle Against World Imperialism* (1962). A third book was titled *Africa Unite* (1963a). A fourth book was titled *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonisation* (1964). A fifth book was titled *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965a). A sixth book was titled *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah* (1967a). A seventh book was titled *Challenge of the Congo* (1967b). An eighth book was titled *Voice from Conakry* (1967c). A ninth book was titled *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution* (1968b). A 10th book was titled *Class Struggle in Africa* (1970). After his death in 1972, the book titled *Revolutionary Path* (1973) appeared the following year and was published posthumously.

Social Background of W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B. Du Bois was born William Edward Burghardt Du Bois on February 28, 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts to a Black working-class family. He died on August 27, 1963 at age 95 in Accra, Ghana. Du Bois was educated at Fisk University where he earned a B.A. in history and Harvard University where he earned a B.A. in history, M.A. in political science, and Ph.D. in history. He distinguished himself as a sociologist, political activist, social movement leader, and author (Du Bois, 1940, 1968; Holt, 2008; Ofoso-Appiah, 1977; Owusu-Ansah & McFarland, 1995).

Findings Regarding the W.E.B. Du Bois Burial Site

One key finding of the study is that the present researcher engaged in direct observation of the W.E.B. Du Bois burial site on October 16, 2017 and found it to be well maintained and a fitting final resting place for him as a Pan-African giant. There are three main buildings that are a part of the W.E.B. Du Bois Memorial Centre for Pan African Culture. Those buildings include the house where he and his wife Shirley Graham Du Bois lived from 1960 to 1963. The house features books from the personal library of W.E.B. Du Bois and other artifacts, including the doctoral cap and gown he wore when the University of Ghana awarded him with an honorary doctoral degree in 1963.¹⁶ Close to the house is a second building which contains the body of W.E.B. Du Bois. It has a beautiful design and the grave has exquisite marble (W.E.B. Du Bois Centre in Accra, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c). The overall burial site and grave of W.E.B. Du Bois were observed to be in excellent condition.

On August 29, 1963, Ghana held a state funeral to honor W.E.B. Du Bois.¹⁷ The funeral was attended by various Ghanaian dignitaries, including Kwame Nkrumah. Members of the Ghana Young Pioneers were also in attendance.¹⁸ All countries with an embassy in Ghana sent an official representative except the USA. After the funeral, Du Bois was buried near the west wall of Osu Castle, which was also known as Christiansborg Castle and Fort Christiansborg. When Jerry Rawlings was in power during 1985, some Pan-Africanists asked him to relocate the body in front of the Accra

house where Du Bois lived and he granted that request (“Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois Buried,” 1963; Yee, 2017; Christiansborg Archaeological Heritage Project, 2020).

In 1985, the W.E.B. Du Bois Memorial and Pan-African Culture Center was set up in Accra at the former home of W.E.B. Du Bois. His body was also reburied in a grave within a specially designed building in front of the home. Eventually, the remains of his wife Shirley Graham Du Bois were sent from China to Accra and placed in an urn on the left side of the grave of W.E.B. Du Bois. Shirley Graham Du Bois, who was born in November 1896 and died in March 1977, became the wife of W.E.B. Du Bois on February 14, 1951 when he was 83 and she was 54. She was an outstanding writer and author of several books and a number of important articles.¹⁹ Although the house was ransacked in 1966 following the coup, it has been restored and turned into a fitting part of the memorial center for the great leader, namely W.E.B. Du Bois (“W.E.B. Du Bois Dies,” 1963; Graham Du Bois, 1971; Owusu-Ansah & McFarland, 1995; Hess, 2000; Yee, 2017).

In connection with the state funeral for Du Bois, Nkrumah (1979b) delivered a radio broadcast speech titled “Tribute to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois.” Nkrumah praised Du Bois for having “achieved distinction as a poet, historian and sociologist” (p. 224). He credited Du Bois with being “a great son of Africa” and “a distinguished figure in the pioneering days of the Pan African Movement in the Western World” (p. 224). Nkrumah concluded by asking people to have Du Bois “live in our memory not only as a distinguished scholar, but as a great African Patriot” (p. 225).²⁰ Clearly, the W.E.B. Du Bois burial site is a place that will help Du Bois live in our memory.

Social Background of George Padmore

George Padmore was born Malcom Ivan Meredith Nurse on June 28, 1903 in Arouca, Trinidad and Tobago to a Black middle-class family. He died September 23, 1959 at age 56 in London, England. After migrating to the USA in 1924, Padmore was educated Fisk University and Howard University. He also probably attended Columbia University and New York University. His biographers have related that Padmore studied sociology, political science, and law at those universities, but never got a degree. Padmore migrated to Europe in 1929 after his political activities got him barred from the USA and before he was able to earn any degrees. Nevertheless, Padmore distinguished himself as a philosopher, political activist, social movement leader, and author (Hooker 1977; Owusu-Ansah & McFarland, 1995; Polsgrove, 2008; James, 2012).²¹

Findings Regarding the George Padmore Burial Site

A second key finding of the study is that the present researcher engaged in direct observation of the George Padmore burial site on October 16, 2017 and found it to be well maintained and a fitting final resting place for him as a Pan-African giant. There are two main buildings that are a part of the George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs. One of the building features books from the personal library of George Padmore. Close to the second building is a courtyard which contains the body

of George Padmore. It has a beautiful design and the grave has exquisite marble. The overall burial site and grave of George Padmore were observed to be in excellent condition.

The complex now known as the George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs was opened on June 30, 1961. As Kwame Nkrumah (1979a) noted in his speech at the opening ceremony, the complex was initially known as the George Padmore Memorial Library. Nkrumah's speech was titled "Padmore, the Missionary." In his speech, Nkrumah stated that George Padmore "in his innermost being was by any reckoning, one of the greatest architects of the African liberation movement" (pp. 375-376). He also said that George Padmore "sought to break the myth of white supremacy and inspired African nationalism which today has become a militant force in the destruction of imperialism and colonialism" (p. 377).

As Kwame Nkrumah (1979a) stated, the purpose of the 1961 ceremony was to pay homage to the memory of George Padmore whose cremated remains were buried in a courtyard at the new facility. During the opening ceremony, Nkrumah recognized Padmore for what he was—namely a genuine Pan-Africanist. He remarked:

We have met here today to honour to the memory of George Padmore, by dedicating to him this building and this library. The library has been built in order that the great ideals of Pan Africanism and the noble cause of which George Padmore worked and died may be continued. (p. 375)

Nkrumah added: "His philosophic exposition of Pan Africanism shows his profound depth of thought and rich quality of mind. . . ." (p. 377). He further stated that, "Conscious of the fact that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance, George diligently and passionately dedicated his whole life to the noble struggle for African liberation" (p. 377). For Nkrumah, the commitment of Padmore to Black racial solidarity and collective behavior on an international level was apparent in his words and actions.

George Padmore died in London, England during September 1959 after traveling there to get medical treatment for a liver ailment. Following his death, the body of George Padmore was cremated, and a funeral was held in London. That funeral was attended by representatives from some eight countries. His friend Kwame Nkrumah had the ashes brought to Ghana. After the arrival of the ashes in Ghana, Nkrumah held a state funeral for George Padmore. The ashes were then buried in a grave at Osu Castle, which is also known as Christiansbourg Castle. In 1985, the ashes were moved to a grave at the George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs. The George Padmore burial site is a final resting place that will help people to remember the words and actions of George Padmore (Wondji, 2014).

Social Background of Kwame Nkrumah

Kwame Nkrumah was born Francis Nwia Kofi Nkrumah on September 18, 1909 in Nkroful, Ghana to a Black working-class family. He died April 27, 1972 at age 62 in Bucharest, Romania. Nkrumah was educated at the Prince of Wales College where he earned a teaching certificate; Lincoln University where he earned a B.A. in economics and sociology; Lincoln Theological Seminary where he earned a B.A. in theology;

University of Pennsylvania where he earned a M.S. in education and a M.A. in philosophy; Gray's Inn where he studied law; and the London School of Economics where he studied economics. He was a politician, political activist, philosopher, social movement leader, and author (K. Nkrumah, 1957a; Addo-Fening, 1977; Owusu-Ansah & McFarland, 1995).

Findings Regarding the Kwame Nkrumah Burial Site

A third key finding of the study is that the present researcher engaged in direct observation of the Kwame Nkrumah burial site on October 16, 2017 and found it to be well maintained and a fitting final resting place for him as a Pan-African giant. There are two main buildings that are a part of the Kwame Memorial Park. Those buildings include one with museum dedicated to Kwame Nkrumah and another with a gift shop wherein one can purchase books by Kwame Nkrumah and other writers who have focused on aspects of Pan-Africanism. The overall burial site and grave of Kwame Nkrumah were observed to be in excellent condition.

When Kwame Nkrumah died in 1972, he was receiving treatment for cancer in Budapest, Romania. From 1966 to 1972, Nkrumah lived in Guinea and served as its honorary co-president with Sekou Toure. In the spirit of Pan-Africanism, Toure embraced Nkrumah and provided him with a place of refuge from his enemies in Ghana. During his stay in Guinea, Nkrumah wrote over 10 books and many pamphlets.

