

2021 Fall Virtual Conference

October 26-28,
2021

A white silhouette of the United States with a black outline, positioned over the left side of the image.

**National
Social
Science
Association**

Volume #76

NATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE PROCEEDINGS
• Volume #76.1 •

National Technology and Social Science – 2021 Conferences & Seminars

Table of Contents

Black Family Preservation, Ancestral Wisdom, and Family Reunions: Gullah Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and Her Descendants J. Vern Cromartie, Contra Costa College	1
Remembering Gladys McKiver Frazier as a Gullah Woman: Notes on Her Family Life in Georgia’s Telfair and Wayne Counties J. Vern Cromartie, Contra Costa College	25
Quality Assurance System in the Globalized Higher Education: Examination of the United States to Vietnam and Japan Accreditation Systems Patricia Abels, DBA, The University of Findlay, Ha Duy Mong Nguyen, PhD, Vietnam National University of Ho Chi Minh City, VN Hiroaki Kawamura, PhD, The University of Findlay, Masahiro Chikada, PhD, Kobe University, Kobe, Japan	50
Follow the Science: But What is Science and Where is the Road? Justin Burum, Vermillion Community College Sue Burum, Minnesota State University, Mankato	77
The Power of Problems Dr. Pat Wentz University of West Florida	92
What A Tangled Web We Weave: The Semiotics of the Chinese TV Drama The First Half of My Life William Kirtley Independent Scholar	98
School Site Threat Assessment Overview and Firsthand Incident Narrative: A Not So Ordinary Day in the Life of a High School John Peter Petrone, Ed.D. Eastern New Mexico University	118

An Environmental Assessment of the Cannabis Industry In Pursuit of Becoming Green, Sustainable, and Carbon-Neutral John W. Sutherlin, PhD, University of Louisiana Monroe (ULM)	132
COVID 19, BLM and the Final Verdict: We Have a New Rascal Rex Wirth, Independent Scholar	156
AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITIES IN LAW ENFORCEMENT DR. JEREMEY WOLFE, DR. GARY WILSON, DR. BRAD CAMERON	173
Empire of Spices	195

**Black Family Preservation, Ancestral Wisdom, and
Family Reunions: Gullah Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells
and Her Descendants**

J. Vern Cromartie, Contra Costa College

Abstract

This paper examines Black family preservation, ancestral wisdom, and family reunions with special reference to Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and her descendants. Specifically, this paper addresses how the descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells have managed to sustain social interaction, social relationships, and social structures by holding family reunions. Maggie Hill Wells was a formerly enslaved Black woman of Gullah descent who lived from 1820 to 1927 in Georgia. One group of her descendants is part of the Morgan-Frazier family clan, which has held an annual family reunion every year since 1923. A second group of her descendants is part of the Wells family clan, which has a bi-annual family reunion. A third group of her descendants is part of the Graham-Fletcher family clan, which has a bi-annual family reunion. A fourth group of her descendants is part of the Schenck family clan, which has held family reunions on an infrequent basis.

Introduction

In 1938, the Federal government began a research project across the South. The researchers in the project interviewed many people of Black African descent who went through enslavement in the United States of America (USA). One of those people they interviewed was Tonie Houston. He was an elderly preacher who lived in the Tatenville section of Savannah, Georgia (Savannah Unit, 1940/1972).

According to the Savannah Unit (1940/1972), during the interview with Tonie Houston, he responded to a question about the definition of the term Gullah. The researchers reported that: “When asked the meaning of so many ‘Gollas,’ he replied, ‘All duh people wut come frum Africa aw obuhseas wuz call ‘Golla,’ and dey talk wuz call ‘Golla’ talk” (p. 62). In response to a question regarding his remembrance of any people brought over from Africa, Houston told the interviewers that:

“Yas, I know heaps ub um. Deah wuz ‘Golla’ Jihn Wiley, ‘Golla’ Jim Bayfield—he wuz bought by Mahse Chahles Lamar, and he sole im to Mr. McMullen. Den deah wuz ‘Golla’ Jack, ‘Golla’ Tom, ‘Golla’ Silvie, ‘Golla’ Chahles Carr, ‘Golla’ Bob, Chahlotte, Cain, an Jeanette, an ‘Golla’ Alice. Dey wuz all bought by Mr. McMullen.” (Quoted in Savannah Unit, 1940/1972, p. 62)

Thus, the term Gullah refers to a social group of antebellum people of Black African descent (and their descendants) who experienced chattel slavery primarily in the southeastern part of the USA. Gullah also refers to their language they spoke as a Lingua Franca.

This paper will examine Black family preservation, ancestral wisdom, and family reunions with special reference to Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and her descendants. Specifically, this paper addresses how the descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells have managed to sustain social interaction, social relationships, and social structures by holding family reunions. Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was a formerly enslaved Black woman of Gullah descent who lived from 1820 to 1927 in Georgia. One group of her descendants is part of the Morgan-Frazier family clan, which has held an annual family

reunion every year since 1923. A second group of her descendants is part of the George Wells family clan, which has a bi-annual family reunion. A third group of her descendants is part of the Graham-Fletcher family clan, which has a bi-annual family reunion. A fourth group of her descendants is part of the Schenck family clan, which has held family reunions on an infrequent basis.

The research methodology employed in this paper involved a mixed-method approach. It combined the case study method, the qualitative survey method, and the direct observation method. The research techniques included content analysis of primary and secondary source documents. It also utilized participant observation and in-depth interviews.¹

Review of the Literature

There is a significant body of literature related to Black family preservation, ancestral wisdom, and family reunions. As a general concept, family preservation has been addressed by DelBalzo (2007); Haapala (1991); and Whittaker, Kinney, Tracy, and Booth (1990). Ancestral wisdom, as a general concept, has been covered by Ruiz (2021); Wesselman (2021); and Kumari (2020). As a general concept, family reunions have been dealt with by Thomas (2021); Askew (2011); Vargus (2020); and the National Council of Negro Women (1993).

The plight of the Black families and their struggle to survive and thrive has been covered extensively. Shortly after the turn of the emergence of the 20th century, Du Bois (1909) conducted the first study of Black families in the USA. Around 30 years later, Frazier conducted his study of Black families in the USA. Afterwards, many other researchers stood on the shoulders of Du Bois and Frazier, and conducted their studies of Black families in the USA. Between 1940 and 1970, there were works by Moynihan (1965) and Billingsley (1968). In the period from 1971 to 2000, works appeared by Willie (1971, 1976, 1985); Hill (1972, 1993, 1997); Billingsley (1974, 1976, 1992); Heiss (1975); Scanzoni (1977); Staples (1978); Bass, Wyatt, and Powell (1982); Nobles and Goddard (1984, 1987); Boyd-Franklin (1989); Logan, Freeman, and McRoy (1990); and Ladner (1998). For the period from 2000-2021, works appeared by Logan (2001); Boyd-Franklin (2003); McLoyd, Hill, and Dodge (2005); McAdoo (2007); Dixon (2007); Hattery and Smith (2007, 2012); Waites (2008); Cromartie (2013); and Rainville (2019).

Du Bois and His Study of Black Families in the USA

In the first decade of the 20thth century, Du Bois (1909) conducted one of the first studies of the Black family. On May 26, 1908, the 13th Annual Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems held at Atlanta University. Shortly after the end of the conference, Du Bois edited and released a publication titled *The Negro American Family*. It included a "Report of a Social Study made principally by the College Classes of 1909 and 1910." The publication also included the proceedings of the conference.

Under the leadership of Du Bois (1909, some members of the Atlanta University college classes of 1909 and 1910 collected and wrote field reports about the social conditions of Black families in various places. After the students submitted their field reports, Du Bois analyzed the data and wrote the final report. In that report, Du Bois

explained that the objective of the study was to examine the family as institution among Black people in the USA regarding “its formation, its home, its economic organization and its daily life” (p. 9).

In his social study, Du Bois (1909) utilized a mixed-methods approach consisting of the secondary data analysis method, participant observation method, and survey method. His research techniques included content analysis of census reports; eight studies from the US Department of Labor; other Atlanta University Publications; field reports by 16 Atlanta University students pertaining to 32 Black families; and other selected primary and secondary sources. Du Bois explained that the field reports of his Atlanta University students were “based on first-hand knowledge, and are unusually accurate” (p. 9). However, Du Bois issued a cautionary note and stated that the field reports from his students “do not, however, represent properly the proportion of different types among the mass of Negroes. Most of the families belong to the upper half of the black population” (p. 9).

The final report by Du Bois (1909) covered a wide range of topics related to the Black family, including marriage; the home; the economics of the family; and the family group. Based on his analysis of the social facts, Du Bois reported that he sought to “connect present conditions to the African past” (p. 9). Du Bois related that he took that course of action “because there is a distinct nexus between Africa and America” (p. 9). Although he pointed out that most Black people in the USA were American by nationality and not African, Du Bois surmised that the nexus between Africa and America should not be “neglected by the careful student” (p. 9). However, Du Bois pointed out that the nexus between Africa and America “broken and perverted” by slavery. To get a clear picture of the family relations of Black people in the USA, Du Bois argued that it was imperative to “find the broken thread of African and American social history” (p. 9).

As for his findings, Du Bois (1909) reported that “traces of African family institutions persisted” among Black people in the USA. He believed that the Black family in the USA was still being impacted by what he termed “African clan and family life” (p. 21). For example, Du Bois said that some Black men at the time of the study was still practicing polygamy in the USA. However, Du Bois said that the legacy of slavery had made an impact on Black family relations. Du Bois pointed out that slavery was a cruel system wherein “Amalgamation was common. There was scarce a family of slaves that had females if mature age where there were not some mulatto children” (p. 25). He acknowledged that White men had often raped and sexually abused Black women on the plantation because of the unequal power relations. Despite that legacy, many Black people sought education and land after the end of the Civil War. Du Bois noted that Black people in Georgia owned approximately 1,449,624 acres of land in 1907. Nevertheless, Du Bois expressed concern that many Black families were living in houses that were an “actual slave home or its lineal descendants” (p. 50). He complained that many of the homes had (1) poor light; (2) bad air; (3) lack of sanitary appliances; (4) poor protection against the weather; (5) crowding; (6) poor food; (7) lack of privacy; and (8) lack of beauty.

Frazier and His Study of Black Families in the USA

Several decades after the pioneering work of Du Bois on the Black family, Frazier (1939) stood on his shoulders and published his own study of the Black family. Frazier reported that from 1908 to 1939 “the Negro family as a subject of serious sociological interest has been neglected” (p. xix). He also said the research methodology employed in his study of Black families enabled him to “apply the tools and concepts of modern sociological analysis” (p. xix).² The wide range of topics addressed by Frazier in his study were grouped under sections as “In the House of the Master;” “In the House of the Mother;” “In the House of the Father;” “In the City of Destruction;” and “In the City of Rebirth.” Whereas Du Bois looked at social conditions among Black families in the rural areas and cities, Frazier focused on looking at social conditions among Black families in the cities after the Civil War. However, Frazier also looked at social conditions among Black families in the cities before the Civil War. For example, Frazier covered the placage system and its quadroon balls among the Creoles of New Orleans wherein White slaveholders took on Creole women of Black African descent as concubines.

Overall, Frazier (1939) presented a penetrating analysis of the impact of urbanization on Black families in cities after the Civil War. He examined the plight of what he termed “the Black proletariat” as well as “the Brown middle class” (pp. 420, 447). Frazier documented the efforts of Black families to survive in both southern and northern cities, including Nashville, Birmingham, Charleston, New York, and Chicago. Frazier explained that, “The process of assimilation and acculturation in a highly mobile and urbanized society will proceed on a different basis from that in the past” (p. 488). Like Du Bois, Frazier was hopeful that Black families would engage in acculturation rather than assimilation as the future unfolded. Towards that end, Frazier joined Du Bois in calling for cultural pluralism, structural integration, and racial solidarity around economic, political, and cultural matters. Although he had some serious doubts about the “Brown middle class” also known as the “Black bourgeoisie,” Frazier was more optimistic about the “Black proletariat.” Looking at the impact of urbanization on Black families, Frazier wrote: “It appears that, as the Negro worker becomes an industrial worker, he assumes responsibility for the support of his family and acquires a new authority in family relations” (p. 475). Frazier added: “. . . as the isolation of the black worker is gradually broken down, his ideals and patterns of family approximate those of the great body of industrial workers” (p. 475).

Black Family Preservation Among Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and Her Descendants

The term Black family preservation, as used here, refers to efforts among Black people to preserve the family as a social structure in the form of a web or network of social relationships. Despite the challenge of slavery, Black families were composed of people with a deep commitment to patterns of repeated social interaction based on love, respect, and reciprocity. Toward those ends, Black families developed nuclear families, extended families, and alternative families. Both before and after the Civil War in the USA, Black people took extraordinary measures to build and maintain nuclear families, extended families, and alternative families (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Clarke, 1999; Dixon, 2007; DelBalzo, 2007).

After the Civil War came to an end and the 13th Amendment began to take effect, members of Black families sought to reunite with those who had been sold away by White slaveholders during slavery. People advertised in newspapers and went searching for their loved ones. John Henrik Clarke recalled that his grandmother told him that her husband was sold away from her. At that time, his grandparents were held in bondage in Georgia. The new owner took her husband to Virginia, and she never saw him again. However, his grandmother went to Virginia and searched for him for three years, but was unsuccessful (Clarke, 1999).

Williams (2012) has reported on some of those extraordinary steps taken by Black people, like Mary Clark did, to find family members they lost during slavery. They asked people in their social networks to help them find their people. Newspapers were also used to try to locate their family members they were separated from during slavery. However, Williams has explained that the forced family separations often led to new mates and the creation of new families. Orphan children often became the wards of what Williams called “surrogate caretakers” (p. 40, 208).

During 1841, Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells lost her husband Abraham “Abram” Wells and daughters Sarah Wells Morgan and Rosa Wells when they were sold away from her by the Jeremiah Wells family. Whereas the sale of Sarah Wells Morgan and Rosa Wells has been covered by Harris (2013a), the sale of Abraham “Abram” Wells has been covered by Jeffries (2004a, 2004c). During 1983, Harris (2013b) conducted an interview with Florence Dixon Woodard, a great-granddaughter of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells. In the interview, Woodard stated that she was present when the reunification of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells with her daughters Sarah Wells Morgan and Rosa Wells took place in 1923. Woodard stated:

She came to visit us. She was a little old lady about that high. Her hair was white. People came from far and near to see this old lady—White people. And that was Grandma’s mother and Grandma had not seen her since she was a little girl. Some lady in Jesup told Grandma’s mother where Grandma lived and her son brought her to Broadhurst to visit Grandma and they both just deeply cried. Grandma had not seen her mother since she was a little girl and she was sold from her. Grandma and this old lady cried and cried and cried. It was really sad because I was a little girl about 12 or 13 at that time. And she could thread a needle. She didn’t have to wear glasses. When she went to see Grandma and Aunt Rosa, who lived in Patterson, she had never seen her children since they were sold from her. (Quoted in Harris, 2013b, p. 73)

When the reunification took place, Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was 104, Sarah Wells Morgan was 90, and Rosa Wells was 88. At the time they had last seen one another during slavery, Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was 21, Sarah Wells Morgan was 8, and Rosa Wells was 6. Within four years, all three women had died. Woodard informed Harris that “they all died about the same time” (Quoted in Harris, 2013b, p. 73).³

According to Jeffries (2004a), “On February 7, 1841 Jeremiah sold his son, Berry, a slave, Abram, for \$500 with the sale witnessed by Elijah Wells” (p. 8). In the same work, Jeffries reported that, on February 17, “Henry sold a slave named Abram to his brother, Berry, for \$450” (p. 10).⁴ Jeffries also reported that Margaret “Maggie” Hill

Wells was a free Black person by 1848. He related that the White slaveholder Henry L. Wells signed an agreement on September 8, 1848 that stated:

I agree to let Margarite Wells, a free woman of color, and her children live on land lot #325 in the 8th land district of Telfair County. This land is on the left side going out from Buck toward Alligator Creek. She and her children are to farm all the land that they fence and cultivate; with good lawful fence and the land must be cleared up in one continuous section. Any trees big enough to carry to market I collect the money from the sale. The said Margaret Wells is not to have any person living with her except her children, on the land, without my consent. (Quoted in Jeffries, 2004a, p. 14)

If this agreement was accurate and managed to hold up, this would mean that Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and some of her children may have been free between 1848 and 1865.⁵ By 1872, Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells managed to live with Abraham “Abram” Wells again. Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and Abraham “Abram” Wells officially received a marriage license on January 31, 1872 in Telfair County, Georgia.⁶ However, Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells did not see her daughters Sarah Wells and Rosa Wells again until July 1923. Thus, Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells managed to find her children and preserve her family before she died in 1927 (Cromartie, 2013).

The record indicates that Abraham “Abram” Wells got another mate and created a new family after he was forcefully separated from Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells. The 1870 census indicates that Abraham “Abram” Wells was living with another woman named Hannah Wells. It also indicated that they had two children living in the household with them, namely 13-years-old Harry Wells and 13-years-old Sally Wells. In contrast, the 1870 census reports that Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was the head of household and living with her 26-years-old son John; her 23-years-old son Frank; her 21-years-old son Cudless; her 19-years-old daughter Anaka; her 7-years-old son Fortune; her 5-years-old son Doda; and her 12-years-old son Andrew. Andrew may have been her grandson and not her son (Bureau of the Census, 1870).

The 1880 census shows that Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and Abraham “Abram” Wells were living together as man and wife. It also said that they were living with their 18-years-old son Fortune; their 15-years-old son William; their 8-years-old daughter Anaka; their 7-years-old son Noah; and their 1-year-old son Edwin. It is possible that Abraham “Abram” Wells was a polygamist with two women in his life—although Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was the one he married in 1872. It is also possible that Sarah Wells Morgan and Rosa Wells were raised by surrogate caretakers after they were sold away from their mother. Sarah Wells Morgan was also probably the victim of a rape by a White slaveholder. An eyewitness, Florence Dixon Woodard, said that her oldest son, Noah Morgan, had physical features like a White man. Her other children did not look that way, especially her daughter Matilda Morgan Frazier. Her physical features were Black as opposed to White (Bureau of the Census, 1880c; Ancestry.com, 2013; Cromartie, 2013).

By the 1900 census, Abraham “Abram” Wells had died and Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was living in a household with her 65 years old son-in-law Cato McRae, and her 24 years old Noah Wells. Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was listed as a widow, Cato

McRae was listed as a widower, and Noah Wells was listed as a widower. Cato McRae's deceased wife was Clara Wells McRae, the daughter of Margaret "Maggie" Hill Wells. During the 1920 census, Margaret "Maggie" Hill Wells was listed as 100 years old. Margaret "Maggie" Hill Wells was living in a household with 47-years-old Noah Wells (aka Noland Wells); 37-years-old Pearley Wells; 18-years-old Vienna Wells; 8-years-old Celia Wells; 6-years-old James A. Wells; 5-years-old Mallie B. Wells; and 3-years-old Thueda Wells. Whereas the 1880 and 1920 censuses listed Noah as the son of Margaret "Maggie" Hill Wells, the 1900 listed him as her grandson (Bureau of the Census, 1880c, 1900, 1920).

Ancestral Wisdom Among Margaret "Maggie" Hill Wells and Her Descendants

As used here, the term ancestral wisdom refers to the social capital that has been passed down intergenerationally in the form of knowledge and skills related to nonmaterial culture and material culture. The nonmaterial culture includes ideas and norms. Among the ideas been transmitted are values, folklore, and scientific knowledge. The material culture includes objects that can be seen, touched, and felt, including (Cureton, 2020).

According to Cureton (2020), "the role of the ancestors can be vital, interconnected, and critical to one's ceremonies and meditations" (p. 1). Ancestors may or may not be to the living by blood, marriage, or adoption. Cureton has posed that, "Ancestors do not necessarily have to be the direct blood kin of an individual, but can be adopted local spirits or those who occupied a space prior to us" (p. 1). Ancestral wisdom is a body of knowledge that can inspire the living to achieve what Maslow (1965) has referred to as self-actualization.⁷

There are six key documents related to ancestral wisdom in circulation among the descendants of Margaret "Maggie" Hill Wells. One document is an interview conducted by Herman F. Harris with Florence Dixon Woodard in 1983. A third document is an essay by Herman F. Harris written in 1983. A third document is an interview conducted by Beverly Schenck Johnson with Florence Dixon Woodard in 1988. A fourth document is an essay on Morgan-Frazier family clan history by J. Vern Cromartie written in 2013. A fifth document is a book by J. Vern Cromartie on Morgan-Frazier family clan history released in 2013. A sixth document is the 2021 Bylaws of the Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association. On May 23, 2021, members of the Morgan-Frazier family clan voted to create a formal organization with the name Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association. During the following month on June 30, 2021, members of the Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association voted to approve official bylaws for the organization. In addition to detailing the structure of the organization, the bylaws specified the four purposes of the Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association (Harris, 2013a, 2013b; Johnson, 1988; Cromartie, 2013, 2021; Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c, 2021d).

Family Reunions Among Margaret "Maggie" Hill Wells and Her Descendants

As a group of activities, family reunions among the descendants of Margaret "Maggie" Hill Wells sustain social interaction, social relationships, and social structures

by holding family reunions. Social interaction, as used here, refers to the process wherein people mutually influence one another. As utilized here, social relationships, refers to the pattern of repeated social relationships. Social structures, as used here, refer to webs or networks of social relationships. In other words, social interaction leads to social relationships and social relationships lead to social structures (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969).

Over the years, the descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells have held multiple reunions in various settings. Some of those gatherings take place in the same place on an annual or biannual basis. For example, the Morgan-Frazier Family Reunion occurs each year in Screven, Georgia and the Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion takes place each year in Jacksonville, Georgia. Occasionally, some of the events connected with those two will be held in neighboring cities. Others take place in various places around the country. For example, the George Wells Family Reunion and the Schenck-Harley Family Reunion take place in various locations around the country, including the northeast. Nevertheless, each one of those reunions is used to foster social interaction, social relationships, and social structures. They are also used as settings where family preservation and ancestral wisdom are fostered.

The Morgan-Frazier Family Reunion

On July 11, 1923, the first family reunion of the Morgan-Frazier family clan took place in Screven, Georgia. Matilda Morgan Frazier, Jordan Frazier, Sr., their children, and grandchildren attended the first family reunion. That first family reunion was also attended by Sarah Wells Morgan (1833-1926), Alexander “Alex” Morgan (1825-1938), Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells (1820-1927), and John Wells (1850-1943). On the one hand, Matilda Morgan Frazier was the wife of Jordan Frazier, Sr. (1859-1925); and the daughter of Sarah Wells Morgan and Alexander “Alex” Morgan.⁸ On the other hand, Sarah Wells Morgan was the wife of Alexander “Alex” Morgan; and the daughter of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and Abraham Wells (1810-1899?).⁹ The Morgan-Frazier Family Reunion provides family members with the opportunity to engage in processes wherein they mutually influence one another; engage in patterns of repeated social interaction; and engage in a web or networks of social relationships.

The Morgan-Frazier Family Reunion started that second weekend of July 1923 in Screven, Georgia when Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells reunited with her daughters Sarah Wells Morgan and Rosa Wells for the first time since 1841. Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was brought to Screven, Georgia by her son John Wells. At that time, Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was 103, her daughter Sarah Wells Morgan was 90, her daughter Rosa Wells was 88, and her son John Wells was 79. During slavery, the White slaveholders sold Sarah Wells Morgan and Rosa Wells away from their mother when they were around eight and six years old. Whereas Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was the mother of Sarah Wells Morgan, she was the grandmother of Matilda Morgan Frazier. By 1927, Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells, Sarah Wells Morgan, and Rosa Wells were all dead, but Matilda Morgan Frazier continued to organize a family reunion in the form of a dinner each year in Screven, Georgia on the second Sunday in July until she died in 1942. Following the death of Matilda Morgan Frazier, the family reunion continued when her daughters, sons, other relatives, and friends would gather on the

second Sunday in July each year. After 2005, the annual family reunion evolved into a three-day event, including structured activities on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday (Cromartie, 2021).

On Friday night, the family reunion holds a meet and greet event. It usually features fish, greets, a low-country boil. There are three major events held on Saturday. It begins in the morning with a memorial service at Carter Cemetery (aka Screven Community Cemetery) where many of our deceased family members are buried, including Alexander Morgan, Sr., Sarah Wells Morgan, Jordan Frazier, Sr., and Matilda Morgan Frazier. Following the memorial service, the family clan holds a breakfast at the shelter. On Saturday afternoon, the family reunion sponsors activities for children and adults, including softball, roller skating at a local skating rink, bouncy houses, and lunch. Later that afternoon and early evening, the family clan reconvenes for a barbecue and entertainment in the form of a talent show. The talent show features performances by children and adults (Cromartie, 2021).¹⁰

On Sunday morning, the Morgan-Frazier family clan gathers to hold a church service. St. James African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Screven Georgia has been designated as the family church for family meetings and church services. The norm is for a member of the family clan or a guest to deliver the keynote address at the Sunday church service. After the church service, the family clan gathers at the family shelter for a delicious potluck dinner. All adults are encouraged to bring a favorite dish to be shared by all. Members of the Morgan-Frazier family clan use the church service and potluck dinner to hug and pray together. Members of the Morgan-Frazier family clan also sometimes follow up the potluck dinner with a family business meeting before saying farewell and departing home to places far and near. Thus, the potluck dinner is the “until next year celebration” (Cromartie, 2021).

The Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion

Every two years, the Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion is held by descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells (1820-1927) and Abraham Wells (1810-1899?); and descendants of Frank Fletcher (1817-1899) and Nancy Graham Fletcher (1812-1908). Descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells (1820-1927) and Abraham Wells (1810-1899?) include their grandson Augustus Manson Frazier (1902-1963). Descendants of Frank Fletcher and Nancy Graham Fletcher include their granddaughter Sophia Fletcher Graham (1850-1938).¹¹ On the one hand, Augustus Manson Frazier married Gladys McKiver Frazier, a descendant of Frank Fletcher and Nancy Graham Fletcher.¹² On the other hand, Sophia Graham Fletcher (1860-1938) married Thomas Graham (1854-1894).¹³

According to Emery Charles Graham, Jr., the Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion started in 1987. During the following year, Emery Charles Graham, Jr. was selected to be the president of the Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion. Emery Charles Graham, Jr. has recalled that, “Sol Graham shepherded me into being President of the 1988 family reunion” (personal communication, September 2, 2021). The Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion, like the Morgan-Frazier Family Reunion, provides family members with the opportunity to engage in processes wherein they mutually influence one another; engage in patterns of repeated social interaction; and engage in a web or networks of

social relationships. As a family reunion, it is usually held in and around “Graham Town” Jacksonville, Georgia. The Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion often features a fish fry on Friday, a banquet on Saturday, and a church service on Sunday. Prior to his death, events connected with the Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion were often hosted on the property of Aaron Graham.¹⁴

The Wells Family Reunion

Every two years, the descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells (1820-1927), descendants of her daughter Clara Wells McRae (1848-1899?), and descendants of her grandson George Washington Wells, Sr. (1866-1938) hold a Wells Family Reunion. Clara Wells McRae (1848-1899?) was the wife of Cato McRae as well as the daughter of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and Abraham Wells (1810-1899?).¹⁵ The Wells Family Reunion, according to David Wells, was going on during the early 1950s. David Wells, the president in 2021, remembered that he was recruited for the position by Billy Wells, who was then the president. Looking back at his youth, David Wells, who was born in 1946, recalled attending the Wells Family Reunion as a young boy. David Wells also recalled that he has served as the president for at least the past 15 years (personal communication, August 31, 2021).¹⁶

The Wells Family Reunion, like the Morgan-Frazier Family Reunion, provides family members with the opportunity to engage in processes wherein they mutually influence one another; engage in patterns of repeated social interaction; and engage in a web or networks of social relationships. The Wells Family Reunion moves around each time from one place to another instead of being always held in the same city. Those places have included Valdosta, Georgia and Orlando, Florida. For example, the most recent Wells Family Reunion was held on St. Simons Island, Georgia on August 9-11, 2019 (David Wells, personal communication, August 31, 2021; Wells Family Reunion Planning Committee, 2019).

The Wells Family Reunion featured structured activities on St. Simons Island for each of the three days. On Friday evening, August 9, 2019, there was a meet and greet event at the Best Western Plus hotel hospitality center. The next day, Saturday, August 10, 2020, there was a luncheon at the Best Western Plus hotel. On the third and final day, August 11, 2019, there was a Farewell Fellowship Brunch at the Sea Palms Resort. The brunch included a keynote speaker, presentations on the family history, and other events (Wells Family Reunion Planning Committee, 2019).

A major ritual at this event was the “Seating of the Elders.” During the brunch, there was a special tribute to Eloise Wells Mann by Dawn Sanders. It was acknowledged that the 92 years old Eloise Wells Mann was the last living child of the patriarch George Washington Wells, Sr. the brochure for the reunion contained the history of George Washington Wells, Sr. (Wells Family Reunion Planning Committee, 2019).

According to the history of George Washington Wells, Sr. in the official reunion program brochure and census records, he was born in slavery during 1864 at the Blockhouse Plantation in Jacksonville, Georgia. His mother was Clara Wells McRae who married Cato McRae on January 16, 1868.¹⁷ Eventually, George Washington Wells, Sr. became a minister and fathered 31 children by two different women. He was

married to both women at different times. His first wife was Sara Willcox Wells and they had 14 children together. Those children are (1) Maxie Wells; (2) Bobby Wells; (3) Maggie Wells; (4) Nathan Wells; (5) Tommy Wells; (6) Buddy Wells; (7) Abram Wells; (8) Ossie Wells; (9) George Wells, Jr.; (10) Johnny Wells; (11) Ana Bell Wells; (12) Isabelle Wells; (13) Harriett; and (14) Oder (Wells Family Reunion Planning Committee, 2019).

In 1906, Sara Willcox Wells died. Around six months later, George Wells Sr. married Annie Wooten Fair, who became Annie Wooten Fair Wells. Whereas George Washington Wells, Sr. was 40, Annie Wooten Fair Wells was 24 at the time of the marriage if the 1900 census records are correct. George Washington Wells, Sr. and Annie Wooten Fair Wells preceded to have a fruitful marriage that led to the birth of 17 children. Among those 17 children are (1) Emma Wells; (2) Joe B. Wells; (3) Cornelia Wells; (4) Moses Wells; (5) Deloris Wells; (6) Earnest Wells; (7) Matilda Wells; (8) Willie Wells; (9) Peter Wells; (10) Clarence Wells; (11) Otha Wells; (12) Edwin Wells; (13) Eloise Wells; (14) Clara Wells; (15) Odessa Wells; (16) James Wells; and (17) Wilford. During the 1910 census, George Washington Wells, Sr. and his family lived in Telfair County's Cobbville. By the 1920 census, George Washington Wells, Sr. and his family had moved to Telfair County's Sunshine. At the time of the 1930 census, George Washington Wells, Sr. and his family were living in Coffee County's Ambrose. When he died in 1938, George Washington Wells, Sr. was living his wife Annie Wooten Fair Wells and some of their children in Valdosta, Georgia, located in Lowndes County (Wells Family Reunion Planning Committee, 2019).

The Schenck Family Reunion

On an irregular basis, the descendants of Margaret "Maggie" Hill Wells (1820-1927), descendants of her daughter Sarah Wells Morgan (1833-1926), descendants of her granddaughter Corrine Morgan Harley (1889-1976), and descendants of her great-granddaughter Myrtis Harley Schenck (1913-1983) hold a Schenck Family Reunion. Corrine Morgan Harley was the wife of James Harley; daughter of Sarah Wells Morgan and Alexander "Alex" Morgan; granddaughter of Margaret "Maggie" Hill Wells and Abraham Wells; and mother of Myrtis Harley Schenck.¹⁸ Myrtis Harley Schenck was the wife of Stewart Schenck, Sr.¹⁹ Members of Corrine Morgan Harley's family of procreation and members of Myrtis Harley Schenck's family of procreation have been two of the major groups at each Schenck Family Reunion.

The Schenck Family Reunion, like the Morgan-Frazier Family Reunion and the Wells Family Reunion, provides family members with the opportunity to engage in processes wherein they mutually influence one another; engage in patterns of repeated social interaction; and engage in a web or networks of social relationships. When held, the Schenck Family Reunion often moves around each time from one place to another instead of being always held in the same city. In terms of the Schenck Family Reunion, four of the most recent Schenck Family Reunions took place in Highland Park, New Jersey during 2002; Highland Park, New Jersey during 2004; Lakewood, New Jersey in 2005; and Syracuse, New York in 2006. The latter took place on August 25-27, 2006 (Yvonne Johnson-Milligan, personal communication, August 28, 2021; Schenck Family Reunion Planning Committee, 2006).

Yvonne Johnson-Milligan, a great-great-great granddaughter of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells, played a major role in organizing the Schenck Family Reunion. The coordinators of the reunion scheduled it to coincide with the New York State Fair. Three of the main coordinators included Vicky Carlene Johnson Harley, Peggy Shaw Werts, and Yvonne Johnson-Milligan. All attendees at the reunion received a family directory and a generation tree started by Beverly Schenck Johnson, the mother of Yvonne Johnson-Milligan and the great-great granddaughter of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells (Yvonne Johnson-Milligan, personal communication, August 28, 2021; Schenck Family Reunion Planning Committee, 2006).²⁰

Implications of this Research

As for significant consequences, this paper has at least six of them. One significant consequence is that it sheds light on Black family preservation, ancestral wisdom, and family reunions with special reference to Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and her descendants. The lived experiences of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and her descendants have been examined in relation to Black family preservation, ancestral wisdom, and family reunions. A second significant consequence is that it sheds light on how the descendants of Maggie Hill Wells have managed to sustain social interaction, social relationships, and social structures by holding family reunions. Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was a formerly enslaved Black woman of Gullah descent who lived from 1820 to 1927 in Georgia and managed to find two of her daughters after being separated from 1841 to 1923 (Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association, 2021b).

A third significant consequence is that it sheds light on how a group of the descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells is a part of the Morgan-Frazier family clan and has held an annual family reunion every year since 1923. Every year, during the second weekend of July, her descendants gather in Screven, Georgia for the Morgan-Frazier Family Reunion. A fourth significant consequence is that it sheds light on how a second group of the descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells is a part of the George Wells family clan, which has a bi-annual family reunion. The George Wells family clan gathers every two years in various parts of the country. It goes back to at least the early 1950s. A fifth significant consequence is that it sheds light on how a third group of the descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells holds the Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion on a bi-annual family reunion. The Graham-Fletcher family clan gathers every two years in and around Jacksonville, Georgia. A sixth significant consequence is that it sheds light on how a fourth group of the descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells holds the Harley-Schenck Family Reunion on an infrequent basis. The Harley-Schenck family clan gathers on an infrequent basis in northeast cities of the USA. It goes back to the late 1940s (Cromartie, 2013).

Summary and Conclusion

This paper has examined Black family preservation, ancestral wisdom, and family reunions with special reference to Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and her descendants. It has addressed how the descendants of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells have managed to sustain social interaction, social relationships, and social structures by

holding family reunions. This paper documented that Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells was a formerly enslaved Black woman of Gullah descent who lived from 1820 to 1927 in Georgia. It has also documented the following four social facts: (1) One group of her descendants is part of the Morgan-Frazier family clan, which has held an annual family reunion every year since 1923. (2) A second group of her descendants is part of the George Wells family clan, which has a bi-annual family reunion. (3) A third group of her descendants is part of the Graham-Fletcher family clan, which has a bi-annual family reunion. (4) A fourth group of her descendants is part of the Harley-Schenck family clan, which has held family reunions on an infrequent basis.

In his remarkable book on the Black family, Hill (1972) outlined five strengths that he found. One involves a strong work orientation. A second strength consists of a strong religious orientation. A third strength involves a strong belief in family. A fourth strength involves a strong achievement orientation. A fifth strength consists of adaptability of family roles.

It was those five strengths that helped Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and her descendants to survive both before and after the Civil War. Before the Civil War, Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and her descendants faced chattel slavery and Jim Crow (i.e., de jure and de facto segregation) as systems. After the Civil War, Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and her descendants faced the White backlash against Reconstruction, terrorists in the Ku Klux Klan, Jim Crow (i.e., de jure and de facto segregation), peonage, lynching, and James Crow, Esquire. Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and her descendants survived the ordeal by pulling together and raising their children in a village setting. They managed to buy land and hold on to it for more than 100 years. Likewise, one group of her descendants have held family reunions since 1923. Such actions are a testament to the resiliency among people of African descent who experienced chattel slavery in the USA.

Notes

1. I am a descendant of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells. She was my great-great-great-grandmother. Sarah Wells Morgan, the daughter of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells, was my great-great-grandmother. Matilda Morgan Frazier, the granddaughter of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells, was my great-grandmother. Augustus Manson Frazier, the great-grandson of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells, was my grandfather. Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd, the great-great-granddaughter of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells, was my mother.

2. In the revised and abbreviated version of his study published in 1966, Frazier (1939/1966) reported in its preface that his study covered the “natural history” of the Black family in the USA (p. xix). Frazier also informed us that his study focused on “social processes” rather than “human events” (p. xx).

3. The death certificate of Sarah Wells Morgan indicates that she died on May 21, 1926 at age 93. It also shows that her mother was Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells; her husband was Alexander “Alex” Morgan; and her occupation was midwife (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1926). On September 15, 2021, I made a direct observation of Sarah Wells Morgan’s headstone in the Carter Cemetery, which is also known as the Screven

Community Cemetery and located in Screven, Georgia. It shows that she died during the 1920s. On September 14, 2021, I made a direct observation of the headstone of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells in the Rock Hill Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) Cemetery located in Jacksonville, Georgia. Her headstone indicates that she died in 1927. The 14th census, which was the last of their lives, reveals that there were 14,381 people living in Wayne County. Of that total, 3,153 (21.9 percent) were Black people and 11,228 were White people in Wayne County. That same census reveals that there were 15,291 people living in Telfair County. Of that total, 5,005 (32.7 percent) were Black people and 10,288 were White people in Telfair County. Many of those Black people living in Wayne County and Telfair County were relatives (Bureau of the Census, 1924).

4. In an email to Terry Wells on May 31, 2004, Jeffries (2004c) repeated his statement that, told him that, “On February 7, 1841 Jeremiah sold his son, Berry, a slave, Abram, for \$500 with the sale witnessed by Elijah Wells” (p. 1). Jeffries may have made a mistake when he reported that Henry sold Abram to Berry although the dollar amounts were different. However, there is the possibility that the other Abram held by Henry L. Wells was the son of the first Abram and the sale reunited them.

5. Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and family were held in bondage by the White slaveholder Jeremiah Wells and his family, which included his sons Berry Wells (born 1809 and died in NC) and Henry L. Wells (born 1814 and died 1868). The wife of Berry Wells was Henrietta E. Rountree Wells (born 1817 and died 1901). Their children were Jeremiah Wesley Wells (born 1838 and died 1920); Temperance Ann Wells Kennon (born 1840 and died 1875); Henry Lampkin Wells (born 1840 and died 1896); James R. Wells (born 1842 and died 1862); Lewis B. Wells (born 1843 and died 1862); Rebecca Wells Kennon (born 1850 and died 1939); Stella Wells (born 1853 and died 1865); John L. Wells (born 1854 and died 1880); Henrietta E. Wells Roberts (born 1855 and died 1920); Berry Lovett Wells (born 1856 and died 1918); and West Rountree Wells (born 1858 and died 1952). The wife of Henry L. Wells was Molcy J. Williams Wells (born 1821 and died 1866). Their children were Jasper Wells (born 1835 and died ?); Ellender Wells (born 1837 and died ?); Newton R. Wells (born 1839 and died ?); Washington Wells (born 1841 and died 1935); Jackson Wells (born 1843 and died ?); Jeremiah Wells (born 1846 and died ?); Elizabeth Wells (born 1848 and died ?); and Ann Wells (born 1859 and died ?). Census records show that Berry Wells, son of Jeremiah Wells, had 23 enslaved Black people in 1850 and 33 enslaved Black people in 1860. Census records also indicate that Henry L. Wells, son of Jeremiah Wells, had 12 enslaved Black people in 1850 and 33 enslaved Black people in 1860. Another White slaveholder named Elijah Wells in Telfair County was probably the brother of Jeremiah Wells. Census records show that Elijah Wells had five enslaved Black people in 1850 and eight enslaved Black people in 1860 (Bureau of the Census, 1850a, 1850b, 1850c, 1850d, 1850e, 1860a, 1860b, 1860c, 1860d, 1860e; Jeffries, 2004a, 2005b, 2004c, 2004d). Whereas the history of the White Wells has been covered in Jeffries (2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2004d) T. Wells (2004a, 2004b), G. Wells (1938), some of the plantation records of Berry Wells are contained in Meadows (2001).

6. The marriage license of Margaret “Maggie” Hill Wells and Abraham “Abram” Wells is listed on page 90 in the microfilmed records of the Court of the Ordinary, which were microfilmed in McRae, Georgia at the Telfair County Courthouse on August 13, 1963 by the Genealogical Society based in Salt Lake City, Utah and the State of Georgia’s Department of Archives and History (Ancestry.com, 2013).