Shortly after the death of Kwame Nkrumah, his body was taken to Guinea. Toure engaged in negotiations with the Ghana power elite to have him buried there. In the case of Toure, he wanted the Ghanaian government to meet the following four conditions before he sent the body to Ghana: (1) His rehabilitation as a former president; (2) honors due to a head of state; (3) release of all the Nkrumah supporters detained in Ghana; and (4) removal of the ban on the return of Nkrumah supporters in exile. The negotiations went on for several weeks before an agreement was reached between Toure and the Ghanaian power elite. The agreement allowed Nkrumah to lie in state at the Ghanaian State House. Prior to that event, Toure held a state funeral in Guinea for Nkrumah. It was attended by some 2,000 people and held in the Palace of the People and attended by many dignitaries, including Sekou Toure, Fathia Nkrumah, Stokely Carmichael (aka Kwame Ture), Miriam Makeba, William Tolbert, and Adderly Moore. Some 40 countries sent delegations to state funeral. The following day, the body of Nkrumah was taken to a stadium where it was viewed by more than 50,000 people (Howe, 1972).

On July 7, 1972, the body of Kwame Nkrumah was taken back to Ghana. His body was flown there via an Air Force plane from Guinea. To honor Nkrumah, the Ghanaian military government ordered all flags in the country to be at half-staff until the burial in Nkroful, Ghana on July 9, 1972. The Ghanaian military government also released a statement revealing that Nkrumah would lie in state on July 8, 1972 and then be flown to Nkroful and placed in a burial vault ("Ghana Burial Set," 1972).

According to Thomas A. Johnson (1972b), the Ghanaian military government allowed Kwame Nkrumah to lie in state at the Ghana State House. Viewers were able

to see the body of Nkrumah on Saturday, July 8, 1972 from 9 a.m. to 5:45 p.m. Thousands of Ghanaians came to pay their respect to Nkrumah. They created a line that stretched over two miles. The following day, a helicopter took the body of Nkrumah to Nkroful, his hometown. Nkroful, located about 240 miles northwest of Accra, had about 1,000 residents. However, more than 20,000 Ghanaians managed to go to Nkroful on Sunday, July 9, 1972 for the funeral of Nkrumah. The funeral included a combination of African and traditional Christian rituals. There were libations, chanting, prayers, drumming, and songs. Towards the end of the funeral, a eulogy read by an Army officer was delivered on behalf of Ignatius Kutu Acheampong, another officer in the Army and the chairman of the National Redemption Council. The eulogy by Acheampong credited Nkrumah with being an “astute political strategist and courageous fighter” (Quoted in Johnson, 1972b, p. 9). He also said that:

Dr. Nkrumah was a man of vision. He raised the stature of Africa to a high pedestal among the international community and gave wide currency to the concept of African personality. He gave the African a personality to be proud of and invested him with an image of dignity and respect. (Quoted in Johnson, 1972b, p. 9)

However, Acheampong also charged that Nkrumah “overlooked certain serious difficulties and irregularities at home” (Quoted in Johnson, 1972b, p. 9). Acheampong further charged that, “This neglect of domestic problems led to the military take-over in 1966, and his exile in Guinea until his death” (Quoted in Johnson, 1972b, p. 9).²²

The body of Kwame Nkrumah was buried in a specially designed tomb in Nkroful as scheduled. However, in 1992, the government headed by Jerry Rawlings dedicated the site of the former British colonial polo grounds as the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park. The government headed by Rawlings also allowed the construction of a mausoleum and the placement of a new statue near it. The new statue was initially commissioned when Ignatius Kutu Acheampong was the head of the military regime in control of Ghana. Acheampong also allowed a statue of Kwame Nkrumah to be erected in the garden of the National Museum in 1975. The purpose of the 1992 dedication ceremony was to pay homage to Nkrumah’s body being reinterred in the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park. In addition to Jerry Rawlings, the dedication ceremony was attended by Sam Nujoma, Oliver Tambo, Betty Shabazz, Louis Farrakhan, Patricia Barnes, and many others (Lentz, 2017).²³

The contemporary Kwame Nkrumah Park consists of more than five acres and features the mausoleum with a grave of the body of Nkrumah, a 1992 statue of Nkrumah, and a 1958 statue of Nkrumah which was attacked by his opponents in 1966. The mausoleum also includes the grave of Fathia Nkrumah, the wife of Kwame Nkrumah, who died in June 2007. The 1992 bronze statue stands in the front of the mausoleum. The 1958 bronze statue stands in the rear of the mausoleum.²⁴ The Kwame Nkrumah burial site will help us to remember the visionary known affectionately as Osagyefo (Hess, 2000; Lentz, 2017; Ghana News Agency, 2007).²⁵

Evidence that W.E.B. Du Bois was a Jegna to George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah

During their lifetimes, W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah had social interaction and social relationships with one another.²⁶ Whereas the term social interaction refers to the process by which people have much influence, the term social relationship refers to a pattern of repeated social interaction (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Jary & Jary, 2000; Harrison, 2002). There is written evidence that Du Bois, Padmore, and Nkrumah had social interaction and social relationships that grew in strength between and became very dynamic between 1945 and 1963. The year 1945 was a watershed moment in history for Black people in Africa and the Diaspora. In the wake of World War II which wreaked havoc on European colonial powers, Black people in Africa and the Diaspora quickly organized social movements to fight for liberation from European colonial powers and to fight for equality inside the European colonial powers as well as the USA and elsewhere.

Within five months of the official end of World War II, the Fifth Pan-African Congress was organized by Du Bois, Padmore, and Nkrumah to help in the fight for liberation from European colonial powers and the fight for equality inside the European colonial powers as well as the USA and elsewhere. They were joined by some 200 other Black men and women at the Fifth Pan-African Congress. During the planning meetings and the sessions of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, the participants engaged in fruitful social interaction and developed fruitful social relationships. The experiences of Du Bois, Padmore, and Nkrumah reflected that reality.

There is no doubt that Du Bois, Padmore, and Nkrumah first came together under the aegis of the Fifth Pan-African Congress and began to have social interaction and social relationships that included correspondence. The correspondence shows that the three men became friends with a deep commitment to Pan-Africanism as an ideology, philosophy, and way of life. On the one hand, Du Bois, the older of the three men, displayed leadership by exchanging many letters with the two younger men.²⁷ On the other hand, Kwame Nkrumah (1957a), the youngest of the three, has verified that he became close to both men while organizing and coordinating the Fifth Pan-African Congress. Thus, the written record shows that Du Bois was a Jegna to both Padmore and Nkrumah. It also shows that Padmore was a Jegna to Nkrumah.

When the proceedings of the Fifth Pan-African Congress got reprinted during 1963, Du Bois (1963e) wrote a special message for it. Du Bois used his message to acknowledge the status and role of Padmore and Nkrumah. He wrote:

Today, in the ninety-fifth year of my life, I am happy to write a word of preface to this short history of the Pan-African Congress written by my friend, George Padmore, and containing much of my own writing. It carries messages which must not die, but should be passed on to aid Mankind and to inspire the darker races of Man to see themselves of one blood with all human beings. (p. ii)

Du Bois continued:

I especially remember that great Pan-African Congress of 1945, held in Manchester, England, whose Co-Secretaries were he who has gone on to become Founder of the Republic of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who that valiant, intrepid leader, Jomo Kenyatta, who will not stop until Kenya has attained its full independence. George Padmore was the organizing spirit of that congress. There were many others there with whom I have worked through the years and whom the world should remember. For that was a decisive year in determining the freedom of Africa. (p. ii)

According to Du Bois, "Pan-Africanism has always influenced my political thinking as well as the political work that I have been able to do" (p. iii). Du Bois explained that, "I am sure that the report of the 1945 Congress will find a permanent place in the political literature of Africa" (p. iii). He also explained that, "It will serve another useful purpose, and that is to remind us of the debt we all owe to the pioneering work of our late lamented friend and colleague George Padmore" (p. iii).

In the proceedings of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, Padmore (1947/1963) identified W.E.B. Du Bois as the chairman of the Platform Committee. For those proceedings, Padmore also wrote a brief biography of the distinguished political activist and scholar, Padmore also identified Du Bois as the "Father of Pan-Africanism" (p. 4). Additionally, Padmore included the following statement in another section of the proceedings:

Mr. George Padmore, in opening the session, said he had the great honour of welcoming Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, the 'father' of Pan-Africanism to the Congress. In his life Dr. Du Bois epitomised the struggles, sufferings, and aspirations of the thirteen millions of our people in the United States. (p. 32)

The latter two statements indicate Du Bois was a *Jegna* to Padmore and that the younger man held great reverence and high regard for the older man.

In the case of Kwame Nkrumah, he pointed out that a social relationship between him and Du Bois began at the Fifth Pan-African Congress. In the previously mentioned radio broadcast tribute delivered upon the death of Du Bois, Nkrumah (1963b) said:

When George Padmore and I organised the Fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945 at Manchester, we invited Dr. Du Bois, then already 78 years of age, to chair that Congress.

I knew him in the United States and even spoke on the platform with him. It was however at this Conference in Manchester that I was drawn closely to him. Since then he has been personally a real friend and father to me. . . . It was the late George Padmore who described Dr. Du Bois as the greatest scholar the Negro race has produced, and one who always upheld the right of Africans to govern themselves. (pp. 1, 4)

Nkrumah made it very clear that Du Bois was a *Jegna* to him and Padmore. He also made it clear that their social interaction and social relationship led him to look upon Du Bois as a close friend and father figure.²⁸ Nkrumah acknowledged the deep admiration he held for the distinguished *Jegna*. Likewise, Nkrumah acknowledged the social

interaction and social relationship that he had with Padmore. Nkrumah also acknowledged the deep admiration Padmore held for Du Bois as a distinguished Jegna.