7. Comboni Missionaries Ireland (2017), operating in the Andes in Latin America, have observed that Peruvian and Bolivian Indians hold that a key to good living is ancestral wisdom. They have informed us that the Peruvian and Bolivian Indians in the Andes refer to good living with the concept of “Sumak Kawsay” (p. 1). Additionally, Comboni Missionaries Ireland have related that:

The ancestral wisdom of the Andean peoples can help to solve the current crisis of credibility of the religious institutions because it is based on key truths of life, such as the sense of community, the interdependence between people, the value of service, and the collaboration with God. (p. 1)

In the view of the Comboni Missionaries Ireland, ancestral wisdom in the form of Sumak Kawsay has provided Peruvian and Bolivian Indians in the Andes with “a way of living in harmony within communities and nature” (p. 1).

8. The children of Matilda Morgan Frazier and Jordan Frazier, Sr. include Minnie Frazier Dixon, Emma Frazier, Jordan Frazier, Jr., Sarah Frazier Gaffney, Bennie Frazier, Sibbie Frazier, Augustus Manson Frazier, Prunnie Frazier Powell, Mary Frazier McLean, Martha Frazier Fisher, and Alzada Frazier Harris.

9. The children of Sarah Wells Morgan and Alexander Morgan include Noah Morgan, Matilda Morgan Frazier, Julia Morgan, Jane Morgan, Martha Morgan, Susie Morgan, Haven Morgan, Correne Morgan Harley, and Zilfey Morgan.

10. In 2011, I wrote a one-man play in the form of a Chautauqua to be performed during the talent show. The play focused on the life of Jordan Frazier, Sr., one of the eight progenitors of the Morgan-Frazier family clan. My nephew, Ray Carl Lockhart, a Miami based actor who is the great-great grandson of Jordan Frazier, Sr., performed the role of Jordan Frazier, Sr. and exemplified his presence at the first family reunion. The play was titled “From Red Cap to Screven.” The aim of the play was to tell the story of Jordan Frazier, Sr.’s migration as a Geechee from Red Cap in Camden County to Screven in Wayne County. The play was well received by all in attendance. I am very thankful that our family clan has embraced our history with pride and know that it must be passed on from generation to generation (Cromartie, 2021).

11. The children of Frank Fletcher and Nancy Graham Fletcher include Henry Fletcher, Samuel Graham, Aaron Graham, Easter Fletcher, and Martha Fletcher.

12. The children of Augustus Manson Frazier and Gladys McKiver Frazier include L.C. Frazier, Thomas “Tom” Frazier, Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd, Arthur Lee Frazier,

Charles Augustus “Booby” Frazier, Betty Frazier Graham, Jordan Austin Frazier, Florence Irene Frazier Monroe, Martha Frazier Fuller, and Gladys Matilda Frazier Simon.

13. The children of Sophia Fletcher Graham and Thomas Graham include Daniel Graham, Cora Graham, Kizzie Graham, Sallie Graham, Archie Graham, and Nannie Graham. Sophia Fletcher Graham and Thomas Graham were probably related through Nancy Graham Fletcher.

14. On September 2, 2021, I exchanged emails with Emery Charles Graham, Jr. about the history of the Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion. During the exchange of emails, Emery Charles Graham, Jr. told me that the first Graham-Fletcher Family Reunion took place in 1987. Emery Charles Graham, Jr. also stated that he served as the president of the 1988 family reunion (personal communication, September 2, 2021).

15. The children of Clara Wells McRae and Cato McRae include George Wells and Robert McRae.

16. On August 31, 2021, I interviewed David Wells through a telephone call about the history of the Wells Family Reunion. During the interview, David Wells informed me that he attended the Wells Family Reunion as a young boy. David Wells also recalled attending a George Wells Family Reunion in Orlando, Florida in or around 1973. He further recalled that Billy Wells recruited him for the president’s position “a few years before he died.” Billy Wells died in 2008 (personal communication, August 31, 2021).

17. The marriage of Clara Wells McRae and Cato McRae is listed on page 205 in the microfilmed records of the Court of the Ordinary (Ancestry.com, 2013). Anaka Wells McRae, the sister of Clara Wells McRae, married Luke McRae on October 20, 1887. Cato McRae and Luke McRae were probably brothers. Thus, two women who were sisters may have married two men who were brothers to each other. The marriage of Anaka Wells McRae and Luke McRae is listed on page 176 in the microfilmed records of the Court of the Ordinary. Also, the 1938 death certificate of George Washington Wells indicates that he was the biological son of a man named George Washington and not Cato McRae (Ancestry.com, 2013; Georgia Department of Public Health, 1938).

18. The children of Corrine Morgan Harley and James Harley include Clifford Harley, Clyde Harley, Willie Harley, Myrtis Harley, and Denvil Harley.

19. The children of Myrtis Harley Schenck and Stewart Schenck, Sr. include Stewart Schenck, Jr., Gerald Schenck, Robert Schenck, Beverly Schenck, Renee Schenck, Mitzi Schenck, Raymond Schenck, John Schenck, Keith Schenck, and Sidney Schenck.

20. On August 28, 2021, I interviewed Yvonne K. Johnson-Milligan through a telephone call about the history of the Schenck Family Reunion. In the interview, Yvonne K. Johnson-Milligan related that she was born in 1963 and recalls attending Schenck Family Reunions in the form of a picnic as a little girl. She also said that her

mother, Beverly Schenck Johnson also attended Schenck Family Reunions as a little girl. It should be noted that Beverly Schenck Johnson was born in 1942 and died in 2003. Thus, the Schenck Family Reunion was taking place during the 1940s. Prior to her death, Beverly Schenck Johnson conducted an important interview with Florence Dixon Woodard in 1988 (personal communication, August 28, 2021).

References

- Ancestry.com. (2013). *Georgia, U.S., Marriage Records From Select Counties, 1828-1978; Telfair, Marriages (White and Colored), 1856-1888*. Retrieved August 20, 2021, from Ancestry.com.
- Askew, Mark A. (2011). *Fimark's Family Reunion Planner A Reunion Planning Guide Workbook & Keepsake*. Baltimore, MD: CreateSpace.
- Bass, Barbara Ann, Wyatt, Gail Elizabeth, & Powell, Gloria Johnson. (Eds.). (1982). *The Afro-American Family*. New York: Grune and Stratton.
- Billingsley, Andrew. (1968). *Black Families in White America*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.
- Billingsley, Andrew. (1974). *Black Families and the Struggle for Survival*. New York: Friendship Press.
- Billingsley, Andrew. (1976). *The Evolution of the Black Family*. New York: National Urban League.
- Billingsley, Andrew. (1992). *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Enduring Legacies of African-American Families*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Boyd-Franklin, Nancy. (1989). *Black Families in Therapy: A Multisystems Approach*. New York: Guilford Publications.
- Boyd-Franklin, Nancy. (2003). *Black Families in Therapy: Understanding the African American Experience*. (2nd ed.). New York: Guilford Publications.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1850a). *Schedule 2.—Slave Inhabitants in the County of Lowndes, State of Georgia, 1850*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1850b). *Schedule 2.—Slave Inhabitants in the 338th District in the County of Telfair, State of Georgia, 1850*. Washington, DC: National Archives.

- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1850c). *Schedule 2.—Slave Inhabitants in the Jacksonville District in the County of Telfair, State of Georgia, 1850*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1850d). *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Jacksonville*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1850e). *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Lowndes*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1860a). *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Appling, Southern District*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1860b). *Schedule 2.—Slave Inhabitants in the Georgia Militia 1200th District in the County of Lowndes, State of Georgia, 1860*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1860c). *Schedule 2.—Slave Inhabitants in the 338th District in the County of Telfair, State of Georgia, 1860*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1860d). *Schedule 2.—Slave Inhabitants in the Southern District in the County of Appling, State of Georgia, 1860*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1860e). *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Lowndes, 1200 District Georgia Militia*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1870). *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Telfair, 120th Subdivision*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1880a). *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Coffee, 437 District*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1880b). *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Lowndes, 1217 Georgia Militia District*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1880c). *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Telfair, District 338 and*

- 339, *Supervisor's District Number 3, Enumeration District Number 9B*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1900). *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Telfair, 1524 Mount Carmel, Supervisor's District Number 11, Enumeration District Number 85*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1920). *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Telfair, Mount Carmel District, Supervisor's District Number 12, Enumeration District Number 107*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1924). *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920. State Compendium. Georgia. Statistics of Population, Occupations, Agriculture, Drainage, Manufactures, and Mines and Quarries for the State, Counties, and Cities*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Clarke, John Henrik. (1999). *My Life in Search of Africa*. Chicago: Third World Press.
- Comboni Missionaries Ireland. (2017). Latin America: The Ancestral Wisdom of Sumak Kawsay. *Comboni Missionaries Ireland*. Retrieved August 21, 2021, from <https://combonimissionaries.ie>
- Cromartie, J. Vern. (2013). *Morgan-Frazier Family Clan: Chronicles of a Black Family with a Geechee and Gullah Heritage in Essays, Interviews, Research Reports, Documents, and Photographs*. Pittsburg, CA: Shakur Press.
- Cromartie, J. Vern. (2021). Research Update on the Family Reflections of Herman Franklin Harris, Sr. In Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association, *98th Morgan-Frazier Family Reunion Program* (pp. 9-11). Screven, GA: Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association.
- Cureton, Daniel. (2020). Ancestral Wisdom in Contemporary Druidry. *Ancient Orders of Druids in America*. Retrieved August 21, 2021, from aoda.org
- DelBalzo, Jessica. (2007). *Unlearning Adoption: A Guide to Family Preservation and Protection*. n.p.: Book Surge.
- Dixon, Patricia. (2007). *African American Relationships, Marriages, and Families: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. (1909). *The Negro American Family: Report of a Social Study Made Principally by the College Classes of 1909 and 1910 of Atlanta University, Under the Patronage of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund; Together with the Proceedings of the 13th Annual Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems*,

Held at Atlanta University on Tuesday, May the 26th, 1908, Issues 13-17.
Atlanta: Atlanta University Press.

Frazier, E. Franklin. (1939). *The Negro Family in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Frazier, E. Franklin. (1966). *The Negro Family in the United States* (Rev. ed). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1939)

Georgia Department of Public Health. (1926). *Sarah Morgan Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 13254]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.

Georgia Department of Public Health. (1938). *George Washington Wells Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 1623]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.

Haapala, David A. (1991). *Families in Crisis: The Impact of Intensive Family Preservation Services*. New York: Routledge.

Harris, Herman Franklin, Sr. (2013a). Family Reflections. In J. Vern Cromartie, *Morgan-Frazier Family Clan: Chronicles of a Black Family with a Geechee and Gullah Heritage in Essays, Interviews, Research Reports, Documents, and Photographs* (p. 18). Pittsburg, CA: Shakur Press.

Harris, Herman Franklin, Sr. (2013b). On Morgan-Frazier Family History: An Interview with Florence Dixon Woodard. In J. Vern Cromartie, *Morgan-Frazier Family Clan: Chronicles of a Black Family with a Geechee and Gullah Heritage in Essays, Interviews, Research Reports, Documents, and Photographs* (pp. 71-82). Pittsburg, CA: Shakur Press.

Hattery, Angela & Smith, Earl. (2007). *African American Families*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Hattery, Angela & Smith, Earl. (2012). *African American Families: Myths and Realities*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Heiss, Jerold. (1975). *The Case of the Black Family*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hill, Robert B. (1972). *The Strengths of Black Families*. New York: Emerson Hall.

Hill, Robert B. (1993). *Research on the African-American Family: A Holistic Perspective*. Westport, CT: Auburn House.

Hill, Robert B. (1997). *The Strengths of African American Families: Twenty-Five Years Later*. (2nd ed). Washington, DC: R & B Publishers.

- Kumari, Ayele. (2020). *Isese Spirituality Workbook: The Ancestral Wisdom of the Ifa Orisa Tradition*. n.p.: Ori Institute.
- Jeffries, Robert. (2004a). The Wells' Family of Virginia, North Carolina and Telfair County, Georgia. Jacksonville, GA: Telfair County Library Genealogy Room [Unpublished Manuscript].
- Jeffries, Robert. (2004b, May 31). Letter to Terry Wells Dated May 31, 2004. *Genealogy.com*. Retrieved September 1, 2021, from genealogy.com
- Jeffries, Robert. (2004c, May 31). Letter to Terry Wells Dated May 31, 2004. *Genealogy.com*. Retrieved September 1, 2021, from genealogy.com
- Jeffries, Robert. (2004d, May 31). Letter to Terry Wells Dated May 31, 2004. *Genealogy.com*. Retrieved September 1, 2021, from genealogy.com
- Johnson, Beverly Schenck. (1988). *Transcript of the Recorded Interview of: Florence Woodard—March 26, 1988*. New Brunswick, NJ: Beverly Schenck Johnson.
- Ladner, Joyce A. (1998). *The Ties That Bind: Timeless Values for African-Americans*. New York: J. Wiley.
- Logan, Sayde Louise, Freeman, Edith M., & McRoy, Ruth G. (1990). *Social Work Practice with Black Families: A Culturally Specific Perspective*. New York: Longman Publishing Group.
- Logan, Sayde Louise. (Ed.). (2001). *The Black Family: Strengths, Self-Help, and Positive Change*. New York: Routledge.
- Maslow, Abraham. (1965). Self-Actualization and Beyond. *Proceedings of the Conference on the Training of Counselors of Adults* [ED012056]. Winchester, MA: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.
- McAdoo, Harriette Pipes. (Ed). (2007). *Black Families*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- McLoyd, Vonnie C., Hill, Nancy E., & Dodge, Kenneth A. (2005). *African American Family Life: Ecological and Cultural Diversity*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Meadows, Linda Ward. (2001). *Berry Wells, Esquire: Plantation Accounts, Deeds, and Private Papers*. Adel, GA: Linda Ward Meadows.
- Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association. (2021a). *Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association 2021 Bylaws*. Screven, GA: Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association.

- Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association. (2021b). *98th Morgan-Frazier Family Reunion Program*. Screven, GA: Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association.
- Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association. (2021c). *Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association May 23, 2021 Business Meeting Minutes*. Screven, GA: Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association.
- Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association. (2021d). *Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association June 30, 2021 Business Meeting Minutes*. Screven, GA: Morgan-Frazier Family Clan Association.
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. (1965). *The Negro Family: A Case for National Action*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- National Council of Negro Women. (1993). *The Black Family Reunion Cookbook: Black Family Reunion Cookbook*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Nobles, Wade W., & Goddard, Lawford L. (1984). *Understanding the Black Family: A Guide for Scholarship and Research*. Oakland: Black Family Institute.
- Nobles, Wade W., & Goddard, Lawford L. (1987). *African-American Families: Issues, Insights, and Directions*. Oakland, CA: Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Rainville, Lynn. (2019). *Invisible Founders: How Two Centuries of African American Families Transformed a Plantation into a College*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Ruiz, Felicia Cocotzin. (2021). *Earth Medicines: Ancestral Wisdom, Healing Recipes, and Wellness Rituals from a Curandera*. Boulder, CO: Roost Books.
- Savannah Unit, Georgia Writer's Project, Works Projects Administration. (1972). *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*. New York: Anchor Books. (Original work published 1940)
- Scanzoni, John H. (1977). *The Black Family in Modern Society: Patterns of Stability and Security*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schenck Family Reunion Planning Committee. (2006). *Circular of the Schenck Family Reunion, Syracuse, New York, August 25, 26, & 27, 2006*. Syracuse, NY: Schenck Family Reunion Planning Committee.
- Staples, Robert. (Ed.). (1978). *The Black Family* (2nd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Theodorson, George A., & Theodorson, Achilles G. (1969). *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

- Thomas, Henry Lee. (2021). *The Family Reunion Bible: Explore—Fellowship—Give Thanks*. Manassas, VA: Henry Lee Thomas.
- Vargus, Ione. (2020). *Black Family Reunions: Finding the Rest of Me*. n.p.: Xlibris Us.
- Waites, Cheryl. (Ed). (2008). *Social Work Practice with African American Families: An Intergenerational Perspective*. New York: Routledge.
- Wells, Guy Herbert. (1938). *The Wells and Allied Families*. Milledgeville, GA: Authors.
- Wells Family Reunion Planning Committee. (2019). *Brochure of the 2019 Wells Family Reunion*. St. Simons Island, GA: Wells Family Reunion Planning Committee.
- Wells, Terry. (2004a, May 30). Letter to Robert Jeffries Dated May 30, 2004. *Genealogy.com*. Retrieved September 1, 2021, from genealogy.com
- Wells, Terry. (2004b, May 31). Letter to Robert Jeffries Dated May 31, 2004. *Genealogy.com*. Retrieved September 1, 2021, from genealogy.com
- Wesselman, Hank. (2011). *The Bowl of Light: Ancestral Wisdom from a Hawaiian Shaman*. n.p.: READHOWYOUWANT.
- Whittaker, James K., Kinney, Jill, Tracy, Elizabeth M., & Booth, Charlotte. (Eds.). (1990). *Reaching High-Risk Families: Intensive Family Preservation in Human Services*. New York: Routledge.
- Williams, Heather Andrea. (2012). *Help Me to Find My People: The African American Search for Family Lost in Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Willie, Charles Vert. (1971). *The Family Life of Black People*. Columbus, OH: Merrill.
- Willie, Charles Vert. (1976). *A New Look at Black Families*. Bayside, NY: General Hall.
- Willie, Charles Vert. (1985). *Black and White Families: A Study in Complimentary*. Dix Hills, NY: General Hall.

**Remembering Gladys McKiver Frazier as a Gullah Woman:
Notes on Her Family Life in Georgia's Telfair
and Wayne Counties**

J. Vern Cromartie, Contra Costa College

Abstract

This paper focuses on the life and times of Gladys McKiver Frazier as a Gullah woman who lived in Georgia's Telfair County and Wayne County. It provides an analysis of the social conditions Gladys McKiver Frazier and her family of orientation faced in Telfair County's Jacksonville, Georgia where she was born in 1915. This paper also provides an analysis of the social conditions Gladys McKiver Frazier faced in Wayne County's Screven, Georgia where she and her husband Augustus Manson Frazier created and raised their family of procreation from 1929 to 1984. In addition, this paper examines her Gullah heritage and her quilting legacy.

Introduction

During 1865 when the 13th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America (USA) was passed, it impacted the lives of over 4,000,000 enslaved Black people. According to the last national census before slavery came to an end, there were 1,057,286 people in Georgia in 1860. Of that total, 591,550 were White people; 462,236 were enslaved Black people; and 3,500 were free Black people. Those Black people in Georgia lived in various counties, including Telfair and Wayne (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2020; Bureau of the Census, 1949; Smith, 1985).

Many of the Black people in Telfair County and Wayne County migrated inland from coastal locations. On the one hand, some of that migration was voluntary following 1865 and the 13th Amendment. On the other hand, some of the migration was forced before 1865 and during enslavement. For example, some of the enslaved Black people from the *Wanderer*, which in 1859 was the last enslavement ship to enter Georgia, went to Telfair County and then to Alabama. Other enslaved people from the *Wanderer* went to in Chatham County in Georgia; Richmond County in Georgia; Aiken County in South Carolina; Georgia; Edgefield County in South Carolina; and elsewhere (Cromartie, 2021; Montgomery, 1908; Mann, 1949/2016; Wells, 1967; Calonijs, 2006).¹

Between 1733 and 1865, as slavery unfolded in Georgia as a colony and later a state, Black men, women, and children were sold and traded as private property by White slaveholders. This led to many Black families being separated.² Blood relatives often found themselves enslaved on different plantations because of the diabolical system of slavery. During the sales on the auction block, Black people came to call it the "weeping time." Nevertheless, Black people throughout Georgia in the coastal and inland counties managed to develop and maintain the Gullah heritage by passing it down from one generation to the next (Cromartie, 2013; Bailey, 2017).

As used in this paper, the Gullah heritage refers to the norms, values, and material products that were passed down intergenerationally because of African retentions. That heritage includes language, quilting, food preparation (especially canning), folklore, spirituality, and the like. The term Gullah refers to a social group of antebellum people of Black African descent (and their descendants) who experienced chattel slavery primarily in the southeastern part of the USA. Gullah also refers to their language they spoke as a Lingua Franca. Eventually, that language made the transition from a pidgin language to a creole language. Before the Civil War, the term Gullah was used in the USA to refer to enslaved Africans who were born on the African continent or

elsewhere in the Diaspora and faced bondage in this country. It also refers to their descendants. In addition, Gullah was used to refer to the language they brought with them to the USA (Cromartie, 2013, 2020; Savannah Unit, 1940/1972, 1940/1986; L. Turner, 1949).³

This paper will focus on the life and times of Gladys McKiver Frazier as a Gullah woman who lived in Georgia's Telfair County and Wayne County. It will provide an analysis of the social conditions Gladys McKiver Frazier and her family of orientation faced in Telfair County's Jacksonville, Georgia where she was born in 1915. This paper will also provide an analysis of the social conditions Gladys McKiver Frazier faced in Wayne County's Screven, Georgia where she and her husband Augustus Manson Frazier created and raised their family of procreation from 1929 to 1984.⁴ In addition, this paper will examine the Gullah heritage of Gladys McKiver Frazier and her quilting legacy.

Towards this end, this paper will use a mixed methods approach in the form of the case study method, direct observation method, and survey method. The research techniques will include content analysis of primary and secondary source documents, participant observation, and qualitative interviews. Census data, death certificates, and DNA reports will be used to show the lineage in terms of the ancestors and descendants of Gladys McKiver Frazier. Qualitative interviews will also be used to document the observations of people who knew her.⁵

Review of the Literature

History of Telfair County as a Settlement of White Colonizers and Slaveholders

Telfair County was established by White colonizers and slaveholders on December 10, 1807. Those White colonizers and slaveholders tended to have roots in Scotland. The county was named in honor of Edward Telfair, who served twice as the governor of Georgia and was a member of the original Continental Congress. Telfair served as Georgia's 14th governor from 1786 to 1787. He also served Georgia's 16th governor from 1789 to 1793. One of the first the first White persons to enter the area was probably Hernando de Soto. During 1541, Hernando de Soto, a White conquistador from Spain, made his expedition into what is now known as Telfair County.⁶ He was later followed by White colonizers and slaveholders from Great Britain. In 1807 and 1541, Telfair County was occupied by the Muscogee Indians, who were part of the Creek Confederacy (Mann, 1944/2016; Pioneer Historical Society, 1988; National Governors Association, 2021).

The development of settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was gradual in nature. In 1810, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 744. During 1820, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 2,104. In 1830, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 2,136. During 1840, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 2,763. In 1850, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 3,026. During 1860, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 2,713 (Bureau of the Census, 1943).

During 1830, the Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which was formally titled “An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi.” It was an initiative promoted by Andrew Jackson, a White colonizer and slaveholder who served as the fifth president of the USA. Although the Muscogee Indians had villages along the Ocmulgee River in Telfair County for hundreds of years before the arrival of White people, that act and other mechanisms made the Muscogee Indians face exclusion and forced migration to Oklahoma. For example, some of the Muscogee Indians in Telfair County created a resistance movement before 1832 wherein they engaged in armed conflict against the White colonizers and slaveholders (Mann, 1944/2016; Jackson, 1830; Twenty-First Congress, 1830; Swanton, 1922).

According to Mann (1944/2016), White colonizers and slaveholders built three forts to counter the presence of Muscogee Indians in and near Telfair County. One of the forts was established in Telfair County “in the forks of the Ocmulgee and Oconee rivers” (p. 15). A second fort was established in Telfair County “two miles above Jacksonville where Blockhouse Church now stands” (p. 15). A third fort was established in Telfair County “on Horse Creek at the River Road” (p. 15). Mann related that some 50 or 60 Muskogee Indians fought a battle against 36 White colonizers and slaveholders from Telfair County during March 1818. She reported that the battle took place in Ben Hill County. Mann stated that, “In this engagement a number on both sides were killed and wounded” (p. 16). She cited a March 10, 1818 letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Richard H. Thomas to Governor Talbot regarding the details of the battle. In that letter, Thomas said that, “Citizens of Telfair are much alarmed and are leaving their homes” (Quoted in Mann, 1944/2016, p. 17). Eventually, some Muscogee Indians left the Telfair County area and headed south to Florida where they became a part of the Seminole Nation (Swanton, 1922, 1952; Walker, 1934).

History of Wayne County as a Settlement of White Colonizers and Slaveholders

Wayne County was first established by White colonizers and slaveholders in 1803 after they took land from Muskogee Indians. It was named in honor of Anthony Wayne, who became a well-known on the Continental Army. During the Revolutionary War against Great Britain, Anthony Wayne gained the nickname Mad Anthony. He gained that nickname during an attack on British military forces at Stony Point. That attack took place on July 15, 1779. Anthony Wayne served as a member of General George Washington’s staff. He also served as a member of General Nathaniel Greene’s staff (Spencer, 1979?; Cooksey, 2018).⁷

According to the official record, Wayne County came into being as a result of the Wilkinson Treaty. In that treaty, Muscogee Indians, also known as Creeks and Guale, reportedly ceded a part of their Tallassee Country. That area was a narrow strip of land bordered by the Ocmulgee River, Oconee River, and the Altamaha River. Eventually, the land was gobbled up by White colonizers and slaveholders who split it up among themselves through the Head Rights System or the Wayne County Land Lottery System (Spencer, 1979?; Cooksey, 2018).

As was the case with Telfair County, the development of settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was gradual in nature. In 1810, the population of the

settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 676. During 1820, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 1,010. In 1830, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 963. During 1840, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 1,248. In 1850, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 1,499. During 1860, the population of the settlements of White colonizers and slaveholders was 2,268 (Bureau of the Census, 1943).

Also, as was the case with Telfair County, the Indian Removal Act played a role in the Muscogee Indians leaving an area they had inhabited for hundreds of years before the arrival of White people. In the face of expulsion and faced forced migration, some of the Muscogee Indians refused to leave and created a resistance movement. Just like the Muscogee Indians in Telfair County, some of those in Wayne County engaged in armed conflict against the White colonizers and slaveholders. In addition, there were others who left the area and headed south to Florida where they became a part of the Seminole Nation (Mitchell, 1832; Clarke, 1832; Swanton, 1922, 1952; Walker, 1934; Spencer, 1979?).⁸

Gladys McKiver Frazier in Telfair County's Jacksonville, Georgia

Birth of Gladys McKiver Frazier

On March 12, 1915, Gladys McKiver Frazier was born in Jacksonville, Georgia as Gladys Sophia McKiver. She died in Wayne County, Georgia on May 20, 1984.⁹ Her parents were George McKiver and Florence Hill McKiver. She was born into a family of orientation and a nuclear family which was composed of her parents and an older brother named Austin McKiver.¹⁰ Whereas George McKiver was born in 1893 and died in 1957, Florence Hill McKiver was born in 1895 and died in 1945.¹¹ Austin McKiver was born in 1910 and died in 1974. The family of Gladys McKiver Frazier on her maternal side had lived in Jacksonville, Georgia for at least five generations prior to her birth. The paternal side of family had lived in Telfair County for one generation after migrating from South Carolina (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1984; Census Office, 1900b; Bureau of the Census, 1920).

The 1920 census for Telfair County informs us that the family of orientation of Gladys McKiver Frazier included her mother Florence Hill McKiver, her father George McKiver, and her brother Austin McKiver. That census record reports that George McKiver was a 26-years-old turpentine laborer who was born in South Carolina; Florence McKiver (aka Florence Hill McKiver) was 24 years old and not working outside the home; Austin McKiver was 10 years old; and Gladys McKiver (aka Gladys McKiver Frazier) was 4 years old. The 1920 census record lists George McKiver as the head of the family and a renter. In addition, it stated that George McKiver, Florence McKiver, and Austin McKiver could read and write. Furthermore, the 1920 census said that Austin McKiver was in school. At the time of the 1920 census for Telfair County, there was a total of 15,291 people, including 10,284 White people, 5,005 Black people, and 2 Indian people (Bureau of the Census, 1920, 1924).

Florence Hill McKiver: Mother of Gladys McKiver Frazier

Florence Hill McKiver (1895-1945), the mother of Gladys McKiver Frazier, was born in Jacksonville, Georgia as Florence Hill and was the daughter of Mary Fletcher Hill and Jimmie "Jim" Hill. On January 1, 1911, Florence Hill McKiver married George McKiver and they proceeded to have two children, including their daughter Gladys McKiver and their son Austin McKiver.¹² The siblings of Florence Hill McKiver were Henrietta Robinson (1883-1965);¹³ Levina Robinson (1885-?); William Turner Robinson (1886-1981);¹⁴ Ada Robinson (1887-?); Julia Robinson (1892-?); and Ely Hill (1860). Ely Hill was the whole brother of Florence Hill McKiver because they had the same father, namely Jimmie "Jim" Hill. In contrast, the others were the half brothers and sisters because their father was Issac Robinson. On December 5, 1894, Mary Fletcher married Jimmie "Jim" Hill. Thus, Florence Hill McKiver was born into a nuclear family that was also blended (State of Georgia, 1894; Census Office, 1900b; U.S. Social Security Administration, 1937; Georgia Department of Public Health, 1965).

According to the 1900 census for Telfair County, Mary Fletcher Hill was dead by that year and Jimmie "Jim" Hill had become a widower living with his mother-in-law Cassie Fletcher and his children. Regarding that household, the 1900 census listed Jimmie "Jim" Hill as Jim Hill and a 32-years-old father, stepfather, and father-in-law; Florence Hill McKiver as Florence Hill and his 5-years-old daughter; Ely Hill as Ely Hill and his 3 years-old son; Henrietta Robinson as Henrietta Roberson and his 16 years-old stepdaughter; Levina Robinson as Levina Roberson and his 14-years-old stepson; Ada Robinson as Ada Roberson and his 12-years-old stepdaughter; Julia Robinson as Julia Roberson and his 8-years-old stepdaughter; Cassie Fletcher as Cassie Fletcher and his 65-years-old mother-in-law; and Ely Fletcher as Ely Fletcher and his 40-years-old brother-in-law. Jimmie "Jim" Hill and Ely Fletcher were listed as day laborers (Census Office, 1900b).

During the 1910 census for Telfair County, Florence Hill McKiver was living in a household headed by her uncle Ely Fletcher. In terms of that household, the 1910 census listed Ely Fletcher as Ely Fletcher, head of household, a 45-years-old father, uncle, and widower; Henry Fletcher as Henry H. Fletcher and his 8-years-old son; Mizelli Fletcher as Mizelli Fletcher and his 5-years-old daughter; Truda Fletcher as Truda Fletcher and his 3-years-old daughter; Zack Fletcher as Zack Fletcher and his 19-years-old nephew; Florence Hill McKiver as Florence Hill and his 17-years-old niece; and Ely Fletcher as Ely Fletcher and his 13-years-old nephew. The household next to them was headed by Martha Fletcher, who was the aunt of Florence Hill McKiver. The 1910 census listed Martha Fletcher as Matha Fletcher, head of household, a 53-years-old mother, grandmother, and widow; Lan Willcox as Lan Willcox and her 35-years-old daughter; Walter Willcox as Walter Willcox and her 14-years-old grandson; Flora B. Willcox as Flora B. Willcox and her 13-years-old granddaughter; Kate Willcox as Kate Willcox and her 10-years-old granddaughter; Saxton Willcox as Saxton Willcox and her 8-years-old grandson; Agnes Willcox as Agnes Willcox and her 6-years-old granddaughter; Columbia Willcox as Columbia Willcox and her 4-years-old granddaughter; and Thomas Willcox as Thomas Willcox and her 2-years-old grandson (Bureau of the Census, 1910).

Another household of relatives living nearby was headed Pete Willcox and Henrietta Willcox, who was the aunt of Florence Hill McKiver. As for that household, the

1910 census listed Pete Willcox as Pete Willcox, a 31-years-old head of household, husband, and father; Henrietta Willcox as Henrietta Willcox, his 31-years-old wife, and a mother; Americus Willcox as Marius Willcox and his 7-years-old daughter; Beatrice Willcox as Beatrice Willcox and his 3-years-old daughter; Turner Willcox as Turner Willcox and his 2 years-old daughter; and William Willcox as William Willcox, his 50-years-old brother, and a widower (Bureau of the Census, 1910).

Mary Fletcher Hill: Maternal Grandmother of Gladys McKiver Frazier

Mary Fletcher Hill (1868-1899), the mother of Florence Hill McKiver and maternal mother Gladys McKiver Frazier, was born in Jacksonville, Georgia as Mary Etta Fletcher. Her parents were Henry Fletcher and Casander "Cassie" Fletcher. The siblings of Mary Fletcher Hill were Sophia Fletcher (1858-1938); Ely Fletcher (1862-1940); Thomas Fletcher (1864-?); Nancy Fletcher (1866-?); Marietta Fletcher (1869-?); James Fletcher (1869-?); Beckie Fletcher (1872-?); and Jack Fletcher (1876-?) (Census Office, 1870, 1880).¹⁵

The 1870 census listed Henry Fletcher as the husband and Cassandra "Cassie" Fletcher as the wife in a Jacksonville, Georgia household. That census listed Henry Fletcher as Henry Fletcher and a 28 years-old husband and father; Cassandra "Cassie" Fletcher as Cass A. Fletcher and a 31-years-old wife and mother; Sophia Fletcher as Sopha Fletcher and their 10-years-old daughter; Ely Fletcher as Elias Fletcher and their 8-years-old son; Thomas Fletcher as Thomas Y. Fletcher and their 6-years-old son; Nancy Fletcher as Nancy Fletcher and their 4-years-old daughter; and Mary Fletcher as Marietta Fletcher and their 1-year-old daughter. During the 1870 census, the next-door neighbors of Henry Fletcher and Cassandra "Cassie" Fletcher were Frank Fletcher and Nancy Graham Fletcher. Other next-door neighbors were Aaron Graham and Abigail Graham (Census Office, 1870).

Some 10 years later, the 1880 census reported that Henry Fletcher and Casander "Cassie" Fletcher were still maintaining a household in Jacksonville, Georgia. The 1880 census listed Henry Fletcher as Henry Fletcher and a 48-years-old husband and father; Cassandra "Cassie" Fletcher as Casander Fletcher and a 40-years-old wife and mother; Ely Fletcher as Elie Fletcher and their 18-years-old son; Thomas Fletcher as Thomas Fletcher and their 16-years-old son; Mary Fletcher as Mary Fletcher and their 12-years-old daughter; James Fletcher as James Fletcher and their 11-years-old son; Beckie Fletcher as Beckie Fletcher and their 8-years-old daughter; and Jack Fletcher as Jack Fletcher and their 4-years-old son. The next-door neighbors of Henry Fletcher and Cassandra "Cassie" Fletcher included Frank Fletcher and Nancy Graham Fletcher. Another neighbor was Martha Fletcher Mieninger. On the one hand, Frank Fletcher and Nancy Graham Fletcher were the parents of Henry Fletcher. On the other hand, Martha Fletcher Mieninger was the sister of Henry Fletcher (Census Office, 1880).¹⁶

As mentioned above, the record indicates that Mary Fletcher Hill had two sets of children. Mary Fletcher Hill had her first set by a man with the surname Robinson. The second set was by Jimmie "Jim" Hill who she married in December 1894.¹⁷ After the death of Mary Fletcher Hill, with the exception of William Turner Robinson, both sets of children were living with Jimmie "Jim" Hill at the time of the 1900 census. The 1900

census listed Jimmie “Jim” Hill as Jim Hill and a 32-years-old father, stepfather, and father-in-law; Florence Hill McKiver as Florence Hill and his 5-years-old daughter; Ely Hill as Ely Hill and his 3-years-old son; Henrietta Robinson as Henrietta Roberson and his 16-years-old stepdaughter; Levina Robinson as Levina Roberson and his 14-years-old stepson; Ada Robinson as Ada Roberson and his 12-years-old stepdaughter; Julia Robinson as Julia Roberson and his 8-years-old stepdaughter; Cassie Fletcher as Cassie Fletcher and his 65-years-old mother-in-law; and Ely Fletcher as Ely Fletcher and his 40-years-old brother-in-law (Census Office, 1900b).

Cassandra “Cassie” Fletcher: Maternal Great-Grandmother of Gladys McKiver Frazier

Cassandra “Cassie” Fletcher (1839-1910?) was the mother of Mary Fletcher Hill and grandmother of Gladys McKiver Frazier. She was born in Jacksonville, Georgia. Her maiden name and parents are unknown. Henry Fletcher (1832-1899?) was the husband of Cassie Fletcher. As mentioned above, the children of Cassie Fletcher and Henry Fletcher were Sophia Fletcher (1858-1938); Ely Fletcher (1862-1940); Thomas Fletcher (1864-?); Nancy Fletcher (1866-?); Mary Etta Fletcher (1868-1899); James Fletcher (1869-?); Beckie Fletcher (1872-?); and Jack Fletcher (1876-?) (Census Office, 1870, 1880, 1900b; Georgia Department of Public Health, 1935).¹⁸

Although the parents of Cassandra “Cassie” Fletcher have not been identified, those of her husband Henry Fletcher have been. The parents of Henry Fletcher (1832-1899) were Frank Fletcher (1810-1890?) and Nancy Graham Fletcher (1812-1908). The siblings of Henry Fletcher were Samuel Graham, Sr. (1835-1923), Aaron Graham (1839-1932), Easter Fletcher Mabley (1844-1930), and Martha Fletcher Mieninger (1857-1935). Thus, the children of Frank Fletcher and Nancy Graham Fletcher included Henry Fletcher, Samuel Graham, Sr., Aaron Graham, Easter Fletcher Mabley, and Martha Fletcher Mieninger (Census Office, 1870, 1880, 1900b; Georgia Department of Public Health, 1935, 1938b; Georgia State Board of Health, 1927, 1932).

Gladys McKiver Frazier in Wayne County’s Screven, Georgia

After her birth in Telfair County, the parents of Gladys McKiver Frazier moved their family to Screven, Georgia in Wayne County. This move occurred between the 1920 census and 1930 census. The 1930 census listed Gladys McKiver Frazier as Gladys McKeever and reported that she was living in a home with her mother Florence, her brother Austin, and her son L.C. It listed Florence Hill McKiver as Florence McKeever and indicated that she was serving as head of household. Both Florence McKiver and Gladys McKiver were listed as laborers on a farm. Austin McKiver was listed as Austin McKeever and as a naval stores’ laborer. The 1930 census indicated that Florence McKiver was a renter. During the time of the 1930 census for Wayne County, there was a total of 12,647 people, including 9,651 White people; 2,995 Black people, and 1 person in the Other Races category (Bureau of the Census, 1930).

At the time of the 1940 census for Wayne County, there was a total of 13,122 people, including 10,328 White people; 2,793 Black people; and 1 person in the Other Races category. By the time of the 1940 census, Gladys McKiver Frazier was living with her husband Augustus Manson Frazier (1903-1963) and their four children.¹⁹ At that

point, their family included 10-years-old L.C. Frazier who was listed as Lawrence Frazier; 8-years-old Thomas "Tom" Frazier who was listed as Thomas Frazier; 7-years-old Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd who was listed as Julia Frazier; 5-years-old Charles Augustus "Boobie" Frazier who was listed as Charles A. Frazier; and 1-year-old Betty Frazier Graham who was listed as Betty Joyce Frazier. Thus, the family of Gladys McKiver Frazier and Augustus Manson Frazier consisted of five children. It should be noted that one child named Arthur Frazier died from Bronco Pneumonia as an 18-months-old toddler on November 16, 1937. The death certificate of Arthur Frazier erroneously lists his name as Charlis Frazier (Bureau of the Census, 1940, 1943; Georgia Department of Public Health, 1935).

The 1940 census shows that Augustus Manson Frazier provided for his family by working as a laborer in naval stores. It also shows that Gladys McKiver Frazier was not working outside the home. Augustus Manson Frazier and Gladys McKiver Frazier lived in close proximity to four other branches of the Morgan-Frazier family clan residing in a section of Screven, Georgia known as "The Hill." One of those branches living nearby was the family of Sarah Frazier Gaffney, the sister of Augustus Manson Frazier. Members of the Gaffney household included Sarah Frazier Gaffney who was listed as the 46-years-old mother and widow; her 10-years-old son John Gaffney; her 8-years-old son Aleck Gaffney; and her 5-years-old son Marcus Gaffney. A second branch of the family living nearby was headed by Minnie Frazier Dixon, the sister of Augustus Manson Frazier. That household's members were composed of Minnie Frazier Dixon who was listed as the 52-years-old mother, grandmother, and widow; Vernon H. Dixon who was listed as her 23-years-old son; and Jimmie C. Douglas who was listed as her 13-years-old grandson (Bureau of the Census, 1940).

A third branch of the family living nearby was headed by Willie "Snook" Jones. His wife Eddie Mae Dixon Jones was a niece of Augustus Manson Frazier. Members of the Jones household included Willie "Snoot" Jones who was listed as the 29-years-old husband and father; Eddie Mae Jones who was listed as the 28-years-old mother; Nina Louise Jones Hamm was listed as Nina Jones and their 6-years-old daughter; Willie Joe "Billy" was listed as Willie Joe Jones and their 5-years-old son; Mary Francis Jones Thomas was listed as Mary Francis Jones and their 4-years-old daughter; and Frankie Lee Jones was listed as Frankie Lee Jones and their 2-years-old son. A fourth branch of the family living nearby was headed by Matilda Morgan Frazier, the mother of Augustus Manson Frazier and the mother-in-law of Gladys McKiver Frazier. Matilda Morgan Frazier was listed as Matilda Frazier and a 70-years-old mother, grandmother, and widow; Bennie Mae Frazier was listed as Benny Frazier and her 40-years-old daughter; Sibbie Frazier was listed as Sibbie Frazier and her 38-years-old daughter; Mary Frazier McLeod was listed as Mary Frazier and her 31-years-old daughter; Martha Frazier Fisher was listed as Martha Frazier and her 31-years-old daughter; Thelma Frazier was listed as her 23-years-old granddaughter; Charlie "Job" Frazier was listed as Charlie Frazier and her 15-years-old great-grandson; and Eleanor "Gal" Frazier was listed as Eleanor Frazier and her 10-years-old great-granddaughter (Bureau of the Census, 1940).