Similarly, Kwame Nkrumah (1957a) referred to George Padmore in his first autobiography as “my friend” (p. 199). In that same autobiography, Nkrumah made the following statement about Padmore:

I was so impressed by his writings that I wrote a letter to him from the States introducing myself and asking whether he would be able to meet me at Euston Station when I arrived. I heard nothing from him because I left America too soon for a reply to have reached me, so I had no idea whether he would be at the station or not. I got out of the train and searched anxiously up and down the platform. We saw each other at about the same time and from the first moment I liked him. He did much to help me during my early days in London and the more I knew and talked with him, the more I respected his integrity and his knowledge of the colonial question. (p. 50)

Nkrumah added:

About a month after I arrived in London I found myself busily engaged with George Padmore, T.R. Makonnen (a gifted speaker) and Peter Abrahams (the coloured South African writer) in making hurried preparations for the Fifth Pan African Congress which it was planned to hold in the Town Hall at Manchester in October that year. George Padmore and I became joint secretaries of the Organisation Committee and we worked night and day in George’s flat. . . . The Congress took place as planned in October under the joint chairmanship of Dr W.E.B. DuBois, an Afro-American scholar and one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples, and Dr Peter Millard, a Negro physician from British Guiana, practicing in Manchester. The Congress was a tremendous success and was well attended by over 200 delegates from all over the world. (p. 52)

For Nkrumah (1979b), Padmore was “a real and deep-loving elder brother” (p. 376). Nkrumah also related that George Padmore was his “beloved comrade” (p. 377).²⁹ He acknowledged the social interaction and social relationship that he had with Padmore. Nkrumah also acknowledged the deep admiration he held for Padmore as a distinguished Jegna.

When George Padmore died on September 24, 1959, Nkrumah (1960) delivered a radio broadcast wherein he described him a “friend,” “comrade,” “wise counselor,” and “one of the greatest fighters against colonialism of our modern times” (p. 47). Nkrumah explained that, “I, for myself, mourn a sincere and loyal comrade in arms. . . . George was above all a personal friend to me. He will be irreplaceable” (p. 47). It was further explained by Nkrumah that:

Barely a fortnight ago George came to see me and to ask my permission to go to London to consult his doctors. It did not occur to either of us then that that was to be our last meeting and that his end would be so soon. (p. 47)

In his radio broadcast, Nkrumah made it very clear that he was surprised to lose his friend Padmore at age 59 after a short illness.

On April 4, 1957, about a year and a half prior to the death of Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah (1957b) wrote a letter to Du Bois that revealed important details regarding the social interaction and social relationships among the three men. He stated:

Padmore is with me at the moment and we are working hard on future plans. He showed me your letter to him of the 26th March and I want to ask you to keep in touch with me and not hesitate to let me know of any ideas which you have. The advice you gave in Padmore's letter, for instance, is most valuable. (p. 1)

At the time of the letter, Padmore was serving as Nkrumah's Advisor of African Affairs and Du Bois was still living in the USA. Nkrumah wrote the letter, in part, to express his regret that "you were prevented from being here during our Independence celebrations" (p. 1). The government of the USA refused to give Du Bois his passport and a VISA for to go to attend those events in Ghana. The documents were not provided to Du Bois to go to Ghana until two years later. After the receipt of his passport and a VISA for Ghana, Du Bois eventually went to live in that country as an expatriate during 1961 at the invitation of Nkrumah and never returned to the USA.

Implications of This Study and Future Research Directions

This study has at least five significant implications for Black people in Africa and the Diaspora. One significant consequence of this study is that it sheds light on the need for Black people and others to develop an awareness of how burial sites can be used to enhance the collective memory of Black people regarding the Pan-African significance of W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah. Black social workers and others should visit those sites to pay homage to the legacy of those three Black men. Such visits can help people to deal with the trauma of White supremacy in the form of external colonialism and internal colonialism.

A second significant consequence is that it sheds light on the contemporary condition of the W.E.B. Du Bois burial site. After being born on February 28, 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, Du Bois died at the age of 95 on August 27, 1963 Accra, Ghana. His burial site was observed in Accra, Ghana at the Du Bois Memorial Centre for Pan African Culture. As mentioned above, the overall burial site and grave of Du Bois were observed to be in excellent condition.

A third significant consequence is that it sheds light on the contemporary condition of the George Padmore burial site. After being born on June 28, 1903 in Arouca, Trinidad, Padmore died at the age of 56 on September 23, 1959 in London, England. His burial site was observed in Accra, Ghana at the George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs. As previously mentioned, the overall burial site and grave of Padmore were observed to be in excellent condition.

A fourth significant consequence is that it sheds light on the contemporary condition of the Kwame Nkrumah burial site. After being born on September 21, 1909 in Nkroful, Ghana, Nkrumah died at the age of 63 on April 27, 1972 in Bucharest,

Romania. His burial site was observed in Accra, Ghana in Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park. As mentioned above, the overall burial site and grave of Nkrumah were observed to be in excellent condition.

A fifth significant consequence is that it sheds light on the evidence that Du Bois was a Jegna to Padmore and Nkrumah. It also sheds light on the evidence that Padmore was a Jegna to Nkrumah. After Padmore died in 1958, Du Bois and Nkrumah wrote glowing tributes about their social interaction and social relationships with him. Likewise, after Du Bois died in 1963, Nkrumah wrote a glowing tribute about his social interaction and social relationship with him.

Future research directions can consist of an exploration of hallowed grounds in other parts of Africa and the Diaspora. For example, those explorations can include hallowed grounds related to the Black experience in Nigeria, Senegal, Camerouns, Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, and Liberia as well as the Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, Cuba, Mexico, Trinidad, Jamaica, and elsewhere Diaspora. It is imperative that Black people and others expand their awareness of hallowed grounds related to the Black race in Africa as well as the Diaspora.

Summary and Conclusion

This paper has examined hallowed grounds of Pan-Africanism in Ghana. It provided contemporary descriptions and images of places in Accra that include the W.E.B. Du Bois burial site; George Padmore burial site; and Kwame Nkrumah burial site. This paper addressed the following research questions: What is the contemporary condition of the W.E.B. Du Bois burial site in Accra? What is the contemporary condition of the George Padmore burial site in Accra? What is the contemporary condition of the Kwame Nkrumah burial site in Accra? It also examined some implications of this research.

After he gained power, Kwame Nkrumah brought Bois and Padmore to Ghana to help him build a new country and a new Africa.³⁰ Unfortunately, they had enemies who wanted to thwart their goals for Ghana and Africa. Nevertheless, the record is clear that each one of those three men made special contributions to Pan-Africanism as an ideology, philosophy, and way of life. All three men are now buried in their beloved Ghana. The body of Du Bois is at the W.E.B. Du Bois Memorial Centre for Pan African Culture and that burial site was observed to be in excellent condition during 2017 (see Figure 1). The body of Padmore is at the George Padmore Research Library on Public Affairs and that burial site was observed to be in excellent condition during 2017 (see Figure 2). The body of Nkrumah is at the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park and burial site was observed to be in excellent condition during 2017 (see Figure 3). All three burial sites deserve to be preserved and well maintained forever and forever. The people of Ghana and their supporters deserve kudos for recognizing the importance of preserving and maintaining the three burial sites.

Notes

1. For an overview of the first five Pan-African Congresses, see W.E.B. Du Bois (1947/1963). Also, see W.E.B. Du Bois (1927) for an overview of the first four Pan-African Congresses as a social movement. Although he was deeply involved with social movements as a political activist between 1897 and 1914, Du Bois conducted empirical studies during that under the aegis of Atlanta University and the U.S. Department of Labor. For example, see Du Bois (1898a, 1898b, 1899a, 1899b, 1900, 1901a, 1901b, 1901c, 1902a, 1902b, 1903a, 1904, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909). Whereas he was the sole author or editor of those empirical reports up to 1909, he was the co-editor of an empirical report in 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1914 as well as the sole author of empirical reports in 1912. See Du Bois and Dill (1910, 1911, 1912, 1914), and Du Bois (1912).