During the 1940s and 1950s, Gladys McKiver Frazier and Augustus Manson Frazier had five more children together. Those children included Jordan Austin Frazier, Florence Irene Frazier Monroe, Martha Frazier Fuller, and Gladys Matilda Frazier

Simon. Each of the children Gladys McKiver Frazier and Augustus Manson Frazier's family of procreation was born and raised in Screven, Georgia. Eventually, each of the adult male children served in the military. L.C. Frazier, Thomas Frazier, and Charles Augustus Frazier served in the US Air Force. Jordan Austin Frazier served in the US Army. Thomas Frazier served in the US Air Force and US Army (Cromartie, 2013).

Of the four who went into the military, Thomas Frazier was the only one who made it a career. Charles Augustus Frazier died in the military of kidney disease at the age of 21.²⁰ L.C. Frazier worked for many years in customer service for the Trailways Bus Company in Tallahassee, Florida. Jordan Austin Frazier, the youngest of the male children, followed his uncle Jordan Frazier, Jr. into employment in Waycross, Georgia with the Seaboard Railroad Company, which later became known as CSX. He lived in Jacksonville, Florida and Birmingham, Alabama wherein he became a very successful businessman selling insurance, cosmetics, and cars. As a result of his success with his car dealership, Jordan Frazier became the Alabama Black businessperson of the year several times.

The female children of Gladys McKiver Frazier and Augustus Manson Frazier also had achievements of note. Unlike Gladys McKiver Frazier, all five of her daughters graduated from high school. Betty Frazier Graham, Florence Frazier Monroe, and Gladys Frazier Simon graduated on time. Gladys Frazier Simon set a high standard in the family as the valedictorian and the queen of class at Northside High School in Jesup, Georgia. While still in their teenage years, Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd and Martha Frazier Fuller married husbands. Nevertheless, they both later attended adult school and received their diplomas. Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd proceeded to go to nursing school and coordinated a free lunch program for needy children in the community at Mt. Zion African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Waycross, Georgia for more than 30 years.²¹ Martha Frazier Fuller was the first woman in the state of Georgia to be the coordinator of a road construction crew.

During her lifespan from 1915 to 1984, Gladys McKiver Frazier became well known as an expert cook and the church mother at St. James African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Screven, Georgia. She was a superb church leader who made all children present in her house attend church with her. Gladys McKiver Frazier would typically rise early in the morning to serve her family and guests delicious hot breakfast meals featuring grits, eggs, homemade biscuits, and homemade syrup. Whereas she made the biscuits, her husband Augustus Manson Frazier produced the homemade syrup. Like her daughter Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd, Gladys McKiver Frazier cooked a rice-based cuisine for dinner and supper. Rice was cooked and prepared for virtually each dinner and supper.

The types of meat Gladys McKiver Frazier cooked and prepared included chicken, fish, beef, duck, rabbit, raccoon, and some pork.²² As for vegetables, Gladys McKiver Frazier cooked and prepared okra, creamed white corn, boiled white corn, boiled yellow corn, boiled peanuts, cabbage, greens, peas, and beans. The types of bread Gladys McKiver Frazier cooked and prepared included corn bread, biscuits, and dinner rolls. Salads cooked and/or prepared by Gladys McKiver Frazier were potato salad, ambrosia fruit, and green lettuce salad. Gladys McKiver Frazier prepared beverages such as sweet tea, lemonade, hot chocolate, and coffee. Among the various desserts cooked and prepared by Gladys McKiver Frazier were pumpkin pie, sweet

potato pie, pumpkin bread, sweet potato bread, peach cobbler, blackberry doobie, sour cream pound cake, pecan cake, cocoa nut cake, chocolate cake, and homemade ice cream. Her pumpkin pies, peach cobblers, and homemade ice cream were unforgettable.

In her spare time, Gladys McKiver Frazier, like many other Gullah women, would often engage in quilting. The National Park Service (2003) has pointed out that, "Traditional arts and crafts are second only to language as a rallying point for Gullah/Geechee cultural awareness and ethnic consolidation" (p. 61). It was noted by the National Park Service that:

Quilting began on the plantations to supplement the blankets that were distributed bymasters about every three years. Slave women frequently gathered in the evenings, after completing their work in the fields, to make warm and colorful quilts. Thus, quilting was both a time of work and a time of social interaction. Quilts were usually made in the bright colors of African tradition rather than the softer colors preferred by Europeans. (pp. 69-70)

The National Park Service also noted that Gullah women "continue to follow the quilting traditions of their ancestors" (p. 70). In the case of Gladys McKiver Frazier, she certainly continued to follow the quilting traditions of her ancestors. She had a deep passion for quilting and even taught her son Jordan Austin Frazier, as well as her daughters, how to sew by hand and sew with a machine.²⁴

Gladys McKiver Frazier was a dedicated wife, mother, and grandmother. Although her husband had four children with another woman named Lesley McMillian, Gladys McKiver Frazier stuck with Augustus Manson Frazier until his death in 1963.²³ She outlived him by 22 years. Gladys McKiver Frazier was the type of mother who stuck with her children through the thick and thin. She gave them her advice, but never turned her back on them if they decided to go in a direction recommended by her. For example, Jordan Austin Frazier recalled his mother expressing her concern about his decision to give up well-paying job to pursue a dream as the owner of a car dealership. Jordan Austin Frazier told his mother he was going to be successful with his endeavor and he did. Since praying everyday was a major part of her life, there is no doubt that Gladys McKiver Frazier prayed to God to give Jordan Austin Frazier the strength and perseverance to make his dream come true.²⁵

As a grandmother, Gladys McKiver Frazier was loving but strict. Gladys McKiver Frazier believed in spanking and she did spank. She did not tolerate any disobedience from children and expected them to do as told. Together, with other Black men and women in Screven, Georgia, they developed a support network wherein all Black children became fictive kin. That also meant those other adults had the right to render discipline to any child acting out. Sometimes, that also meant a child receiving a verbal rebuke or a physical spanking from someone not related by blood, marriage, or adoption. In the segregated school system in Screven, Georgia, teachers were considered fictive kin who had the right to give a verbal rebuke or a physical spanking to a child acting out. Those values and norms were thoroughly supported those values and norms Gladys McKiver Frazier and other adults in her extended family.

In the home, Gladys McKiver Frazier believed that Black people should have weapons to defend themselves. Gladys McKiver Frazier slept in her bedroom with an armed rifle in a gun rack on the wall above her head. During the 1930s, a White posse was searching for a Black fugitive and came near the family property. When her adolescent son L.C. Frazier expressed fear of the White posse, Gladys McKiver Frazier assured him that the family would be protected by her and Augustus Manson Frazier with their weapons. The White posse kept going without coming on the property. The Black fugitive also managed to escape from the White posse.

Implications of the Research

This paper has at least four significant consequences. One significant consequence is that it has provided important details about the life and times of Gladys McKiver Frazier as a Gullah woman who lived in Georgia's Telfair County and Wayne County. This paper covered her life from birth to death. Gladys McKiver Frazier was born in Telfair County's Jacksonville, Georgia and died in a hospital in Wayne County's Jesup, Georgia, a small town located 12 miles from Screven, Georgia. Her death certificate indicates that she died from ovarian cancer. Gladys McKiver Frazier loved to use Johnson & Johnson talcum powder after a bath and may have been a victim of its side effects (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1984).

A second significant consequence is that it provided an analysis of the social conditions Gladys McKiver Frazier faced in Telfair County's Jacksonville, Georgia where she was born on in 1915. After her birth, the 14th census was held. The 14th census indicated that the total population of Telfair County in 1920 was 15,291. Of that total, 5,005 were Black people, 10,944 were White people, and 2 people fell into the Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other categories. The Black population in Telfair County tended to live in village-like situations with their nuclear and extended families living close to other relatives (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1984; Bureau of the Census, 1924).

A third significant consequence is that that it provided an analysis of the social conditions Gladys McKiver Frazier faced in Wayne County's Screven, Georgia where she and her husband Augustus Manson Frazier raised their family from 1929 to 1984. By the time of the 16th census, Gladys McKiver Frazier and Augustus Manson Frazier were the parents of six children, including one who died. The 16th census showed that the total population of Wayne County in 1940 was 13,122. Of that total, 1,349 were Black people, 10,328 were White people, and 1 person fell into the other race category. As was the case in Telfair County, the Black population in Telfair County tended to live in village-like situations with their nuclear and extended families living close to other relatives. During 1944, 1949, 1950, and 1951, Gladys McKiver Frazier and Augustus Manson Frazier produced another four children together (Bureau of the Census, 1942; Cromartie, 2013).²⁶

A fourth significant consequence is that this research examined the Gullah heritage of Gladys McKiver Frazier. Like Denmark Vesey and Gullah Jack Pritchard, Gladys McKiver Frazier was a member of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church and attended services every Sunday. Her church home was St. James AME Church in Screven, Georgia and the norm included the singing of the Negro Spirituals.

In terms of Gullah material culture, Gladys McKiver Frazier engaged in making quilts that were used by family and friends to ward off the cold Georgia nights. Gladys McKiver Frazier also fed her family and friends a rice-based cuisine as was the norm among Gullah people.

Summary and Conclusion

This paper has focused on the life and times of Gladys McKiver Frazier as a Gullah woman who lived in Georgia's Telfair County and Wayne County. It has analyzed the social conditions Gladys McKiver Frazier faced in Telfair County's Jacksonville, Georgia where she was born in 1915. This paper has also analyzed the social conditions Gladys McKiver Frazier faced in Wayne County's Screven, Georgia where she and her husband Augustus Manson Frazier raised their family from 1929 to 1984. In addition, it has examined the Gullah heritage of Gladys McKiver Frazier.

During the 1970s, Gil Scott-Heron did a remake of Bill Withers song *Grandma's Hands*. In his deep baritone voice, Scott-Heron waxed poetic about the caring ways of a Black grandmother. Whenever the present writer hears the Scott-Heron version or the original version of Withers, the present writer thinks of Gladys McKiver Frazier and her amazing ways. Gladys McKiver Frazier was a Black woman who had a great influence on her children, grandchildren, and other relatives. She taught them important values and norms, including respect for elders and the honoring of the ancestors. Gladys McKiver Frazier once encouraged the present writer to conduct research on her family history and write about it. This paper represents a follow-through by the present writer regarding that promise he made to his beloved grandmother known to him by the kinship term Grandmama. May the descendants of Gladys McKiver Frazier remember her forever and the Maat (i.e., right order) she stood for so valiantly. Let the record show that Gladys McKiver Frazier was a courageous woman who epitomized a female Jegna by sustaining a Black institution inside the community, namely the St. James AME Church in Screven, Georgia.

Notes

1. The Wanderer landed on the Georgia coast in Glynn County's Jekyll Island as an illegal action after picking up a cargo of over 400 enslaved Black people in Africa. The ship was owned by White slaveholders Charles Lamar and William Corrie, who were engaged in the enslavement of many Black people. For details about the Wanderer and the Black people it brought through the Middle Passage in 1858, see Montgomery (1908), Mann (1949/2016); Wells (1967), and Calonijs (2006). On the south end of Jekyll Island, there is a Wanderer Memorial. According to an item in the *Jekyll Island Beachscape*, "The Memorial commemorates survivors of the slave ship Wanderer, one of the last known groups of enslaved Africans sold in the United States, nearly 50 years after the importation of slaves was outlawed" (Jekyll Island Authority, 2016, p. 11). There is also an exhibit on the Wanderer in the Jekyll Island Museum. An important artifact I saw on exhibit in the Jekyll Island Museum during a 2021 cultural expedition was the cast-iron mess pot from the Wanderer.

2. The term Black families refers to groups of Black people related by blood, marriage, or adoption. Cf. Billingsley (1968), Theodorson & Theodorson (1969), and Jary & Jary (2000). Billingsley has related that the Black family is “a social system” (p. 4). For Billingsley, “a social system is an aggregation of persons or social roles bound together in a pattern of mutual interaction and interdependence” (p. 4). According to Billingsley, Black families are “imbedded in a network of mutually interdependent relationships with the Negro community and larger society” (p. 5). Billingsley further asserted that the Black family “includes within itself several subsystems: that of the Husband-Wife, and those of Mother-Son, Mother-Daughter, Father-Son, Father-Daughter, Brother-Sister, Brother-Brother, Sister-Sister, and sometimes the Grandmother-Mother-Daughter subsystems, to mention only the most common” (p. 5).

3. For a discussion of the relationship between the terms Gullah and Geechee, see Cromartie (2020, 2021).

4. Theodorson and Theodorson (1969) have offered definitions of the term family of orientation and the term family of procreation. On the one hand, Theodorson and Theodorson have defined the family of orientation as “The family into which an individual is born and in which he is socialized” (p. 151). On the other hand, Theodorson and Theodorson have defined the family of procreation as “The family formed by an individual when he marries and has children” (p. 151).

5. I am a descendant of Gladys McKiver Frazier. She was my maternal grandmother. My mother Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd was her daughter.

6. For more information about the expedition of Hernando de Soto in Georgia and elsewhere, see Whisnant and Whisnant (2007) as well as Wooten (2015). Whisnant and Whisnant have informed us that Hernando de Soto De Soto, while in the present limits of the USA, “enslaved many Apalachee and ruthlessly tried to ‘pacify’ them using torturous methods like cutting off hands and noses, burning at the stake, and throwing them to the army’s band of vicious ‘war dogs’” (p. 44). Wooten has related that the expedition of Hernando de Soto “likely” spent time in Telfair County and left artifacts that were discovered by a research team led by archaeologist Dennis Blanton in 2006. According to Blanton, he led seven excavations in Telfair County that have produced “the largest collection of archaeologically recovered pre-1550 European artifacts in the interior Southeast” (Quoted in Wooten, 2015, p. 2). Blanton and his team found the artifacts at a site near the Ocmulgee River and Jacksonville, Georgia.

7. Spencer (1979?) and Cooksey (2018) have both reported that Wayne County was named in honor of General Anthony “Mad Anthony” Wayne. However, they diverge on who Jesup, Georgia, the county seat, was named after. On the one hand, Spencer has stated:

Jesup was not named for General Thomas Sidney Jesup, as some people erroneously believe. It was named after Morris Ketchum Jesup (1830-1904). M.K. Jesup was the president of an investment firm and he heavily influenced the

development of the rail in this area. He was, however, related to General Jesup. (p. 19)

In contrast, Cooksey has reported an opposite view. Cooksey said that, "Its name came from Thomas Jesup, a U.S. Army general famous for his exploits during the Creek Indian War of 1836" (p. 1). General Thomas S. Jesup was also a commanding officer of Army forces who fought against the Seminole Nation. For more information about Morris Ketchum Jesup, see W. Brown (1910). As was the case with my mother, I was born in Wayne County's Screven, Georgia, which was named for James Proctor Screven, who was born in 1799 and died in 1859. He was an official with the Atlantic & Gulf Railroad, which built its tracks with the labor of enslaved Black people. For more information about James Proctor Screven, see Southern Historical Collection (1990).

8. Spencer (1979?) has provided some details about the activities of Muskogee Indians in Wayne County and their armed attacks on White colonizers and slaveholders. He stated:

Name of places in Wayne County often have historical and interesting origins. The community of Gardi, for example, was named for "Gardi" creek. This in turn derived its [sic] name from the settlers who crossed it. Because this creek was a supposedly favorite place for Indian ambushes, they would call to each other "gaurd your eyes" before crossing it. "Guard your eyes" Creek became "Gardi", and then Gardi community. (p. 18)

Spencer continued:

Alex Island, on the Altamaha, was named for an Indian chief that the English called "Chief Aleck", and who loved on an island inland on the Altamaha. Through a slight spelling variation "Aleck's Island". Chief Aleck's Indian name was Doctor, and Doctortown is also named for him.

The Altamaha river's name also had Indian beginnings. When De Soto came to our area he called the river "Rio de Talaxe" after the first Indian village he encountered on the river. The English, however, adapted the Indian name, which was "Ala Tama Ha". This in English means "Leading to the Tama", the Tama being the Indians who inhabited the interior of the state. (pp. 18-19)

In her history of neighboring Ware County, Walker (1934) has provided evidence that Muscogee (Creek Indians) who joined the Seminole Nation were active in that county and other parts of southeast Georgia in 1838 and fought against White slaveholders in that area. Walker has informed us that, "The Indians were a constant menace to the pioneers; they stole cattle, murdered families and burned homes, and Ware came in quite frequently for her share of enormities from the hands of the Seminole, Cowetas and Creek Indians" (p. 198). She also reported that "a large body of Indians made camp some three miles southeast of Waycross in 1862. They were of the Creek tribe and were trying to make their way into the Okefinokee Swamp" (p. 17). Walker published several letters from the Georgia Department of Archives pertaining to the conflict

between the White slaveholders of southeast Georgia and warriors of the Seminole Nation, including Muskogee (Creek Indians). One of the letters dated July 25, 1838 and written by Thomas Hilliard (1934), a White military officer, to George R. Gilmer, the governor of Georgia, documented an attack by 50 warriors of the Seminole Nation against Maxie Wildes, his family, and neighbors on July 22, 1838. As a result of that attack, nine White people died in Ware County, including Maxie Wildes, his wife Mary Elizabeth Wilkerson Wildes, six of his children, and a young boy who was staying overnight. That boy was a relative with the surname Wilkerson. Of the 13 people in the home of Wildes during the attack, only five managed to escape and survive. The five who survived included a cousin named Alice Wilkerson and four sons of Maximillan Wildes, namely Reuben Wildes, Jesse Wildes, James Wildes, and John Wildes. Maximillan Wildes was one of the first men who attempted to move his family into present-day Waycross, Georgia area, which is only seven miles from the Okefenokee Swamp. I went to high school at Waycross High School with a White student named Maximillan "Maxie" Wildes, a descendant of the original Maximillan "Maxie" Wildes. Whereas the Maxie Wildes I knew is a descendant of the original Maxie Wildes, I am a descendant of a Black Seminole named Bessie "Bess" Frazier. She was grandmother of Augustus Manson Frazier, the father of my mother Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd. For more information about Bessie "Bess" Frazier, see Cromartie (2013). It should be noted that my 10thth grade English teacher was a White woman named Hazel Wildes Mancil, who was also a descendant of Maximillan "Maxie" Wildes. For a book she wrote about Maximillan "Maxie" Wildes and his descendants, see Mancil (1984). According to Mancil, she is a descendant of Maximillan "Maxie" Wildes through his son John Wildes.

9. The death certificate of Gladys McKiver Frazier indicates that she died in Wayne County, Georgia on May 20, 1984. Her death certificates says that she was 69 (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1984).

10. Theodorson and Theodorson (1969) have defined the term nuclear family as, "The basic unit of family organization, composed of a married couple and their offspring. The nuclear family may be a separate family or a part of a larger family" (p. 149). They also explained that, "A husband with two wives would be a member if two nuclear families, or a compound family. The term *conjugal family* is sometimes used instead of *nuclear family*" (p. 149).

11. The death certificate of Florence Hill McKiver shows that she died in Wayne County, Georgia on May 20, 1945. Her death certificates says that she was 50 (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1945).

12. The marriage certificate of Florence Hill McKiver and George McKiver shows that they got married in Lowndes County, Georgia on January 1, 1911 (State of Georgia, 1911).

13. The death certificate of Henrietta Robinson Wilcox shows that she died in Coffee County, Georgia on May 18, 1965. Her death certificates states that she was 81 (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1965).

14. The World War I draft registration form of William Turner Robinson indicates that he was born in Telfair County's Jacksonville, Georgia on September 3, 1886. His registration form states that he was born September 3, 1886 (Selective Service, 1917). On February 22, 1937, William Turner Robinson applied for a Social Security Account Number. He stated on the application that Issac Evangelist Robinson was his father and Mary Fletcher was his mother (Social Security Administration, 1937). The death certificate of William Turner Robinson shows that he died in Glynn County's Brunswick, Georgia on March 25, 1981. His death certificate states that he was 94 (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1981).

15. The death certificate of Sophia Fletcher Graham shows that she died in Telfair County, Georgia on January 12, 1938. Her death certificate states that she was 88. Walter Graham made an error and listed her father as Henry Bennett instead of Henry Fletcher (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1938b).

16. The death certificate of Martha Fletcher shows that she died in Telfair County, Georgia on August 22, 1935. Her death certificates states that she was 77 (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1935).

17. There is a marriage license certificate that provides verification that Mary Fletcher Hill married Jimmie Hill. The date of the marriage license is December 5, 1894 (State of Georgia, 1894).

18. Cassie Fletcher, the mother of Mary Fletcher Hill and grandmother of Gladys McKiver Frazier, was my great-great grandmother. According to a 2016 maternal analysis of my DNA, the findings indicate that it can be traced back to the Yoruba people in Nigeria. My maternal line includes Cassie Fletcher, Mary Fletcher Hill, Florence Hill McKiver, Gladys McKiver Frazier, and Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd.

19. The family structure of Gladys McKiver Frazier and Augustus Manson Frazier was a nuclear family type and may or may not have also been a blended family type. L.C. Frazier, Sr. told family members that his father is Augustus Manson Frazier despite what any record says. He told me that the family home was built by the hands of Augustus Manson Frazier, L.C. Frazier, Sr., and Thomas Frazier after the previous home was destroyed by a fire. As for the blended family, it is composed of a family structure wherein one, or both, of the people in the relationship have brought in children from previous relationships (Poppen & White, 1984; Weingarten, 1980). In the case of Weingarten, she has related that blended families "are family units in which at least one member of the adult couple has a child or children by a previous marriage" (p. 534). During the 1930s, the household of Gladys McKiver Frazier and Augustus Manson Frazier became an extended family because it included his great-grandfather Alexander "Alex" Morgan, who died at the age of 113 in 1938 (Georgia Department of Public Health, 1938a; Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Jary & Jary, 2000).

20. See Frazier (1956) for the application of a military headstone for Charles Augustus Frazier after died of kidney complications on May 7, 1956 in the 3450th USAF Hospital at Travers E. Warren Air Force Base in Wyoming. He had just re-enlisted in the Air Force on January 5, 1956. The funeral was handled by Thomas Johnson, Jr., a Black mortician in Jesup, Georgia.

21. My mother Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd was a griot among the descendants of Gladys McKiver Frazier and knew intimate details about her maternal and paternal lineage. During her lifetime, she proudly explained to me that she was a Freshwater Geechee. She also explained to me the difference between a Freshwater Geechee and a Saltwater Geechee. Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd was very clear that her father Augustus Manson Frazier was a Geechee because of his connection to the Seminole Nation through his grandmother Bessie “Bess” Frazier, a Black Seminole. She was aware that her mother was a Gullah because of her cultural ties to Africa via the Middle Passage. For more information about the life and times of Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd, see Cromartie (2010, 2013).

22. When I was 15, I stopped eating pork as a result of the influence of Malcolm X and his followers. Three years later when I was 18, I stopped eating all meat. Upon hearing of that development from my mother, my grandmother said to me: “I heard you stopped eating meat. Actually, son I don’t need it either. I just like to see it on my plate as an option. You know that I have always cooked plenty of vegetables.”

23. Those four children were John “J.R.” McMillian, Gloria McMillian, Maceo McMillian, and Christine McMillian Sails. See Cromartie (2013).

24. As a child and an adult, I observed my grandmother Gladys McKiver Frazier making quilts in her home. I saw her making many quilts of the patchwork type. Our extended family used them as blankets to keep warm during cold nights. For more information about the quilting tradition among Black women in the USA, see E. Brown (1989) and P. Turner (2009).

25. For some information on the success of Jordan Austin Frazier as a businessman, see Cooper (2007) and Norris (2011). Cooper informed us that Jordan Austin Frazier and his company was one of the nine Alabama companies that managed to make *Black Enterprise* magazine's annual list of the top-grossing Black businesses. She further explained that in 2006 “Jordan Frazier Chrysler Dodge ranked No. 34 on its auto dealers list with \$70.7 million in sales” (p. 1). Norris related that, “Jordan Frazier, the former owner of Bessemer Chrysler Jeep and Dodge, has been chosen as president of the Midfield Chamber of Commerce for 2011” (p. 1).

26. After the death of her daughter Mary Fletcher Hill, Cassie Fletcher lived with her son-in-law Jimmie “Jim” Hill and her grandchildren as an extended family consisting of three generations. Cassie Fletcher was the great-grandmother of Gladys McKiver Frazier. Their extended family lived in close proximity to other relatives in Jacksonville, Georgia during 1900. The mother and father of Gladys McKiver Frazier had roots in

Telfair County. Similarly, after the death of her daughter Clara Wells McCrae, Maggie Hill Wells lived with her son-in-law Cato McCrae and her grandchildren as an extended family consisting of three generations. Maggie Hill Wells was the great-grandmother of Augustus Manson Frazier. Their extended family lived in close proximity to other relatives in Mount Carmel, Georgia during 1900. The mother of Augustus Manson Frazier had roots in Telfair County and his father had roots in Camden County (Census Office, 1900a, 1900b).

References

- Bailey, Anne C. (2017). *The Weeping Time: Memory and the Largest Slave Auction in American History*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Elsa Barkley. (1989, Summer). African-American Women's Quilting. *Signs*, 14, 921-929.
- Brown, William Adams. (1910). *Morris Ketchum Jesup: A Character Sketch*. New York: New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1910). *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Telfair, Jacksonville Militia District 338, Supervisor's District Number 11, Enumeration District Number 158*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1920). *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Telfair, 338 GM District, Supervisor's District Number 16, Enumeration District Number 108*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1924). *Fourteenth Census of the United States, State Compendium, Georgia: Statistics of Population, Occupations, Agriculture, Drainage, Manufactures, and Mines and Quarries for the State, Counties, and Cities*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1930). *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Wayne, Screven Militia District 1217, Supervisor's District Number 12, Enumeration District Number 153-6*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1940). *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Wayne, Militia District 1217, Supervisor's District Number 8, Enumeration District Number 151-6*. Washington, DC: National Archives.
- Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1942). *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 Population Volume 1 Number of Inhabitants: Total*

Population for States, Counties, and Minor Civil Divisions; for Urban and Rural Areas; for Incorporated Places; for Metropolitan Districts; and for Census Tracts. Comprising the First Series of Population Bulletins for the States, Territories, and Possessions. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1943). *1940 Census of Population: Volume 2. Characteristics of the Population. Sex, Age, Race, Nativity, Citizenship, Country of Birth of Foreign-born White, School Attendance, Years of School Completed, Employment Status, Class of Worker, Major Occupation Group, and Industry Group* (Pt. 2). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. (1949). *Historical Statistics of the United States 1789-1945: A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Calonius, Erik (2006). *The Wanderer: The Last American Slave Ship and The Conspiracy that Set its Sails.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Census Office. (1870). *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870. Schedule 1.—Inhabitants in the 120 Subdivision, in the County of Telfair, State of Georgia. Post Office: Jacksonville.* Washington, DC: National Archives.

Census Office. (1880). *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. Schedule 1.—Inhabitants in Ninety Third, in the County of Telfair, State of Georgia. Supervisor's District Number 3, Enumeration District Number 93 [District 338].* Washington, DC: National Archives.

Census Office. (1900a). *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Telfair, 1524 Mount Carmel, Supervisor's District Number 11, Enumeration District Number 85.* Washington, DC: National Archives.

Census Office. (1900b). *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900. Schedule No. 1.—Population. Georgia, Telfair, 338 Jacksonville District, Supervisor's District Number 11, Enumeration District Number 85.* Washington, DC: National Archives.

Clarke, Archibald. (1832). Letter to Edmund P. Gaines, General, Dated February 26, 1817. In Walter Lowrie & Matthew St. Clair Clarke (Eds.), *American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the First to the Second Session of the Fifteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing March 3, 1789, and Ending March 3, 1819* (Vol. 1, Military Affairs) (p. 682). Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton.

Cooksey, Elizabeth B. (2018, July 23). Wayne County. *New Georgia Encyclopedia.* Retrieved August 26, 2021, from <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org>

- Cooper, Lauren B. (2007, June 18). Black Enterprise: Nine Alabama Companies Among 'Top-Grossing.' *Birmingham Business Journal*. Retrieved May 28, 2021, from bizjournals.com
- Cromartie, J. Vern. (2010, May 21). Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd. *Waycross Journal-Herald*, 2.
- Cromartie, J. Vern. (2013). *Morgan-Frazier Family Clan: Chronicles of a Black Family with a Geechee and Gullah Heritage in Essays, Interviews, Research Reports, Documents, and Photographs*. Pittsburg, CA: Shakur Press.
- Cromartie, J. Vern. (2020). The Etymology of Geechee: A Position Statement From a Freshwater Geechee. *National Social Science Association*, 54, 33-54.
- Cromartie, J. Vern. (2021). Freshwater Geechees, Saltwater Geechees, and Other Gullahs: Africanisms and Acculturation Beyond the Gullah-Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor. In Hawaii International Conferences, *Hawaii International Conference on Education 2021 Proceedings* (pp. 561-614). Honolulu: Hawaii International Conferences.
- Franklin, John Hope, & Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. (2020). *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* (10th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Frazier, Augustus Manson. (1956, May 14). *Application for Headstone or Marker for Charles Augustus Frazier*. Washington, DC: Office of the Quartermaster General, Memorial Division.
- Georgia Department of Public Health. (1935). *Martha Fletcher Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 21145]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.
- Georgia Department of Public Health. (1937). *Charlis Frazier Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 30018]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.
- Georgia Department of Public Health. (1938a). *Alex [Alexander] Morgan Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 7893]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.
- Georgia Department of Public Health. (1938b). *Sophia [Fletcher] Graham Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 2158]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.
- Georgia Department of Public Health. (1945). *Florence McKiver Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 6171]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.
- Georgia Department of Public Health. (1965). *Henrietta Wilcox Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 020431]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.

- Georgia Department of Public Health. (1981). *William Turner Robinson Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 011285]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.
- Georgia Department of Public Health. (1984). *Gladys Frazier Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 018580]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.
- Georgia State Board of Health. (1927). *Andrew Wells Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 12480]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.
- Georgia State Board of Health. (1932). *Aaron Graham Certificate of Death* [Registered No. 32-15171]. Atlanta: State of Georgia Bureau of Vital Statistics.
- Jackson, Andrew. (1830, December 7). Message of the President of the United States, to Both Houses of Congress, At the Commencement of the Second Session of the Twenty-first Congress. December 7, 1830. *The Library of Congress*. Retrieved July 1, 2021, from memory.loc.gov
- Jary, David, & Jary, Julia. (Eds.). (2000). *Collins Web-linked Dictionary of Sociology*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Jekyll Island Authority. (2016, Spring). Wanderer Memorial. *Jekyll Beachscape*, 11.
- Mancil, Hazel Wildes. (1984). *Descendants of Maximilian Wildes of Scotland and Georgia, Updated*. Waycross, GA: Brantley Printing Company.
- Mann, Floris Perkins. (2016). *History of Telfair County from 1812-1949*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company, Publishers. (Original work published 1949)
- Mitchell, David Brydie. (1832). Letter to Edmund P. Gaines Dated February 5, 1817. In Walter Lowrie & Matthew St. Clair Clarke (Eds.), *American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the First to the Second Session of the Fifteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing March 3, 1789, and Ending March 3, 1819* (Vol. 1, Military Affairs) (p. 681). Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton.
- Montgomery, Charles J. (1908, October-December). Survivors of the Negro Save Yacht Wanderer. *American Anthropologist*, 10, 611-623.

- National Governors Association. (2021). Former Georgia Governors. *National Governors Association*. Retrieved July 1, 2021, from <https://www.nga.org>
- National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. (2003, December). *Low Country Gullah Culture, Special Resource Study and Environmental Impact Study; Public Review Draft*. Atlanta, GA: National Park Service, Southeast Region, Division of Planning and Compliance.
- Norris, Toraine. (2011, January 12). Frazier to Head Midfield Chamber This Year. *The Birmingham News*. Retrieved May 28, 2021, from al.com/birmingham-news-stories
- Pioneer Historical Society. (1988). *The History of Telfair County, Georgia*. Dallas, TX: Curtis Media Corp.
- Poppen, William A., & White, Pricilla N. (1984, October). Transition to the Blended Family. *Elementary School Guidance & Counseling*, 19, 50-61.
- Savannah Unit, Georgia Writer's Project, Works Projects Administration. (1972). *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*. New York: Anchor Books. (Original work published 1940)
- Savannah Unit, Georgia Writer's Project, Works Projects Administration. (1986). *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press. (Original work published 1940)
- Selective Service. (1917). *William Turner Robinson Registration Card Dated June 5, 1917* [Registrar's Card 10-3-32-A]. Washington, DC: Selective Service.
- Smith, Julia Floyd. (1985). *Slavery and Rice Culture in Low Country Georgia, 1750-1860*. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill Library. (1990). *Arnold and Screven Family Papers, 1758-1915, Bryan and Chatham counties, Georgia, also Rhode Island and South Carolina*. Frederick, MD: University Publications of America.
- Spencer, Mark. (1979?). *History of Wayne County, Georgia*. [Jesup, GA: Author].
- State of Georgia, County of Lowndes. (1911). *George McKiver and Florence Hill Marriage Certificate Dated January 1, 1911* [Marriage Record, Book G, 1909-1916]. McRae, GA: Telfair County.

- State of Georgia, County of Telfair. (1894). *Jimmie Hill and Mary Fletcher Marriage Certificate Dated December 5, 1894* [Marriages, Book B, No. 63, 1889-1902]. McRae, GA: Telfair County.
- Swanton, John R. (1922). *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.
- Swanton, John R. (1952). *The Indian Tribes of North America*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.
- Theodorson, George A., & Theodorson, Achilles G. (1969). *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.
- Turner, Lorenzo Dow. (1949). *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Turner, Patricia A. (2009). *Crafted Lives: Stories and Studies of African American Quilters*. Oxford, MS: University of Mississippi Press.
- Twenty-First Congress, 1st Session. (1830, May 28). An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of river Mississippi. *The Library of Congress*. Retrieved July 1, 2021, from memory.loc.gov
- U.S. Social Security Administration. (1937). *William Turner Robinson U.S. Social Security Act for Account Number Dated February 22, 1937*. Baltimore: Social Security Administration.
- Walker, Laura Singleton. (1934). *History of Ware County, Georgia*. Macon, GA: The J.W. Burke Co.
- Weingarten, Helen. (1980, December 1). Remarriage and Well-Being: National Survey Evidence of Social and Psychological Effects. *Journal of Family Issues*, 4, 533-559.
- Wells, Tom Henderson (1967). *The Slave Ship Wanderer*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Whisnant, David E., & Whisnant, D. Anne Mitchell. (2007). *Small Park, Large Issues: De Soto National Memorial and the Commemoration of a Difficult History*. Atlanta, GA: Cultural Resources Division Southeast Regional Office National Park Service.
- Wooten, Jim. (2015, May). Artifacts Make Telfair Site a Likely Stopping Point for De Soto. *Georgia Magazine*, 71, 19.

Wright, J. Leitch, Jr. (1986). *Creeks & Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Quality Assurance System in the Globalized Higher Education: Examination of the United States to Vietnam and Japan Accreditation Systems

Japan Foundation
Japan Studies Through Collaboration

Patricia Abels, DBA

The University of Findlay, Findlay, Ohio, United States of America

Ha Duy Mong Nguyen, PhD

The University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University of Ho Chi Minh City, VN

Hiroaki Kawamura, PhD

The University of Findlay, Findlay, Ohio, United States of America

Masahiro Chikada, PhD

Kobe University, Kobe, Japan

ABSTRACT

Higher education has jumped into the quality movement with expectations of enhancing the excellence of education being received by students. What constitutes quality in higher education is hard to define. Literature suggests four broad quality conceptualizations that include accountable, exceptional, purposeful, and transformative. Since there is no concrete definition of what quality is, the regional standards developed in the United States by the Higher Learning Commission is reviewed. The injection of accountability and accreditation into the educational system has raised the expectations of university in the United States. External accreditation has been growing worldwide in importance. A review of the literature was completed in order to gain a better understanding of the accreditation process within higher education for the United States, Vietnam and Japan. In order to further understand accreditation within the higher education for United States, Vietnam and Japan, personal interviews were conducted in United States, Vietnam and Japan with faculty members, university department heads, higher administration personnel, or authoritative figures on accreditation within that country. This paper looks at the development of accreditation within the United States, Vietnam, and Japan. There are some differences between the countries, however all three countries realize the importance of quality assurance and accreditation. Developing an understanding of the accreditation process will contribute to the literature surrounding accreditation and quality assurance.

KEYWORDS Council for Higher Education Accreditation, Regional Accreditation, United States Education, Vietnam Education, Japan Education

INTRODUCTION

In the United States, accreditation is a voluntary process that institutions utilize in order to demonstrate to stakeholders that an institution has met a minimum level of quality as compared to its peer institutions. There are seven regional commissions recognized by the United States Department of Education as being authoritative evaluators of higher education institutions. “Regional accreditation is viewed by stakeholders as being a more prestigious accreditation when compared to national (Federal) accreditation” (CHE 2018). Having regional accreditation means that an institution has met a higher standard of quality. National accreditation is necessary if an institution desires to qualify for Title IV Federal funding and national accreditation is the starting point for institutions seeking to become regionally accredited.

Vietnam has two governmental agencies responsible for the accreditation of higher institutions. First, the Department of Education and Testing and Accreditation–Ministry of Education and Training, which is responsible for the accreditation of colleges, high schools, universities, and all training programs. Second, the Vocational Accreditation Department of General Department of Vocational Training–Ministry of Labor, which is responsible for accrediting vocational institutions and vocational training programs. In Vietnam, there are no regional accreditation bodies as seen in the United States. The United States encompasses a large area divided into specific regions with regional accrediting bodies overseeing specific regions. The term regional in Vietnam relates to the ASEAN University Network.

Japan has the Ministry of Education, Cultural, Sports, Science and Technology that is responsible for six bureaus and two agencies. Education has three bureaus, Science and Technology consists of three bureaus, and Sports and Culture making up two agencies. Higher education can be further broken down into six divisions. There are three accreditation bodies in Japan. Those bodies are: Japan Institution for Higher Education Evaluation, Japan University Accreditation Association, and National Institutional for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation. To ensure quality within the educational system, the Ministry mandates institutions to complete a self-evaluation of its quality.

Regional accreditation enables an American institution to qualify for Federal funding for its students; regional accreditation promotes the transferability of credits between regional universities; and regional accreditation validates the quality of a degree to employers. By the 1930’s, accreditation was well established within higher education in the United States. Vietnam and Japan do not have regional accreditation. Vietnam government has reduced its regulations, and is permitting more autonomy of higher education institutions by permitting them to design their own curriculum etc. Vietnams’ current quality assurance is where Japan seen itself after World War II. In Japan, each accredit organization creates its own evaluation standards. These standards are the minimum standards that a university must have to comply with Japanese law and regulations. Japan University Accreditation Association was established in 1947, using the United States accreditation agencies as a model.

This paper begins with the theory of attempting to define what is quality. Since there is no concrete definition of what quality is, the standards developed in the United States by the regional Higher Learning Commission is used for this study. The methodology, results, and analysis follow. A review of the literature is conducted in order to gain a better understanding of the accreditation process within higher education

for United States, Vietnam, and Japan. In order to further understand accreditation within the higher education for United States, Vietnam and Japan, personal interviews were conducted in the United States, Vietnam and Japan with faculty members, university department heads, higher administration personnel, or authoritative figures on accreditation within that country. A comparison can be made between the United States, Vietnam, and Japan. The manuscript concludes with the recommendations to consider for future research among United States, Vietnam, and Japan.

THEORY

Back in 1985, Sir Christopher Ball asked the question, “What the hell is quality?” in his essay about what represents quality in higher education. What constitutes quality in higher education is hard to define. Harvey and Green (1993) conceptualized quality belonging to five interrelated processes. The five conceptualizations are:

- (1) Quality as exceptional – which entails passing a set of required minimum high standards and updating standards to remain a higher class.
- (2) Quality as perfection (or consistency) – is a measurement that every part in the process should be of quality and it is measured by benchmarks, checklists, or procedures. If results are expected to be perfect, this leaves no room for mistakes (aka zero defects).
- (3) Quality as fitness for purpose – is where the product or service fits its purpose and is constantly changing. A student's education should mirror the requirements expected in the workforce.
- (4) Quality as value for money – a measurement of quality based upon prices that an individual can afford. Quality is assessed against criteria; efficiency and effectiveness are important too. A student level of a quality education depends upon how much he/she can afford to pay.
- (5) Quality as transformation – deals with enhancing the customer (student) and empowering the consumer (student). Education should have value-added abilities, knowledge, and skills that allow a student to influence his/her own education.

Schindler et al. (2015) attempted to synthesize relevant research pertaining to quality. The research identified four types of stakeholders that rely on a quality higher education. Stakeholders include (a) providers – such as Federal funding and taxpayers; (b) users of products – such as students; (c) user of outputs – such as employers; and (d) employees of the sector – such as academics and administrators (Schindler et al. 2015). The authors noticed four quality patterns seen within the literature. The four broad quality conceptualizations include accountability to stakeholders, exceptional achievement of high standards, purposeful conformance to a stated mission or set of standards, and transformative with a positive change in student learning.