2. St. Clair Drake (1975) said that, "Marcus Garvey, Stokely Carmichael, Roy Innis, and Shirley Chisolm, and Mervyn Dymally are well-known examples of West Indians who have found an opportunity for leadership careers in the United States" (p. 9). However, in his discussion of Pan-Africanism, Drake never identified Marcus Garvey as a Pan-Africanist. See George Shepperson (1962) for a discussion of the process wherein other people began to identify Marcus Garvey with the Pan-Africanism Movement after his death in 1940. Shepperson said that a key article in that process was written for the journal *Pan-Africa* by Marcus Garvey's second wife, namely Amy Jacques Garvey in 1945. Two years before Marcus Garvey's death in 1940, W.E.B. Du Bois (1938a) wrote the following about the Black Jamaican:

I heard of him first when I was in Jamaica in 1915 when he sent a letter "presenting his compliments" and giving me "a hearty welcome to Jamaica, on the part of the United Improvement and Conservation Association." Later he came to the United States. In his case, as in the case of others, I have repeatedly been accused of enmity and jealousy, which have been so far from my thought that the accusations have been a rather bitter experience. In 1920 when his movement was beginning to grow in America I said in *The Crisis* that he was "an extraordinary leader of men" and declared that he had "with singular success capitalized and made vocal the great and long suffering grievances and spirit of protest among the West Indian peasantry." On the other hand, I noted his difficulties of temperament and training, inability to get on with his fellow workers, and denied categorically that I had ever interfered in any way with his work. (p. 35)

Du Bois continued:

Later when began to collect money for his steamship I characterized him as a sincere and hard-working idealist but called his methods bombastic, wasteful, illogical and almost illegal and begged his friends not to allow him foolishly to overwhelm with bankruptcy and disaster one of the most interesting spiritual movements of the modern world. But he went ahead, wasted his money, got in trouble with the authorities and was deported. As I said at the time: "When

Garvey was sent to Atlanta, no word or action of ours accomplished the result. His release and deportation was a matter of law which no deed or wish of ours influenced in the slightest degree. We have today, no enmity against Marcus Garvey. He has a great and worthy dream. We wish him well. He is free; he has a following; he still has a chance to carry on his work in his own home and among his own people and to accomplish some of his ideas. Let him do it. We will be the first to applaud any success that he may have.” (pp. 35-36)

In that statement, Du Bois made it clear that he had nothing to do with the deportation of Marcus Garvey from the USA. Du Bois also made it clear that he asked friends to not allow Marcus Garvey to make foolish mistakes, bring bankruptcy, and bring disaster to the UNIA as a social movement. According to Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1970), she was one of the people who tried to talk to Garvey. However, Wells-Barnett reported that, “Perhaps if Mr. Garvey had listened to my advice he need not have undergone the humiliations which afterward became his” (p. 382). Wells-Barnett explained that, “Had Garvey had the support which his wonderful movement deserved, had he not become drunk with power too soon, there is no telling what the result would have been” (p. 381). She reported that:

Garvey had spent a couple of hours acquainting me with his idea of establishing what he called the Black Star Line. . . . I told him that it was too big an idea and would require more thought and preparation before it should be launched. He had shown me the restaurant that had been established, the newspaper which was circulating regularly each week, and one or two smaller ventures. He had complained that none of them were self-sustaining because they had not been able to obtain efficient help. (p. 381)

Wells-Barnett added: “I knew that the work involved in a shipping business called for a much more complicated program that he had helpers to carry out, and I advised him to defer the matter. This he did not do . . .” (p. 381). Despite the fact he never called himself a Pan-Africanist, Ronald W. Walters (1993) put forth the argument that, “Marcus Garvey’s economic vision may be regarded as Pan Africanist because it was in support of his plan for the redemption of Africa and of African peoples” (p. 50).

3. For a full discussion of the definition of Black nationalism used here, see J. Vern Cromartie (2005a, 2005b, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b, 2021a, 2021b).

4. In 2016, I had my DNA analyzed by AfricanAncestry.com and received a report indicating that my paternal DNA was traced back to the Akan people of Ghana and my maternal DNA can be traced back to the Yoruba people of Nigeria. During the following year, in October 2017, I presented a paper at an African Studies Association of Africa held at African Studies Center at the University of Ghana, Legon. While in Ghana, I made a research expedition and pilgrimage to the burial sites of W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah as well as to the dungeons where enslaved Black African people were held by White colonizers at Elmina Castle and Cape Coast Castle. At all five locations, I made direct observations, took digital photographs, and

wrote field notes. I made the research expedition and pilgrimage to those five sites with my wife Cassaundra Cromartie, my friend and colleague George Morris (an adjunct professor of economics at Contra Costa College), and his wife Jocelyn Morris.

5. In addition to the three full length autobiographies, Du Bois wrote several short autobiographical statements. See Du Bois (1920, 1938a).

6. For some of his numerous writings on structural integration as defined in this paper, see W.E.B. Du Bois (1900, 1901a, 1902a, 1902b, 1903). Also, see W.E.B. Du Bois and August Dill (1910).

7. For some of his numerous writings on Black nationalism as defined in this paper, see W.E.B. Du Bois (1897, 1898a, 1898b, 1899a, 1899b, 1901b, 1901c, 1903, 1907, 1909, 1912, 1934a, 1934b, 1934c, 1935a).

8. For some of his numerous writings on Pan-Africanism, see W.E.B. Du Bois (1897, 1919, 1921a, 1921b, 1921c, 1921d, 1921e, 1921f, 1923a, 1923b, 1924, 1927, 1933a, 1933b, 1947a, 1947b, 1952, 1955, 1957, 1961a).

9. On the one hand, some four days after his death, an essay by W.E.B. Du Bois (1963f), titled "Africa Awake! Put on the Beautiful Robes of Socialism," appeared in *The Ghanaian Times*. On the other hand, some nine months before his death, W.E.B. Du Bois (1962g) delivered a speech at an Africanist conference at the University of Ghana, Legon wherein he emphasized the need to make "known to the world the true and complete story of the African people and their history" (p. 2).

10. For more information about the Encyclopedia Africana Project, see W.E.B. Du Bois (1961b, 1962d, 1962e, 1962f, 1962h, 1963b); L.H. Ofosu-Appiah (1977); W. Alphaeus Hutton (1962, 1963); and Dorothy Hutton (1986/2021). It was noted by W. Alphaeus Hutton (1962) that he "arrived in Accra on March 27, 1962 and immediately began work as Secretary of the Secretariat" (p. 1). As was the case with Padmore and Nkrumah, W. Alphaeus Hutton had a Jegna relationship with W.E.B. Du Bois.

11. Although George Padmore did not publish an autobiography, his life and times have been chronicled by others, including W.E.B. Du Bois (1950a, 1950b), Kwame Nkrumah (1979a), and Carol Polsgrove (2008). In the case of Polsgrove, she prepared a biography of Padmore for the *African American National Biography*. As Polsgrove noted, the birthname of Padmore was Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse. She also pointed out the following details about his life and times. Padmore was born in Trinidad and migrated to the USA as a young adult to further his education. He attended Lincoln University and Howard University, but left those institutions before earning a degree. Both before and after his college days, Padmore wrote for several progressive organs and participated in multiple progressive organizations. In 1929, Padmore was banned from the USA because of his progressive activities. Afterwards, Padmore lived in several countries, including Russia, Germany, and England. While living in those countries, Padmore continued to write for progressive organs and participate in

progressive organizations. During 1945, Padmore was a key organizer of the Fifth Pan-African Congress and served as the editor of the proceedings of that landmark gathering. Other key participants included W.E.B. Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and Amy Ashwood Garvey. In 1951, Padmore was invited by Nkrumah to visit Ghana which had not yet gained its independence from Great Britain. Some six years later, Padmore moved to Ghana to work as an adviser to Kwame Nkrumah. Sadly, Padmore became stricken by cirrhosis of the liver and died during 1959 in London, England where he had sought treatment. His ashes were brought to Christiansbourg Castle and buried there. In 1961, his remains were moved to a grave at the site now known as the George Padmore Research Library on Public Affairs.

12. Ula Yvette Taylor (2002) has related that Amy Ashwood Garvey, the first wife of Marcus Garvey, and Amy Jacques Garvey, the second wife of Marcus Garvey, were both involved with the Fifth Pan-African Congress. However, Taylor noted that Amy Ashwood Garvey attended the Fifth Pan-African Congress, but not Amy Jacques Garvey. At the conference, Amy Ashwood Garvey participated in several sessions according to the proceedings edited by George Padmore (1947/1963).

13. For a reply to Padmore's open letter, see Browder (1935). Also, see Ford (1939).

14. A.A. Afrifa (1967) has reported that, "And while these big brains—J.B. Danquah, Akufo Addo, Obetsebi-Lampsey, William Ofori-Atta and many others—advocated self-government step by step in the shortest possible time, Kwame Nkrumah insisted that it should be self-government 'now or never'" (p. 54). He continued:

J.B. Danquah and the other politicians listed here were the founders of the United Gold Coast Convention, launched in August 1947 as the first post-war nationalist movement. In December 1947 they brought Kwame Nkrumah back from Britain to act as their party's secretary. He soon found himself unable to work with these representatives of the Gold Coast. By July 1949 Kwame Nkrumah had broken with the U.G.C.C. and formed his own Convention People's Party with a demand for "Self-government now." (p. 54)

The split between Kwame Nkrumah and the UGCC was permanent in nature. Danquah became very critical of Nkrumah after the latter launched his positive action initiative and said, "It is obvious that the law, as far as Kwame Nkrumah is concerned, must go according to him" (Quoted in Nkrumah, 1957a, p. 120). Cf. George Padmore (1953).

15. After managing to pull a coup on Kwame Nkrumah and his government, the National Liberation Council (NLC) remained in power for three years. During August 1969, elections were held in Ghana and K.A. Busia became the prime minister. While he was in England on a state visit in January 1972, a group of military officers pulled a coup on Busia and his government. The leaders of that coup called themselves the National Redemption Council (NRC) began to rule by a decree. To bolster its power, the NRC dissolved the Ghanaian Parliament, dissolved all political parties, and suspended the Constitution. By the time Nkrumah died on April 27, 1972, the NRC was in control of

Ghana (Comptroller General of the United States, 1974). For a report of the coup by a member of the NLC, see A.A. Afrifa (1967). For some writings and statements by Nkrumah supporters about the coup, see Shirley Graham Du Bois (1966), Genoveva Marais (1972), Doreatha Drummond Mbalia (2017), and Jacob U. Gordon (2017). In the case of Shirley Graham Du Bois, she reported that Nkrumah chose to go into exile in Guinea because it was close to Ghana. Graham Du Bois related that:

. . . to his surprise Guinea received him with all the honors and ceremonies of the Head of State and the following day, at a national mass meeting, Sekou Toure announced his decision to step aside and, to the tumultuous cheers of the multitude, Kwame Nkrumah was proclaimed President of the Republic of Guinea. (p. 222)

After the actions of his close friend, the resilient Kwame Nkrumah became an honorary co-president to Sekou Toure in Guinea.

16. For a report on the honorary degree ceremony held for W.E.B. Du Bois and two others on February 24, 1963, see “Varsity Confers Degrees” (1963). Du Bois also celebrated his 95th birthday with Kwame Nkrumah on February 23, 1868 and became a naturalized citizen of Ghana on February 15, 1963. See “A Present to Fathia” (1963); Boateng (1963); Du Bois (1963a), “Du Bois at 95” (1963); “It was a Happy Birthday,” Minister of the Interior (1963); and “The Great Ghanaian Scholar” (1963). After receiving his Certificate of Naturalisation from Kwaku Boateng as the minister of interior, Du Bois (1963a) wrote a letter to him and stated in part: “My great-grandfather was carried away in chains from the Gulf of Guinea. I have returned that my dust shall mingle with the dust of the forefathers” (p. 1). Du Bois further related that: “There is not much time left for me. But now my life will flow on in the vigorous, young stream of Ghana’s national life which lifts the African personality to its proper place among men. And I shall not have lived and worked in vain” (p. 1). Part of the letter appeared on the front page in the June 1, 1963 issue of the *Evening News*, a newspaper founded by Kwame Nkrumah. The founder of the *Ghanaian Times* was also Kwame Nkrumah.

17. Following the death of W.E.B. Du Bois on August 27, 1963, the state funeral was held two days later. W.E.B. Du Bois (1963c) wrote a statement on June 26, 1957 titled “My Last Message to the World” that was read at his funeral. Among other things, Du Bois expressed hope that, “Always human beings will live and progress to greater, broader and fuller life” (p. 1). Cf. W.E.B. Du Bois (1963d).

18. During 1960, Nkrumah and his government created the Ghana Young Pioneers, which was a youth organization. Shortly after the death of W.E.B. Du Bois, a letter was sent by Z.B. Shardow (1963), the national organizer of the Ghana Young Pioneers, to Shirley Graham Du Bois stating that, “A wreath-laying ceremony in memory of the late Comrades George Padmore and Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois by the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement will take place at the Castle, Osu on Sunday, 29th September, 1963 at 4.00 p.m.” (p. 1). The letter also said that, “This is an important occasion for the Youth section of our great Party and I know your attendance at this function as an ardent

activist of Nkrumahism will inspire the youth enormously” (p. 1). The letter added: “I have therefore the greatest pleasure in inviting you to this wreath-laying ceremony” (p. 1). For more information about the Ghana Young Pioneers, see M.N. Tetteh (1999); James Kwabena Bomfeh, Jr. (2006); and Doreatha Drummond Mbalia (2017).

19. For more information about some of her contributions to Pan-Africanism, see Graham Du Bois (1963b, 1963c, 1966, 1971).

20. Reports of the radio broadcast speech of Kwame Nkrumah can be found in two major newspapers in Ghana. For those reports, see “A Phenomenon” (1963); “Osagyefo” (1963); and “We Mourn Du Bois.” For other reports on the death, funeral, and tributes to Du Bois, see Deschando. (1963); “Du Bois is Dead” (1963); “Du Bois Da Yie” (1963); “Du Bois: Prophet of Nkrumahism” (1963); “Father Du Bois Laid to Rest” (1963); “Libation Poured” (1963); “Nantsew Yie” (1963); “More Tributes” (1963); “Mrs. Du Bois” (1963); Rambler (1963); “World Leaders’ Tributes” (1963); “World Peace Pay Tribute” (1963); Shirley Graham Du Bois (1964); and Julian Mayfield (1965).

21. Unlike W.E.B. Du Bois and Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore never wrote an autobiography wherein he discussed his educational background. Hooker (1977) reported that George Padmore attended Fisk University, New York University, and Howard University. David Owusu-Ansah & McFarland (1995) related that George Padmore attended Fisk University, New York University, and Howard University. Carol Polsgrove (2008) stated that George Padmore attended Fisk University and Howard University. Leslie Elaine James (2012) said that George Padmore attended Columbia University, Fisk University, and Howard University.

22. See I.K. Acheampong (1979) for another writing by him on Kwame Nkrumah. It should be noted that I.K. Acheampong, also known as Ignatius Kutu Acheampong Ignatius, served as the military head of state in Ghana. He and his National Redemption Council held power in Ghana from January 1972 to July 1978. Acheampong lost his power because of a palace coup by other military officers. He was shot by a firing squad on June 16, 1979. The infighting within the military led to another coup which involved Jerry Rawlings, who served briefly as head of state in 1979 and then served in the position as head of state or president from 1981 to 2001 (Adofo, 2018; Adedeji, 2001; Parliament of Ghana, 2019).

23. For more information about the funeral and the initial burial site of Kwame Nkrumah, see “Ghana” (1972); Johnson (1972a); “Nkrumah’s Burial” (1972); and “Nkrumah is Buried” (1972). See also “Spokesman for Africa” (1972) regarding the period shortly before his death.

24. During the 1966 coup, the statue of Kwame Nkrumah stood in front of the Parliament building and it was attacked. The statue was knocked over and the head was broken off. The left arm and pieces from the rear were also broken off. The statue was first created in 1958 by the Italian sculptor Nicola Cataudella (Lentz, 2017). According to Carola Lentz (2017), James Kwabena Bomfeh, Jr. (2006), and David

Owusu-Ansah (2014), the 1958 Nkrumah statue was previously attacked by opponents of Nkrumah in 1961. For more information about Nkrumah before and after the coup, see Hakim Adi (1995); Amissah G. McLean (1993); Kwame Arhin (1990, 1993); Timothy Bankole (1981); David Busumtwi-Sam (2001); Mary Dillard (1990); C.E. Donkoh (1978); Shirley Graham Du Bois (1966); Fey Livingstone (2007); Samuel Obeng (1979); T. Peter Omari (1970); Kwadwo Nana Osei-Opape (2011); and D. Zizwe Poe (2003).

25. Alden Whitman (1963) pointed out that the term *Osagyefo* means “the Redeemer” (p. 44). Thomas A. Johnson (1972b) also noted that the term *Osagyefo* means “the Redeemer” (p. 9). Further, an important space located in the vicinity of the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park is Black Star Square, which is also known as Independence Square. It features the Independence Arch and the Black Star Gate. Regarding the Black Star Square and those two monuments, Janet Berry Hess (2000) has told us that:

Black Star Square, erected on the coast hallway between James Town and Christiansborg Castle, consists of an assembly ground surrounded by four seating structures and dominated by the enormous arch of the Presidential seating stand. Directly opposite the Presidential Stand, in the vicinity of the Christiansborg Crossroads, looms Independence Arch, an immense edifice commemorating the liberation of Ghana. Inscribed in large letters on the arch are the words, “A.D. 1957/Freedom and Justice;” a bronze plaque on the arch bears the inscription, “Ghana’s Independence. A.D. 1957. Let this monument hold sacred in your memory, the liberty and freedom of Ghana. The liberation and freedom, which by our struggle and sacrifice, the people of Ghana have this day regained. May this independence be preserved and held sacred for all time. (pp. 48, 49)

The Independence Arch and the Black Star Square were created during the stint of Kwame Nkrumah as the leader of the country. For more information about Christiansborg Castle, see Christiansborg Archaeological Heritage Project (2020) and Shirley Graham Du Bois (1962).

26. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan (2018) has acknowledged the “close relations” between W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah (p. 1).

27. For some of the letters he sent to his friend Kwame Nkrumah, see W.E.B. Du Bois (1960a, 1960b, 1961c, 1961d, 1961e, 1961f, 1961g, 1961h, 1961i, 1961k, 1962a, 1962b, 1962c, 1962i, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1978d, 1978e). For some of the letters he sent to his friend W.E.B. Du Bois, see Kwame Nkrumah (1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1978d, 1978e, 1978f). For some of the letters he sent to his friend George Padmore, see W.E.B. Du Bois (1958, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1978d, 1978e, 1978f, 1978g, 1978h, 1978i, 1978j; 1978k, 1978L, 1978m, 1978n, 1978o, 1978p, 1978q, 1978r). For some of the letters he sent to his friend W.E.B. Du Bois, see George Padmore (1958, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1978d, 1978e, 1978f, 1978g, 1978h, 1978i).

28. Shirley Graham Du Bois (1971) has acknowledged that Kwame Nkrumah looked at her husband W.E.B. Du Bois as a father figure. She said that Kwame Nkrumah called him father and reported that he cried upon learning that W.E.B. Du Bois was dying. Upon the death of George Padmore in 1958 and W.E.B. Du Bois in 1963, Kwame Nkrumah wrote commemorative statements that reflected his Jegna relationship with both men. See Kwame Nkrumah (1961b, 1965b). It should be noted that W.E.B. Du Bois (1962j, 1964) thought so highly of Kwame Nkrumah that he wrote a poem titled “Ghana Calls” and dedicated it to him.