“Accreditation is a review of the quality of higher education institutions and programs” (CIQG 2018). American institutions that meet a minimum level of quality is granted national accreditation for Title IV funding, such as financial aid. American institutions that increase its minimum level of quality can apply for regional accreditation. Regional accreditors in America have developed quality standards that set the minimum requirements for regional accreditation. American institutions are

compared to competing institutions to reveal best practices. The standards allow regional accreditors to decide to affirm quality at the national and regional levels along with making recommendations for continuous improvement at American institutions.

The Higher Learning Commission found in the United States is one of the seven regional accreditors that evaluate an institutions quality of higher education based upon a broad set of standards. The standards evaluate institutions on the minimum quality that is acceptable to maintain institutional regional and national accreditation. The five broad categories that is considered quality in higher education are: (1) mission; (2) integrity: ethical and responsible conduct; (3) teaching and learning: quality, resources, support; (4) teaching and learning: evaluation, improvement; and (5) resources, planning, institutional effectiveness. The broad standards can also be found within the conceptual quality model developed by Harvey and Green (1993) and Schindler et al. (2015). Since there is no concrete definition of what quality is, the standards developed by the regional Higher Learning Commission in the United States is appropriate for this study.

METHODOLOGY, ANALYSIS, RESULTS

A case study method was used in order to gather data surrounding the accreditation process and agencies in the United States, Vietnam and Japan. The researchers first sought approval from the university's IRB committee in order to conduct the research. The university's IRB granted its approval. A review of the literature was completed in order to gain a better understanding of the accreditation process within higher education for United States, Vietnam and Japan. From that review of literature, the researchers identified some interview questions that they wished to have further clarification on. This led to the development of 16 questions related to the accreditation process and agencies; and 16 questions related to national accreditation.

In order to understand accreditation within the higher education for United States, Vietnam and Japan, personal interviews concerning the related questions were conducted in the United States, Vietnam and Japan with faculty members, university department heads, higher administration personnel, or authoritative figures on accreditation within that country. For instance, the researchers had the honor to personally speak with representatives from National Institution for Academic Degrees and Quality Enhancement of Higher Education, Japan University Accreditation Association, University of Findlay, Kobe University, Chiba Institute of Science, and University of Social Sciences and Humanities, among others. With the help of the researcher's contacts, personal interviews were arranged and conducted during the researcher's visits to Vietnam and Japan. The interview questions were translated into Japanese language and sent ahead of time to some of the Japanese contacts. An interpreter was available during the Japanese interviews. The interview questions were not translated into Vietnamese language because the contacts could read and speak English.

A case study was used in order to gather real-life background to provide meaningful evidence as to the accreditation process within higher education in United States, Vietnam and Japan. Interviewing the representatives allowed the researchers to confirm and clarify facts found with the review of literature. The researchers are very appreciative of the time, assistance, and superior hospitality during the lovely office

visits. It was wonderful how all parties were able to accommodate their busy calendars in order to accommodate the researchers needs. The preparation in which every organization engaged to; not only arrange such a superb presentation for each of the visits; but also, preparing so intensely for the time together by compiling the invaluable handouts was deeply appreciated. Each organization's diligent preparation allowed the researchers to cover a lot of ground in such a short period of time. The researchers learned so much from each meeting and conversation. The interviews were transcribed and read several times in order to compare and contrast the information shared from the interviewees. The data is documented in a research journal and is supported with the literature review in order to validate the research findings.

UNITED STATES

Council for Higher Education Accreditation

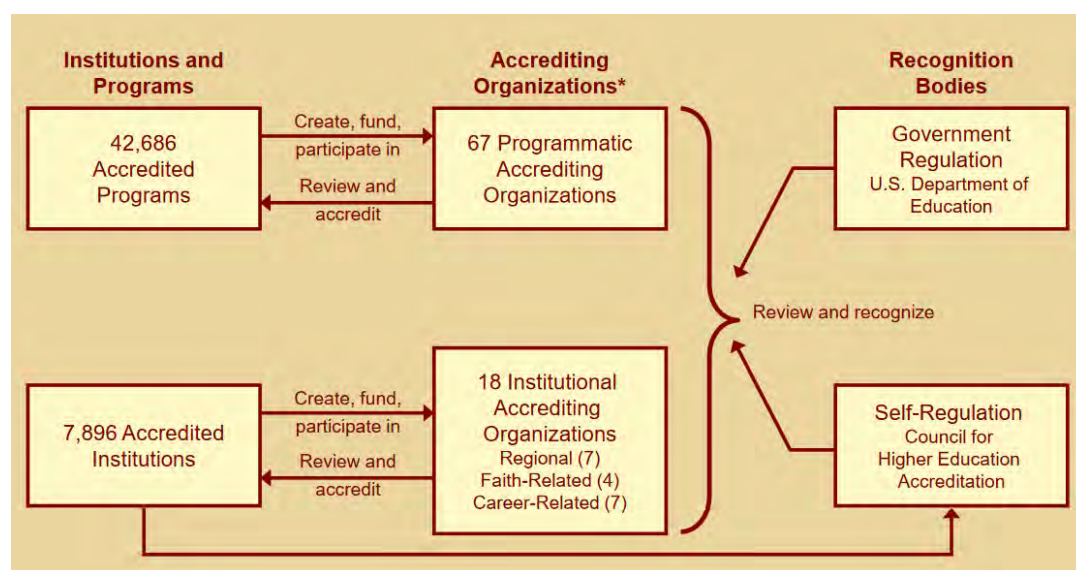
The Council on Postsecondary Accreditation was a result of a merger between the National Commission on Accreditation (founded in 1949) and the Federation of Regional Accrediting Commission of Higher Education (formerly National Committee of Regional Accrediting agencies). The main objective of the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation was the pursuit of ensuring accreditation quality. "The Council on Postsecondary Accreditation was in existence from 1975-1993 and was replaced by the Commission on Recognition of Postsecondary Accreditation in 1994 and the Council for Higher Education Association (CHEA) in 1996" (Bloland 1999). CHEA was formed in 1996 when the presidents of universities and colleges came together in order to strengthen higher education and promote academic quality (CHEA 2010). CHEA encompasses approximately 3,000 degree granting institutions with sixty institutional and programmatic accrediting organizations (CHE 2018). CHEA mission states that it "will serve students and families, colleges and universities, sponsoring bodies, governments, and employers by promoting academic quality through formal recognition of higher education accreditation bodies and will coordinate and work to advance self-regulation through accreditation" (CHEA 2010). According to CHEA (2018), the primary purpose of CHEA is: 1) to "serve as a primary national voice for accreditation and quality assurance" to the United States Congress and United States Department of Education; 2) to serve as a "national voice for accreditation to the general public, opinion leaders, students and families"; and 3) to "serve as a representative of the United States" accreditation community to international audiences.

The accreditation process within the United States is a self-review followed by a peer-review process that enables academic quality to be enhanced and ensuring that higher education institutions are held accountable to stakeholders for administering a rigorous quality program. CHEA is an independent, non-governmental agency that affirms the quality of "regional, faith-related, career-related and programmatic accrediting organizations" (CHE 2018). "Accreditors that are recognized by CHEA are reaffirmed every ten years, with two interim reports expected at the end of year 3 and 6" (Eaton 2015). According to CHEA (2018), it ensures that accreditors are able to recognize quality; it ensures that accreditors provide consistent, reliable information about academic quality; it encourages accreditors to make changes based upon self-examination; it ensures that accreditors engage in appropriate and fair procedures in

decision making; it ensures that accreditors perform self-scrutiny of their accrediting activities; and it ensures that accreditors have sufficient resources.

Accrediting bodies in the United States need to be approved at a national level by the United States Department of Education; and regional/programmatic by the Council for Higher Education Association. To carry out the duties of ensuring quality accreditation, national accreditors receive funding from the United States Congress whereas CHEA is primarily funded by annual dues and fees received from the participating institutions. The purposes of the national and regional accreditors differ. National accreditors maintain that institutions and programs are sound and should continue to receive financial support from the government, such as financial aid. Regional accreditors are more concerned with ensuring that institutions maintain and improve its academic quality. The recognition of an accreditor is similar for both national and regional/programmatic. For instance, both contain self-evaluations based upon standards, a site visit, a report, and an award of recognition status (Eaton2015). The relationship among institutions and accrediting bodies is shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1
Relationship Among Institutions and Accrediting Bodies



*Some accrediting organizations are recognized only by CHEA, some only by USDE, some by both

Source: 2013 CHEA Almanac of External Quality Review

In 2012, CHEA expanded its role by initiating a quality review system on an international basis(CIQG 2018). The additional responsibility allows CHEA International Quality Group (CIQG) to promote high quality education on an international basis. CIQG addresses academic quality challenges and opportunities around the globe. By understanding the quality issues abroad, the international membership can come together to promote high quality education. According to CIQG (2018), the mission of CIQG is to 1) assist institutions and organizations with academic quality; 2) promote an

understanding of international quality standards; and 3) provide research and policy direction.

Regional Accreditation

Regional accreditation has been in existence since 1885 (NEASC 2018). Back then, the primary focus of regional accreditation was to standardize admission policies and educational standards of higher education institutions (ACICS 2018). Soon thereafter, a need arose for the transferability of credits and the equivalency of degrees among countries (ACICS 2018). The need for accreditation grew, and by 1912 the Accreditation Council for Independent Colleges and Schools was developed (formerly known as National Association of Accredited Commercial Schools) (ACICS 2018). By the 1930's, accreditation was well established within higher education in the United States (ACICS 2018). Accreditation is defined as “a collegial process based on self and peer assessment for public accountability and improvement of academic quality” (CHEA 2010). Accreditation is a peer process to ensure the quality of a higher educational institution and its programs along with improvements. Accreditation is a voluntary process for institutions based upon a self-evaluation and a peer-review. Institutions are evaluated against a set of quality guidelines, which indicate how the institution performed in accordance with the mission statement for an institution.

In the United States, there are two forms of accreditation, national and regional/programmatic. National accreditation is affiliated with the United States government, which permits accredited institutions to receive financial resources for educational purposes, such as financial aid for students. Regional accreditation is a non-governmental form of accreditation and contains additional stringent set of quality standards used for institutional review. Figure 2 reveals that in 2013, there was 60 accrediting organizations recognized by CHEA and 52 accrediting organizations recognized by the Department of Education.

Figure 2

Accrediting Organizations Recognized by CHEA and USDE

Accrediting Organizations Recognized by CHEA and USDE				
	Regional	National Faith-Related	National Career Related	Programmatic
CHEA-recognized	6	4	2	48
USDE-recognized	7	4	7	34
Total Organizations (80)	7	4	7	67

* Some accrediting organizations are recognized by both CHEA and USDE
Source: 2013 CHEA Almanac of External Quality Review

Regional accreditation governs an institutions quality adherence for community colleges; historically black and Hispanic-serving institutions; liberal arts colleges; military academies; religiously affiliated institutions; research universities; special-purpose institutions in the arts, sciences and professional fields; state colleges; and tribal colleges (NEASC 2018). Institutions accredited can be for-profit and not-for-profit; large and small; old and new; private and public; secular and religious; traditional and non-traditional; and urban and rural(NEASC 2018). Recognizing the accreditors does add value to society and is considered a “vital part of accreditation accountability” (Eaton 2016).

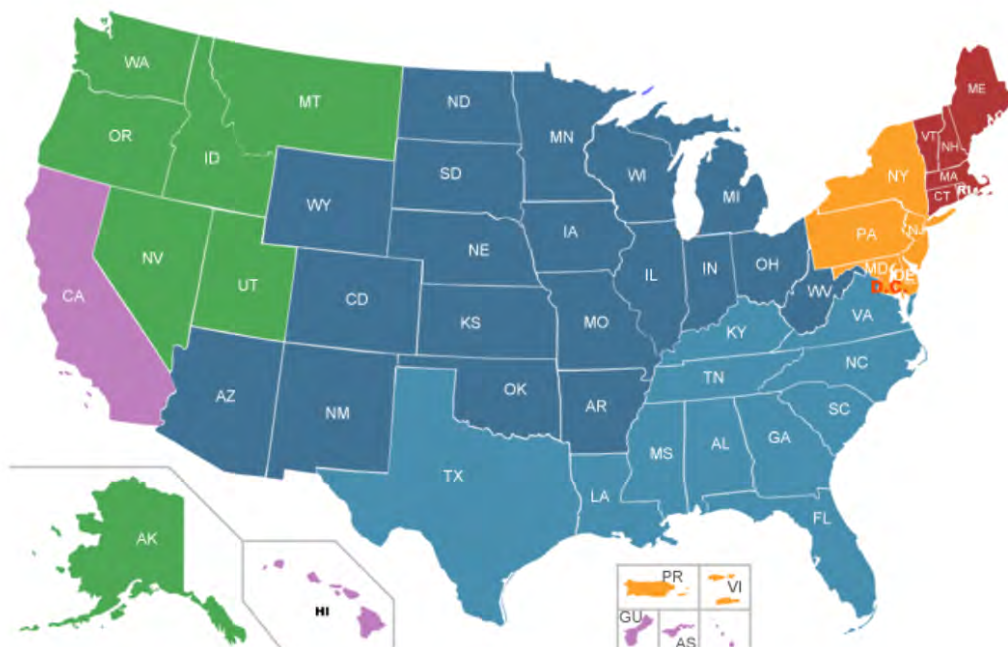
Higher Learning Commission

The Council for Higher Education (CHEA) is a private organization that coordinates accreditation in the United States (HLC 2018). CHEA’s mission is to “serve students and their families, colleges and universities, sponsoring bodies, governments, and employers by promoting academic quality through formal recognition of higher education accrediting bodies and will coordinate and work to advance self-regulation through accreditation” (HLC 2018). CHEA recognizes seven regional accrediting organizations, which form the Council of Regional Accrediting Commissions. According to the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education (2018), the seven CHEA recognized regional accrediting bodies (color coded to align with the regional map below) in the United States are located in Figure 3.

Figure 3

Regional Accrediting Bodies

- Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges
- Higher Learning Commission (formerly North Central Association of Colleges and Schools)
- Middle States Commission on Higher Education
- New England Association of Schools and Colleges
- Northwest Commission on Colleges and Universities
- Southern Association of Colleges and Schools
- Western Association of Schools and Colleges



Map Source: college-usa.org

The Higher Learning Commission is one of the independent regional accreditors within the United States. The Higher Learning Commission was founded in 1895 as the North Central Association and was renamed in July 2014 after the North Central Association and the Commission on Accreditation and School Improvement merged (HLC 2018). The Higher Learning Commission is responsible for accrediting higher education institutions for 19 states in the United States as shown in Figure 3 (highlighted in dark blue). The Higher Learning Commission is comprised of approximately 1,600 administrators and faculty members from the 19 states and the 1,600 members serve as peer reviewers (aka Peer Corps) for the accreditation process (HLC 2018). Regional accreditors work with the States and the Federal government to ensure that citizens have access to quality higher education. The working relationship is known as “The Triad” (HLC 2018).

The Higher Learning Commission is recognized by the United States Department of Education as being an authoritative agency on assessing the quality of education. In order to be Federally recognized, the Higher Learning Commission must adhere to the Federal guidelines governing accreditation, such as renewal every five years. In addition, the Higher Learning Commission is required to evaluate whether a higher education institution is complying with the national requirements of Title IV funding for student Federal financial aid. In order for institutions to be regionally accredited by the Higher Learning Commission, all institutions must meet the Federal guidelines for Title IV funding. In order to comply with the Federal regulations, institutions are required to file a Federal report along with documentation, which is then reviewed by Federal reviewers, and after a site visit has been performed, a report will be submitted to the Higher Learning Commission.

To be in Federal compliance, an institution is required to define how credit hours are assigned to courses and programs. For instance, a one hour in class instruction

followed by two hours outside of class assignments could equal a three-credit hour course over a fifteen-week period for a semester. The learning outcomes expected by students should be documented, such as being placed on the course syllabus. The Higher Learning Commission then reviews how the credit hours are determined, the length of the program of study, and the tuition charged as compared to similar institutions. If an institution is found to be deficient in an area, the institution must take a corrective action to remain in Federal compliance. If an institution makes significant changes to its credit hours or programs of study, the institution is required to seek permission first from the regional accreditor, such as the Higher Learning Commission.

Once an institution has earned national accreditation, the institution may apply for regional accreditation, which contains additional stringent guidelines. According to the Higher Learning Commission (2018), there are five criteria evaluated, and each criterion contains sub-criteria (core components). The five criteria are:

Criteria 1 – Mission – the institution’s mission should be clear and articulated publicly; and the mission statement should guide the institutions daily operations.

Criteria 2 – Integrity: Ethical and Responsible Conduct – the institution is expected to act with integrity; and the institution’s conduct is ethical and responsible.

Criteria 3 – Teaching and Learning: Quality, Resources, and Support – the institution should provide high quality education.

Criteria 4 – Teaching and Learning: Evaluation and Improvement – the institution should demonstrate responsibility for the quality of its education programs, learning environments, and support services; and the institution should evaluate the effectiveness of student learning through a process of continuous improvement.

Criteria 5 – Resources, Planning, and Institutional Effectiveness – the institution’s resources, structures, and processes are sufficient to fulfill the institutions mission; and improve the quality of its educational offerings. The institution should be able to plan for the future and respond to challenges and opportunities.

Institutions recognized regionally, such as by the Higher Learning Commission, are required to pay dues and fees. Institutions need to reaffirm regional accreditation every ten years. Institutions will have an assurance review in year 4; followed by a comprehensive evaluation with a site visit in year 10 (HLC 2018). The reaffirmation is meant to inform the public that the institution has met the criteria for accreditation, the institution has a focus on continuous improvement, and the institution has met all Federal compliance requirements (HLC 2018).

Regional institutions are expected to communicate with the regional accreditors, such as the Higher Learning Commission, throughout the entire ten-year period. According to the Higher Learning Commission (2018), some of the constant reporting includes (a) fulfilling the obligations of affiliation, such as displaying the mark of affiliation on an institutions website (b) filing an annual institutional update; (c) submitting any required interim reports; (d) notifying the Higher Learning Commission of substantive changes; (e) hosting any necessary focused visits; and (f) hosting any necessary visits to monitor the institution’s off-campus activities. Regional accreditation

enables an institution to qualify for Federal funding for its students; regional accreditation promotes the transferability of credits between regional universities; and regional accreditation validates the quality of a degree to employers.

VIETNAM

Context

The economy of Vietnam has been rapidly growing by leaps and bounds. The rapid growth has created an increase in demand for its education. Between 2001-2011, Vietnam averaged each year, 8 new universities and 12 colleges (ICEF Monitor 2015). The quality and relevance of higher education and the skills being developed with adequacy to the market needs became a concern by the Ministry of Education and Training and other higher educational institutions. According to the Investment Climate Survey, over 40 percent of graduates supply approximately 40 percent of workers at state-owned businesses, while only supplying 27 percent to private-owned business (World Bank Project 2009). “This data could suggest that state-owned businesses have a higher demand for university graduates, and the data suggests that university graduates prefer working in the public sector”(World Bank Project 2009). “Within the private sector businesses, 40 percent of firms felt that the level of skilled workers was an obstacle for private businesses”(World Bank Project 2009). According to World Bank (2009), “about 60 percent of graduates from vocational and university colleges need further training after employment”. The quantity, quality, and relevance of higher education seems to suggest a barrier for a productive career by vocational and university graduates.

Vietnam’s higher education system is complex. “There are national universities, regional universities, research institutes, academies, comprehensive universities, specialized universities, technical and vocational colleges, teacher training colleges, community colleges and professional-secondary school” (ICEF Monitor 2015). The systems tend to be confusing and not conforming to any globally recognized structure. The education system has been developing over the years, and today is fairly autonomous from the government. In 2018, the Ministry of Education and Training formally determined that higher education institutions belong to an education system that is “permitted to provide higher education training, engage in science and technology activities, and serve the community”. A university is considered a component of higher education, which can provide training in multiple academic disciplines (Socialist Republic of Vietnam 2018). The Ministry of Education and Training recognizes the need to simplify its educational system, to enhance its quality and relevance of education, and to remove enrollment barriers for college applicants.

Higher Education System

It was after the 1980s that the North Vietnam education moved away from the Union of Soviet Socialists Republics(USSR) form of education consisting of a 10-year program that resembled a professional educational system, which was dominant in North Vietnam (Le and Nguyen 2009). “In Southern Vietnam, the North America educational systems was an influencer, which consisted of 12-year curriculum, with many subject areas, such as administration, economy, laws, and science”(Kinh and Chi 2008). The

Ministry of Education and Training in Hanoi was heavily involved in the administration of the education, which hindered the development of an educational system that could meet the demands of society. As a result, the government decided to cut back its regulations, and is permitting more autonomy of higher education institutions by permitting them to design their own curriculum etc. “The government has increased its spending on education, and spending represented 20 percent of the government’s 2015 expenditures (USD \$10 billion), while globally education represented an average of 14.1 percent of government expenditures”(Trines 2017). Ministry of Education and Training visualizes that by 2020, 40 percent of eligible students will be enrolled into institutions of higher learning.

Accreditation Agencies

There were two governmental agencies responsible for the accreditation of higher institutions in Vietnam before 2015. First, the Department of Education and Testing and Accreditation-Ministry of Education and Training. This department is responsible for the “accreditation of universities, colleges, high schools and all training programs” for the institutions(IIG Vietnam 2018). Second, the Vocational Accreditation Department of General Department of Vocational Training–Ministry of Labor. This department is responsible for “accrediting vocational institutions and their training programs” (IIG Vietnam 2018).

The Ministry of Education is responsible for provincial (regional) departments (Departments of Education and Training), which then has district offices (Bureau of Education and Training) along with central departments. The central departments are:

- Science and Technology Activities in Education and Training
- Information and Communication Technology Centre
- National Institute for education Strategy and Curriculum Development
- Education Publishing House
- Educational Equipment Company No. 1

In the 1990’s, two national quality centers were developed (Vietnam National University Hanoi and Vietnam National University Ho Chi Minh City) (Le and Nguyen 2009). In 2015, a third quality center regionally located at Danang University was established (Do et al. 2017). In 2004, the Ministry of Education initiated a new form of quality assurance. The new system is based upon institutional self-assessments and internal quality assurance, which would be evaluated by an external accreditation agency. Recently, Thai Nguyen University and Vinh University joined regionally as quality centers. According to Circular 61/2012/TT-BGDDT, these two national agencies and three regional agencies should be independent of the higher education institutions. Today, total independence for admission, curricula, etc. is almost achieved, and most of the quality assurance system is financially independent.

Today, there are five national and regional external quality centers in Vietnam (Danang University, Thai Nguyen University, Vietnam National University Hanoi, Vietnam National University Ho Chi Minh City, and Vinh University). However, in November 2016, Vietnam implemented a National Qualification Framework (Trines 2017). The revised framework aligns with the ASEAN Qualifications References Framework. The ASEAN framework is expected to ease the transferability of

qualifications on a region-wide basis for ASEAN members. Furthermore, the ASEAN framework strengthens the quality of academic programs by providing learning outcomes and benchmarks. Currently, Vietnam has a four-year bachelor's degree which resembles the United States. Students can be enrolled full or part time, with a 2.0 GPA (or 5.0 GPA over 10) and 120 to 180 credit hours (varies by programs) needed for graduation. The National Qualifications Framework suggests that Vietnam plans to reduce its bachelor's degree to three-years (Trines 2017).

The ten quality standards (61 criteria) developed by Ministry of Education and Training is no longer applied in Vietnam. Instead, a new set of standards have been developed by the Ministry of Education and Training that contains 25 quality standards (111 criteria). According to Circular 12/2017/BGDDT, the 25 quality standards are:

- Vision, mission, and culture (5 criteria)
- Administration (4 criteria)
- Leadership and management (4 criteria)
- Strategic management (4 criteria)
- Policies on education, scientific research, and community service (4 criteria)
- Human resource management (7 criteria)
- Financial and material facilities management (5 criteria)
- Networks and external relations (4 criteria)
- Internal quality assurance system (6 criteria)
- Internal assessment and external assessment (4 criteria)
- Internal quality assurance information system (4 criteria)
- Quality improvement (5 criteria)
- Enrollment and admission (5 criteria)
- Design and review of curriculum (5 criteria)
- Teaching and learning (5 criteria)
- Learner assessment (4 criteria)
- Learner service and support activities (4 criteria)
- Scientific research management (4 criteria)
- Intellectual property management (4 criteria)
- Scientific research cooperation and partnership (4 criteria)
- Community service and connection (4 criteria)
- Training result (4 criteria)
- Scientific research result (6 criteria)
- Community service result (4 criteria)
- Financial and market result (2 criteria)

Vietnam is vamping up its educational system to prepare students for the 21st century. The government has scaled back its authority over higher education and allowing more autonomy within these institutions. The curriculum is being modified to meet the demand of employers. Vietnam has established a new accreditation and quality assurance mechanism and is heading towards a national qualification framework that is aligned with ASEAN Qualification Reference Framework on a region-wide basis for ASEAN members. The ASEAN Qualification Reference Framework has six main objectives. Those objectives are: (a) to promote learner and worker mobility, (b) to improve quality of education and training, (c) to enhance validation of non-formal and

formal learning, (d) to promote life-long learning, (e) to create equitable opportunities for gainful employment, and (f) promote a meaningful life experience (The ASEAN Secretariat 2018).

Currently, under the guidance of Ministry of Education and Training, Vietnam's accreditation is conducted by five external accreditation centers. The five accreditation centers are close to be completely independent and financial supportive. Accreditation is granted every five-years and is mandatory for all higher education institutions. The modernization of Vietnam's education system is positive and represents a major move towards independence.

ASEAN Accreditation

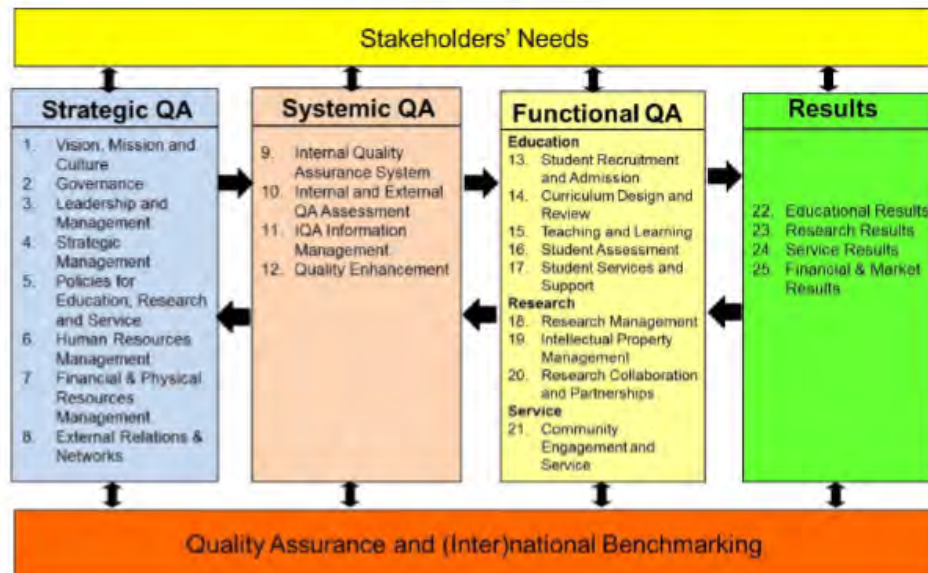
Vietnam does not have a regional accreditation system like that found within the United States. The United States covers a large area, with large regions, making regional accrediting bodies a necessity in controlling the quality of higher education. In Vietnam, the term "regional" accreditation can be confusing because regional can imply the ASEAN Region accreditation for the participating ASEAN countries. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a regional group that promotes economic, political, and security cooperation among its ten members (The ASEAN Secretariat 2018). The ten members include: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. The ASEAN Region has developed into the ASEAN+6 countries (aka Asian-Pacific), which includes Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, and Republic of Korea (United Nations 2014).

Vietnam does accept external assessment by the ASEAN University Network (AUN)-QA. Vietnam applies AUN-QA criteria in official accreditation universities. HEIs with successful accreditation by the AUN-QA do not need to be accredited by CEAs in Vietnam. Vietnamese law simply states that programs must be accredited by a legal accreditation agency. The AUN has grown to 30 universities within the ten ASEAN countries. The AUN-QA is conducted at the institutional and programmatic levels. The Vietnamese higher education appears to be on the right track to flourish the opportunities for its citizens while bolstering itself as a major contender in higher education. A brief overview at the AUN-QA institutional and programme levels follows.

AUN-QA Institutional Level

Quality education is considered as "a multi-dimensional concept, which should embrace all its functions, and activities; teaching and academic programmes, research and scholarship, staffing, students, buildings, facilities, equipment, services to the community and the academic environment. Internal self-evaluation and external review, conducted openly by independent specialists, if possible with international expertise, are vital for enhancing quality" (ASEAN University Network 2016). The framework for institutional level encompasses four areas. Those four areas are strategic quality assurance, systemic quality assurance, functional quality assurance, and results. Strategic QA contains 8 categories with 37 sub criteria; Systemic QA contains 4 categories with 19 sub criteria; Functional QA contains 9 categories with 39 sub categories; and Results contains 4 categories with 16 sub categories. In total, the AUN-QA criteria category includes 25 associated criteria with 111 sub-criteria. Figure 4 provides more details concerning the four areas of quality assurance.

Figure 4
Quality Assurance Framework



Source: AUN-QA (ASEAN University Network 2016)

Furthermore, the AUN-QA framework for institutional accreditation is designed to include a cross-border mobility that promotes the internationalization of education. As shown in Figure 5, the internationalization of education is linked to the International Quality Assurance of the ASEAN Quality Assurance Framework (AQAF) which has 10 principles, the Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area (ESG) which has 10 standards and the Baldrige Performance Excellent Framework in America which has 7 criteria.

Figure 5
Internationalization of Education

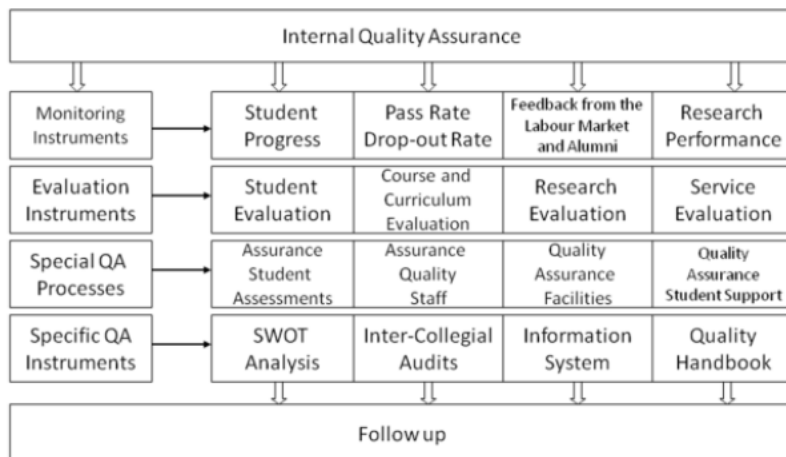


Source: AUN-QA (ASEAN Univeristy Network 2016)

AUN-QA Programme Level

The AUN-QA model for internal quality assurance is comprised of 6 components. According to the AUN-QA (2015), those components are: (a) internal quality assurance framework, (b) monitoring instruments, (c) evaluation instruments, (d) special QA processes to safeguard specific activities, (e) specific QA instruments, and (f) follow up activities for making improvements. Details concerning the AUN-QA internal model is shown in Figure 6.

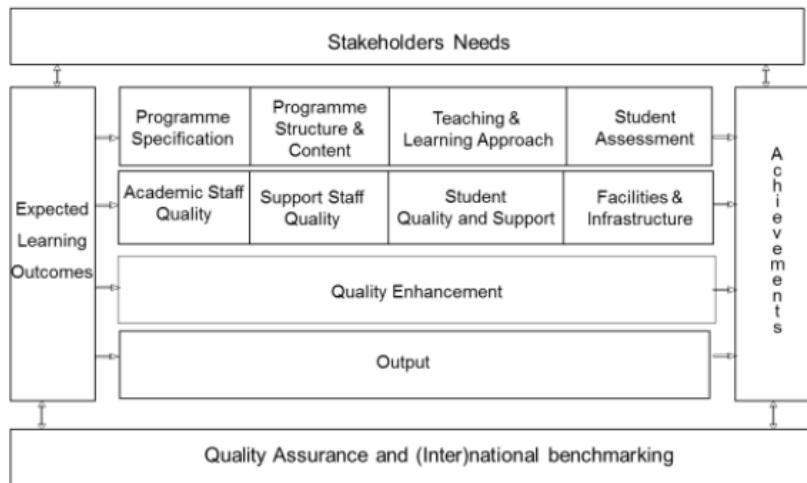
Figure 6
AUN-QA Internal Quality Assurance Model



Source: AUN-QA (ASEAN University Network 2015)

The AUN-QA model for programme level focuses on the quality of input, quality of processes, and quality of output. The current programme model is shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7
AUN-QA Programme Level Model



Source: AUN-QA (ASEAN University Network 2015)

According to AUN-QA (2015), the current model for programme level assessment begins with the stakeholders needs. These needs are then formulated into expected learning outcomes, the model then concludes with meeting the stakeholders needs and the continuous improvement of quality assurance along with benchmarking best practices. Within the expected learning outcomes section, the 11 criteria for the model can be found. Those 11 criteria are (1) expected learning outcomes, (2) programme specification, (3) programme structure and content, (4) teaching and learning approach, (5) student assessment, (6) academic staff quality, (7) support staff quality, (8) student quality and support, (9) facilities and infrastructure, (10) quality enhancement, and (11) output.

According to AUN-QA (2015), the Plan-Do-Check-Act (PDCA) or W. Edward Deming Cycle is adopted for quality assessment at the programme level, as well as the institutional level and IQA system. The “plan” phase begins with the intent for quality assessment. The “do” phase involves identifying gaps in the quality assurance system to meet AUN-QA guidelines. The “check” phase involves verifying the self-assessment report and giving feedback on how to improve. The “act” phase involves implementing the recommendations suggested in the “check” phase.

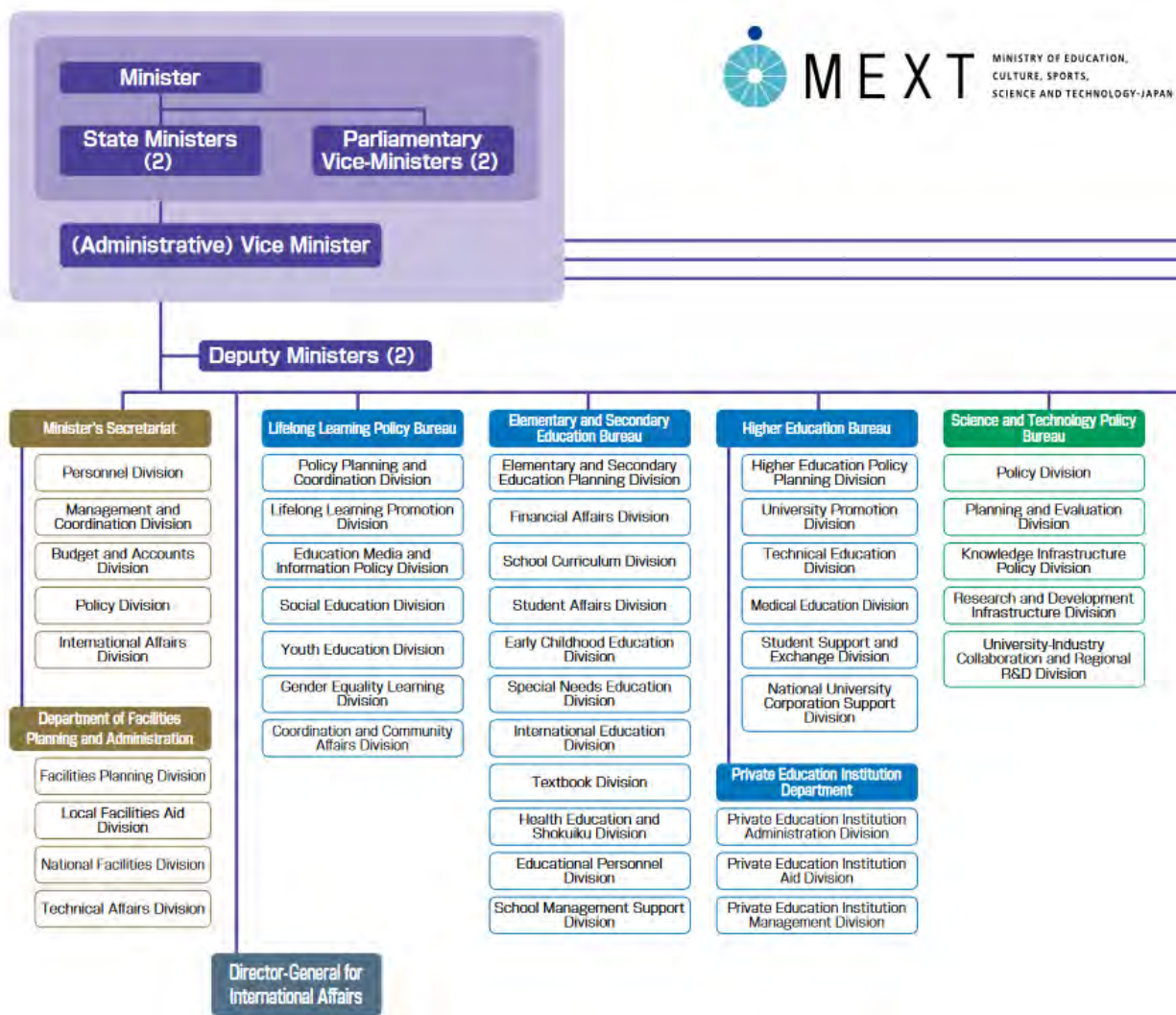
JAPAN

Context

The Ministry of Education, Cultural, Sports, Science and Technology is responsible for six bureaus and 2 agencies. As shown in Figures 8&9, Education consists of three bureaus (coded in blue), Science and Technology consists of three bureaus (coded in green), and Sports and Culture making up two agencies (coded in gray). Higher education can be further broken down into six divisions. The responsibility for three divisions of private education lies under the supervision of the Higher Education Bureau.

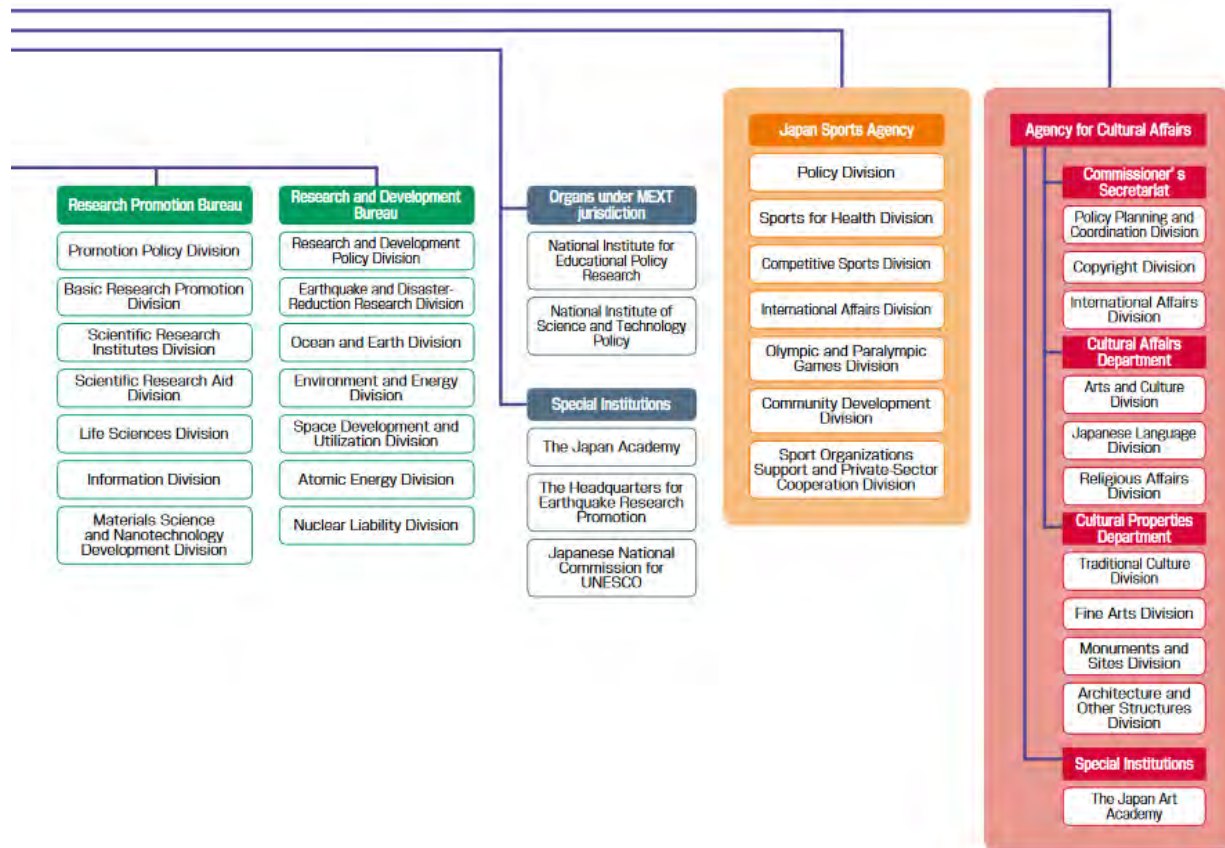
In all, the Higher Education Bureau focuses on both undergraduate and graduate education through nine separate divisions. There are three accreditation bodies in Japan. Those bodies are: Japan Institution for Higher Education Evaluation (JIHEE), Japan University Accreditation Association (JUAA), and National Institutional for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation (NIAD-UE)(Ramadan et al. 2013).NIAD-UE merged in 2016 with Center for National University Finance and Management (CUFM) and was renamed NIAD-QE. In order to ensure quality within the educational system, the Ministry began to encourage institutions to complete a self-evaluation of its quality (in 1991), which later became mandatory (in 1999), and then stipulated by law (in 2004) (Higher Education Bureau 2018).

Figure 8
Ministry of Education



Source: MEXT (part 1 of chart)

Figure 9
 Ministry of Education



Source: MEXT (part 2 of chart)

Institutions desiring to become accredited, would need to begin the process by completing an application and submitting that application to the Ministry. A Council for the Ministry then examines the application for adherence to the standards for the establishment of universities. The Council for the Ministry is comprised of approximately 400 academics and experts. The outcome of the Council's review is submitted to the Ministry, who will make the final decision for approval/denial for the establishment of a university.

According to NIAD-UE (2014), the standards for the establishment of universities has 10 chapters. The 10 chapters are:

- Chapter 1 – General provisions
- Chapter 2 – Educational and research structure
- Chapter 3 – Academic staff organization
- Chapter 4 – Eligibility criteria for academic staff
- Chapter 5 – Student capacity
- Chapter 6 – Academic programs
- Chapter 7 – Graduation / completions requirements
- Chapter 8 – Facilities and equipment
- Chapter 9 – Administrative organization
- Chapter 10 – Miscellaneous provisions

The council monitors through written reports, interviews, or site visits how the university is achieving its education and research agenda until the university produces its first graduates (NIAD-UE 2014). The Council identifies improvements that a university should make. The new established university is made public through the Ministry's official website. Table 6 shows the number of Japanese educational institutions by establishment types as of May 2017. The total number of colleges and universities were 3,991, with approximately 3.66 million students enrolled (NIAD-UE 2018). In total, there were 780 universities, and 77 percent of the universities were private (NIAD-UE 2018).

Table 6
Japanese Educational Institutions

	National	Municipal (Prefectural)	Private	Total
Universities (with graduate schools)	86 (86)	90 (80)	604 (463)	780 (629)
Junior Colleges	0	17	320	337
Colleges of Technology	51	3	3	57
Professional Training Colleges	9	186	2,622	2,817

Source: NIAD-UE (2018)

Accreditation

Japan does not have a regional accreditation system like that found within the United States. The United States covers a large area, with large regions, making regional accrediting bodies a necessity in controlling the quality of higher education. The Certified Evaluation and Accreditation (CEA) is a mandatory evaluation system in which certified accredit organizations conduct an evaluation of the progress of education and research based upon its own set of standards for evaluation and accreditation (NIAD-UE 2014). Generally, universities will undergo this evaluation once every 7 years, and once every 5 years if a professional graduate school. Each accredit organization will create its own evaluation standards. These standards are the minimum standards that a university must have to be in compliance with Japanese law and regulations.

NIAD-UE merged in 2016 with Center for National University Finance and Management (CUFM) and was renamed NIAD-QE. NIAD-QE (Quality Enhancement) is used for developing quality standards of national universities. In addition to universities, NIAD-QE can award a degree to students based upon a students' prior learning from accredited institutions. NIAD-QE is the only organization in Japan that can award a degree that is equivalent to a university degree. NIAD-QE also assists in quality assurance, research activities, and loans/grants for facility construction (NIAD-UE 2020).

JUAA was established in 1947, using the United States accreditation agencies as a model. JUAA would like to improve higher education in Japan and contribute to cooperative quality standards on an international basis. JUAA has developed many international partnerships, including a partnership with CHEA International Quality Group (CIQA) based in the United States (JUAA 2020). CIQA serves as an

international framework for quality in higher education. In 2018, JUAA teamed up with TWAEA (Taiwan Assessment and Evaluation Accreditation) that would adhere Japan and Taiwan to a set of international standards. Taiwan and Japan partake in bilateral trade, education, tourism, and human resources, so the promotion of the international standards will allow for the internationalization of Japan's education (TWAEA & JUAA 2018).

JIHEE was founded in 2004 and is concerned with quality standards for private institutions, junior colleges, and fashion business graduate schools. JIHEE makes evaluations and judgments based upon the self-inspection and evaluation that institutions submit. Membership fees in JIHEE can range from JPY 100,000 (USD \$900) to JPY 450,000 (USD \$4,090) (JIHEE 2020). Evaluation fees can range from JPY 200,000 (USD \$1,820) to JPY 3,000,000 (USD \$27,300) (JIHEE 2020). The goal of JIHEE is to improve the quality of higher education in Japan.

Table 7 is an overview of the standards for each three accredit organizations plus the International Joint Accreditation.

Table 7
Overview of Standards

	NIAD-UE	JUAA	JIHEE	TWAEA & JUAA (iJAS)
Standard 1	Mission of the University	Mission and Purpose	Mission and Objectives, etc	Mission, Goals, and Strategy
Standard 2	Teaching and Research Structure	Internal Quality Assurance	Student	Internal Quality Assurance
Standard 3	Academic Staff and Teaching Supporting Staff	Education and Research Organization	Educational Curriculum	Teaching and Learning
Standard 4	Student Admission	Educational Program and Outcomes	Faculty and Staff	Faculty
Standard 5	Academic Programs	Student Enrollment	Management, Administration and Finance	Social Connection
Standard 6	Learning Outcomes	Faculty and Faculty Organization	Internal Quality Assurance	Governance
Standard 7	Facilities and Student Supports	Student Support		
Standard 8	Internal Quality Assurance System of Teaching and Learning	Education and Research Environment		
Standard 9	Finance and Management	Social Cooperation and Contribution		

Standard 10	Public Information on Teaching and Learning	University Management and Finance		
----------------	--	---	--	--

Source: Abels (2020), NIAD-UE (2014) and JUAA & TWAEA (2018)

The Japanese accreditation system allows for enhanced accountability and allows Japan to compete on an international platform. In addition to the legal quality assurance systems, there are several non-legal voluntary assurance initiatives being developed in Japan, such as the Accreditation for Engineering Education, Accreditation for Pharmaceutical Education, Accreditation for Rehabilitation Therapists and Midwifery Education, and Accreditation for Field Specific Education (such as medicine, dentistry, and nursing) (NIAD-UE 2014). The Japanese higher education system has “changed from the pre-war elite education to a post-war mass education and is now moving towards a universal and global HE system”(Yamaguchi and Tsukahara 2016).

CONCLUSION

In the United States, there are two forms of accreditation, national and regional/programmatic. National accreditation is affiliated with the United States government, which permits accredited institutions to receive financial resources for educational purposes, such as financial aid for students. Regional accreditation is a non-governmental form of accreditation and contains additional stringent set of quality standards used for institutional review. The accreditation process within the United States is a self-review followed by a peer-review process that enables academic quality to be enhanced and ensuring that higher education institutions are held accountable to stakeholders for administering a rigorous quality program. Accreditation is a voluntary process for institutions based upon a self-evaluation and a peer-review. Institutions are evaluated against a set of quality guidelines, which indicate how the institution performed in accordance with the mission statement for an institution. Accrediting bodies in the United States need to be approved at a national level by the United States Department of Education; and regional/programmatic by the Council for Higher Education Association. The purposes of the national and regional accreditors differ. National accreditors maintain that institutions and programs are sound and should continue to receive financial support from the government, such as financial aid. Regional accreditors are more concerned with ensuring that institutions maintain and improve its academic quality.

In Vietnam, there are no regional accreditation bodies as seen in the United States. The term regional in Vietnam relates to the ASEAN University Network. The Vietnamese education system has been developing over the years, and today is fairly autonomous from the government. Today, total independence for admission, curricula, etc. is almost achieved, and most of the quality assurance system is financially independent. Today, there are five national and regional external quality centers in Vietnam. Vietnam is vamping up its educational system to prepare students for the 21st century. The government has scaled back its authority over higher education and allowing more autonomy within these institutions. The curriculum is being modified to meet the demand of employers. Vietnam has established a new accreditation and quality assurance mechanism and is heading towards a national qualification framework

that is aligned with ASEAN Qualification Reference Framework on a region-wide basis for ASEAN members.

Japan does not have a regional accreditation system like that found within the United States. The Certified Evaluation and Accreditation (CEA) is a mandatory evaluation system in which certified accreditation organizations conduct an evaluation of the progress of education and research based upon its own set of standards for evaluation and accreditation. The Japanese accreditation system allows for enhanced accountability and allows Japan to compete on an international platform. In addition to the legal quality assurance systems, there are several non-legal voluntary assurance initiatives being developed in Japan. The Japanese higher education system has changed to a universal and global higher educational system.

Higher educational institutions are faced with unrelenting competition, the need to constantly innovate, utilize information to make decisions and manage risk, keep customer focused, manage shrinking resources, and relentlessly improve. Organizational sustainability demands resilience, adaptability, and flexibility when faced with technological changes, new regulations, the massification of education, and new ways of doing business. Education must stay laser focused on setting and researching a standard of excellence, constantly improving, making decisions based upon evidence, and driving excellence. This paper concentrated on obtaining an understanding of the development of regional accreditation and quality assurance systems in the United States, and the alternative to regional accreditation in Vietnam and Japan. It became apparent that all three countries realize the importance of quality and are heavily involved in the assessment process. There are some differences in who controls the assessment process. However, the final quality outcomes are universally shared among the three countries, with internationalization being important.

Some potential research areas for investigating would include looking more deeply into the accreditation process for the United States, Vietnam, and Japan. Additionally, exploring the quality assurance regulations for establishing a university or program (such as traditional live versus distance learning) would be of interest to further our understanding such a complex task. There are many emerging themes that could be brought into research as well. Themes such as 21st century skill set needed, lifelong learning, transparency and accountability, and development of international quality assurance standards. Further research studies could have a significant influence on the development of quality assurance.

References:

- Accrediting Council for Independent Colleges and Schools (ACICS). 2018. "History of Accreditation." *Accreditation*. April 3.
<http://www.acics.org/accreditation/content.aspx?id=2258>.
- Akiyoshi, Yonezawa. 2008. "Quality Assessment and Assurance in Japanese Universities: The Plight of the Social Science." *Social Science Japan Journal* 11 (1): 69-82.
- ASEAN University Network. 2016. *ASEAN University Network Quality Assurance: Guide to AUN-QA assessment at institutional level*. Bangkok: ASEAN University Network.

- ASEAN University Network. 2015. *ASEAN University Network Quality Assurance: Guide to AUN-QA Assessment at Programme Level*. Bangkok: ASEAN University Network.
- Asonuma, Akihiro. 2002. "Finance Reform in Japanese Higher Education." *Higher Education*, January 1: 109-126.
- Ball, Christopher. 1985. "What the Hell is Quality?" *Fitness for Purpose: Essays in Higher Education* 96-102.
- Bloland, Harland. 1999. "Creating CHEA." *The Journal of Higher Education* 70 (4): 357-388.
- CHEA International Quality Group (CIQG). 2018. "Council for Higher Education Accreditation." *CHEA International Quality Group*. April 4. http://www.chea.org/userfiles/uploads/ciqg_brochure.pdf.
- Council for Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA). 2010. *Recognition of Accrediting Organizations: Policy and Procedures*. Washington DC: Council for Higher Education Accreditation.
- Council for Higher Education (CHE). 2018. "Council for Higher Education." *Accreditation Serving the Public Interest*. March 31. Accessed March 31, 2018. http://www.chea.org/userfiles/uploads/chea-at-a-glance_2015.pdf.
- Do, Quyen, Huong Pham, and Kim Nguyen. 2017. "Quality Assurance in the Vietnamese Higher Education: A Top Down Approach and Compliance Driven QA." In *The Rise of Quality Assurance in Asian Higher Education*, by Mahsood Shah and Quyen Do, 191-202. Cambridge: Elsevier Ltd.
- Eaton, Judith S. 2016. "Accreditation and Recognition in the United States." Washington DC: Council for Higher Education Accreditation.
- Eaton, Judith S. 2015. "An Overview of U.S. Accreditation." Washington DC: Council for Higher Education Accreditation. Accessed April 2, 2018. <http://www.chea.org/userfiles/uploads/Overview%20of%20US%20Accreditation%202015.pdf>.
- Harvey, Lee, and Diana Green. 1993. "Defining Quality." *Assessment and Evaluation in Higher Education* 18 (1): 9-34.
- Higher Education Bureau. 2018. "Higher Education in Japan." *Higher Education in Japan*. May 10. http://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/highered/title03/detail03/___icsFiles/afieIdfile/2012/06/19/1302653_1.pdf.
- Higher Learning Commission. 2018. *Higher Learning Commission*. June 13. <https://www.hlcommission.org>.
- ICEF Monitor. 2015. "Challenges in Vietnamese Higher Education Contributing to Demand for Study Abroad." *ICEF Monitor*. September 7. <https://monitor.icef.com/2015/09/challenges-in-vietnamese-higher-education-contributing-to-demand-for-study-abroad/>.
- IIG Vietnam. 2018. "IIG Vietnam." *IIG Vietnam and Educational Quality Accreditation in Vietnam*. May 10. <http://www.iigvietnam.com/en/products-and-services/accreditation/iig-vietnam-and-educational-quality-accreditation-in-vietnam.html>.
- JIHEE. 2020. *Membership & Evaluation Fees*. July 5. <http://www.jiheer.or.jp/en/about/index.html>.

- JUAA. 2020. *International*. 5 July. <https://www.juaa.or.jp/en>.
- Kandiko, Camille. 2010. "Neoliberalism in Higher Education: A Comparative Approach." *International Journal of Arts and Sciences* 3 (14): 153-175.
- Kinh, Nguyen Quang, and Nguyen Quoc Chi. 2008. "Education in Vietnam: Development History, Challenges, and Solutions." In *An African Exploration of the East Asian Education Experience*, by Birger Fredriksen and Tan Jee Peng, 130-175. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Le, H. V., and K. Nguyen. 2009. *Quality Assurance in Vietnam's Engineering Education*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Learn.org. 2018. *What is Tertiary Education*. March 14. https://learn.org/articles/What_is_Tertiary_Education.html.
- Levidow, Les. 2006. "Neoliberal Strategies and Counterstrategies." In *Neoliberalism and Education Reform*, by E. Wayne Ross and Rich Gibson, 237-256. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc.
- Lipman, Pauline. 2011. "Neoliberal Education Restructuring." *Monthly Review* 63 (3).
- Madden, Meggan. 2014. "Walking the Line: Quality Assurance Policy Development and Implementation in Vietnam." *Higher Education* 67: 91-104.
- Marginson, Simon, and Gary Rhoades. 2002. "Beyond National States, Markets, and Systems of Higher Education: A Glonacal Agency Heuristic." *Higher Education* 43: 281-309.
- Martinez, Elizabeth, and Arnaldo Garcia. 2016. "What is Neoliberalism?" *Vox Populi*. March 19. <https://voxxpopulisphere.com/2016/03/19/elizabeth-martinez-and-arnaldo-garcia-what-is-neoliberalism/>.
- McNeil, David. 2009. "Enrollment Crisis Threatens Japan's Private Colleges." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 30: 3.
- Ministry of Education . 2009. *Quality Assurance Framework of Higher Education in Japan*. Tokyo: Ministry of Education .
- Neave, G.; Van Vught, F. (eds). 1991. *Prometheus Bound: The Changing Relationship Between Government and Higher Education in Western Europe*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC). 2018. *About Accreditation*. April 2. Accessed April 2, 2018. <https://cihe.neasc.org/about-accreditation/us-regional-accreditation-overview>.
- NIAD-UE. 2020. *Merger of NIAD-UE and CUFM*. July 5. <https://www.niad.ac.jp/english>.
- NIAD-UE. 2014. *Overview: Quality Assurance System in Higher Education*. Second. Tokyo: National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation.
- NIAD-UE. 2018. *Quality Assurance of Higher Education at NIAD-QE Powerpoint Presentation*. Tokyo: National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation.
- OECD. 2011. *Education Reform in Japan*. Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Accessed March 14, 2018.
- Oliver, Diane, Phuong Nguyen, and Kim Nguyen. 2003. "Higher Education Accreditation in Vietnam: Lessons from Accreditation in the U.S." *American Educational Research Association*. Chicago: U.S. Department of Education. Accessed March 16, 2018.

- Ramadan, F, M. Lanfang, A. El-Hadi, K. Umemoto, and O. Elaneen. 2013. "Accreditation Policy of Higher Education: A Case Study of Japan." *International Journal for Cross-Disciplinary Subjects in Education* 3 (1): 1416-1423.
- Sancar, Mine. 2012. "Neoliberal Mechanisation of Education." *The Turkish Online Journal of Educational Technology* 11 (3): 246-253.
- Schindler, L., S. Puls-Elvidge, H. Welzant, and L. Crawford. 2015. "Definitions of Quality in Higher Education: A synthesis of the Literature." *Higher Learning Research Communications* 5 (3): 3-13.
- Skinner, Rebecca. 2007. *Institutional Eligibility for Participation in Title IV Student Aid Programs Under the Higher Education Act*. Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service.
- Socialist Republic of Vietnam. 2018. *Law on Amendments to the Law on Higher Education*. Hanoi: National Assembly.
- The ASEAN Secretariat. 2018. *ASEAN Qualifications Reference Framework: A practical Guide and all you Need to Know*. Jakarta: The Association of Southeast Asian Nations.
- Tran, Nga, Thanh Nguyen, and My Nguyen. 2011. "The Standard of Quality for HEIs in Vietnam: A Step in the Right Direction?" *Quality Assurance in Education* 19 (2): 130-140.
- Trines, Stefan. 2017. "Education in Vietnam." *World Education News & Reviews*. November 8. <https://wenr.wes.org/2017/11/education-in-vietnam>.
- TWAEA & JUAA. 2018. *International Joint Accrediation: Handbook for Higher Education Institutions*. Taiwan: TWAEA & JUAA.
- U.S. Department of Education. 2018. *About ED*. February 7. <https://www2.ed.gov/>.
- U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. 2018. *Education and Training*. February 14. <https://www.benefits.va.gov/gibill/history.asp>.
- U.S. Public Law 110-315. 2008. *Higher Education Opportunity Act*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government. Accessed March 16, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-110publ315/pdf/PLAW-110publ315.pdf>.
- U.S. Public Law 89-329. 2018. *Higher Education Act of 1965*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Public Law 96-88. 1979. *Department of Education Organization Act*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government.
- United Nations. 2014. *Educational Systems in ASEAN+6 countries: A Comparative Analysis of Selected Educational Issues*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- World Bank Project. 2009. *Project Information Document Concept Stage, Report AB3980*. Hanoi: Ministry of Education and Training.
- Yamaguchi, Ana, and Shuichi Tsukahara. 2016. "Quality Assurance and Evaluation System in Japanese Higher Education." *Avaliacao, Campinas* 21 (1): 71-87.

Follow the Science: But What is Science and Where is the Road?

Justin Burum, Vermillion Community College
Sue Burum, Minnesota State University, Mankato

On March 8, 2020, Dr. Anthony Fauci, Director of the U.S. National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases and Chief Medical Advisor to the President, said to Jon LaPook, Chief Medical Correspondent for CBS News,

Right now, in the United States, people should not be walking around with masks... there's no reason to be walking around with a mask. When you're in the middle of an outbreak, wearing a mask might make people feel a little bit better, and it might even block a droplet, but it's not providing the perfect protection that people think it is. And, often, there are unintended consequences – people keep fiddling with the mask, and they keep touching their face(Rosenberg, 2020).

Additionally, Fauci told the Washington Post near the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic that masks were not recommended for the general public, as they were “in short supply and needed to be preserved for healthcare workers” (Mathew, 2020). A month later, Fauci stressed the importance of everyone wearing masks and, at one point, even suggested wearing two masks at the same time. Critics called Fauci a “flip-flopper” (Chamberlain, 2021). Conspiracy-orientated people searched for nefarious reasons for the change of position and suggested Fauci was not to be trusted (Dreyer, 2021). How could this complete about-face happen with an infectious disease expert? These writers do not tend to automatically think flip-flop or nefarious motives. Could there have been an underlying problem with the science? What is science and what can it do for societies? Do people misunderstand what it means to “follow the science”?

What is Science?

According to the Science Council, “Science is the pursuit and application of knowledge and understanding of the natural and social world following a systematic methodology based on evidence” (Science Council, 2021). It is a *process* for learning about the world by testing hypotheses through experimentation and observation (Caplan, 2021). There is not just some established body of knowledge to be consulted. Induction, prioritizing data over theory, is used to reason toward general rules of conclusions. Repetition takes place, and hypotheses are modified to better test the knowledge learned. The peer-review process allows more scientists to weigh in, but there really is no finality. Scientific inquiry is a process of continual revision and refinement of the knowledge that is uncovered (Berkley, 2021). Even classical physics is an approximation. Science can provide reliable models of how a phenomenon might behave. But, the prevailing theory behind such behavior might not be correct, and other sources of errors might remain overlooked. Equations, models, and case studies are used to represent the truth as it has so far been revealed. But, these things can change as they become more refined (Science Council, 2021). In cosmology, for example, scientists have answered questions regarding how the universe works; however, ideas continue to change as telescopes have improved in order to take more objects and physical properties into account (Lincoln, 2015).

No matter how close to the truth science can get, there are limits as to what science can provide. Science cannot make moral judgments (Maani, 2021). For example, is it good to explore nearby planets if we carry Earth life on our machines and potentially spread it to the explored planet? Science can tell us what might happen or how to create cleaner machines, but it cannot tell scientists if something is good or bad. Also, science cannot make aesthetic judgments (Maani, 2021). It cannot tell us if a planet is beautiful. Science cannot tell society how to use scientific knowledge. It cannot

tell society what to do about alien life, [nor](#) if we should terraform other planets. [Additionally](#), science cannot draw conclusions about religious or supernatural beliefs (Maani, 2021).

Masks Were in Short Supply

In Fauci's first statement, he said [masks](#) were in short supply [and](#) needed to be saved for health care workers. [Thus, they were not recommended.](#) At that particular time, cloth masks [were not](#) commonplace. Fauci might have only been referring to N95 masks. These masks filter up to 95% of particles in the air. To do this, they must properly fit. They are uncomfortable to wear because they must fit tightly. Also, they are harder to breathe through. [The U.S. Food and Drug Administration \(FDA\) explains that N95 masks](#) are more expensive than others and only designed for one-time use (FDA, 2021). KN95 masks are similar in that they remove a high percentage of airborne particles. They are China's equivalent to the U.S.'s N95 masks. Compared to N95 masks, KN95 masks require greater force to inhale and exhale. Some KN95 masks are modified with a filtering respirator valve to lessen this breathing force problem. But, they are discouraged for Covid use, because they allow the wearer's unfiltered breath to escape the mask (FDA, 2021). In other words, KN95 masks with valves protect the wearer from Covid while inhaling, but do not prevent the wearer from spreading Covid while exhaling.

There are types of masks other than N95, that Fauci may not have accounted for at the time of his original statement. Surgical masks are not as expensive as N95 masks. They are designed for one-time use to protect the wearer's mouth and nose from large-particle droplets, splashes, or sprays that may contain viruses and bacteria (FDA, 2021). The masks may also protect others from the wearer's saliva and respiratory secretions. These masks do not protect the wearer from inhaling smaller airborne particles, unlike the N95 and KN95 masks. Furthermore, leakage occurs around the edges when the wearer inhales. There are also cloth masks, which do not perform as well, although they can be washed and reused. Researchers from Yale and Stanford found that cloth masks filtered out just 37% of virus particles (FDA, 2021). [Though not as effective as N95 masks, the FDA reports that wearing both masks together, or two cloth masks, improves protection.](#)

If cloth masks are not as effective as N95 masks, why did Fauci tell people to wear them? Fauci said there was a shortage of N95 and surgical masks, and he wanted to save those masks for medical personnel. Did Fauci make a scientific or moral judgment when deciding that partial protection from cloth masks was good enough? Did the decision to force everyone into wearing cloth masks while saving N95 masks for healthcare workers provide enough protection to be justified? This might not have been a scientific question so much as it was a decision on how to use scientific knowledge (Weiner, 2021). Should people be required to wear two masks or one? Again, this is not a scientific conclusion. It was a novel question that had not been fully studied yet. Also, as two cloth masks will still not protect as well as N95 masks, the decision to suggest the use of two masks was Fauci's guess as to how to apply limited scientific evidence to the problem. It might have been Fauci's best guess, presented as being an authoritative, scientific conclusion (Weiner, 2021). Other factors could have just as easily been included in the decision such as the amount of ventilation in a room, the spacing of people, the effect on the person's ability to breathe, the age of the

wearer, and the need of others to see facial communication cues. The effectiveness of cloth should have been considered along with other factors to develop policy. When a scientist [decides](#) that science can only partially inform, the door is opened to discredit the scientist or the science itself.

The Coronavirus Was New

After some time had passed, Fauci said, “We didn’t realize the extent of asymptomatic spread...what happened as the weeks and months came by, two things became clear: one, that there wasn’t a shortage of masks, we had plenty of masks and coverings that you could put on made of plain cloth...so that took care of that problem. Secondly, we fully realized that there are a lot of people who are asymptomatic who are spreading infection. So, it became clear that we absolutely should be wearing masks consistently” (Mathew, 2020). It would seem that, when Fauci made his first statement that masks were not needed, scientists did not realize asymptomatic spread could be occurring. People who showed no symptoms at all or had the virus in very early stages might not be aware that they were infected. Others would not know it was unsafe to be around that person. Scientists realized coughing, while seemingly innocent, even without a fever, could be spreading COVID-19.

On April 3, 2020, the [Center for Disease Control and Prevention \(CDC\)](#) updated its previous advice and recommended that people wear cloth face coverings. The CDC also added “aerosol transmission” to the ways COVID-19 could spread. These updates seem to reflect changes in the scientific consensus about how this disease spreads.

The Droplet vs Aerosol Dispute on Virus Transmission

The possibility of airborne transmission of viruses has been an ongoing issue within the scientific community for over 100 years and probably led to a lot of initial misunderstandings of COVID-19 transmission. Until the COVID-19 Pandemic, only a few diseases, like tuberculosis, measles, and chickenpox, were acknowledged to be airborne, while influenza, SARS, and COVID-19 were not (Chadwick, 2020). The distinction has been attributed to the size of the respiratory particles produced by coughing and similar actions. Respiratory particles smaller than 5 micrometers are considered capable of airborne transmission; thus, are considered “aerosols” (Prather et al., 2020). Particles larger than 5 micrometers are thought to fall out of the air quickly, onto surfaces, and are called “droplets” ([Prather et al., 2020](#)). Aerosols (particle sizes below 5 micrometers) spread infection by persons breathing pathogen-containing air, while droplets (particles above 5 micrometers) spread infection by persons touching surfaces and transferring the pathogen to one’s nose or mouth. This distinction has been shown to be inaccurate, causing much confusion among experts and the public alike (Greenhalgh et al., 2021).

Historical Researchers

Carl Fugge (1847-1923), a German bacteriologist and hygienist, was the first to discover that pathogens were present in respiratory particles from infected people and were large enough to settle around other people (Randall [et al.](#), 2021). He demonstrated that, even with “quiet speech”, droplets were sprayed into the air (Valls, 2021). His research laid the groundwork for particle-based transmission. His work was also instrumental in Johann von Mikulicz Radecki’s development of gauze masks, which were used as some of the first modern surgical masks ([Randall et al., 2021](#)).

Some in the medical community were alarmed by Flugge's findings, especially for tuberculosis. Berlin physician Bernhard Frankel (1836-1911) worried that "the discovery of the danger of airborne infection from the phthisis would make the fight against invisible enemies in the air considerably more difficult" (Polianski, 2021).

It was now known that avoiding direct contact with an infected person would not provide complete protection against the disease. Possibly due to the helplessness of health officials to fight airborne diseases, the range of airborne infection studies in the medical literature shrank. Although Flugge had recognized long-range airborne transmission, the worldwide perception of his work only accepted short-range transmission. Charles Value Chapin (1856-1941), a physician and researcher, was one of such contemporaries with Flugge who only believed in short-range transmission. On one hand, Chapin stated it would be a great relief "to be freed from the specter of infected air, a specter which has pursued the race from the time of Hippocrates" (Chapin, 1910, p.262). On the other hand, Chapin only recommended that masks be worn within two or three feet of an infected person because he believed that transmission would not exceed that distance (Chapin, 1910). Chapin provided some clarification to his disagreement over distance by stating,

Infection by air, if it does take place, as is commonly believed, is so difficult to avoid or guard against, and so universal in its action, that it discourages effort to avoid other sources of danger. ... It is impossible, as I know from experience, to teach people to avoid infection while they are firmly convinced that the air is the chief vehicle of infection (Chapin, 1910, p.262).

He was not eager to embrace airborne spread (Randall et al., 2021). This contribution by Chapin seems to show that experts can fail to truly understand or adequately adopt each other's discoveries, even in the face of sound experimental design and results.

The dispute over airborne transmission continued with the next generation of scientists. Harvard engineer William Firth Wells (1886-1963) made a significant breakthrough in airborne transmission of infections. He began with the discovery that Flugge's respiratory particles came in a wide range of sizes from a single sneeze (Wells, 1955). He began working on controlling the sizes of these particles with mist-producing apparatuses to examine the effect of particle size on its airborne properties (Wells, 1955). In 1934, he devised the "Wells curve," which correlated the sizes of Flugge's respiratory particles with the vertical distances they could fall before landing or evaporating (Wells, 1955; Randall et al., 2021). He took great care to note that particles did not retain a consistent size while falling. Rather, they would evaporate as they projected outward and dropped, leading to a simple test of whether or not wet droplets were detectable after falling from different heights (Wells, 1955). Wells even took into account atmospheric humidity and sneeze velocity to get a more comprehensive view of the particles' aerodynamics (Wells, 1955). He found that because the horizontal distance traveled by respiratory particles could vary wildly, he was more able to collect reliable data about the vertical drop of particles that were sneezed or misted in a normal fashion (Wells, 1955). In typical room temperature and humidity, indoor conditions, particles under 5 micrometers produced no detectable wet droplets while falling vertical distances of up to 2 meters, a little over 6½ feet (Wells, 1955). Particles measuring between 5 and 100 micrometers in size tended to evaporate very quickly, detectable only briefly after being sneezed (Wells, 1955). Particles over 100 micrometers in size could be sneezed

and detected after falling 1.4 meters or a little over 4½ feet, seemingly preserving themselves as droplets that could infect surfaces (Wells, 1955). These results led to the current standard of 5 micrometers being the threshold for an “aerosol” and anything larger being a “droplet” (Tang et al., 2021), although droplets between 5 and 100 micrometers readily shrink by evaporation to aerosol size (Wells, 1955).

Wells enlisted the help of his wife, physician Mildred Weeks Wells, to advance these studies for airborne transmission of tuberculosis, which seemed to be a common problem in hospitals at the time (Wells, 1955; Riley, 2001). To mimic hospital rooms linked by air vents, the Wells team used cages for guinea pigs connected by tubes to a misting apparatus to simulate sneezes with particle sizes controlled by specialized air filters (Wells, 1955). The results of these experiments were consistent with Wells’ earlier work. When wet particles containing tuberculosis were controllably misted at sizes of under-5 micrometers through tubes and into these cages, guinea pigs became infected (Wells, 1955). For droplets between 5 and 100 micrometers, some wet droplets were observable near the tube opening by the misting apparatus; however, the rest of the tube was dry and the guinea pigs, again, became infected (Wells, 1955). For particles over 100 micrometers, droplets could be seen near the misting end of the tube, but the guinea pigs at the other end of the tube were not infected (Wells, 1955). The Wells team, then, incorporated a new, controversial addition to their apparatus that had shown promise as a disinfectant for other researchers: ultra-violet light (Wells, 1955). When ultra-violet light from a special UV lamp was shined on the tube that connected the misting apparatus to the guinea pig cage, the guinea pigs did not become infected (Wells, 1955). It would seem that Wells provided both extraordinarily sound evidence for indoor, airborne transmission of infections, as well as the use of ultra-violet lamps as a viable solution. The authors of this paper offer that the sun likely provides similar ultra-violet irradiation for outdoor conditions.

Wells made an effort to educate the public about these evaporated particles remaining in the air for significant amounts of time (The Evening Sun, 1963). Decades later, Richard L. Riley used Wells’ studies to develop an equation to predict the probability of becoming infected by airborne transmission (Riley, 2001). The equation is highly technical, accounting for the concentration of infectious particles, the length of time the pathogen remains infectious, breathing rates, and any ventilation or filtration properties the indoor space might have (Riley, 2001). The resulting equation is known as the “Wells-Riley model” and has become a prominent tool for epidemiologists (Riley, 2001; Randall et al., 2021; International Society of Indoor Air Quality and Climate [ISIAQ], 2021; Molteni, 2021; Penn Medicine, 2020).

Just like Flugge had a contemporary detractor in Chapin (Chapin, 1910), Wells had a contemporary detractor in Alexander Langmuir (1910-1993), the first director of the newly created Center for Disease Control (Molteni, 2021). Langmuir rejected the idea of airborne transmission **because** it resembled “Miasma Theory,” an ancient idea that “bad air” caused disease. Langmuir preferred to encourage personal hygiene for combatting disease (Molteni, 2021). In March 1951, he wrote a report that disparaged Wells’ belief in airborne infection. He said Wells’ work “failed the challenge to the theory of contact and droplet infection” (Randall et al., 2021).

However, as time passed, Langmuir’s position against Wells softened. Langmuir’s position at the CDC led him to become more concerned with the possibility

of airborne pathogens in biological warfare (Schultz & Schaffner, 2015). He gave a speech to public health students shortly after the Korean War began to this effect (Randall et al., 2021). Reportedly, Langmuir still was not a believer in airborne transmission occurring naturally; however, he believed that weapons could artificially induce airborne transmission, even citing Wells' work to make this claim (Randall et al., 2021). Langmuir agreed with Wells' 5-micrometer threshold, which was corroborated by numerous studies in the 1940s geared toward health in industrial settings. These other studies, accepted by Langmuir, showed that mucus of the nose and throat were good at filtering out particles bigger than 5 micrometers. But, smaller ones could go deep into the lungs and cause damage. Langmuir concluded that aerosolized particles under 5 micrometers bypass the body's main defenses, making such an effective weapon (Randall et al., 2021). At the end of his career, after Wells had died, Langmuir finally admitted he was wrong about Wells in a speech to healthcare workers. He now accepted the claim of natural airborne transmission of pathogens through aerosols (Randall et al., 2021).

The CDC officially declared 5 micrometers the standard particle size range for airborne transmission of infections (Tang et al., 2021). However, the CDC's guidelines have seemingly missed that evaporation causes liquid particles to shrink (Tang et al., 2021). This has caused experts to be taught that certain diseases produce particles of specific, unchanging sizes, neatly fitting above or below the 5-micrometer threshold (Tang et al., 2021; Prather et al., 2020). Therefore, some experts were trained to believe that only some diseases (i.e., measles and tuberculosis) can spread by aerosol, while others (i.e., influenza and COVID-19) could not (Chadwick, 2020).

Furthermore, it appears as if the WHO also misunderstood Wells' work when issuing their recommendations. Wells' study about droplets larger than 100 micrometers being detectable after distances of approximately 4½ feet was the basis for the WHO recommending that people be socially distanced by 3-6 feet (Huang, 2020). There are two problems with this recommendation. Firstly, the recommendation did not account for the possibility of respiratory droplets containing COVID-19 being under 5 micrometers, allowing airborne transmission *and* mask penetration. Secondly, Wells' determination of 4½ feet was in *vertical* distance, not *horizontal* distance (Wells, 1955). Wells was very careful to say that horizontal travel depended upon many factors.

Current Scientists that Challenged Droplet-Only Spread of COVID

Some researchers seem to be extending the work performed by Wells, but with tools that are updated for the present time. Lydia Bourouiba, for example, is an Associate Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, directs MIT's Fluid Dynamics of Disease Transmission Laboratory. Her work has changed previous thinking about how sneezes and coughs move through the air. She used two high-speed cameras to capture the nuanced movements of fluid droplets (Bourouiba et al., 2014). Sneezes, exhalations, and coughs produce little clouds of mucosalivary droplets, their group's preferred terminology for respiratory particles. These clouds grow as they move away from the mouth and draw in the surrounding air. The droplets balloon, then aggregate into long, stringy, sticky filaments. These aggregates eventually break up into sprays of smaller droplets. The droplets appear to be strongly affected by temperature and humidity, consistent with Wells' observations. The gas clouds and filaments reduce the amount of evaporation that can occur as the particles move through the air,

preserving the lifetime of the constituent droplets so they can travel upwards of eight meters—over 26 feet ([Poulain&Bourouiba, 2019](#)). The pathogen-bearing droplets in the clouds eventually evaporate, leaving behind a spray of residue and droplet nuclei at sizes below 5 micrometers. This material can stay airborne for hours and may even move on air currents ([Bourouiba et al., 2014](#);[Poulain&Bourouiba, 2019](#)). This knowledge raises doubts as to whether or not an N95 mask can stop them.

As additional studies are published, there is a clear change in the consensus about how COVID-19 is spread, away from transmission by people touching droplets on surfaces (Saey, 2021). Easy transmission between people in close proximity was cited in the past to support droplet transmission. However, transmission to people in close proximity and more distantly, makes aerosol-based spread more likely (Lewis, 2020). Because airborne transmission was ruled out by conventional views about the 5-micrometer-size threshold, there was limited thinking on how to initially respond to COVID-19. Ventilation was overlooked, as were air filters and open windows to dilute the airborne pathogen (Penn. Med., 2020).

One of the ongoing challenges in resolving discrepancies between health organizational recommendations and sound science is that medical researchers seem reluctant to accept correction from other scientific disciplines. One scientific figure that exemplifies this problem is Linsey Marr (Molteni, 2021). Marr primarily researches how nanoparticles can join with or repel other structures in the air to form new structures of various sizes (Molteni, 2021). In earlier research, she studied the spread of influenza on airplanes and in childcare centers ([Yang et al., 2011](#)). She installed air samplers in these locations and frequently found flu viruses where medical textbooks said they should not be. Furthermore, the particles were small enough to stay airborne for hours in high enough quantities to make people sick. She completed this work in 2011, but major medical journals rejected her manuscripts (Molteni, 2021). Marr believes her manuscripts were rejected because pathogens were of medical concern, and she is not a medical doctor (Molteni, 2021). During the COVID-19 pandemic, she studied airborne disease transmission and concluded the virus could be transmitted through [the](#) inhalation of contaminated aerosols (Molteni, 2021).

In January 2020, Marr reviewed a research paper by Yugun Li, which found that the assumed, unnuanced, 5-micrometer boundary was incorrect. Most flu, colds, and other respiratory illnesses were spreading as aerosols rather than droplets on surfaces, in contradiction to medical textbooks and health organizational claims (Molteni, 2021). Yuguo Li, an indoor-air researcher at [the](#) University of Hong Kong, did research in 2003 during the first SARS outbreak ([ISIAQ, 2021](#)). His work inspired Marr. In December 2019, an outbreak in the Army Gardens apartment complex provided evidence that a novel coronavirus could be airborne ([ISIAQ, 2021](#)). He also did not have success convincing the public health community that their “established facts” appeared to be incorrect. He performed Wells-Riley-based simulations that showed when a person coughed or sneezed, heavy droplets were too few, and entry points through an open mouth, nose, or eyes were too small to account for [significant](#) infection. Therefore, the respiratory illness must [primarily](#) spread through aerosols. If this new coronavirus could not form particles smaller than 5 micrometers as health officials claimed, then there was no 5-micrometer boundary ([ISIAQ, 2021](#); Molteni, 2021). Yuguo Li said, “Tragedy always teaches us something” (Molteni, 2021). Airborne transmission is both more

complicated and less scary than once believed. It is just like measles that infects 90% of susceptible people exposed to the aerosolized virus. He hopes that acknowledging the history of the 5-micrometer mistake, and how it hindered the COVID-19 response, will allow ventilation to emerge as a central pillar of public health policy (Molteni, 2021). Li convinced administrators at the University of Hong Kong to spend their COVID-19 budget on upgrading ventilation in buildings rather than on mass testing of students. The university has 30,000 students, and they only had 23 COVID-19 cases. This success is being credited to enhanced ventilation (Molteni, 2021).

In early October 2020, Marr and others published a letter in *Science* urging other scientists to join them in dropping the 5-micrometer standard (Prather et al., 2020). In response, the CDC updated its guidance (CDC, 2021). That winter, the WHO also began to talk more about aerosols. On December 1, 2020, the organization finally recommended everyone wear a mask inside (WHO, 2020). In an interview, the WHO's Maria Van Kerkhove said the changes reflect the organization's commitment to evolving its guidance when scientific evidence compels change (Lewis, 2020). The WHO planned to also rethink the old droplet-versus-airborne dichotomy (BBC, 2020). They released an acknowledgment that aerosols could not be ruled out, especially in poorly ventilated locations (Anoruo, 2020). However, the WHO kept the 3-6 foot spacing rule and advised people to wear masks if they could not space themselves (Huang, 2020). To these authors, this seems to reflect a continued misunderstanding of Wells' work—vertical versus horizontal distance. Yet, this standard might reflect some lingering caution over the possibility of droplet-based transmission on surfaces.