29. Looking back at the Jegna relationship between his father and George Padmore, it was recalled by Francis Nkrumah (2017) that:

. . . one person who had a long lasting political and close personal relationship with my father was George Padmore. Padmore exerted, I think, considerable intellectual, political and ideological influence on Nkrumah, especially during his two years stay in the U.K., from 1945 to 1947. Both of them had been joint secretaries to the organizing committee which planned the 1945 Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester. Padmore was an intellectual political guru, well versed in the international politics of the left and very active in the Pan-African movements in the U.K.; he was also an important link figure between Diaspora Africans and colonial Africans. He and Nkrumah shared a common political and ideological platform that was anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, Pan-Africanist, and socialist. Padmore, I think, provided that intellectual and political companionship that my father needed in the early years of his political life in the U.K., and subsequently when he became advisor to my father on African Affairs in Ghana. (pp. 79-80)

Francis, the oldest son of Kwame Nkrumah, also remembered that: “. . . I always viewed Uncle George as a second father. He and his wife, Dorothy, were always very kind to me. His premature death (in 1959 at the age of 56) must have been a great loss to my father” (p. 80).

30. Ghana became an independent country on March 6, 1957. Shortly after that, Kwame Nkrumah invited George Padmore to serve in his government as an advisor on African affairs and invited W.E.B. Du Bois to serve in his government as the founding director of the Secretariat for an Encyclopedia Africana. A letter from George Padmore (1957) to W.E.B. Du Bois indicates that he arrived during December 1957 to assume his post as the “Advisor on African Affairs” to Kwame Nkrumah. The January 22, 1958 issue of *Ghana Today* acknowledged in a report that George Padmore had taken the position of “Advisor on African Affairs” to Kwame Nkrumah (“Mr. George Padmore,” 1958). Nkrumah (1979a) also acknowledged the status and role of George Padmore as his advisor on African affairs in a 1961 speech during the opening of the original George Padmore Memorial Library. As for W.E.B. Du Bois (1960b, 1961d, 1961j, 1961k), there are letters he wrote and a report by his wife Shirley Graham Du Bois (1963a) that show he arrived in Ghana during October 1961 to assume his post as the director of the Secretariat for an Encyclopedia Africana. However, one of the letters by W.E.B. Du

Bois (1960b) shows that he started working on the Encyclopedia Africana Project during September 1960 while still in New York.

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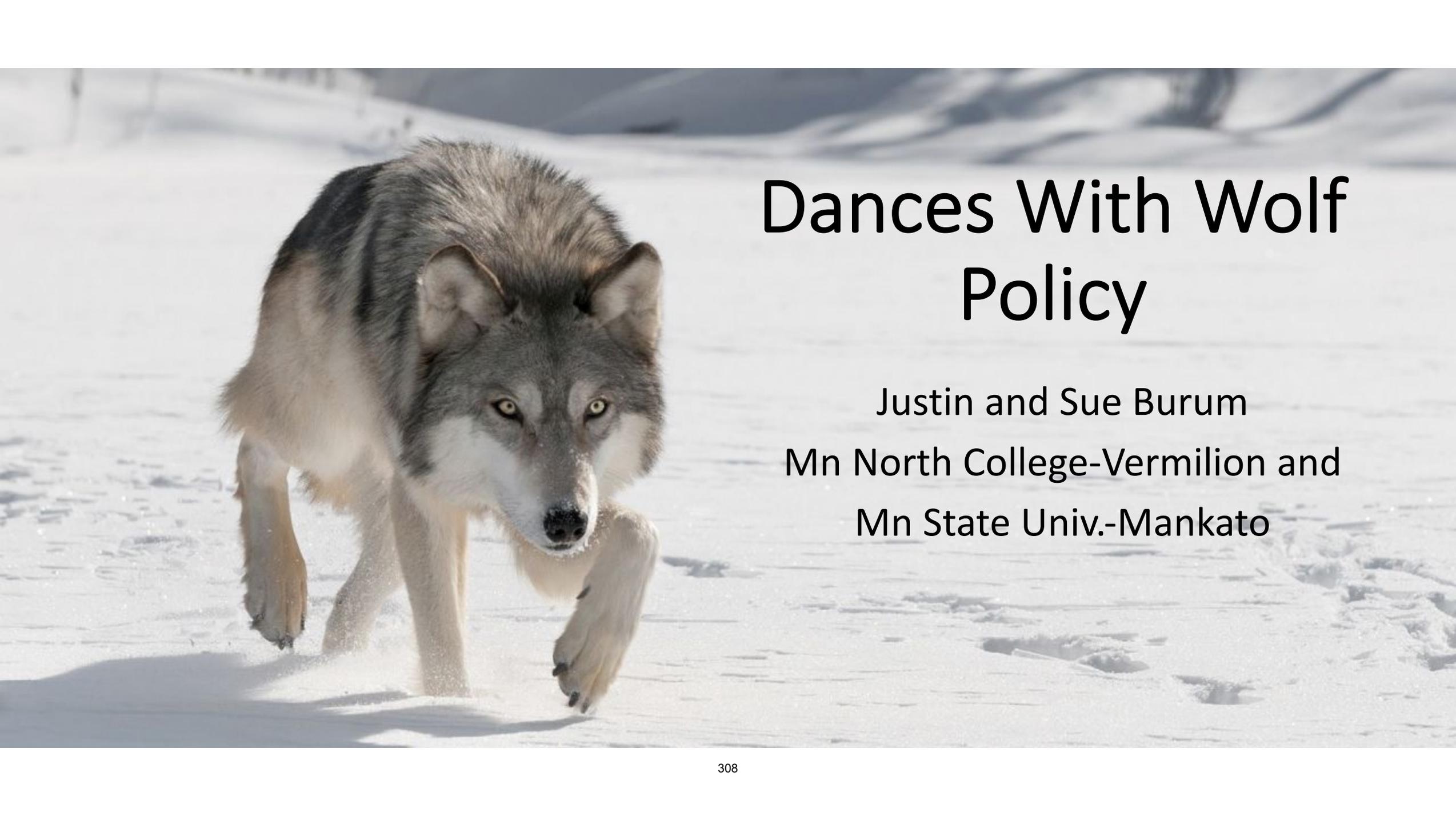
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A photograph of a wolf running through a snowy landscape. The wolf is in the foreground, moving towards the viewer, with its front legs extended and back legs pushing off. The snow is bright white, and the background shows a blurred, snow-covered field under a bright sky. The wolf's fur is a mix of grey, brown, and white, and its eyes are a striking yellow.

Dances With Wolf Policy

Justin and Sue Burum
Mn North College-Vermilion and
Mn State Univ.-Mankato

Law Can't
Work Off
Definitions
That Scientists
Don't Agree
On



"On future reports, use the term
'microscopic', rather than 'itsy-bitsy'."

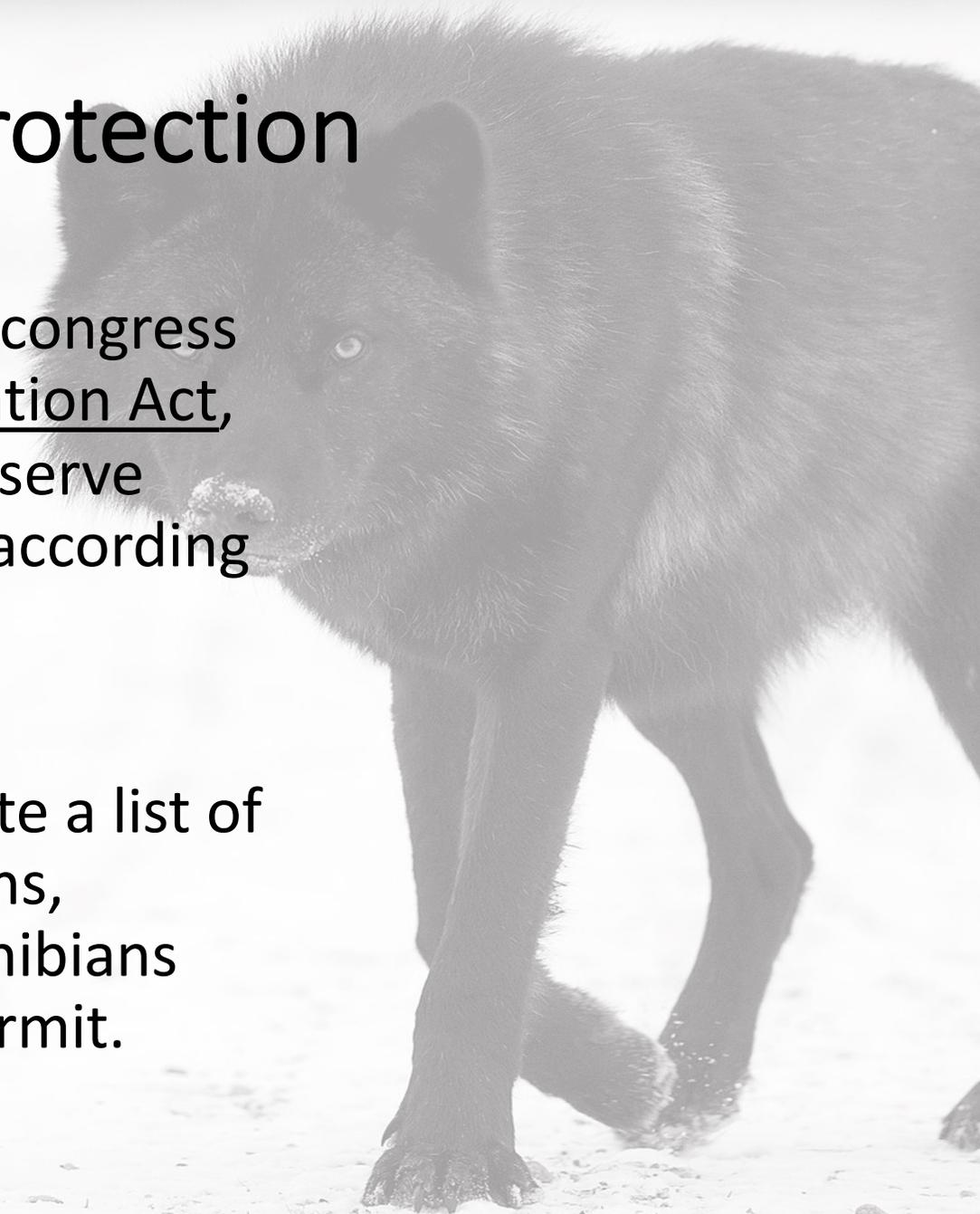
Gray Wolves Before Endangered Species Act