On Friday, April 30, 2021, the WHO quietly updated a page on its website detailing the transmission of the coronavirus. It now says it can spread by both aerosols as well as droplets (Tsirtsakis, 2021). Zeynep Tufelcci noted in the *New York Times* that the biggest news of the pandemic passed with no news conference or big declaration (Tufelcci, 2021). Early May 2021, the CDC made similar changes to its COVID-19 guidance, now placing the inhalation of aerosols at the top of its list of how the disease spreads. Again, no big press conference or news release occurred (Tufelcci, 2021). This made informing the public of changes more difficult than it needed to be.

Follow the Science

Science alone cannot make policy decisions (Mercuri, 2020). Science provides a process for eventually resolving uncertainties through a process of experimentation. But these experiments take time. Often, decisions must be made before experimentation begins in order to respond to an emergency. Only pure science, without the immediate need for action, has the luxury to remain silent until rigorous investigations are completed. If an urgent, practical problem has many considerations, then the scientific method will not have time to adequately resolve them (Prasad, 2020).

In retrospect, one might wonder if there should have been lockdowns. As a generally accepted principle, in the early stages of epidemics, infectious diseases spread very quickly because as few will have immunity to the disease (Mercuri, 2020). Fatality rates are inflated in the early stages of epidemics because mild and asymptomatic cases are unknown to the researchers (Mercuri, 2020; Prasad, 2020). This skews the calculation by only counting the sickest patients (Mercuri, 2020). Modelers, in March of 2020, used these inflated fatality rates in making decisions, intending to limit the number of deaths (Mercuri, 2020). The authors of this paper

seemed to notice, informally and qualitatively, that many of our colleagues were supportive of the lockdowns, given what was known at the time. But, new studies on the pandemic, such as the ones described in this paper, have been exposing flaws in scientific assumptions. Projections are only as accurate as the data they are based on (Mercuri, 2020), which can lead to flawed policy decisions. Credible sources exist to challenge every area of the scientific claims that informed policies during this pandemic. Yet, these new findings have not been publicized in the way initial assumptions were. Will recommendations be changed for the next pandemic?

Consequences of lockdowns, other than mortality issues, are also becoming apparent. Considerations like economic damage, mental health problems from social isolation, questionable effectiveness of online education, weakened immune systems from a lack of contact with others, and an inability to get regular checkups and screening for other harmful diseases such as cancer, are just a few of the problems that seem to have arisen from the COVID-19 lockdowns (Prasad, 2020). These considerations should be taken into account if an emergency such as the COVID-19 pandemic occurs again. Certainly, no one who lost a loved one to COVID-19 will be consoled by statistical figures. But, an inflated death rate (Prasad, 2020) was certainly used to sell extreme measures, with dubious effectiveness and high social costs.

What does it mean to “follow the science”? If this means scientists and scientific studies should be consulted when evaluating criteria and making policy decisions, most people would agree. However, if it means a scientist, even an expert of the exact area in question, should be unilaterally empowered to make policy decisions, then there is a problem (Caplan, 2021). Epidemiological modeling is only one part of a broad scope that must be taken into account. Let us consider what Fauci said about masks. At first, he said masks were not advised for healthy people who were not healthcare workers. When he later recommended masks, he looked like a disingenuous flip-flopper (Roper, 2021). Given the strict restrictions during the COVID-19 lockdowns, “follow the science” became code for “do as we say” (Blatchford, 2021). This is fundamentally at odds with a free society. Perhaps Fauci and our politicians should have passed along recommendations and allowed the public to make decisions for themselves and their families. This would have allowed Fauci and others to look like educated advisors instead of dictating policy. Hindsight is always 20/20. COVID-19 revealed itself to be harmful to the public, but the vast majority of cases were not lethal, or asymptomatic. We were also fortunate that several drug companies were able to develop vaccines and identify effective drugs relatively quickly. A future pandemic might not have such lucky breaks. It is possible that mass shutdowns might be necessary despite all other consequences. However, even in that instance, public policy needs to be decided by the people. Whatever the future holds, the public needs to be better educated about how science works. What is accepted by convention today might be completely wrong, as evident by the controversy over airborne, as opposed to droplet-only, transmission of COVID-19. Sometimes, experts reject developments in their own fields, as evidenced by Chapin and Langmuir. Others resist developments made in other fields that should inform their own, as was the case with medical journals rejecting Linsey Marr. But there is hope where other scientists collaborate and change their minds in the face of sound evidence. Even the great Albert Einstein needed Edwin Hubble’s improved telescope and research to better understand his own work in

theorizing that the universe is expanding, which he initially refused to believe (Lincoln, 2015).

For many politicians, union leaders, and special interest groups, COVID-19 became a means to an end. Marc Perrone, [the](#) President of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, claimed grocery stores were unsafe. He created a sense of panic about going out to buy groceries at the same time the FDA was trying to reassure people that food or food packaging were not causing COVID-19 transmission (Rogers, 2021). Perrone claimed that grocery workers should receive “hazard pay,” and that more workers should be hired to perform “enhanced cleaning” (Rogers, 2021). The union recommended hiring additional employees to run more checkout lines and disinfect grocery checkout [conveyor](#) belts after each customer, despite the lack of data to support that risk (Rogers, 2021).

Other groups need to adapt, but hopefully without an extraneous COVID agenda. The average citizen must understand science does not provide permanent, authoritative conclusions. Also, citizens should not be looking to scientists alone to make policy decisions. Scientific conclusions, no matter how sound, are only one piece of a larger picture. High schools and colleges, especially in general education classes, need to teach what science is and how it works, not just memorizing long lists of facts and demonstrating experiments with known outcomes. Politicians need to make decisions based on broad sources of information. They need to weigh [the](#) costs and benefits [of](#) different approaches without the illusion that every life can be saved in a perfect solution. Scientists are supposed to provide current scientific knowledge, keep asking questions and conducting experiments, and explain to the public why an idea has changed when it changes. Scientists should not be making policy decisions alone (Stevens, 2020). The media needs to provide unbiased, forthcoming information. The media appears to be extensively picking sides, spinning stories, and cherry-picking stories to push predetermined, partisan agendas. Finally, following the success of Li at the University of Hong Kong, COVID-19 money should be spent on better ventilation and air filters (Molteni, 2021) at home and at work. In this fashion, we can properly learn lessons from the COVID-19 pandemic policies and benefit from them in future crises.

References

- Anoruo, N. (2020). 'Aerosol' vs. 'Airborne' vs. 'Droplets' Amid COVID-19: What You Need to Know. ABC News. <https://abcnews.go.com/Health/aerosol-airborne-droplets-amid-covid-19/story?id=73250018>
- BBC News. (2020). *Coronavirus: WHO Rethinking How COVID-19 Spreads in Air*. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-53329946>
- Berkeley (2021). *Understanding Science: How Science Really Works*. Berkeley Education. <https://undsci.berkeley.edu>
- Blatchford, R. (2021). *Letter to the Editor: Time to Rethink Telling Us to 'Follow the Science'*. Frederick News Post. https://www.fredericknewspost.com/opinion/letter_to_editor/time-to-rethink-telling-us-to-follow-the-science/article_2cf73f74-b88c-5ae8-affe-9df163fab79e.html
- [Bourouiba, L., Dehandschoewercker, E., & Bush, J. W. M. \(2014\). Violent expiratory events: on coughing and sneezing. Journal of Fluid Mechanics, 745, 537–563. https://doi.org/10.1017/jfm.2014.88](https://doi.org/10.1017/jfm.2014.88)
- Caplan, B. (2021). "Follow the science" might not mean what you think it means. EconLib. <https://www.econlib.org/follow-the-science-might-not-mean-what-you-think-it-means/>
- Center for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020, April 3). *Recommendation Regarding the Use of Cloth Face Coverings, Especially in Areas of Significant Community-Based Transmission* [Press release]. <https://stacks.cdc.gov/view/cdc/86440>
- Center for Disease Control and Prevention. (2021). *Scientific brief: SARS-CoV-2 Transmission* [Press release]. <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/science/science-briefs/sars-cov-2-transmission.html>
- Chadwick, L. (2020). *Understanding the Difference Between Airborne and Droplet Precautions*. Functional Pathways. <https://fprehab.com/2020/04/10/understanding-the-difference-between-airborne-and-droplet-precautions/>
- Chamberlain, S. (2021). *Fauci Emails Show His Flip-Flopping on Wearing Masks to Fight COVID*. New York Post. <https://nypost.com/2021/06/03/fauci-emails-show-his-flip-flopping-on-wearing-masks-to-fight-covid/>
- Chapin, C. (1910). *The Sources and Modes of Infection*. John Wiley & Sons, New York.
- Dreyer, D. (2021). *Column: Did Fauci flip-flop or follow the science?* Hickory Record. https://hickoryrecord.com/opinion/columnists/column-did-fauci-flip-flop-or-follow-the-science/article_eb57e816-ea40-11eb-8032-43e9e70a535b.html
- Food and Drug Administration (2021). *N95 Respirators, Surgical Masks, Face Masks, and Barrier Face Coverings* [Press release]. <https://www.fda.gov/medicaldevices/personal-protective-equipment-infection-control/n95-respirators-surgical-masks-face-masks-and-barrier-face-coverings>
- Greenhalgh, T., Jimenez, J. L., Prather, K. A., Tufekci, Z., Fisman, D., & Schooley, R. (2021). Ten scientific reasons in support of airborne transmission of SARS-CoV-2. *The Lancet (British Edition)*, 397(10285), 1603–1605. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(21\)00869-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(21)00869-2)

- Huang, P. (2020). *WHO: Airborne transmission plays limited role in Coronavirus spread*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2020/07/09/889526937/who-report-aerosols-not-likely-to-be-significant-source-of-covid-19-transmission>
- International Society of Indoor Air Quality and Climate [ISIAQ]. (2021). *Indoor air journal editor – Yuguo Li*. International Society of Indoor Air Quality and Climate. https://isiaq.org/indoor_air_journal_editor_-_yu.php
- Lewis. (2020). Mounting evidence suggests coronavirus is airborne - but health advice has not caught up. *Nature (London)*, 583(7817), 510–513. <https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-020-02058-1>
- Lincoln, D. (2015). *Einstein's true biggest blunder (Op-Ed)*. Space. <https://www.space.com/31055-removing-cosmological-constant-was-the-blunder.html>
- Maani, N. & Galea, S. (2021). *What science can and cannot do in a time of pandemic*. Scientific America. <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/what-science-can-and-cannot-do-in-a-time-of-pandemic/>
- Mathew, P. (2020). *Fauci on how his thinking has evolved on masks, asymptomatic transmission*. The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/video/washington-post-live/fauci-on-how-his-thinking-has-evolved-on-masks-asymptomatic-transmission/2020/07/24/799264e2-0f35-4862-aca2-2b4702650a8b_video.html
- Mercuri, M. (2020). Just follow the science: A government response to a pandemic. *Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice*, 26(6), 1575–1578. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jep.13491>
- Molteni, M. (2021). *The 60-year-old science screwup that helped Covid kill*. Wired. <https://www.wired.com/story/the-teeny-tiny-scientific-screwup-that-helped-covid-kill/>
- Penn Medicine. (2020). *COVID-19: Droplet or airborne transmission?* PennMedicinePhysician Blog. <https://www.pennmedicine.org/updates/blogs/penn-physician-blog/2020/august/airborne-droplet-debate-article>
- Polianski. (2021). Airborne infection with Covid-19? A historical look at a current controversy. *Microbes and Infection*, 104851–104851. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.micinf.2021.104851>
- Poulain, S., & Bourouiba, L. (2019). Disease transmission via drops and bubbles. *Physics Today*, 72(5), 70–71. doi:10.1063/pt.3.4211
- Prasad, V. (2020). *Op-ed: What does 'follow the science' mean, anyway?* Medpage Today. <https://www.medpagetoday.com/opinion/vinay-prasad/89856>
- Prather, K. A., Marr, L. C., Schooley, R. T., McDiarmid, M. A., Wilson, M. E., & Milton, D. K. (2020). Airborne transmission of SARS-CoV-2. *Science*, 370(6514), 303.2–304. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abf0521>
- Randall, K., Ewing, E. T., Marr, L. C., Jimenez, J. L., & Bourouiba, L. (2021). How did we get here: what are droplets and aerosols and how far do they go? A historical perspective on the transmission of respiratory infectious diseases. *InterfaceFocus*, 11(6). <https://doi.org/10.1098/rsfs.2021.0049>

- Riley, R. (2001). What Nobody Needs to Know About Airborne Infection. *American Journal of Respiratory and Critical Care Medicine*, 163(1), 7–8. <https://doi.org/10.1164/ajrccm.163.1.hh11-00>
- Rogers, J. (2021). *Follow the science, not the politics*. Real Clear Health. https://www.realclearhealth.com/articles/2021/05/28/follow_the_science_not_the_politics_111213.html
- Roper, G. (2021). *Yes, we should follow the science, but who should make the decision*. The Hill. <https://pacificlegal.org/the-hill-follow-the-science/>
- Rosenberg, H. (2020, March 8). Coronavirus/Fiona Hill/Elfstedentocht [Season 52, Episode 24] [TV series episode]. In D.S. Cretta (Executive Producer), 60 Minutes. CBS
- Saey, T. (2021). *New studies hint that the coronavirus may be evolving to become more airborne*. Science News. <https://www.sciencenews.org/article/covid-coronavirus-aerosol-droplets-airborne-evolution>
- Schultz, M. G. & Schaffner, W. (2015). Alexander Duncan Langmuir. *Emerging Infectious Diseases*, 21(9), 1635–1637. <https://doi.org/10.3201/eid2109.141445>
- Science Council (2021). *Our definition of science*. Science Council. <https://sciencecouncil.org/about-science/our-definition-of-science/>
- Stevens, A. (2020). Governments cannot just “follow the science” on COVID-19. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 4(6), 560–560. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-0894-x>
- Tang, J. W., Marr, L. C., Li, Y., & Dancer, S. J. (2021). Covid-19 has redefined airborne transmission. *BMJ*, n913. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n913>
- The Evening Sun. (1963). *William Firth Wells*. The Evening Sun. <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/54375442/the-evening-sun/>
- Tsirtsakis, K. (2021). *‘A welcome step’: WHO acknowledges aerosol spread of COVID-19*. News GP. <https://www1.racgp.org.au/news/gp/clinical/a-welcome-step-who-acknowledges-aerosol-spread-of>
- Tufelcci, Z. (2021). *Opinion: Why did it take so long to accept the facts about Covid?* *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/opinion/coronavirus-airborne-transmission>
- Valls, J. (2020). *Editorial 69: Far, Koch and Flugge, essential to maintain hygienic-sanitary conditions on farms*. Veterinaria Digital. https://www.veterinariadigital.com/en/post_blog/editorial-69th-far-koch-and-flugge-essential-to-maintain-hygienic-sanitary-conditions-on-farms/
- Weiner, G. (2021). *Why we cannot just ‘follow the science’*. American Enterprise Institute. <https://www.aei.org/op-eds/why-we-cannot-just-follow-the-science/>
- Wells, W.F. (1955). Airborne Contagion and Air Hygiene: An Ecological Study of Droplet Infections. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 159(1), 90. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.1955.02960180092033>
- [World Health Organization. \(2020, December 1\). Mask use in the context of COVID-19 \[Press release\]. https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/advice-on-the-use-of-masks-in-the-community-during-home-care-and-in-healthcare-settings-in-the-context-of-the-novel-coronavirus-\(2019-ncov\)-outbreak](https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/advice-on-the-use-of-masks-in-the-community-during-home-care-and-in-healthcare-settings-in-the-context-of-the-novel-coronavirus-(2019-ncov)-outbreak)
- [Yang W., Elankumaran, S., & Marr, L. C. \(2011\). Concentrations and size distributions of airborne influenza A viruses measured indoors at a health centre, a day-care](https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.1955.02960180092033)

centre and on aeroplanes. *Journal of the Royal Society Interface*, 8(61), 1176–1184. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rsif.2010.0686>

The Power of Problems

Dr. Pat Wentz
University of West Florida

Turning non-emergency problems into positive experiences in the five levels of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems theory is the basis of this discussion.

Got a problem? Maybe more than one? Would you believe it if you found that problems can lead to power? Not power over others but power over yourself. If that's true then you would assume that you would be the most powerful person maybe in the world! Let's get you on the road to that power.

Did you ever lift weights or do a particular exercise to increase your strength or your lung capacity? And if you stuck with it, did it work? Well that was power over your physical body. Today, let's look at a different kind of exercise that may help you develop power over your mind.

The power of problems resides in the ability to turn the problems into positive choices that may appeal to anyone: young children, school aged students, or adults at any level of development based on Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory. Problems are not all "In our face." We need to determine our distance from the problem and the stages in Bronfenbrenner's Systems Theory. It's a different way to think about problems and shows us the distance we have some problems and the closeness we have with other problems.

As various muscles in the body become more flexible and useful through exercise, so does the mind in dealing positively with problems; the more practice one has in successfully dealing with problems, the more likely that additional problems will be resolved successfully. Once an individual gets a taste of the power and self-confidence available through the successful management of problems, the world for that individual will change.

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory explains the five increasing levels of development from childhood to adulthood. This paper looks at how the increasing levels of development (extensions into the world) of an individual can be affected by a positive attitude toward problems.

Let's look at what a problem is; it may save you time in the long run and you may find that helping students define their problems will help to resolve some of your problems.

There are at least two parts of any problem: the problem itself and its effect on us. Problems are advancing on us until we put up our shield and say "No" to them. Do we act on our problems or do we re-act to them? Think about it.

This is not to say that there is nothing to the belief that problems can overwhelm; they can. They can be like the camel with his nose pushing in under the tent wall. Working from outside the tent, we must manage to pull the camel's head from under the edge of the tent from the outside and aim him in a different direction. If we wait until his long neck is in the tent, we've lost the tent. So, before we lose the tent (the problem), let's consider how we can translate a problem into something useful and productive: power.

If we analyze a problem, take it apart and work on one piece of the problem at the time, we can handle the components of the problem one at a time. Consider a problem as a circle drawn on a sheet of paper and divide it into four parts; we can deal with part 1 and see what choices are available and come to some resolution as to which choice to make; that gives us self confidence in working with part 2 and that self-confidence accrues as we work on each of the other two components of the problem. The self confidence that develops from making choices over the span of all four parts of this circle (problem) changes before our eyes into power: power in analyzing the next problem and power in dissection and resolving the next problem, all the time accruing more self-confidence (and power).

If we can determine in which system of our life the problem resides, we can make a better attempt to face and solve it. The closer to the person the problem is, the more critical it is to us. But that depends; some problems in the macro system (our culture and values) may seem closer than some in the mesosystem.

Let's take a look at the possibilities of the power of problems. From the management of problem power by the use of choices, decisions, and reflective thinking, even the very young child can be led to make choices among decisions that are all positive, and then later to make decisions among choices that are mixed positive and negative.

As early as possible, a child should be offered the chance to make choices among good things. As the child gets older, the number of positive things for a child to choose among can increase. When it's apparent that the child is comfortable making a choice (decision), then add one slightly negative item to the positive choices. If the child makes the negative choice, this is then an opportunity to let him learn about the choices he had available and think about what the choice he didn't make would have meant to him; he is beginning to reflect. The negative choice could be simply a heavy sweater on a warm day. The child doesn't need to see this choice as a negative one, just one that could have been better. Now he has a problem: the sweater is too warm and he needs to plan how to overcome that problem. Children usually do not articulate this problem or the solution; they just take the sweater off. They have made a negative choice and determined a suitable (to them) response.

Frequently, our problems do not come to us as a matter of our own choice. If you visualize our choices as trees, then as we make one choice such as resolving a problem, that leads to another like limbs on a tree branch off each other.

Theorist Urie Bronfenbrenner (Exploring Your Mind, 2020; Thomas, 2000) developed an Ecological Systems Theory wherein he suggested the child's development was affected by the child's five increasing layers or levels of the environment that he referred to as: first of all, the individual child himself; secondly, the microsystem (those elements closest to the child such as the home and the family, the school and peer group; third, the mesosystem including the neighborhood in which different parts of the microsystem interact with each other); fourth, the exosystem (involving the social setting that is indirectly a part of the child's life such as the parents' workplace, older sister's network of companions, and the school board, for example);

fifth, the macrosystem (involving the child's culture and values), and last, the chronosystem (involving time and its cause of change or lack of change).

Although Bronfenbrenner used these categories as places to study children's development, I want to use them as categories for the person to look toward the outside of self.

The progression of problem solving and the growth and development of a child's problem-solving capabilities can best and most easily start at home within the family. An individual can be taught how to look at problems as opportunities that give power to the resolver at any this age; this skill of reflection can be learned early and benefit the child throughout a lifetime.

Each stage of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory can have multiple levels of development in utilizing problems as power. The development is housed in the tolerance of choice by the individual. Beginning with the child in a crib, choice can be offered by holding up two baby toys (two positive choices) [positive choice = when either choice is good and can make the child happy]. When the child is used to having two choices and is comfortable making a choice, three positive choices can be offered, even up to four. The child will develop a strong comfort level by making choices that are satisfying and empowering to him; this is the crux of the idea that problems (such as making a choice) can be pleasurable and empowering. A history of making empowering choices will give the child self-confidence at whatever age.

As the child gets older, problems present themselves with more negative choices and the child learns to discriminate between the positive and negative, sometimes combining the two for a compromise, but always suffering or benefitting from the actual choice. A major benefit of these choices, whether negative or positive, is the process of thought that the child is learning through. Thus, problems, when approached as a choice situation, encourage the child to think through the results of the choice. Thus, the reflection.

Afraid of making a mistake? Consider the advice from counterculture documentarian Ralph Steadman (Crawford, 2020) who said "There's no such thing as a mistake. A mistake is an opportunity to do something else."

The child's developing mind can operationally benefit on at least two levels: the positive confidence benefits of learning from self-selection and the intellectual development of thinking more deeply and with reflection. This intellectual development can be spurred on by activities that lead to insight. By pursuing different answers to problems (or making a variety of choices), the child can learn by trial and error. These concepts were developed by German-American psychologist Wolfgang Kohler (*Psychology Facts*, May 18, 2018) and insight learning is sometimes called the Gestalt Theory of Learning.

As the young child can learn from making choices, sometimes the choice can lead to a negative effect. There's the challenge. When in the negative effect, the individual may or may not choose to react to that negative effect. If the child chooses to react and determine another effect, that effect may lead to a positive resolution or

another negative effect. Thus, the problem continues to offer challenges and opportunities. Sometimes, people feel that their choices lead to a negative spiral and they tend to give less attention or to give up completely on this particular line of problem resolution.

The pattern here can be replicated at any age level and in any of Bronfenbrenner's stages: the child, the home, the interaction of elements within the home, the social setting, the culture and values, and the time element causing or failing to cause changes. Instead of being a child, the individual may be at any age and the description would be the individual, the home, the interaction of elements within the home, the social setting, the culture and values and the time element affecting the change.

Thus, an individual of any age may approach a problem with an aggressive stance instead of walking away from it. First is the analysis of the problem. Second, consider what choices are available. Consider a priority list of which choices are most desirable. Then isolate the most desirable choice of action and make a plan of attack with the acceptance that the choice may not work, but if it does not work, there is a list of other choices. This is your reflectivity in action. With young children, they can be guided through this process by a parent. With older children or adults, it is beneficial to make a chart, such as:

Step 1. My (shows ownership) problem is: _____

Step 2. Possible solutions in priority order:

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

Step 3. First solution tried: _____

Step 4. How did it work: _____

Step 5. If the solution was satisfactory, the goal is achieved. If the solution was unsatisfactory, cycle through beginning at Step 1 again.

As an individual moves through the steps of determining problem solutions, considerable thought processes are developed and skills of prioritizing, synergizing, and reflection are developed and refined.

An adult can try this process on a small problem first so that when moving to a larger problem there will be increased confidence with the steps that follow. As an individual's (child or adult) confidence increases, they will begin to think more positively about problems and see them as a part of life that offers challenge, excitement, a new venture, and possible benefits. It costs nothing to try. It is like a bird about to stretch wings and fly; there may be some concern for failure (probably not), but there is a greater opportunity for success. Individuals of all ages are encouraged to stretch their wings and develop the power and self confidence that solutions to problem can offer.

The power of problems resides in the ability to turn the problems into positive choices that may appeal to people, young children, school age students, or adults at any level of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory. Once an individual gets a taste of the power and self-confidence available through the successful management of problems the world for that individual will change.

References

- Crawford, Amy. (November, 2020). Not So Gonzo. *Smithsonian*. 51(07), 14
- Exploring Your Mind*. (September 25, 2020). Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory. <https://exploringyourmind.com/bronfenbrenners-ecological-sysstems-theory/>
- Mobi, Artem. (May 25, 2018). Ecological Systems Theory By Bronfenbrenner. <https://psychologyfacts.com/ecological-systems-theory/>
- Psychology Facts*. May 23, 2018. Insight Learning. <https://psychologyfacts.com/insight-learning/insight>
- Thomas, R. Murray. (2000). *Comparing Theories of Child Development*. Wadsworth. Pp. 405-418

**What A Tangled Web We Weave:
The Semiotics of the Chinese TV Drama
*The First Half of My Life***

by

William Kirtley
Independent Scholar

Abstract

In the darkest days of the pandemic, an online streaming service offered escape in the form of a 42-episode Chinese dramatic TV series, *The First Half of My Life* (2017). This series offered divertissement and a chance to learn about aspects of Chinese culture like Guanxi (connections or mentoring), the personal impact of divorce, the challenges of working mothers, and the power of human beings to transform from good to great. Semiotic theorists offer a way to probe the deeper meaning of events that seem obvious, strange, and even wrong (Hodge, 2004, p. 45). This paper provides a precise history of semiotic thought followed by an analysis of a woman's professional life in the Peoples Republic of China. It uses, among others, Canadian Sociologist Irving Goffman's concept of dramaturgy and Austrian social psychologist Fritz Heider's balance theory. Structural analysis uses triad relationships to graphically depict relationships in Zijun's personal and her professional life. Some critics termed *The First Half of My Life* (2017) a romance. It is not. If anything the characters are farther from intimacy at the end of the series, than at the beginning. This series is a drama. It is the story of the paradigmatic transformation of its female heroine, Luo Zijun, from dependent housewife to independent businessperson, nothing less than a complete change of character. Her ex-husband declares, "I never imagined she'd become like a different person"(Episode 14, 2017). She has help from her family, friends, and two different mentors for a syntagmatic change. The pain, loneliness, and courage are all personal as she sheds negative habits one at a time and builds positive responses to family and work challenges. Zijun never really sheds relationships. They become more complex as she balances her new responsibilities as a professional and a mother. This paper pays attention to conflicting and complex issues like the struggle between individualism and collectivism in modern China. It demonstrates how women deal with discrimination in divorce proceedings and stigma in the workplace. The series obtained high ratings inside and outside China. One reviewer succinctly summed up the show, "The romance is almost non existent, and it is more of a slice of life of 30-something year old characters growing as they navigate through what life throws at them" (My drama list – reviews, 2017. p. 1).

Key Words – Balance theory, Chinese TV drama, Chinese culture, divorce, dramaturgy, *First Half of My Life*, Guanxi, mentoring, millennial, 996, Semiotics, transformation, working mother, Yi Shu

Theory

Theory must permit predictions that are different from those derived from its predecessor.

(Kuhn, 1970, p. 109).

Semioticians define their practice as a general philosophical theory, a field of study, or something that makes sense only to those who are already familiar with the field. They generally agree humans live in a world saturated with signs and symbols that conceal ideologies influencing how people think, act, and live. Semiotics assists human beings in deriving meaning from the world around them. Such meanings are specific to cultural contexts, constructed by individuals and in a perpetual state of evolution (Nida, 2019, p. 1). Semiotics focuses on the key roles humans play as meaning-makers and helps them see through an overwhelming mass of messages. It shows behavior is based upon arbitrary symbolism, open to distrust from those who prescribe to a different set of symbols. Semiotics helps members of the species *homo sapiens* become better communicators and creators.

This approach began when linguists first investigated the meaning of words in human speech. It moved from examining human behavior in the fields of anthropology and psychology, to an enquiry into culture and society in various social sciences. Semioticians analyze cultural products such as films, literature, and art. Semiotics also fostered a branch of medicine that focuses on interpreting symptoms and a popular business methodology for researching consumer behavior.

W.K.C. Guthrie (1950), the Scottish classicist author of the *Greek Philosophers* argued, “philosophers do not think in a void and their results may be described as the result of temperament x experience x previous philosophies” (p. 19). Guthrie’s thesis is helpful in contrasting idealists like Plato, who gave primacy to form, and his successor, Aristotle, a realist who privileged matter. Later philosophers, like Augustine, an idealist, believed words were external signs expressing what is in the soul (Cary, 2008, p. 1). Augustine believed the study of signs includes other modes of semiosis wherein both “symptoms and the words of language, mimetic gestures of actors, along with the sounds of military trumpets and the chirrups of cicadas, all become species” (Nöth, 1990, p. 2).

Guthrie’s axiom is helpful in differentiating the contributions of various semioticians. Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) founded linguistics and semiology. Saussure thought of language as a self-contained system at a fixed point in time. He limited his efforts to words or phrases rather than larger levels of discourse. He made a distinction between *langue* (language) and *parole* (speech). *Langue* refers to the system of rules and conventions which is independent of, and pre-exists individual users; *parole* refers to its use in particular instances. He argued the relationship between sign and signified is binary. A sign is a two part linguistic unit consisting of the signifier and the signified. The signifier is something material that can be experienced. The signified is the mental concept associated with it (See Appendix A). Saussure saw this relation as being essentially arbitrary motivated only by social convention (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p.17).

American pragmatist Carl Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) trained as a chemist and lectured at John Hopkins University. He replaced Saussure’s term semiology with the word semiotics to emphasize his expanded view of the discipline to “constitute every

act of meaning” (Hodge, 2017, p. 10). Today, both terms are considered synonymous. Peirce viewed signs as part of a triadic relationship consisting of a sign, an object, and an interpretant. For example, smoke is a sign of fire (object). Central to the meaning of this relationship is the interpretation of the sign user. It makes a great deal of difference whether the smoke is from a forest fire or a polluting factory.

French Semiotician Roland Barthes (1915-1980) insisted, “signifieds are substances that must be expelled from linguistics and left to psychology” (Barthes, *Elements*, 1964, p. 39). He broadened Saussure’s narrow definition of semiotics to include images, gestures, and melodic sounds (quoted in *What Is Semiotics?*, 2021, p.1). He contested Saussure’s assertion language was self-contained, contending the meaning of any cultural text depended on its context and code (Nichols, 1981, p. 8). He argued images had different levels of meaning. He used denotation to refer to the literal definition of what the viewer sees in an image. He employed the word connotation to suggest the cultural conventions associated with an image. Lastly, he stressed the “punctum” or point encapsulating the meaning of an image with a period or an exclamation point (Barthes, *Images*, p. 17). Barthes is best remembered for his ability to demonstrate how various codes reproduce ideologies, making them seem natural, proper, and inevitable.

French post-modernists like Michel Foucault (1926-1984) used semiotics to deconstruct communicational behavior to reveal relationships of power and construct genealogies of authority and social control. Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) criticized Saussure’s argument that the written word was inferior to speech. Derrida believed the written word was at least as natural an extension of language as speech. He insisted language was not a sign of a sign, but a sign itself. He described the process of negation by which he arrived at this conclusion, as deconstruction (Post, 2015, p. 1). Peirce influenced the structuralism of Belgian anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-1990) who sought to identify the underlying patterns of thought in all forms of human activity. Lévi-Strauss argued binary oppositions form the basis of underlying “classificatory systems” within cultures. His analytical method involved defining the relationships between two or more terms and constructing a table of the possible permutations between them (Nöth, 1990, p. 77).

Criticisms of semiotics are abundant. Italian cultural critic Umberto Eco (1932-2016) condemned semiotics because of its misuse in product advertising. “Semiotics is in principle the discipline studying everything which can be used in order to lie” (Eco, 1976, p. 1). Some writers use the term “semiotics” in an effort to be relevant and ‘au courant’. They mention the term in the title, but do not refer to semiotics or its principles in the body of the article. British visual semiotician Daniel Chandler noted less skillful practitioners “can do little more than state the obvious in a pretentious manner” (2017, p. 170). Filmmaker Jon Montisugu recalled he studied semiotics and “other elitist bullshit” at Brown University (Stegall, 2021, p.1).

Critics condemn semiotics for analyzing the obvious. Practitioners of this method praise it for its ability to analyze what appears to be easily discovered or understood, but in reality, has deeper meanings that are often overlooked. The semiotic principle of point of view aided masters degree candidate Lauren Gilmore (2021) in his thesis, “Building a (great) wall: a semiotic analysis of the rhetoric of President Donald J. Trump.” His work sheds new light on the nuances of the codes

and signals sent by the former president to his base. The semiotic approach leads people to new realizations, things they take for granted, and the construction of meaning. Semiotics helps researchers differentiate among various types of media. It avoids the privileging of one mode over another, such as masculine over feminine. Those who cannot find meaning in such environments are in grave danger of being manipulated. Learning the lessons of semiotics means “nothing less than survival” (Nichols, 1981, p. 8).

The First Half of My Life

Women should seek their own happiness and life goals.

(Zhang, 2017)

US streaming services are now “doubling down on Asia” in search of larger markets and profits (Toh, 2021, p. 1). TV dramas and films produced in China, subtitled in English, are a staple of American popular culture. The *First Half of My Life* (2017), tells the inspirational story of Luo Zijun a housewife-turned career woman.

Elements of a Drama

Aristotle used the term drama to describe poetic compositions acted in front of audiences in a theater. He believed in a three-act structure: the beginning, middle, and end. Every drama has a plot or a plan that involves rising action, a climax, falling action, and a resolution. He categorized dramas as tragedies or comedies according to the seriousness of the subject matter. TV dramas have time to develop characters and sub-plots. *The First Half of My Life* (2017) consists of forty-two episodes each lasting forty-four minutes. Each episode is a story in itself, containing rising and falling action. Most importantly, they always contain a suspenseful ending or cliffhanger to encourage viewers to watch the next episode.

Modern micro-sociologist Irving Goffman argued life is a never-ending play in which people are the actors. They use their surroundings when staging the performance of their own personae. Goffman used theatrical terms such as the following to form the context for their performances: background, setting, backdrop, script, costumes, color, and music.

Background – Cultural and historical elements form a basis for the events portrayed in various episodes. Many of the issues treated in the drama lie in the struggle for centralized power and social stability permeating Chinese history. Confucian tradition cultivated personal virtue, proper relationships, and the Mandate of Heaven in times of division, chaos, and war between feudal states as a way to restore unity, peace, and prosperity. The Peoples Republic of China (PRC) remembers its roots in war and revolution. The ideals of the Chinese Communist Party are opposed to individual glorification and consider anyone who desires personal enhancement as a threat to collectivism.

The First Half of My Life features conflicting forces in modern Chinese society. The angst over individualism and collectivism expressed by the main characters highlights the negotiations and compromises people make in everyday life. The show does not resolve these conflicts. Its ambivalence invites viewers from a wide range of backgrounds to join a robust discussion on materialism, individual freedom, women’s rights vs. solidarity and security. Cold, hard, gritty reality usually wins out in the drama. Yet, there is still a glimmer of hope for what could be.

Recently, the National Television and Radio Administration of the Chinese government issued an eight-point plan stressing the need to put more emphasis on traditional, revolutionary, and socialist culture (Frater, 2021, p. 2). The Government realizes the yearning of the Chinese people for financial stability, especially those who have felt poverty in the past. They want to demonstrate the rewards of managed capitalism for those willing to stay out of politics. They believe unbridled materialism encourages corruption, undermines the moral fiber of the people, and distracts them from the socialist core values of their country.

Setting – The social life of China's 400 million millennials provides the environment for this TV drama. These 18 to 35 year-olds are taking control of the world's second-largest economy. These young adults share many of the outlooks and tendencies of their peers worldwide, but dramatic changes in China sharpen the generation gap. Periods of economic and political turmoil, like the era of the Great Leap Forward and the violence of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), shaped the older generation (Lu, Zysk, and Chow, 2017, p.1). Their life experience taught them to value security and stability. Millennials grew up during the one-child policy. Most are the only child in their family and therefore had parents and grandparents eager to give them the best of everything, especially education. The "little emperor" factor is strong in this generation. They own cars and purchase homes, something their grandparents only dreamed about (Dudarenk, 2021, p. 1).

Chinese millennials are individualistic high-achievers. They are motivated and feel entitled to success. They know as long as they avoid politics, they can share in the vast new wealth generated by the new economy. They are well traveled and more aware of the world than preceding generations. They love to show friends and families their close connection to the rest of the world by buying foreign brands that demonstrate their unique personal tastes. The top items on Chinese millennials' shopping lists are beauty products, food, and apparel. They are children of the digital age and knowledgeable online shoppers. Despite charges by their elders that they are shallow, Chinese millennials are much more open to gay and lesbian lifestyles, the environment, and corporate responsibility (DSL, 2019, p. 1).

Backdrop - Shanghai, with the scenic Huangpu River running through it, sets the stage for this TV drama. China's largest city has a long history as a trading port open to the West, but after the economic reforms introduced by Deng Xiaoping in the 1990s, it emerged as the showpiece of the booming economy of China. It is the third most competitive and largest financial center in the world, behind New York City and London. It is known for its own unique dialect, sweet cuisine, and two international fashion events each year. It has many excellent bistros, bars, and restaurants catering to a wealthy clientele (Li, J. 2020, p. 1). The characters in the drama never need reservations and don't ever wait in line. Their favorite after work gathering place is a beautifully rendered Japanese restaurant. The oft shown view from the apartment of one of the main characters features the dark river, contrasted by brightly lit tourist boats, and the lights of the towering skyscrapers of the financial district beyond. A frequent spot for a stroll for the show's characters is the promenade along the river.

The Cast – Zijun is the main character of the drama. She is thirty-three years old, and married Chen Junsheng after graduating from a university. She devotes her whole heart to being a good mother and housewife. Her carefree life encounters

misfortune after her eight-year marriage ends in divorce. With the help of her friends, Tang Jing and He Han, Zijun creates a new life for herself. At first she is shocked, but becomes stronger as she meets challenges of a working mother. She grows into an independent woman overcoming trials in her personal and work life.

Zijun's best female friend is Tang Jing, a very bright successful business executive. Tang Jing worked hard to achieve her position and is dismissive of sycophants. According to Chinese cultural writer Connie Pickart (2017), Tang Jing's salary as CEO of an elite advertising firm, is about \$300,000 (p.1). She defends her friends and punishes those disloyal to the company. She pays attention to proper relationships. When a member of the Board of Directors congratulates her on her promotion, she bows, offers to shake hands, and then accepts a hug - which is what he wanted all along. She is also affectionate with her boyfriend and mentor, He Han, but sometimes fails to penetrate his emotional reserve.

Tang Jing's boyfriend, He Han, is a former fisherman, who has worked his way up the corporate ladder. Charming, conceited, handsome, and impeccably dressed, he is the managing partner of an established advertising consultancy. A typical salary for one in such a position is one million dollars per year (Pickart, 2017, p. 2). He Han is tough, pragmatic, and ruthlessly devoted to his career and clients. He Han's philosophy when it comes to girlfriends is that they "are like good fish, they can only be found by chance, not search" (Episode 25, 2017). He has mentored Tang Jing and maintained a relationship with her for ten years. Finally, she accepts his engagement ring. A few weeks later, He Han unexpectedly calls the engagement off. He announces he is in love with Zijun. However, Zijun is loyal to her friend and refuses to become involved with He Han.

Women are accessories rather than necessities for the male leads. He Han wanted a woman he could mold in his own image. Junsheng had a wife, Zijun, who took care of house and child, but he wanted someone who would comfort him and make his work life easier. It did not take long for his subordinate, Ling Ling, to use this to her advantage. Soon Junsheng falls in love with Ling Ling. Junsheng works hard to support everyone in two families and has the resources to do it. As a project manager his salary is around \$230,000 per year (Pickart, 2017, p. 1). The divorce is a strain on his emotions. Many viewers thought Junsheng brooding, and glum. However, others asked why he should receive all the opprobrium when He Han used the women around him in a similar manner. They ask if it is an example of Chinese culture where the "rich and the powerful are above the law and the rest of us" (Pickart, 2017, p. 1).

Ling Ling is a conniving home-wrecker. Underneath her gentle appearance lurks a manipulative personality. She is quick to rationalize and blame others. Her words abound with double meaning. Ling Ling is not young, beautiful or rich, not a stereotypical mistress, especially to Zijun who is clueless. Ling Ling works overtime in the office with Junsheng. She provides emotional and work support, including a color tabbed binder outlining his work for the day. Some viewers defend Ling Ling as a woman who knows what she wants and will do whatever it takes to get it.

Zijun's mother is a flamboyantly dressed, outspoken, over-the-top character played by a veteran actress of Chinese film and TV. She is the focal point of every scene in which she appears. Her insatiable desire for money and penchant for meddling are surpassed only by her devotion to friends and love of family. Many

elderly Chinese find it hard to criticize her. Their generation seeks financial stability above all else.

The Script – This TV production is based on a book by Hong Kong author Yi Shu. Her romantic, but sober stories appeal to women between the ages of 15 and 35. Her characters are stereotypical millennials, who are rich, fashionable, and urbane. They drive expensive cars, wear luxury-brands, and are independent. The men in her stories are deeply flawed individuals...fickle, selfish, and superficial. Most of her female characters are wise, diligent, white-collar workers who “experience a hard time in their love affairs and find it too difficult to find their Mr. Right”(Selesia, 2011, p. 2). Yi Shu’s characters have a clear view of the relations between lovers, and do not hold impractical dreams of their future. Marriage and family are not necessarily their primary goals, a fact state agencies find disturbing.

Most viewers applauded the drama’s realistic portrayal of contemporary urban life. The producer argues the series is a gift for the modern woman and “women should not be tied to marriage and men” (Zhang, 2017, p. 1). Others condemned the producers’ ambivalent moral attitude toward marriage and friendship. The show’s message and values align with China’s ancient values, emphasizing traditional familial solidarity and individual sacrifice. Yet, the characters demonstrate an irrepressible urge for materialism and individualism. When Junsheng, usually a dutiful son, decides to end his marriage, he explains to his parents, “I’ve listened to you since I was a child, but this time, I’ve made up my [own] mind. I can’t listen to you this time” (Episode 8, 2017). In response, his father slaps him. He Han’s individualistic ethos is even stronger. He observes his education taught him to restrain himself and consider others. “The only thing we mustn’t do is confess our own wishes”(Pickart, 2017, p.2).

Costumes—British fashion icon Mary Quant insisted, “fashion is not frivolous” (Bold Doll, 2020, p.1). Clothes reflect a person’s personality and prestige. They help individuals maintain, “face.” Wardrobe managers dress each character so that the audience knows what kind of a person they are by looking at them. He Han favors bespoke suits with vest, brown hand-made Italian shoes, and Jaeger-LeCoultre watches. His leisure outfits feature leather, plaid, and the latest au courant style.

Colors - The transparent meaning of colors as signifiers of energy provides the basis for complex meanings constructed out of them (Hodge and Kress, 1988, p. 104). Viewers wonder at Zijun’s outfits, including her bright yellow top and green skirt, the vivid tawny orange cowl collar dress, or the boldness of her crimson full-length coat with matching red high-heels. They admire Tang Jin’s impeccably tailored business blazers in black and grey power colors, and herringbone patterns. At home, she wears a sophisticated sweatshirt with the picture of a cat draped over her shoulder. Xue Zhenzhu, Zijun’s mother, favors an eclectic layered look, with ostentatious jewelry, designer handbags, and yellow floral prints. The dress of the female interns portrayed on the show reflects their status in the hierarchy of the office. Their outfits are either blatantly provocative or plain and serviceable, something a young woman just out of college could afford to wear.

Music - The rhythmic jazz soundtrack of this TV drama begins and ends every episode and underlines its most poignant moments. Kaunas University of Lithuania semiotics professor, Dario Martinelli (2021), notes the music in a film is as important as its producer wants it to be (p. 1). The music in this program always compliments

the image in a way that produces a more meaningful and profound result. Jazz trumpeter Knox Summeour's song, "How Could This Seem So Real" enhances the emotional impact of the broken loves and heartaches of the main characters. "When a dream becomes conscious, how can we know what's true? Should we walk in our blindness, or leave passion subdued?" (Summeour, 2017, p. 1).

Family Relationships

The strength of a nation derives from the integrity of the home.

Confucius

The author of this paper used three modern works on semiotics to examine hidden meanings of everyday life as portrayed in the Chinese drama *The First Half of My Life* (2017); Daniel Chandler's *Semiotics for Beginners* (2017), Bob Hodge's *Social Semiotics for a Complex World* (2017), and Hodge and Gunther Kress' *Social Semiotics* (1988). At first, the tools outlined in these works indicated cultural practices that seemed strange or wrong (Hodge and Kress, 1988, p. 45). However, as the characters in the TV drama made sense of themselves and established their identities, they began to reveal universal truths. The three main characters form a triangle of relationships. They are: Zijun, the wife who wants to keep her child, Junsheng, the husband who wants a divorce, and Ling Ling, the woman who breaks up their marriage.

Balance Theory

Austrian social psychologist Fritz Heider's common sense theory is of value in guiding one's behavior toward other people and predicting what they will do under certain circumstances. The best way to understand balance theory is to look to the world of business where large companies seek to increase sales through celebrity endorsements (Johnson, 2011, p.1). First, imagine a triangle. A person (consumer or focal point) stands at one apex (P). The other apex (O) stands for another person, a well-known and admired celebrity. A product stands at the third apex (X). (See Appendix B). If the consumer has a positive attitude toward the celebrity, and the celebrity likes the product, then, in an effort to achieve balance, so too the consumer will like the product.

If one sees gold medal Olympian basketball player Kevin Durant on a box of Wheaties and admires him, that person probably will have a favorable attitude toward the product he endorses. Heider determined balanced or unbalanced relationships by multiplying the positive or negative signs. If the consumer adopts a negative view of Durant for some real or imagined transgression, and Durant still endorses Wheaties, the equation becomes unbalanced (Khanafiah and Situngkir, 2004, p. 3). This means Durant probably will lose a lucrative endorsement contract.

"Three's a crowd" comes to mind when one glances at Appendix C (Amner, 1992. p. 1). However, the depth of the toxicity of the relationships between forthright Zijun and scheming Ling Ling becomes obvious after careful analysis using balance theory. This divorce has its antecedents in Ling Ling's previous divorce. The structure of that divorce is the same as a celebrity endorsement, all positive relationships. Ling Ling wanted a divorce and custody of her seven-year-old son. Her first husband wished to have no financial responsibility. They agreed to this arrangement and after

paying a small fee, filling out the paper work at the Ministry of Civil Affairs, and the issuance of a new ID booklet, Ling Ling was free to remarry (Ash, 2016, p. 211).

There is a bitter negative relationship between Zijun, Junsheng's first wife, and Ling Ling, his calculating paramour. Zijun no longer loves Junsheng, However, she does not blame him for the affair and maintains communication with him regarding custody of their son and financial support. She blames Ling Ling for seducing and stealing her husband. Ling Ling fears as long as Zijun maintains a working relationship with Junsheng, Zijun will drain financial resources from her and her son. She will do anything to prevent that from happening.

Elements of a Divorce

Zijun's divorce follows the steps to healing as outlined by Dr. Kathleen O'Connell, a mediation specialist and lawyer: acceptance, focusing on the future, taking responsibility for your own actions, and acting with integrity. She describes the stages of divorce as: disillusionment, the decision, acting on the decision, growing acceptance, and new beginnings (O'Connell, p. 1).

Disillusionment – Junsheng works the long hours expected of a project manager in an elite advertising company. The unwritten custom, especially in technology firms, is referred to as "996." Workers are on the job from nine AM to nine PM, six days a week. Ling Ling and malleable Junsheng work at the same office. She helps him cope with a demanding workload and offers emotional support. Although he is married to another, a love affair develops after nights of working together, followed by dinner and drinks. Junsheng experiences anguish and guilt. Prodded by his new and insistent lover, he plans a strategy for separation from his wife.

Everyone at the firm knows about the awkward romantic relationship. Junsheng's superior gives him an ultimatum: tell Zijun about the affair within a month or face dismissal. Ling Ling also turns up the pressure. She divorced her husband in return for custody of her son and receives no financial support. Junsheng must divorce and marry her, if she is to survive economically.

The Decision - One morning Junsheng tells his wife Zijun, "I'm sorry, let's divorce, I like someone else" (Episode 4, 2017). Zijun makes tea for Junsheng, and contemplates the enormity of ending eight years of marriage. She begs her husband for some type of reconciliation. He confesses he is hopelessly in love with Ling-Ling. Zijun replies, "In the past, this is the same thing you said to me" (Episode 6, 2017). A demoralized Zijun, asks her friend Tang Jing for help. Tang Jing asks her lover, He Han, to mentor Zijun. He reluctantly agrees, but arrogantly observes for an unambitious, boring woman like Zijun, experiencing pain and suffering might be beneficial (Episode 3, 2017). He asks Tang Jing why Zijun is her friend. She replies because "She is pure of heart" (Episode 3, 2017).

A key principle of Confucian Dynamism, called Guanxi, for those entering the workforce is to form relationships with established business leaders. Senior members give advice, offer consideration, and provide guidance. Junior members show respect and obedience. This mutual relationship provides junior members an opportunity for rapid advancement, but also, involve stress in fulfilling their obligations to senior members. No favor is ever forgotten (Yang and Zhang, p. 486).

Acting on the Decision – O'Connell (1997) notes that before the legal process begins, the party who has not initiated the divorce, "may feel shock, betrayal, loss of

control, victimization, insecurity, anger, and a desire to get even”(p. 1). Zijun pleads with Ling Ling, “If I beg you, would you return my husband to me?”(Episode 8, 2017). She tells Junsheng all she wants is a happy family life. Junsheng and his parents visit her and ask her to look at things from their perspective. Zijun angrily answers him, “You had an affair, and now you want a divorce, and want to take away my son. Don’t even think about it” (Episode 9, 2017).

Zijun meets with Junsheng’s lawyer, an ill-advised decision without legal counsel present. He argues she will feel guilty if she keeps her son and cannot afford all the educational advantages his father can. Heider notes the power of the word *take* and *keep* in his discussion of word analysis (1968, p. 10). Deeply depressed, Zijun goes to bed and overdoses on sleeping pills. Tang Jing asks He Han to check on her, which he reluctantly does. He finds her, takes her to the hospital, and chides her for such a selfish act. Tang Jing advises Zijun to look to the future, secure employment, and find a lawyer. She hires a colorful divorce lawyer who favors bomber jackets and fatigues.

The parties realize it is not going to be an uncontested divorce, but is headed toward a three-judge panel in Family Court. In light of the increased divorce rate in China (about 40 per cent), the government imposes a 45-day cooling off period hearing a divorce case (Flower and Balcikonyte, 2020, p. 115). It rewards judges who refuse a divorce or pressure plaintiffs to reconcile. Family courts consider the individuals involved, but also the families, and interests of the state. The government believes reducing the divorce rate will create more stable families and increase the birth rate. They tend to side with the father in matters of custody, even if his infidelity or drunkenness is the cause of the divorce. An article in the *Economist*, “Still a Man’s World,” notes “family courts are places of peril for women” (2021, p. 40). Judges often force women, who initiate 70 percent of the divorces, to make cash payments to their spouses in order to “buy” their freedom.

Junsheng’s smarmy lawyer goes over his strategy. He pays an associate to surreptitiously observe Zijun’s family and gather evidence that they are not capable of helping raise a child. He also intends to attack Zijun directly expressing his belief she is not ready to endure the hardships of salaried employment. Junsheng, always pliant, agrees, “I know her well, it takes time for her to change” (Episode 12, 2021). Meanwhile, Zijun’s lawyer counsels her mother, sister, and brother-in-law to behave harmoniously, which ironically leads to a fiery family argument about who usually instigates squabbles, a dispute which continues up the steps of the courthouse and into the courtroom.

Growing Acceptance occurs during and after the legal proceedings. Zijun’s family arrives late to family court. Three robed judges await them. Junsheng along with his parents are present, in addition to the two attorneys representing both parties. Junsheng’s lawyer speaks first. He disparages Zijun’s family. Her mother retorts, “You bastard” (Episode 10, 2017). The judges threaten to order her out of the courtroom. The lawyer continues, detailing how Zijun “spent money like water” (Episode 10, 2017).

In rebuttal, Zijun’s lawyer argues Junsheng’s work records indicate he went on business trips 205 days and worked overtime on 20 days during the preceding year. The lawyer observes, carrying on an affair took an additional amount of his time – so

how would he be a better parent? Before her deposition, Zijun's lawyer tells her, "it all depends on you" (Episode 10, 2017).

A resolute Zijun speaks from her heart. "I think you would all agree in thinking that it is better for a child to live in a less well off household that has a loving environment than live in a well off household that lacks familial attachment" (Episode 10, 2017). She testifies she found a job, works hard, and can provide for her son. She states she has been the sole person raising him since he was born. Zijun and her party leave the courtroom. Her lawyer predicts she will win the case. She does, winning custody, child support, and the apartment, something unheard of in Chinese family court.

Junsheng's parents are active in trying to gain custody of his son. They continue to buy his affection with gifts after the decision of the court. This amount of power ceded to grandparents may seem strange for those steeped in modern Western culture, but in China is perfectly normal. Chinese men retire at the early age 50. They may have small pensions, but their economic security derives from the obligation of the eldest son to provide for them. Junsheng's parents live with him and Ling Ling in the same apartment. They play an important role in making family decisions. Junsheng avoids family conflicts by spending more time at work. His new wife convinces him the solution is to buy back the spacious apartment awarded Zijun by the court and find a nearby apartment for his parents. Ling Ling meets with Zijun, who gives her ten minutes, drives a hard bargain for the apartment, and sends her off with genuine wishes of happiness.

Zijun gives up the house for a smaller, less desirable apartment, in exchange for a lump sum plus a monthly stipend. Ling Ling moves in, finds an apartment for the grandparents, and even insults Zijun by sending moving boxes before the deal is finalized. The grandparents continue to pressure Zijun asking for more time with their grandson. At one point she has to physically remove the child from their care. The grandfather cannot understand the change, "We thought you were a kind-hearted person, why have you become such a cruel person?" (Episode 15, 2017).

New Beginnings - Modes of address structure relationships in explicit and implicit ways (Chandler, 2017, p.124). Zijun tells the grandparents it is no longer proper for her to call them mother and father and reverts to uncle and aunt. The grandparents change their allegiance and tell Ling Ling to call them mother and father. Zijun sees as a working mother she needs their help in caring for her son. The child's grandparents, slowly and grudgingly work out new arrangements with her.

Post-divorce Challenges

As long as you have confidence in your heart, you will never be defeated.

Li Ning, CEO of a leading sports brand in China.

Zijun's eloquence resulted in an unexpected victory during the divorce court proceedings. She had a strong support group made up of her mother, Tang Jing and He Han, but the difficulties she faced, she faced alone. A good example was a scene revolving around her lack of a car. She uses taxis and the subway to get her son to school and then travel to her workplace. Emerging from the underground onto a stairway to the street, she catches her high heels in a grate. She is stuck there, unaided and forlorn, as people rush by her.

Matt Kremer (2021), a family practice attorney, listed the problems of newly divorced women: finance, childcare, children coping with divorce, and dealing with men who wish to exploit the vulnerabilities of single women (p. 1). The storyline of the drama changes, as well, after the divorce. Zijun continues as the main character, but now the action centers on Tang Jing, her best friend, and He Han, who is engaged to Tang Jing.

Unwanted suitors - Divorced women, especially in China, face numerous difficult challenges. Sexually predatory males view their loneliness and insecurities as an opportunity for conquest. Zijun finds work at a department store and does well selling shoes. She knows fashion and looks professional in the department store uniform. However, Zijun acquires an unexpected admirer. The informal form of address in China used for co-workers over forty-years-old is “Lao,” meaning “old.” The word is also a symbol for wisdom. For this reason the Chinese word “Lao” is considered a sign of respect (Wu, 2019, p. 23). An older co-worker, Old Jin, has a huge crush on Zijun. He is infatuated with her, fixes up her apartment, gives her rides, and plays with her son. He intercedes with management to find her a better job. However, she is not interested in him in a romantic way. Tired of matchmaking pressure on the job, she quits. He Han, her mentor, finds her a better job in market research.

Zijun’s problems with male co-workers continue at her next place of employment. She performs well at the job and demonstrates an ability to analyze complex data. However, a dissolute co-worker begins a campaign to intimidate her. He offers her a ride home and explains he has a wife and child. He simply wants a sexual relationship with her. Zijun reports his advances and he is suspended for a month. The situation worsens when his wife shows up at work, makes a scene, and blames Zijun. Junsheng encounters the person who made sexual advances to his ex-wife and knocks him down. Zijun is so frustrated with these histrionics that she quits this job and takes one with the elite advertising firm where He Han, Tang Jing, Junsheng, and Ling Ling work. He Han thinks everyone will act professionally, but Zijun’s worst fears are confirmed once she sets foot in the office of her new firm.

Office Space - The open floor plan is similar to the Emperor’s Audience Hall in the Forbidden City in Beijing. It confirms and reinforces hierarchy by reserving and delineating space. The boardroom and the office of the Chief Executive are what French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) termed the domain of management, i.e. spacious, well appointed, with bookcases, personal awards, and objects d’art (Hodge and Kress, 1988, p. 69). The CEO’s office has large doors that pivot to provide privacy or open to provide a panoptic view of the workplace. At one point, afterZinjun’s best friend Tang Jing loses her job, her subordinates walk into her former office and bow to her empty chair.

A large public space lies in front of the Chief Executive Officer’s office. Workers can move their chairs into this area and watch PowerPoint presentations on a screen that descends from the ceiling in front of the head administrator’s office. The project manager’s office sets in one corner of the open space, closest to the ranking executive. His workspace has glass walls for privacy, a painting, and an outside window. His secretary’s desk is situated in the opposite corner. Workers access the head of the firm only after going through one of these individuals. Since Zijun knows

the chief executive personally, she often walks directly into his inner sanctum, a violation of the code that requires her to go through the project manager or the secretary.

The workers' desks are arranged in four rows of pods facing each other. Their computers are separated by a low partition offering a modicum of privacy. Workers are seated in order of seniority. In the TV drama, Ling Ling is the senior worker. Her computer station is closest to the project manager's office. Her second-in-command sits next to her. Team members can see and talk to each other. The pods create "intimate space," acceptable only to close associates (Brown and Hall, 2001, p. 1).

Continuing Challenges – Zijun soon avoids non-productive attitudes like self-pity and looks forward to the future at the urging of her friends. Gaining custody of her son in court and finding a job strengthen her resolve and self-esteem. Yet, there are still more personal and professional challenges to overcome. He Han breaks up with Tang Jing on the day she picks out her bridal gown, ending a ten-year relationship. He announces he has turned his romantic interests toward Zijun. He Han confesses to Zijun. "I just unknowingly fell in love with you" (Episode 37, 2017). She replies, "It cannot be you. It is against my conscience and morality" (Episode 37, 2017). Tang Jing gives her engagement ring back to He Han. Zijun tells her "I will not let this break up our friendship. I will sever all communications with him" (Episode 37, 2017). She turns in her resignation letter. Mrs. Wu agrees to mentor her and Zijun accepts a job in another city. (See appendix D)

Sociologist Irving Goffman closely examined the social interactions of everyday life, especially exchanges where individuals create impressions of themselves. His theory of dramaturgy distinguished between the front and back stages of social life, likening these regions to their theatrical equivalents. The official stance of the company is visible on the front stage of the office where things go according to script. Actors prepare for their on-stage roles and relax in the backstage. Impressions fostered in the front stage are often contradicted (Hodge, 2017, p. 16).

Much of the business of building solidarity and reinforcing hierarchy occurs backstage in informal dinners. These events feature copious drinking of baijiu, a potent alcoholic drink, "gambei" toasts, and spontaneous speeches. During these social events the conflict inherent in the office is often explored. These gatherings follow the rules for more formal banquets. Members sit according to their status. The master of ceremonies is the second-in-command. Drunkenness is expected and encouraged. At the end of these meetings, the group often adjourns to a karaoke bar to sing and engage in even more boisterous pursuits (Lui, 2017, Module 2, Theme 3).

Ling Ling organizes such a team-building event to celebrate Zijun's first day of work. Led by Ling Ling's henchman, the members of the work group get Zijun drunk. They ask her embarrassing questions. They intimate she got her job because she slept with He Han. They force her into endless humiliating toasts; including begging Ling Ling to forgive her for anything she has said or done to hurt her. Zijun passes out. He Han arrives and takes her home. Zijun shows up to work early the next morning looking well and hands Ling Ling work she had assigned just before the party. Zijun tells her she must not have drunk too much if she remembered to complete her work assignment.

In the midst of Zijun's trials at work, her mother collapses and is hospitalized. The doctor's diagnosis is terminal cancer. The entire family crowds into her hospital room to say goodbye. Even Junsheng arrives and honors her with a full kowtow. Mom admonishes both daughters to find a good man, and if they can't find one, then earn some more money. Her mother asks that the family tell Uncle Cui, her lover, that she will wait for him in the afterlife. She then dies in a poignant deathbed scene.

Meanwhile, at the firm, the board of directors selects Tang Jing to replace He Han as CEO. Her first official act is to fire Ling Ling. Before she leaves, Ling Ling convinces her second in command to order an intern to copy sensitive internal information. She passes it on to Ling Ling who gives it to a rival company, a serious violation of business ethics. When the board finds out about the leak and the loss of an important contract, they suspend Tang Jing and order every one left in authority to find the "mouse" (leaker). Zijun is at the airport with her son, ready to leave for her new job when someone tells her about this plot to sabotage her friend, Tang Jing. Zijun returns to the firm and starts questioning the interns.

Ling Ling convinces her husband, Junsheng, to cover up her part in the conspiracy with the rationale her violation of ethics was her only course of action. Zijun confronts the pair and the culprit admits her responsibility. She confesses her involvement in a group email. The board of directors reinstates Tang Jing as head of the company. He Han returns to his working class origins and takes a job on a fishing boat. Zijun leaves Shanghai for her new job in Shenzhen. One year later, Zijun, in charge of renovating a huge warehouse into an upscale mall, walks down to the wharf. She spots a fisherman on one of the boats. Is it He Han or someone else?

Transformation requires work, and introduces differences (Hodge and Kress, 1988, p. 47). There are two types, paradigmatic and syntagmatic (Chandler, 2017, p.101). Zijun experiences a paradigmatic transformation, a change in her character from dependent to independent, and housewife to businessperson. This substitution destroys the previously established paradigm by which she lived her life. In addition, there are elements of a syntagmatic transformation in her life. Zijun adds, deletes, and transforms relationships. Emotions like desperation, self-pity, and depression are the hardest to give up. Zijun notes, "For a child life is always addition, the more the better. For an adult, what one should do is subtraction" (Episode 40, 2017).

After her attempted suicide, Zijun continues down the path of transformation with the realization it couldn't get any worse. Semioticians Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress describe such a moment as a "concrete event with agents and reasons" and "constructions of significant combinations of signs that mark movement over time" (1988, p.35). For Zijun, subsequent character building events include: the attempt to take her child away from her, her victory in court, quitting or being fired from several jobs, ritual humiliation during a office party, but most of all her declaration that her friendship with her best friend, Tang Jing, is more important than developing a relationship with He Han.

Zijun's transformation triggers gradual irreversible life changes in her relationships with other people. Her ex-husband Junsheng is deep in the midst of a mid-life crisis. He justifies his affair with Ling Ling saying, "My dad was always strict with me from the time I was young. No matter what I do, I must not go against his will. But this time it is my business and my choice" (Episode 8, 2017). Junsheng gains a

new wife, a new son, his parents living next door, and perhaps a new job after he covers up Ling Ling's betrayal of the company for which they both work. Ling Ling never changes. She is always crafty, duplicitous, and manipulative. Zijun, however, continues to change into a new successful person.

Conclusion

Images demand our attention all the time.

(Sign Salad, 2021)

Everyone is a semiotician, constantly unconsciously interpreting the meanings of the signs around us. A hexagon shaped red sign means stop. A thumb pointed down signifies disapproval. Sign Salad, a semiotics and cultural insight agency based in London advises their client, T-Mobile, on how to understand the commercial implications of culture upon their brand and its impact upon consumers (Sign Salad Website, 2021). The agency traces the origin of their quest to determine why culture drives people to unconsciously behave in certain ways and make specific choices.

Perhaps, the most important lesson one learns from a semiotic analysis of the Chinese drama is that Hong Kong author Yi Shu exposes material and individualistic values before the eager eyes of the Chinese people, much to the dismay of the government in *The First Half of My Life* (2017). Watching a TV program is a way to admire millennials, consider feminist ideas, and disagree with the government without actually becoming involved in politics. Heider's balance theory does an excellent job of digging deeper into two things. First, divorce has greater emotional impact than any other life event than death. Second, the relationships of a working single mother become more and more complex as she tries to accomplish the many things expected of her. Triangulation offers a new point of view and the realization all three individuals influence one another. Then there are the random unexpected events: the sick child, the unwanted suitor, or the long lost acquaintance that cannot fathom the working mother is no longer the person she was.

Lastly, semiotics points out three Chinese customs, perhaps not so much strange, but unusual from a Western perspective. First, Chinese divorce courts consider, not which individual, but which family, is better for raising children. The courts are much more likely to award custody to fathers because men have the means of providing for their children's welfare and education. Second, Chinese informal forms of address in business emphasize solidarity. Co-workers refer to each other as brother and sister. They also refer to older workers with titles of respect. They demonstrate the power of the hierarchy by addressing business associates with their title such as, President, Director, or Manager. Third, the demand of Chinese companies for extended hours of work leaves no time for family life.

Apparently, there is enough confusion in the world resulting from things people mistakenly label obvious or strange. Semiotics cuts through the confusion ensuring clarity of meaning and intent. Though the simple, triangular semiotic structure provides an insight into human interaction, this fascinating Chinese series provides an intriguing example of its fragility when human emotions weaken its stability. Yet the journey is both riveting and enticing.

References

- Amner, C. (1992). *The American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company.
- Ash, A. (2016). *Wish lanterns: Young lives in new China*. New York: Arcade.
- Barthes, R. (1964). *Elements of Semiology*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- . (1977). *Image-Music-Text*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Balcikonyte-Huang, I. and Flower. (2020). *China: the Essential guide to customs and culture*. London: Kuperard, Culture Smart series.
- Bold Doll*. (16 February 2020). Mary Quant and Daisy. <<https://thebolddoll.com/vintage/mary-quant-and-daisy/>>
- Brown, N. and Hall, E. (2001). *Proxemic theory*. CSISS Classics, Santa Barbara: University of California. Retrieved at <<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4774h1r>>
- Carbo, T. (2004). *Parliamentary discourse when things go wrong: Mapping histories, contexts, conflicts*. Mexico City: Center for Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology.
- Cary, P. (2008). Before words were signs. *Oxford Scholarship Online*. Oxford (UK): Oxford University. Retrieved at <<https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com>>
- Chandler, D. (2017). *Semiotics for Beginners*. London (UK): Routledge.
- Confucius. (31 August 2021). *AZQuotes.com*. Retrieved from <<https://www.azquotes.com/author/3177-Confucius>>
- DSL. (26 July 2019). How to reach Chinese millennials. Retrieved at <<https://www.dhl.com>>
- Dudarenk, A. (2021). Understanding Chinese millennials. *Chozan*. Retrieved at <<https://chozan.co/understanding-chinese-millennials/#>>
- Eco, U. (1976). *A Theory of Semiotics*. LibQuotes. Retrieved at <<https://libquotes.com/umberto-eco>>
- The Economist*. (27 March 2021). Still a man's world.
- Frater, P. (3 September 2021). *Variety*. China Wants 'Sissy Idols' and 'Effeminate Men' scrubbed from entertainment industry. *Variety*. Retrieved at <<https://news.yahoo.com/china-wants-cissy-idols-effeminate-074924885.html>>
- Gilmore, L. (9 April 2021). *Building a (great) wall: A Semiotic analysis of the rhetoric of President Donald J. Trump*. Honors Thesis The University of Tennessee at Chattanooga English: Rhetoric and Professional Writing.
- Guthrie, W.K.C. (1950). *The Geek Philosophers*. London: Methuen Publishers.
- Hanna, L. (2021). Semiotics lesson (no music). *YouTube*. Retrieved at <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7IR7jz6M9iA>>
- Heider, F. (1968). *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations*. London: Erlbaum Associates.
- Hodge, B. (2017). *Social Semiotic for a complex world*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hodge, B. and Kress, G. (1988). *Social Semiotics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hummon, N. and Doreian, P. (2003). Some dynamics of social balance processes. *Department of Sociology, University Pittsburgh, Social Networks* p. 17–49.
- Johnson, K. (26 October 2011). The “MAGIC” behind celebrity branding deals.

- Khanafiah, D. and Situngkir, H. (2004). Social Balance Theory: Revisiting Heider's Balance Theory for many agents (PDF). *Academia*. Retrieved at <https://www.academia.edu/31571213/Social_balance_theory>
- Kremer, M. (28 April 2021). What is the biggest problem faced by women after a divorce? *Quora*. Retrieved at <<https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-biggest-problem-faced-by-women-after-a-divorce>>
- Kuhn, T. (1970). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Li, J. (15 May 2020). The First Half of My Life – Watch TV, Learn Chinese. Retrieved at <<https://flexiclass.com/the-first-half-of-my-life/>>
- Li, N. (12 January 2010). Top ten Chinese business quotations, *eChineselearning*. Retrieved at <<https://www.echineselearning.com/blog/top-ten-chinese>>
- Lui, C. (2017). Guangzhou University, Chinese Language, and Customs. Open to study, Module 2, Theme 3.
- Lu, J. Zysk, P, Chow, S. (22 March 2017). Millennials and the Future of Business. *China Business Review*. Retrieved at <<https://www.chinabusinessreview.com>>
- Martinelli, D. (4 July 2021). *DELFI EN*. Retrieved at <<https://www.delfi.it/en/culture/semiotics-professor-martinelli>>
- Mortier, T. (25 July 2017). Semiotics: Make the obvious actionable. *LinkedIn*. Retrieved at <<https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/semiotics-make-obvious>>
- My drama list (2017). Reviews. Retrieved at <<https://mydramalist.com/24131-the-first-half-of-my-life>>
- My drama list. (2017). Full cast and crew. Retrieved at <<https://mydramalist.com/24131-the-first-half-of-my-life/cast>>
- Nicholas, T. (2019). Structuralism and Semiotics: WTF? Saussure, Lévi-Strauss, Barthes and structuralism explained. *YouTube*. Retrieved at <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rkDb9Nt1EBQ>>
- . (2019). Poststructuralism: WTF? Derrida, deconstruction and poststructuralist theory explained. *YouTube*. Retrieved at <<https://www.youtube.com/>>
- Nichols, B. (1981). *Ideology and the Image: Social Representation in the Cinema and Other Media*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Nida. (20 October 2019). Why semiotics is still relevant today. *UX Collective* Retrieved at <<https://uxdesign.cc/why-semiotics-is-still-relevant-today>>
- Nöth, W. (1990). *Handbook on Semiotics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. [1] [SEP]
- O'Connell, K. (1997). Psychological and emotional aspects of divorce. *Mediate*. Retrieved at <<https://www.mediate.com/articles/psych.cfm>>
- Pickart, C.M. (17 October 2017). Why Chinese viewers are hate-watching 'The First Half of My Life' the country's hottest TV Drama. *SupChina*. Retrieved at <<https://supchina.com/2017/10/17/the-first-half-of-my-life/>>
- Post, S. (22 February 2015). Great semiotic battles in history, Methods of Literary and Cultural Studies, Georgetown University. Retrieved at <<https://blogs.commonsgorgetown.edu/engl-090-02-spring2015/2015/02/22/great-semiotic-battles-of-history-derrida-v-saussure/>>
- Selesia. (February 2011). Smelling books before reading them the first time. <<http://smellthebooks.blogspot.com/2011/02/yi-shu.html>>

Sign salad. (2021). Semiotics and Cultural Insight Agency, London UK. Retrieved at <<https://signsalad.com/our-thoughts/what-is-semiotics>>

Stegall, T. (23 July 2021). New Dis\$count \$inema Series Revs Up at Blue Starlite. *Austin Chronicle*. Retrieved at <<https://www.austinchronicle.com/screens/2021-07-23/new-dicount-inema-series-revs-up-at-blue-starlite/>>

Simeon.(13 June 2018). Escapeism, *World Press*.Retrieved at <<https://escapismworldblog.wordpress.com/2018/06/13/thoughts>>

Summeour, K. (2017). Songs from the hit TV series.*Bandcamp*. Retrieved at <<https://knoxsummerour.bandcamp.com/album/first-half-of-my-life-songs>>

Toh, M. (4 February 2021). Netflix is doubling down on Asia. *CNN Business*. Retrieved at <<https://www.cnn.com/2021/02/03/media/netflix-asia-expansion-intl-hnk>>

What is Semiotics? (2019). Occam's Answer.*YouTube*. Retrieved at <<https://video.search.yahoo.com/search/video?fr=yfp-t&ei=UTF-8&p=semiotics+youtube#id=1&vid=9e2af72e435530132acde30e16ec9172&action=click>>

What is Semiotics or semiology? (2021). PHILO-notes. Retrieved at <<https://www.youtube.com>>

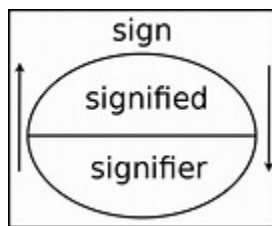
Where marketing and Psychology meet.*World Press*. Retrieved at <<https://karajohnson2.wordpress.com>>

Wu, Z. (2019). *Chinese Shamanic Tiger Qigong*. London: Singing Dragon.

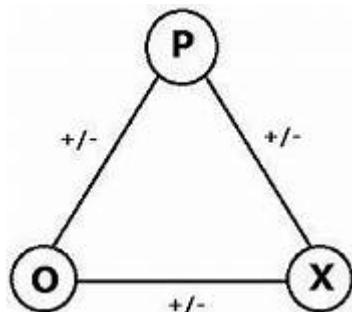
Yang, L. and Zhang, X. (2011, December).Mentoring in China: Enhanced Understanding and Association with Occupational Stress.*Journal of Business and Psychology*.

Zhang, X. (19 July 2017). The First Half of My Life.*China Daily*. Retrieved at <<https://u.osu.edu/mclc/2017/07/27/the-first-half-of-my-life/>>

Appendix A



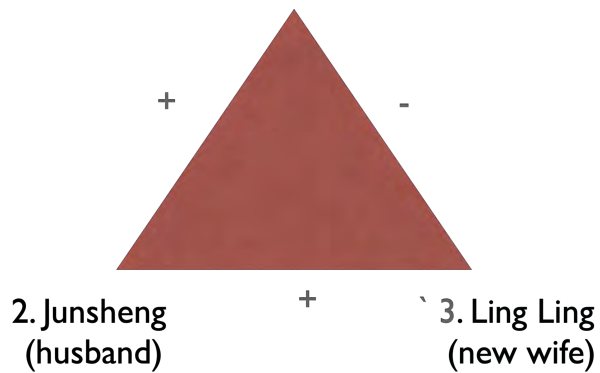
Appendix B



Appendix C

Family Relationships

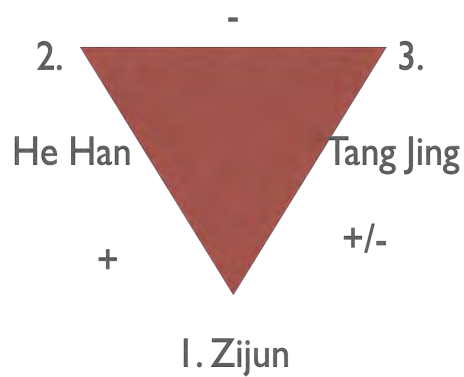
1. Zijun - the divorced wife



Appendix D

Business Relationships

The inverted triangle emphasizes Zijun's point of view.



School SiteThreat Assessment Overview and Firsthand Incident
Narrative: A Not So Ordinary Day in the Life of a High School

John Peter Petrone,

Ed.D.Eastern New Mexico University

The need for school site threat assessment teams is a reflection of our society. Sadly, since the Columbine High School massacre that occurred on April 20, 1999, more than 256,000 students from 278 primary and secondary schools have experienced the terror of gun violence on their campuses (Cox, et al., 2021).

What are the characteristics of these school types and attackers? According to a United States Secret Service study (Alathari, et al., 2019), there are no specific profiles of school types or school attackers. Attackers usually have multiple motives, most common among them are grievances against classmates and or staff (although some attackers can be non-students).

Most attackers procure their firearms from their own homes.

Furthermore, most attackers have experienced some type of psychological, behavioral, and or some type of developmental issues. Some additional characteristics of attackers from the study detail their interest in violent topics and or events, their likelihood to have lengthy school disciplinary actions, and many prior contacts with law enforcement. The study also states that virtually all attackers exhibited concerning behaviors, most attackers elicited concerns from others, and most communicated their intent to attack in some way before the attack.

This disturbing trend has fueled the development of school threat assessment teams being formed on campuses across the nation. The two predominant school threat assessment team systems being utilized today are The Comprehensive School Threat Assessment Guidelines (CSTAG), (Cornell, 2020), and the Salem-Keizer System (Van Dreal, 2019). These two systems share many similarities than differences in that their main goals are

intervention, prevention, and if required, response to substantive threats. For the sake of this article, the author will focus primarily on certain elements incorporated from the CSTAG system.

Threat assessment teams are being established in many school districts and school sites across the nation. Threat assessment teams can be run at the district level or the site level dependent on the decisions of individual district school boards⁵

The members that predominantly make up these teams are district and site administrators, school counselors (or similar), and school-based law enforcement.

The primary responsibilities of these teams are to identify a developing threat, evaluate the threat to determine whether it is transient in nature or substantive in nature, and intervene, and prevent if possible.

The State of Virginia defines its threat assessment process as being designed to

1. Identify individual(s)/situation(s) whose behavior causes concern for violence
2. Gather additional relevant information in a lawful and ethical manner
3. Assess individual(s)/situation(s) in context based on the totality of the

information available

4. Manage the individual situation to prevent violence and mitigate impact of harm (Deisinger, 2016).

The specific duties of the threat assessment team members can vary however most follow a prescribed model (CSTAG) that includes as mentioned prior, individuals from a variety of disciplines. The team leader is usually a school or district administrator. Upon initial formation, the team must establish agreed-upon protocols and procedures. For example, once a threat has been received each member shall have specific duties and tasks within the threat assessment process. The system also recommends that once formed the team meets regularly to discuss, team build, role play, etc. so when a real threat emerges the team can run as smoothly as possible (Cornell, 2020).

The CSTAG system once a potential threat has been identified, utilizes a 5 step decision tree process (see Appendix A). It is important to note that the CSTAG and the Salem-Keizer systems were created based on an assumed current student-derived threat, however several of the steps in the process can be utilized if the threat emanates from a non-student.

Once a threat has been revealed, the team must procure as much detailed information as possible. These details can be obtained by interviewing witnesses, if possible, and by interviewing the person who made the threat. Additionally obtaining or discovering the exact content of the threat is vitally important for the team. The exact circumstances under which the threat was made are considered by the team as well. Lastly, the specifics of the communication where the threat was made must be examined by the team. If the threat emanated from a current student or even a non-student the team must determine if the threat could be resolved as "transient". A transient threat can be determined by the team if the evidence and interviews show that the individual making the threat did it out of "humor, rhetoric, anger or frustration that can be easily resolved so there is no intent to harm" (Cornell, 2020). In addition, if the individual expresses remorse, apologizes, etc. the threat can be classified as transient and the case is resolved. If further services are needed for the individual the team will make those decisions as well. If the threat is determined not to be transient, then it is classified as "substantive" and the team must take additional steps within the process. While all steps are important arguably step 3 in the CSTAG process is extremely important for the team to carry out systematically. Substantive threats require the team to take steps to protect potential victims, warn victims and their parents, continue to try and resolve the threat, and if it is a student-derived threat discipline the individual. Steps 4 and 5 in the CSTAG system are essentially comprised of after-action interventions if the individual is a current student. These steps include mental health screening, counseling, etc. Law enforcement

investigations, safety plan development, and also possible further assessment for special student services (.

An Ongoing Narrative

This author before entering higher education spent 15 years as a secondary school teacher of social science and then a high school administrator. From 2004-2018 this author served in those capacities at the same high school site. It is from that perspective that this firsthand narrative was derived.

On February 14, 2018, 19-year-old former student Nikolas Cruz walked into Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida armed with an AR-15 style rifle and proceeded to kill 17 people and wounded 17 more. Of the 17 dead, 14 were students and three were staff. Cruz who was recently expelled from Marjory Stoneman Douglas had had multiple disciplinary issues in school. Cruz's mother had died 3 months earlier, and also had previous interactions with law enforcement. It was also reported that Cruz had posted 6 months earlier on his YouTube page, "I'm going to be a professional school shooter (Sacks, 2018). As mentioned prior:

"According to a United States Secret Service study, there are no specific profiles of school types or school attackers. Attackers usually have multiple motives, most common among them are grievances against classmates and/or staff (although some attackers can be non-students). Most attackers procure their firearms from their own homes. Furthermore, most attackers have experienced some type of psychological, behavioral, and or some type of developmental issues. Some additional characteristics of attackers from the study detail their interest in violent topics and or events, their likelihood to have lengthy school disciplinary actions, and many prior contacts with law enforcement. The study also states that virtually all attackers exhibited concerning behaviors, most attackers elicited concerns from others, and most communicated their intent to attack in some way." (Alathari, et al., 2019).

On the morning of February 16, 2018, the author was driving to work as the high school principal at a school district in the Central Valley of California, listening to the terrible news out of Parkland that was dominating the news. Little did this author know that day was going to be a not-so-ordinary day in the life of a high school. The author's former school district utilized a version of the CSTAG system. The site threat assessment team was comprised of the district superintendent, the author as Principal, the Assistant Principal, the Director of Student Services, and the School Resource Officer.