- Land crossing from Asia brought humans and wolves to the continent. Few humans on the continent, limited engagement
- Some domestication- dogs, spiritual connections
- Colonial expansion, cities, agricultural use resulting in substantial decline of wolves and many other species

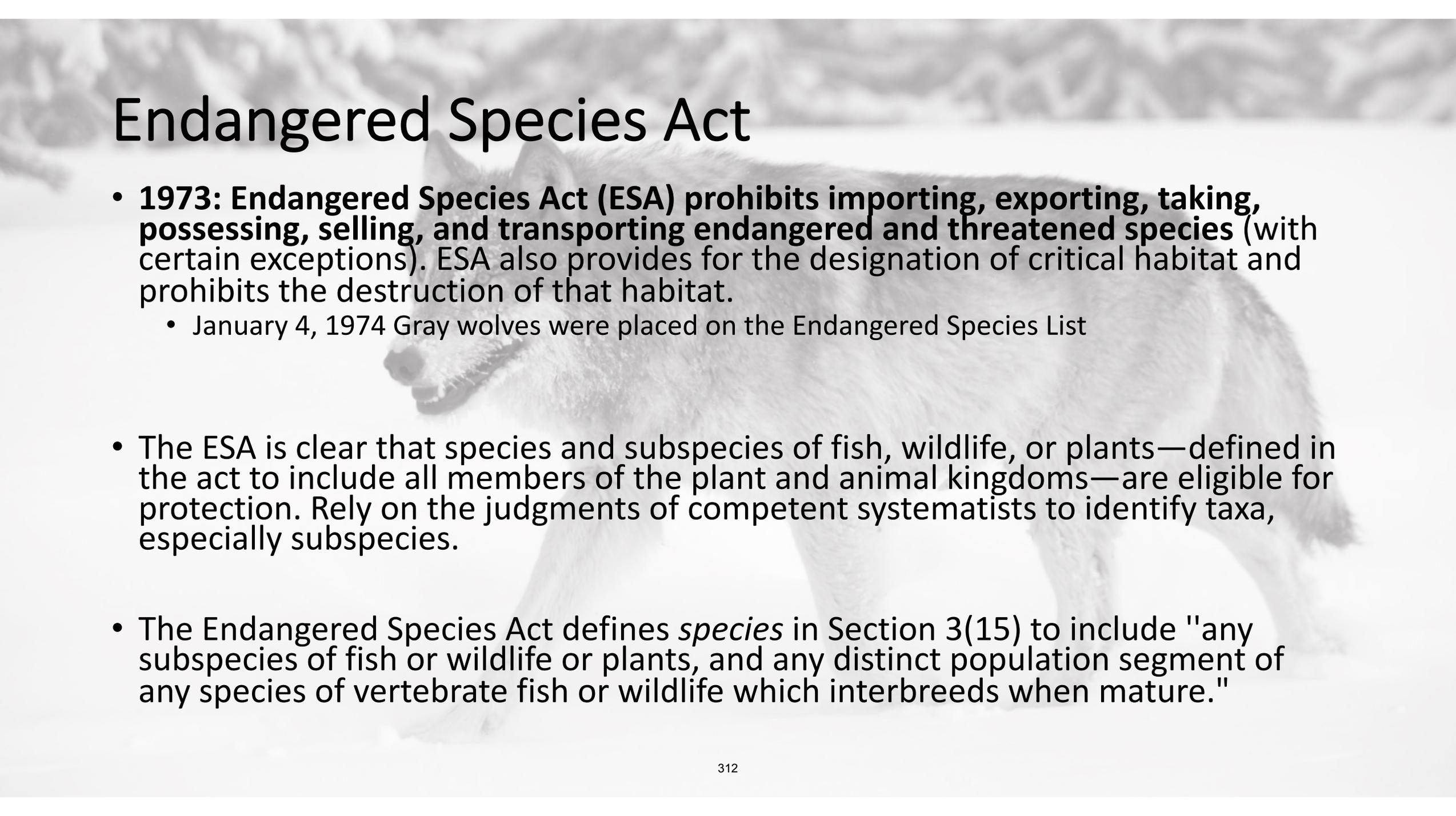


Early Attempts at Animal Protection

- In 1966, environmental activism pushed congress to pass the Endangered Species Preservation Act, which authorized land acquisition to conserve some species of native fish and wildlife, according to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Services.
- 1969, congress expanded the act to create a list of endangered animals including crustaceans, mollusks, mammals, fish, birds and amphibians that could not be imported without a permit.



Endangered Species Act



- **1973: Endangered Species Act (ESA) prohibits importing, exporting, taking, possessing, selling, and transporting endangered and threatened species** (with certain exceptions). ESA also provides for the designation of critical habitat and prohibits the destruction of that habitat.
 - January 4, 1974 Gray wolves were placed on the Endangered Species List
- The ESA is clear that species and subspecies of fish, wildlife, or plants—defined in the act to include all members of the plant and animal kingdoms—are eligible for protection. Rely on the judgments of competent systematists to identify taxa, especially subspecies.
- The Endangered Species Act defines *species* in Section 3(15) to include "any subspecies of fish or wildlife or plants, and any distinct population segment of any species of vertebrate fish or wildlife which interbreeds when mature."

What Does ESA Do For Wolves and Other Species?

- Three tasks/goals of ESA:
 - 1) listing species as threatened or endangered,
 - 2) designating habitat essential for their survival and recovery
 - 3) ultimately restoring healthy populations of the species so they can be removed from the list
- By 1960-1970's wolves were nearly wiped out from the lower 48 (refuge population in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan)
- Great Lakes wolves were considered threatened. "Threatened" means a species is likely to become endangered within the **foreseeable** future.
- "Endangered" means a species is in danger of extinction throughout all or a significant portion of its range.
- 1976 wolves reclassified as single species, rest of states had the endangered classification so protection throughout
- But do we agree what a species is?

Different Species Definitions in Biology

- **Biological Species Concept:** a population or group of populations whose members have the potential to interbreed in nature and produce viable, fertile offspring. Reproductive isolation and viable offspring key.
 - Population: a group of organisms of one species that interbreed and live in the same place at the same time
 - Most used/taught definition, most like ESA
- **Ecological species:** a lineage which occupies an adaptive zone different in some way from that of other lineage in its range and which evolves separately from all lineages outside its range. Shares same ecological niche (problem: some species occupy different environments as part of their development)
- **Lineage Species Concept:** group of organisms that share a pattern of ancestry and descent from which form a single branch on a chart. Genetic data and emphasizes distinct trajectories between groups (resolves problem of asexual organisms, some issues with long dead species but better DNA sequencing resolves some of that-mammoths, Neanderthals etc)
- **Typology/Morphological Species Concept:** morphological differences, that have a genetic component, mean a different species (used when species have limited or unavailable data on reproductive behavior or genetic similarity (different trilobites fossil specimens for example))

Subspecies Definition

- ESA does not define subspecies
- Subspecies definition: “a collection of populations occupying a distinct breeding range and *diagnosably* distinct from other such populations” ([Patten 2009](#)), with the crucial caveat that these populations comprise “completely fertile individuals” ([Mayr 1942](#):106); that is, populations are not reproductively isolated from one another.

Challenges with Number of Species/Subspecies for Gray Wolves

- *Canis lupus* (wolves) 38 different subspecies 700,000 years ago to the present, named over the past 250 years, many gone extinct. (Mammal Species of the World 2005, 3rd Edition)
- 1944 Edward Goldman recognized as many as 23 different subspecies based on morphology
- 1970 L. David Mech proposed that were “probably far too many subspecific designations...in use, as most did not exhibit enough points of differentiation to be classified as separate subspecies.
- 24 subspecies were accepted by many authorities in 1981 based on morphological or geographical differences or a unique history
- 1995 Robert M. Nowak analyzed data on the skull morphology and concluded five subspecies in North America (artic wolf, Alaska and Western Canada, southeastern Canada, south western U.S., Texas to Hudson Bay and from Oregon to Newfoundland)

Controversy About Species/Subspecies of Mexican Gray and Red Wolves

- Mexican gray wolf range includes the Southwestern U.S. and Mexico
 - Largely driven extinct from the wild in the U.S. in the mid-1970s.
 - 20 years ago the wolves were reintroduced part of former range
 - Distinctiveness based on size (smaller body size, skull morphology, taller ears, darker fur) and single nucleotide polymorphisms.
 - Still only a sliver of the variation of the population that once existed but is considered the most genetically distinct subspecies
-
- Red wolves eastern U.S., low numbers during 20th century habitat loss and eradication. Largely replaced by coyotes.
 - Specimens with red wolf morphology captured in Texas and Louisiana before the red wolf went extinct for breeding program
 - Substantial interbreeding occurred between red wolves, coyotes, and gray wolves. Might consider them distinct species



Red Wolves
Canis rufus



Mexican Gray Wolves
Canis lupus baileyi



Alaskan/Rocky Mt. Wolves
Canis lupus occidentalis



Eastern Timber Wolves
Canis lupus lycaon



Great Plains Wolves
Canis lupus nubilus



Arctic Wolves
Canis lupus arctos

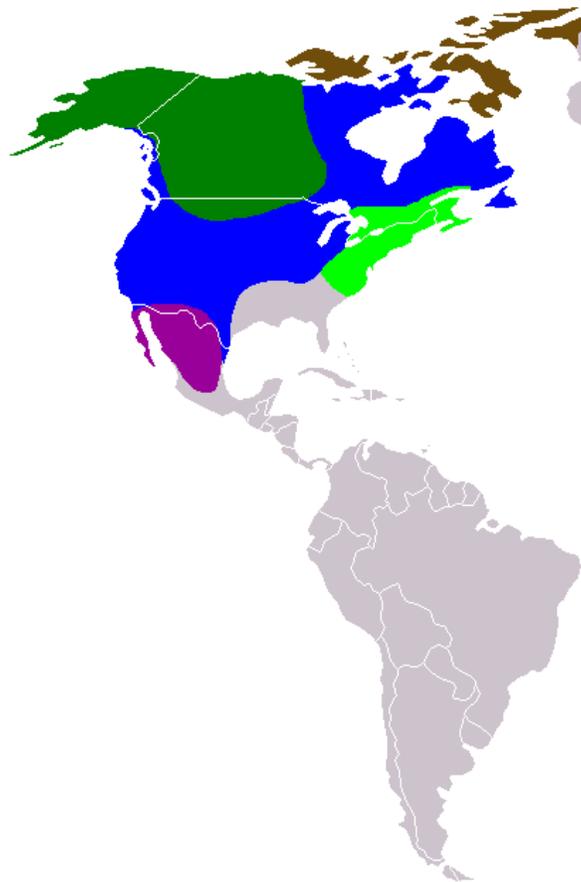


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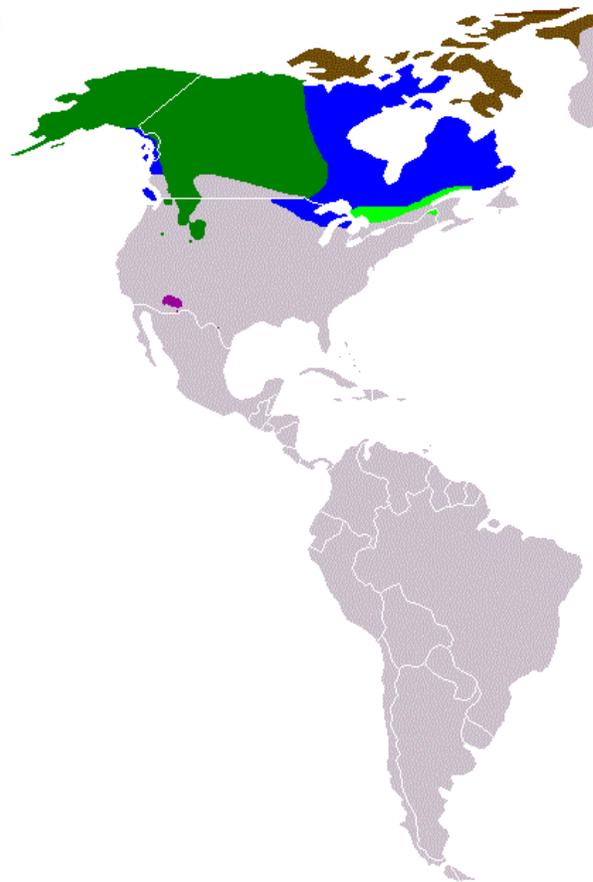
Red Wolves
*Canis rufus**

Subspecies(?) of Gray Wolves In North America

Gray Wolf Distribution Now and Then



Past



Present



Present Cities

Other Challenges For Implementing This Act

- Private land owners, ranchers, loggers, energy companies
- Act supposed to have cooperation between federal, state, tribal, and local authorities but relationship often been strained.
- Can't find the right balance between these groups
- Presidents have tried to respond to concerns of these groups. New administrations means “flip flops”
- Congress supposed to make modification to the laws, right now presidential authority.
- Don't see things improving in the future as with climate change more pressure on species and more pressure from humans to use the land

Court Challenges to ESA

- 2003 Divide wolf population into three populations (Eastern, Western, Southwestern)
- Courts striking down this new rule/interpretation of rule. By separating them out you can de-list a geographical area and not de-list other geographical areas.
- Used as a de-list strategy
- Court said there is no scientific basis or through congress, looks strange
- Does not seem to be protecting a species or species habitat.

Additional Court Concerns Regarding Delisting

- 2007 Fish and Wildlife tried to de-list gray wolves in Great Lakes population, saying they were recovering
- Tried to get them to be a distinct population in the Great Lakes and therefore de-list Great Lakes gray wolves
- Did not follow agency policies (no hearings, no notice) required by American Procedures Agency (APA)
- Creates a scenario where a bunch of places tried to de-list population segments



Most Current Wolf De-listing

- In late 2020, the Trump administration removed gray wolves from the endangered list and stripped their legal protections, “the successful recovery of the gray wolf.” State and tribal management
- Lower 48 states more than 6,000 wolves at the times, greatly exceeding the combined recovery goals for the Northern Rocky Mountains (Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Washington) and Western Great Lakes (Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota) populations.

Most Recent Case

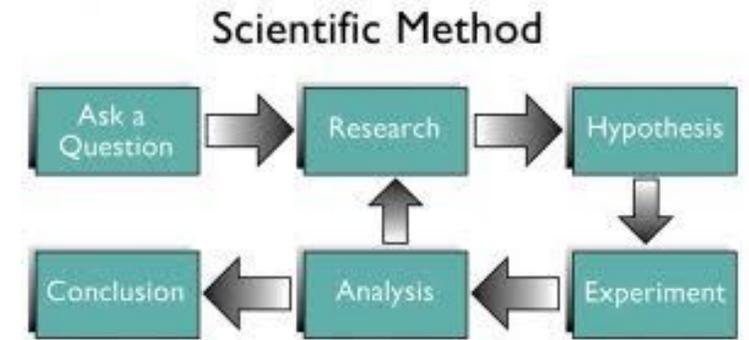
- **Defenders of Wildlife v. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (2022)**
- Supreme Court combined cases involving de-listing species.
- Courts supposed to give great deference to agencies and agency decisions (because they are the experts)
- However, court found that the agency actions were “arbitrary, capricious, an abuse of discretion or otherwise not in accordance with the law”
- Court looked at words **species and subspecies** and had difficulty following the science. There is dispute about the definitions of species and subspecies.
- Court looked at species natural range and protection of range lands. Court looked at “**foreseeable future**” in regards to threatened species– will land be enough to provide for the species over the foreseeable future.
- Problem is courts don’t have a definition of foreseeable future. No guidance for a court to decide what the foreseeable future is (climate change example, when is it going to get so extreme that it impacts landscape enough, lot of speculation about human usage and make problems for wolves on the landscape)

Range Problem

- **A significant portion of its “range”?**
- Under ESA, a species should be listed if it is threatened in “all or a significant portion of it’s range” but the ESA does not define this
- Under the *Chevron* doctrine, if a statute is silent or ambiguous on an issue, the court assumes Congress left it open for the agency to fill in and courts give deference to agency interpretation (unless unreasonable)
- Agency did not explain “a significant portion” of something, like a range
- FWS says wolves outside a core area can add to the resiliency/viability to the core part of the population. However the agency outside the core says not a significant. If can add to core, suggests they are significant. Can’t have it both ways.
- Court said go back to the original way agency has been handling delisting, Congress needs to weigh in. Science needs to come to some conclusions/ weigh-in

Following the Science

- Scientific community is going to have to weigh in
- Congress is going to have to make some changes to preservation act
- How you get listed seems to be very clear
- How to get off the list is less clear (recovered: habitat range, habitat size and health sizeable population, new information suggests not endangered or threatened, species becomes extinct, monitor for five years, bald eagle example)



What Can Science Tell You

- What is the smallest habitat or minimum population size that will be adequate for the survival of the wolf population? How much range (size), how many resources are needed (can set up experiments)
- Science, values, and law are all a part of environmental policy.
- Scientists can't make value judgements (ethics). Should we even protect wolves? How do we balance between people (Economic use: farming, logging, mining, environmentalism, tribal religious aspects) and the species of interest?



Wildlife management – it's about balance.