The morning of February 16, 2018 was fairly typical at the school site except for the bell schedule being set to accommodate rally schedule (shorter periods). The reason for this was the school was scheduled to hold its annual outdoor FFA rally in the site's football facility. This rally held in the afternoon is attended by the entire student body, along with staff, parents, and other community members. Several FFA students and their teachers were out on the football field setting up for the afternoon's rally.

As mentioned prior tips and warnings are critical to be made aware of an emerging threat. The author's district did have the Crime Stoppers program in place. However as also stated prior, "Research has shown that individuals who plan to conduct a school attack typically share that information with someone else. These

are often peers, such as friends or other students at the threatened school (Carlton, 2021).

In addition to students possibly coming forward, it is imperative to have alert staff, who either by overhearing a conversation or being contacted by a trusting student, etc. Staff members must recognize the critical nature of the information they receive and notify administration immediately. It is also imperative that the staff is familiar with the threat assessment system in place at their site and understands their roles within that system.

At approximately 10:00 AM this author received a phone call from a science teacher. One of her students informed her of some “concerning” information. The student told her that she had seen a Facebook post by a former student of the high school (he had been expelled earlier) which appeared to threaten the school. I asked the teacher to send the student to the office immediately. I then contacted the school’s resource officer and director of student services and asked them to come to the author’s office immediately. Unfortunately, two key members of the site’s threat assessment team (the district superintendent and high school assistant principal) were absent that day).

The team gathered into the office and began step 1 of the school threat assessment decision tree (see Appendix A) by interviewing the student. The student stated during the interview she had read a Facebook post by the expelled former student that had the booking photo of the Marjory Stoneman Douglas HS shooter

Nikolas Cruz. The student said the former student posted that he was going to do the same thing to his former high school. The team members present immediately asked the student to show the team the post. The student informed the team that the former student had since deleted the post from earlier that morning. The school resource officer informed the team that it would be very important to obtain a copy of the post to be able to involve additional law enforcement resources. The student informed the team that one of her friends still had a copy of the post on her cell phone. To the team’s dismay, this second student had just been signed out of school for a dentist appointment.

However, the team was able to finally contact that student and the student did still have the post on her phone! The student then texted the post to the author’s cellphone. The team examined the post and determined this post was a substantive threat made by the expelled student (see Appendix B).

The team then began the discussion on how to respond raising the following issues (Cornell, 2020):

- Did the suspect have a heightened interest in concerning topics such as school attacks or attackers? Yes, the suspect’s Facebook post confirmed that.
- Did the suspect have access to weapons? Yes, the suspect and his older siblings were verified gang-affiliated, and

according to the School Resource Officer, they had prior weapons possession charges and violations.

- Did the suspect have time to plan? The team was unsure about this point as the post appeared a few hours earlier. One factor considered though was that the suspect's last known address was about 4 blocks from the high school.
- The team then began to discuss based on the evidence gathered what would be an appropriate response as the team did not want to overreact or underreact (Van Dreal, 2019).

The team had to factor in several complicating factors before agreeing to a response strategy:

- The district superintendent was out of the district was still not reachable after multiple attempts to contact him.
- The assistant principal was absent that day.
- The site was on a PM rally schedule due to the FFA rally scheduled to be held outside in the football stadium that afternoon.
- The lunch period had already begun when the post was verified due to the rally schedule (lunch period allowed for certain students who earned off-campus lunch privileges)
- Outdoor PE classes (vulnerable from multiple areas outside the school perimeter)
- After school athletics (vulnerable from multiple areas outside the school perimeter)

After careful and deliberate consideration of all the gathered evidence and complicating factors, the team came up with a response strategy:

- The School Resource Officer immediately contacted the local chief of police and briefed him on the entire situation.
- The other town police were contacted and were instructed to "be on the lookout" for the suspect, and apprehend immediately if located. The Chief of Police contacted the neighboring town's police chief to inform him of the situation so his officers could also be on the lookout and assist if necessary.
- One officer patrol car was assigned to patrol the street directly in front of the school
- Established a go or no go time if the suspect could not be located for the planned outdoor rally and after-school activities.

As this response was commencing lunch period had just ended.

An email was sent to all staff informing them that the school had received a possible threat and they were to be in a "heightened state of awareness". In addition, a PA announcement went out to the entire school for staff to check their email immediately. Lastly, the site's two campus supervisors went to each classroom to verify they had read the email.

The site's status of being in a "heightened state of awareness" meant the following:

- Teachers shall issue no hall passes unless it was urgent (bathroom, medical, etc.)
- All outdoor PE classes were moved into the gym
- All staff must review their lockdown checklist to be prepared
- Conduct classes normally, teach!
- Remain calm and professional

During the tense moments after the response was carried out the author and the remainder of the team members remained in constant two-way radio contact. The author patrolled on foot in front of the school, the director of student services along with the campus supervisors patrolled on foot the remainder of the campus, while the School

Resource Officer joined his fellow officers on the road searching for the suspect. Adding to the tenseness was the police had received a tip that the suspect was last seen in the vicinity of the high school a few blocks away on foot.

It was during this period the district office was finally successful in contacting the superintendent who called the author immediately. The author fully briefed him and explained the decided-upon response. The superintendent informed the author that he fully supported the response plan and would instruct his district staff to continue to expedite communication to the district's stakeholders.

At approximately 1:00 PM (the agreed-upon go-no-go time), the suspect remained at large. The author informed all staff that the FFA rally would be postponed until the following week. All after-school activities including athletics were canceled for the day, with the site's athletic director taking the responsibility to inform all coaches and players.

The school day for the high school ended at 3:07 PM. The threat assessment team in the time leading up to dismissal had to decide if the suspect was not apprehended by then what steps to take. Dismissal like at many schools can be a chaotic blend of students departing on foot and or climbing onto the several school busses lined up in front of the school. This

scenario was very problematic for obvious reasons with a suspect still potentially in the area. Led by the superintendent with input from the chief of police, the team decided that if the suspect was still at large the police would be out front in full force some on foot and others patrolling by squad car the main roads that students walk while all team members and additional school personnel (available teachers, campus supervisors, custodial staff, etc.) would be around the school's perimeter with two-way radio communication until all students departed. At approximately 2:55 PM a mere 12 minutes before dismissal the school resource officer contacted the author by two-way radio with the following message, "suspect located and in custody!"

The aftermath of this incident was arguable as chaotic and at times stressful as the incident. The suspect when interviewed at arrest admitted to the post, but said he was "kidding" and he just wanted to "get back and scare" the school. In addition, because of the Parkland Florida incident just two days prior, the local print and television media barraged the school with inquiries and reporters (see Appendix C).

The local county district attorney didn't think it was humorous as the suspect was charged with making felony criminal threats and violation of probation. During the ensuing months, the author had to make three court appearances involving the pre-trial hearings of the suspect. The first one was at the direction of the superintendent and school administration were to seek orders of protection so that the suspect if released would have to stay away from the administration and the school. If the suspect came within 100 yards of the administration or school he would be subject to immediate arrest. In addition, the author was subpoenaed on at least two occasions to make court appearances to testify, the third appearance ironically occurring in the fall of 2018, after the author had retired from the school district, and had moved into higher education as an Assistant Professor of Educational Administration in New Mexico (see Appendix D).

In the immediate aftermath of the incident, the school threat assessment team met at least three times with a week after to discuss the incident and review procedures. Some minor adjustments were made out of those after-action meetings, however, the system in place remained virtually unchanged. When the author retired in June of that year, the assistant principal was named as my replacement and thusly became the new leader of the site threat assessment team. Upon reflection of the author's 14 years in the district, and 10 years as an administrator, there were many interesting, rewarding, and challenging occurrences more typical in the life of a high school. For example, breaking up fights, celebrating awards, and accomplishments, athletic issues, etc., however, February 16, 2018, was definitely, a not-so-ordinary day in the life of that high school.

References

- Alathari, L., & Etal. (2019, November). Protecting America's schools. United States Secret Service. Retrieved October 5, 2021, from https://www.secretservice.gov/sites/default/files/2020-04/Protecting_Americas_Schools.pdf.
- Caldwell, J. (2021). Developing and Operating a Threat Assessment Team. Behavioral Threat Assessment and Management for Educators and Administrators | Texas School Safety Center. Retrieved October 6, 2021, from <https://txssc.txstate.edu/tools/tam-toolkit/developing>.
- Carlton, M. P. (2021, April 12). School Safety: Research on gathering tips and addressing threats. National Institute of Justice. Retrieved October 6, 2021, from <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/school-safety-research-gathering-tips-and-addressing-threats>.
- Cornell, D. (2020, December 26). The CSTAG model of threat assessment. The Comprehensive School Threat Assessment Guidelines. Retrieved October 6, 2021, from <https://education.virginia.edu/faculty-research/centers-labs-projects/research-labs/youth-violence-project/comprehensive-school>.
- Cox, J. W., Rich, S., Chiu, A., Muyskens, J., & Ulmanu, M. (2021, August 13). Analysis more than 256,000 students have experienced gun violence at schools since Columbine. The Washington Post. Retrieved October 6, 2021,

from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/local/school-shootings-database/>.

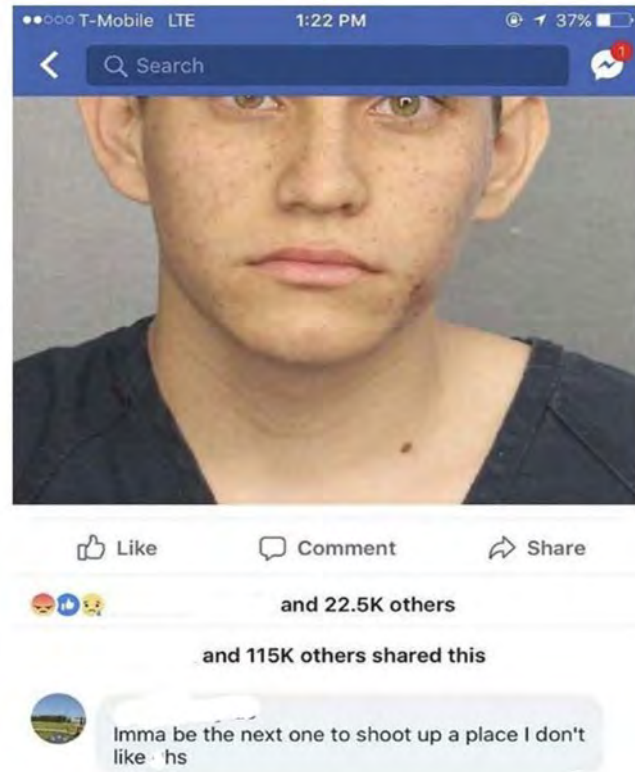
Deisinger, G. (2016, August). Threat Assessment in Virginia Public Schools: Model Policies, Procedures, and Guidelines | Second Edition [2016]. Richmond; Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services.

Sacks, B. (2018, February 15). The FBI was warned about a school shooting threat from a YouTube user named Nikolas Cruz in September. BuzzFeed News. Retrieved October 8, 2021, from <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/briannasacks/the-fbi-was-warned-about-a-school-shooting-threat-from#.auNKmnkgZk>

VanDreal, J. (2019, October 10). A multidisciplinary approach to school safety. Regional Educational Laboratory Program. Retrieved October 7, 2021, from <https://ies.ed.gov/ncee/edlabs/regions/northwest/blog/school-safety.asp>.

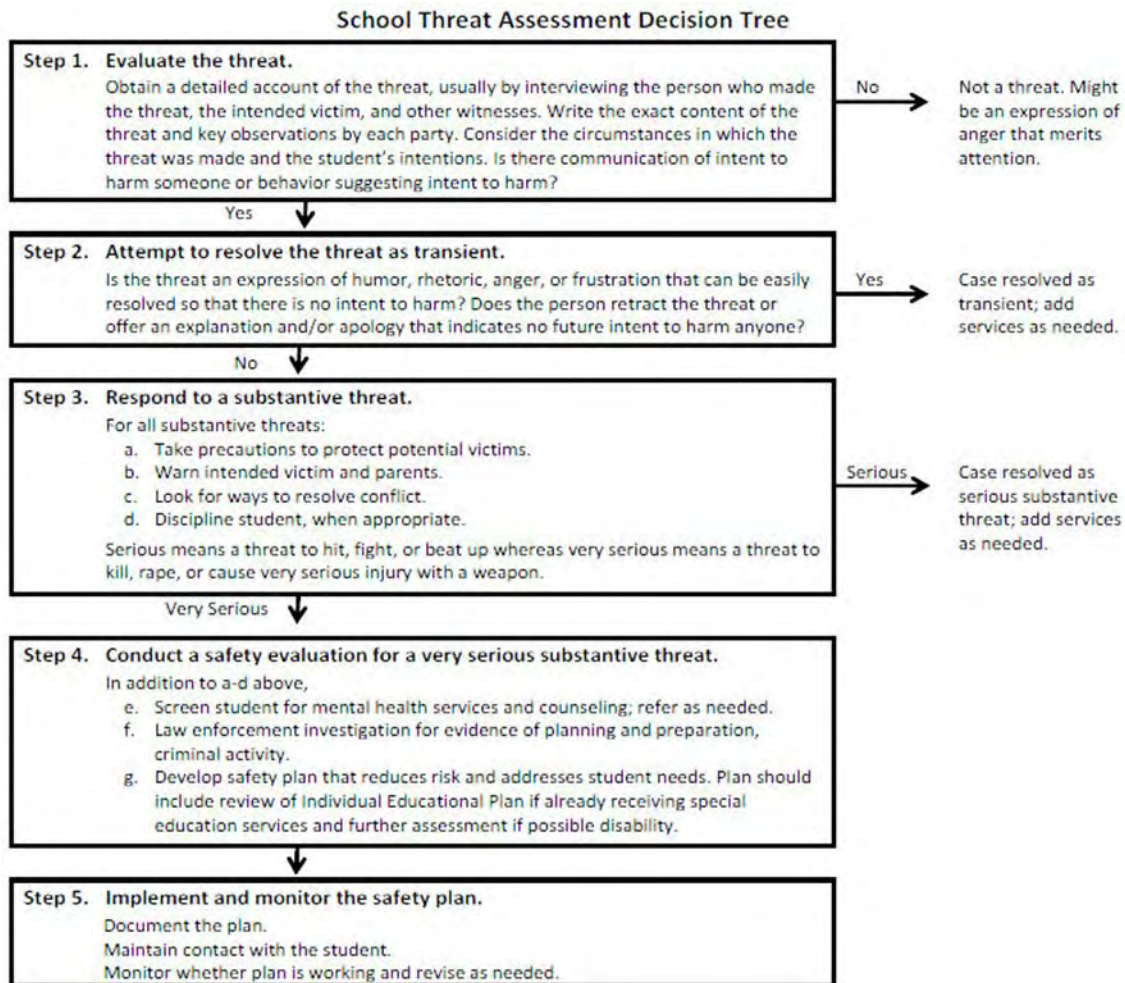
AppendixA

The Former student's Facebook post liking Cruz's mugshot and expressing his desire to do the same to his former school where the author was the Principal.



AppendixB

CSTAG Model Threat Assessment Decision Tree



AppendixC

Local and regional media coverage of the incident at the school where the author was the Principal.

Today's Top Stories WATCH NOW

abc 30 ACTION NEWS

66° Fresno, CA
CLEAR AND WARM

Today 72° Tomorrow 48° Wednesday 75°

SECTIONS TRAFFIC WATCH Fresno County North Valley South Valley Football State

BREAKING NEWS Sprint, T-Mobile to combine, companies announce

THREAT

Former student arrested for threatening school shooting similar to Florida at High School

CRIMINAL THREAT ARREST



EMBED OR MORE VIDEOS

A former high school student is now in custody for making threats of gun violence.

Fri Feb 16, 2018

Calif. (KFSN) -- A former high school student is now in custody for making threats of gun violence.

THREAT

Teen arrested for threatening to "shoot up" Central High School West campus, sheriff says

Massachusetts man sent white powder to Donald Trump Jr.

Fresno Police announce student arrested for school threats on social media

Police Chief Jerry Dyer sends swift warning after gang threats were circulated on social media

SoCal School has classes canceled due to social media post, ex-Miami Dolphins player in custody

MORE THREAT

TOP STORIES

Sprint, T-Mobile to combine, companies announce Updated 17 mins ago

Homicide detectives identify man found dead

51° Sign In/Subscribe

MERCED SUN-STAR

FULL MENU NEWS SPORTS OPINION CLASSIFIEDS



16 of was arrested Friday, Feb. 16, 2018, outside his home near the Street in and booked into Merced County Sheriff's Main Jail for making criminal terrorist threats, violation of probation and interfering with officers and police radio, according to jail records. - Courtesy Merced County Sheriff's Office

CRIME

Ex-High student arrested in school shooting threat on Facebook, police say

BY YVONAS SHANKER
yshanker@mercedsunstar.com

2018 02:25 PM
Updated February 16, 2018 02:25 PM

A 19-year-old former high school student who was previously convicted of threatening a school officer was arrested Friday after posting a photo of Florida school shooter Nikolas Cruz with comments investigators described as threatening, according to

AppendixD

Orders of protection and subpoenas issued by the court to the author for multiple court appearances during the hearing phases of the charged former student.

1 ATKINSON, ANDELAGO, LOYA, RUUD & ROMO
2 A Professional Corporation
3 Peter E. Deane State Bar No. 231180
4 phone@ajr.com State Bar No. 300189
5 Dora K. Jones
6 djk@ajr.com
7 10 River Park Place East, Suite 240
8 Fremont, California 94720
9 Telephone: (510) 225-4700
10 Fax: (510) 225-3418

11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

Attorney for Petitioner:

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA
COUNTY OF MERCED

UNITED SCHOOL DISTRICT, Case No.

Petitioner:

Respondent:

DECLARATION OF JOHN PETRONE IN
SUPPORT OF PETITION OF
EMPLOYER FOR WORKPLACE
VIOLENCE RESTRAINING ORDER AND
APPLICATION FOR TEMPORARY
RESTRAINING ORDER
[FEE EXEMPT PURSUANT TO GOVT
CODE § 6103]

DECLARATION OF JOHN PETRONE

1. John Petrone, declare as follows:

1. I am over the age of 18 years and I reside in Merced County.

2. I have personal knowledge of the facts stated herein, except as to those matters which are stated as information and belief, and as to those matters I believe them to be true, and, if called to testify therein, I could and would do so competently.

3. At all relevant times herein, I have been employed as the Principal of Oakton High

WV-130 Workplace Violence Restraining Order After Hearing

1 Petitioner (Employer)

a. Name: District

Lawyer for Petitioner (if any, for this case):

Name: State Bar No. 300189

Phone No.: Address: City: State: Zip: 95320

b. Your Address (if you have a lawyer, give your lawyer's information):

Address: 10 River Park Place East, Suite 240

City: Fremont State: CA Zip: 94720

Telephone: (510) 225-4700 Fax: (510) 225-3418

e-Mail Address: phone@ajr.com

2 Employee (Protected Person)

Full Name:

3 Respondent (Untrained Person)

Full Name:

Description:

Sex: ☒ M ☐ F Height: 5'2" Weight: 150 lbs Date of Birth: May 16, 2016

Hair Color: Black Eye Color: Brown Age: 18 Race: Hispanic

Home Address (if known): 1418 8th Street State: CA Zip: 95322

City: Oakton

Relationship to Employer: Former Student (18th Student, please indicate in Adult Person)

4 Additional Protected Persons

In addition to the student, the following family or household members or other persons are protected by the temporary order submitted below:

Full Name: Sex Age Household Member? Relation to student

Dr. John Petrone M 55 ☐ Yes ☒ No Principal Supervisor

☐ Yes ☒ No

☐ Yes ☒ No

5 Expiration Date

This Order, except for any award of lawyer's fees, expires on:

Date: 4-6-23 Time: 12:00 ☐ A.M. ☒ P.M.

CL-126 (V)-028

ATTORNEY OR PARTY WITHOUT ATTORNEY (Print name, state bar number, and address)

LARRY D. MORSE II SRN 136435
DISTRICT ATTORNEY
County of Merced
550 W. Main Street, Merced, CA 95340
TELEPHONE NO.: (209) 385-7281 FAX NO.: (209) 385-7281

EMPLOYER OR PROSECUTOR: THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA
SUPERIOR COURT OF CALIFORNIA, COUNTY OF MERCED
COUNTY ADDRESS: 1150 G Street
CITY AND STATE: Los Banos, CA 93605

CASE NAME: 05/16/1998

ORDER TO ATTEND COURT OR PROVIDE DOCUMENTS:
Subpoena/Subpoena Duces Tecum

1. To (name or business)

2. You must follow the court order(s) checked below:

a. ☒ Attend the Petitioner hearing.

b. ☐ Attend the hearing and bring all items checked in c. below.

c. ☐ Provide a copy of these items to the court (Do not use the form or submit Juvenile Court records):

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

d. ☐ If this law is changed, provide all items listed on the attached sheet labeled "Provide These Items."

e. ☐ If someone else is responsible for maintaining the items checked in c. above, that person (the Custodian of Records) must also attend the hearing.

f. ☐ If this law is changed and you deliver all items listed above to the court within 5 days of service of this order, you do not have to attend court if you follow the instructions in item 5.

g. Court Hearing Date: The court hearing will be at time and address of court:

Date: 4/18/2018 Time: 1:30 PM Merced Superior Court
Courtroom 19 1150 G Street, Los Banos, CA 93605

Call the person listed in item 4 below to make sure the hearing date has not changed. If you cannot go to court on this date, you must get permission from the person in item 4. This may be written or verbal, but, in any case, it must be received by the court. Add the person in item 4 after your appearance.

h. The person who has assigned you to attend court or provide documents is:

Name: Travis M. Coffey Phone No.: (209) 710-8078 - Legal

Address: 445 Y Street
City: Los Banos State: CA Zip: 93605

CL-126 (V)-028

ATTORNEY OR PARTY WITHOUT ATTORNEY (Print name, state bar number, and address)

LARRY D. MORSE II SRN 136435
DISTRICT ATTORNEY
County of Merced
550 W. Main Street, Merced, CA 95340
TELEPHONE NO.: (209) 385-7281 FAX NO.: (209) 385-7281

EMPLOYER OR PROSECUTOR: THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA
SUPERIOR COURT OF CALIFORNIA, COUNTY OF MERCED
COUNTY ADDRESS: 1150 G Street
CITY AND STATE: Los Banos, CA 93605

CASE NAME: 05/16/1998

ORDER TO ATTEND COURT OR PROVIDE DOCUMENTS:
Subpoena/Subpoena Duces Tecum

1. To (name or business)

2. You must follow the court order(s) checked below:

a. ☒ Attend the Petitioner hearing.

b. ☐ Attend the hearing and bring all items checked in c. below.

c. ☐ Provide a copy of these items to the court (Do not use the form or submit Juvenile Court records):

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

d. ☐ If this law is changed, provide all items listed on the attached sheet labeled "Provide These Items."

e. ☐ If someone else is responsible for maintaining the items checked in c. above, that person (the Custodian of Records) must also attend the hearing.

f. ☐ If this law is changed and you deliver all items listed above to the court within 5 days of service of this order, you do not have to attend court if you follow the instructions in item 5.

g. Court Hearing Date: The court hearing will be at time and address of court:

Date: 4/18/2018 Time: 1:30 PM Merced Superior Court
Courtroom 19 1150 G Street, Los Banos, CA 93605

Call the person listed in item 4 below to make sure the hearing date has not changed. If you cannot go to court on this date, you must get permission from the person in item 4. This may be written or verbal, but, in any case, it must be received by the court. Add the person in item 4 after your appearance.

h. The person who has assigned you to attend court or provide documents is:

Name: Travis M. Coffey Phone No.: (209) 710-8078 - Legal

Address: 445 Y Street
City: Los Banos State: CA Zip: 93605

*An Environmental Assessment of the Cannabis Industry
In Pursuit of Becoming Green, Sustainable, and Carbon-Neutral*

John W. Sutherlin, PhD

University of Louisiana Monroe (ULM)

Keywords. Cannabis, marijuana, hemp, sustainable, carbon neutral, environmental, eco-friendly, water usage

Abstract.

Many new industries use terms like 'green,' 'sustainable,' or 'carbon-neutral' as an attempt to improve market share and grow a business. The Cannabis and Hemp sectors are no different. There have been numerous claims at being 'eco-friendly' businesses but the reality is very different. This emerging industry, environmentalists, and policy-makers need to evaluate this sector's potential impacts on the environment, especially with regards to water, air, energy, and hazardous waste management.

Origins of Cannabis.

According to subfossil pollen and archaeobotanical studies, *Cannabis* originated in Tibet more than 28 million years ago.¹ Researchers estimate that the plant reached Europe approximately 6 million years ago.² Civilizations across the world would cultivate Cannabis for food (especially the seeds), fibers (for rope and paper), and as part of religious ceremonies (intoxicant effect).³ One author suggested that Cannabis was among the first plants to be cultivated by mankind.⁴ Religious (and medicinal) usages of Cannabis have their roots in China and India.⁵ In fact, a popular legend has it that Chinese Emperor Shen-nung taught his people how to grow hemp around 2800 B.C.⁶ Over time, cotton fibers would replace much of the Hemp crops, but Cannabis retained its therapeutic and religious importance.⁷ As a note, the distinction between

Cannabis and Hemp is significant. Cannabis is generally associated with medical-health or recreational usage (due to THC levels). Hemp has agricultural or industrial applications. Western medicine would become familiar with the effects of Cannabis during the 19th century when a variety of therapeutic usages would be suggested.⁸ Later, India then Persian and Greece then the Romans would discover the properties associated with hemp production.⁹ There is little evidence to suggest that Cannabis played a significant intoxicant role in Greece or Rome.¹⁰

Enter Science.

Carl Linnaeus (1753) would classify the genus Cannabis and the species *C.sativa* and *C.indica*.¹¹ The former is taller while the other is shorter.¹² As the cultivation of the plant spread from China and India to Europe and later to South America and then to the Colonies (Jamestown 1611), scientists extended their research from classification to cultivation to medicinal usages.¹³ William B. O'Shaughnessy is credited with first systematic study (1839) while serving the British Raj at the Medical College of Calcutta.¹⁴ His work reported Cannabis as being "reasonably safe" and having "analgesic and sedative properties."¹⁵ Those with seizures and anxiety were also found responsive. According to researchers, more than 100 scientific articles were published from 1840-1900 advancing Cannabis' therapeutic values.¹⁶ Typically, Cannabis was either made into an elixir or smoked.

An amazing (and tragic) health footnote, because of racism and ethnophobia, it has taken 'science' almost 150 years to get back to where Cannabis is being seriously studied for its medical and pharmaceutical worth.¹⁷ Wars often bring, inter alia, advances

in technology and medicine; albeit at a high price. The American Civil War found soldiers being treated for a wide range of battle injuries, especially infections, with elixirs made with Cannabis.¹⁸ Most reported positive responses.

American physician J.B. Mattison published (1887) in the *Lancet* an article regarding relief from cocaine addictions.¹⁹ Then, four years later (1891) he published a landmark treatise in the *St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal* on the effects of Cannabis in treating migraines, pain, nausea, and, again, addictions.²⁰ Serious scientific studies were expanding the potential use for Cannabis. Research all but came to a halt as policymakers attempted to regulate Cannabis.

In many ways, the world has forgotten what they once knew about the medicinal benefits of Cannabis.²¹ As such, health professionals are trying to re-learn what was once known.

Regulating Weed.

The attempt to regulate Cannabis, whether Marijuana or Hemp, has a long, complicated history in the US.²² There are social, cultural, economic, and political aspects that must be understood.²³ The facts are plain: regulating Cannabis (not necessarily Hemp) has its history in the government attempting to raise revenue (through taxes), then control purity (through food and drug regulations), and then to control minority (Blacks and Hispanics and other immigrants) communities.²⁴ The major acts in the US are summarized below:

- *Pure Food and Drug Act* (1906); label medicinal products
- *Harrison Narcotics Tax Act* (1914); occupational taxes on products

- *Narcotic Drug Import and Export Act* (1922); linked 'Marihuana' with other narcotics
- Federal Narcotics Control Board (1930); replaced later with the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and was housed within the Treasury Department; first 'Drug Czar' was Harry J. Anslinger (his quotes are masterpieces in propaganda)²⁵
- *Uniform State Narcotic Drug Act* (1932); Cannabis classified as a narcotic
- *Marijuana Tax Act* (1937); tax all sales as a "prohibitive method"
- *The Boggs Act* (1951); an amendment to the 1922 act that added "mandatory sentencing" for possession and intent to distribute²⁶

It is important to note that not all federal and state officials 'bought into' the hysteria surrounding Cannabis. Not everyone saw *Reefer Madness* and believed it. New York City Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia commissioned a report in 1944 that countered many of Anslinger's claims concerning Cannabis leading to a life of crime (the 'Criminality Theory') or being the entry to a world of harder drugs (the 'Gateway Theory').²⁷ In other words, the basis for all policy against Cannabis was false or unproven. Yet, the power of Anslinger would overshadow science and research for decades.

War on Drugs.

Following the counter-culture of the 1960s, President Richard Nixon wanted to increase the fines and penalties for drug usage. Woodstock had a profound impact on American culture exposing many to a world of sex, drugs, and rock and roll. Nixon asked Pennsylvania Governor Raymond Shaffer to assemble a commission to offer guidance

to Congress. The Shaffer Commission largely agreed with the *LaGuardia Report* (and tons of medical professionals in the US and around the world).²⁸ Specifically, the Shaffer Commission objected to Marijuana being classified as a Schedule I drug (meaning: highly addictive with no medical benefits; alongside Heroin).

Nixon was furious. Regardless of the science, public opinion, or the findings of a bipartisan commission, he wanted to further demonize Marijuana as a way to break up communities of color that opposed his policies.²⁹ Hippie whites and radical blacks were his main targets.³⁰ So much about current legislation is based on undoing the damage done to communities of color and allowing them to be included in this new economic opportunity.³¹ Some states over the past decade have begun to evaluate their Cannabis laws from an affirmative action perspective to reestablish (or establish?) rights lost during the last few decades.³²

The 'War on Drugs' had a new law: The *Controlled Substances Act of 1970*. Not only did this new act target Cannabis or Marijuana, but the efforts of the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) almost eradicated industrial Hemp production.³³ But the negative impacts in certain communities accelerated during the Ronald Reagan presidency. The War on Drugs saw massive increases in arrests among poor whites and all black.³⁴ Those debunked notions of Marijuana leading to crime or a gateway to harder drugs had been resurrected under Reagan (then Bush and Clinton and Bush, Jr).³⁵

Around the World.

Internationally, Cannabis was part of the early discussions of the doomed League of Nations.³⁶ Following World War II, Cold War rivalries saw the US pushing for a *Single*

Convention on Narcotic Drugs (1961); thus, creating a United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime.³⁷ Despite the evidence to support Cannabis being a narcotic, decades of misinformation and propaganda made this classification easy. Ultimately, an international drug regime would be forged from more conventions and protocols and multilateral agreements.³⁸ The focus of this regime, besides controlling illegal drugs, has been on establishing and eradicating linkages between human traffickers, organized crime, and terrorism groups with narcotics.³⁹

Just recently, the Office on Drugs and Crime held one of their thematic discussions in Vienna (October 2021) to consider challenges faced by the United Nations and its member states in combating narcotics. Discussion about individual nations relaxing or decriminalizing Marijuana for recreational usages was a major point of disagreement.⁴⁰

The Rules have Changed.

Because of the current debate, many countries are “rethinking” their domestic and international policies⁴¹ This could have a profound impact on conventions ranging from monetary to human rights to climate change. The passage of the 2018 Farm Bill was monumental. Congress cleared the fields for Hemp to regulated as an agricultural product and regulated by the US Department of Agriculture (USDA).⁴² Thus, Hemp (with trace amounts of THC) can be grown legally and without fear of prosecution. And, products derived from CBD may be sold.⁴³ This has created an economic opportunity for sectors, such as agriculture, that have long suffered due to the volatility of commodity pricing.⁴⁴

The potential for renewed scientific research on Cannabis and Hemp is tremendous.⁴⁵

The astounding aspect of contemporary research is that it seeks to validate what was part of the medical community more than 150 years ago.

The shift from federal prosecution to state enforcement has been an interesting one.

Attorney General Memos under President Obama led the way for more and more states to enact their own laws for medical Marijuana and recreational Marijuana.⁴⁶

Proceedings from the Mayo Clinic, though, reinforced the need for clearer federal policy.⁴⁷ The scattering of confusing and often contradictory state laws has resulted in constitutional questions that demand a unified set of regulations.⁴⁸ Simply put, there cannot be 50 or more laws on Cannabis regulations without violations of civil rights or, for example, interstate commerce violations.

The Biden administration has seen two major bills being proposed:

- *Cannabis Administration and Opportunity Act* (2021); remove from Schedule I, restructure jurisdiction and provide resources for studies (health and social)⁴⁹
- *Secure and Fair Enforcement or SAFE Banking Act* (2021); allow financial institutions to provide banking services to Marijuana related businesses (MRBs)⁵⁰

In both of the aforementioned bills, issues of equity and inclusion represent significant improvements for previous Cannabis legislation. Further need for banking and financial service reform is straightforward: businesses with large amounts of cash on-hand may become targets for criminals to rob.⁵¹ The 'SAFE' Act needs to address more than simply loans and lines of credit.

Ecological and Sustainable.

While issues associated with Cannabis' Schedule I classification, medical-pharmaceutical research and usages, and equity and inclusion are critical, there are significant other prospects. Namely, Cannabis and Hemp can make a strong case for being part of a 'greener' more sustainable economy. However, just like with certain unfounded health claims, environmentalists need to fully assess the ecological costs of Cannabis and Hemp.

The best place to begin here is with the latter: Hemp. The use of Hemp for products seems to be unending. Paper, clothes, feedstocks, and building materials can all be made using Hemp. Hemp is stronger than cotton and can be recycled many times more than wood pulp paper products.⁵² Hemp is one of the most biodiverse plants and outperforms monocrops considerably.⁵³

There are so many wild claims about Cannabis that it makes this time in history so important. If Cannabis had been discovered in the past 50 years, the social, cultural and political baggage would not exist.⁵⁴ But it was not. Whether the myth involves health or ecological claims, science must work to dispel these and provide the public, especially policy-makers, facts to build an economy that is greener, more sustainable and more carbon neutral. Further, low inputs of water and fertilizer (for many soil conditions) have been modelled across the world.⁵⁵

Yet, many states are rushing to raise Hemp with less than sustainable conditions. Hemp requires less irrigation than many crops utilized for comparable purposes.⁵⁶ But, as a reminder, Hemp is not indigenous to America. That does not mean it cannot grow in the US. After all, corn was brought here as well. Still, many states are struggling to

find the most optimum seed variety, soil conditions, sunshine, pesticides, fertilizers, etc...to cultivate Hemp. That has resulted in massive crop failures for farmers new to the Hemp sector.⁵⁷ Sustainable agriculture requires not only sound ecological principles but a market for the product that allows farmers to make a living long-term.⁵⁸ Is Hemp more 'ecologically friendly' than most crops? Yes. Is it more sustainable? There has been some research in this area comparing Hemp production to other conventional crops, such as cotton or soybeans.⁵⁹ In terms of energy consumption per acre of product harvested, Hemp has shown advantages over other crops.⁶⁰ However, the real positive here with industrial Hemp production may be with the conversion of residuals or left-over products to a biofuel.⁶¹ Maybe one day soon Hemp could be more sustainable, but for now it is not.

Another consideration for Hemp industrial level farming is that it is a natural air filter for pollution and can sequester carbon emissions and combat climate change.⁶² While related to energy production as a source for biomass, this is an additional consideration. There are some exciting reports about researchers using Hemp seed oil as a biodiesel fuel.⁶³ However, when looking at the emissions of Hemp biodiesel, things get a little less encouraging. While Hemp biodiesel does emit less carbon emissions (CO₂), the levels of nitrous oxide were higher than fossil fuel-based diesel.⁶⁴ Further, Hemp has shown to emit more volatile organic chemicals than most other forms of biomass.⁶⁵ Clearly, more research is needed before Hemp can claim to be a crop that is climate-friendly.

In order to be sustainable, the industry must become more cost-beneficial. Thus, costs associated with producing Hemp biodiesel are much higher than fossil fuels or even

soybean-based fuels and production capacity is nowhere near where it needs to be.⁶⁶ Clearly, there is more research to be conducted here. Industrial Hemp offers opportunities but verification of claims is paramount to sustainability. Perhaps, Hemp could be part of a crop-rotation process where it is planted and harvested during times when other crops are not. There could be significant ecological benefits here.⁶⁷

Turning to Cannabis, this is a bit more worrisome. Hemp faces many of the same hurdles to being environmentally friendly that any agricultural sector might encounter. But, Hemp is grown outdoors on vast areas of land that can absorb pollution or dilute air or water emissions. Cannabis does not have that luxury; especially medical or recreation Marijuana. Why? All medical and most recreational Marijuana is grown inside greenhouses. Quality and purity are crucial to make medical-grade products, especially in this sector.

According to researchers, there are “six documented impact pathways from cannabis cultivation (land-cover change, water use, pesticide use, energy use, and air pollution) and consumption (water pollution).”⁶⁸ The greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs) is not insignificant due to large amounts of electricity, natural gas, and transportation costs.⁶⁹ Many states with a vibrant medical (or recreational) Marijuana industry are in states that rely upon coal for energy production. Also, indoor farming has shown significant air pollution caused by biogenic volatile organic compounds being emitted.⁷⁰ Water usage and emissions are also high. Both Cannabis and Hemp require a lot of water and a lot of nutrients to grow.⁷¹ California has experienced surface water diversions to support this industry.⁷² As more states allow individual growing of

Marijuana in homes or apartments, the water usage will need to be addressed as part of any comprehensive drinking or potable water infrastructure program.⁷³

Energy consumption remains a major concern when indoor Cannabis cultivation is compared with growing other cash crops outside using sunshine.⁷⁴ Increased energy demand has been correlated to those communities with increased Cannabis cultivation.⁷⁵ One staggering statistic that puts the energy usage in perspective was published in *Energy Policy*. Here, it stated, “One average kilogram of final product is associated with 4600 kg of carbon dioxide emissions to the atmosphere, or that of 3 million average U.S. cars when aggregated across all national production.”⁷⁶ Further, many of the states that are aggressively pursuing Cannabis or Hemp opportunities do not have zero-carbon electrical utilities; many have hydropower or coal.⁷⁷ Still, the net impact could demonstrate that compared to fossil fuels the long-term ecological savings outweighs the short-term energy demands. Again, this underscores the need for more research.

One final area of concern involves the attraction of vectors or pests. These pests could be rodents or bugs or fungi. Also, these could be plant-based as more and more foreign strains are being harvested. Also, it is clear that the rush to grow the perfect hybrid variation of Cannabis some have resorted to genetically modified strains.⁷⁸ Could Cannabis and Hemp crops disrupt regional ecosystems?⁷⁹ Perhaps. European research advanced this notion more than a decade ago.⁸⁰ Issues associated with regional biodiversity are critical when addressing flora and fauna concerns with this (typically) non-indigenous plant.⁸¹

Conclusions.

Over time, the domestication of Cannabis has limited the diversity of the plant (and potential usages) and spread its cultivation into non-indigenous areas where it is dependent upon humans (not nature) for its survival.⁸² The cultivation of industrial Hemp for a range of products (i.e., clothing, paper, feedstocks) will clearly have economic ramifications.⁸³

The need for a full-cost environmental assessment of Cannabis and Hemp is critical to better policymaking.⁸⁴ This 'new' sector can transform ecosystems and alter air, water, and land pollution models.⁸⁵ If anything, these environmental concerns substantiate the need for increased research at the federal and state levels. Water usage for Cannabis and Hemp is expected to almost double by 2025.⁸⁶

If claims about being 'green' are to be corroborated, and actions taken to ensure it being 'carbon-neutral', then Cannabis and Hemp should look to other sustainable agricultural practices. Also, issues associated with the chemical processing of CBD remain largely unanswered.⁸⁷ What types of solvents are the most cost-effective and 'green'? What about packaging requirements? Even if Hemp is the raw materials, the pulping process for making packaging is not without external pollution costs.⁸⁸ And, will increased Cannabis usage alter other dietary or consumptive patterns.

It seems that we are a lot closer to the beginning of this discussion; but it is a discussion worth having.

END NOTES

¹ McPartland, J. M., Hegman, W., & Long, T. (2019). Cannabis in Asia: its center of origin and early cultivation, based on a synthesis of subfossil pollen and archaeobotanical studies. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 28(6), 691-702.

² Live Science. We may finally know where the Cannabis plant originated. May 20, 2019. Located at <https://www.livescience.com/65517-cannabis-asia-originated.html>. Accessed August 12, 2021.

³ New Scientist. Cannabis plant evolved super high (on the Tibetan Plateau). May 17, 2019. Located at <https://www.newscientist.com/article/2203647-cannabis-plant-evolved-super-high-on-the-tibetan-plateau/#ixzz79tIJNBq>. Accessed August 8, 2021.

⁴ Booth, M. (2005). Cannabis: a history. Macmillan.

⁵ Touw, M. (1981). The religious and medicinal uses of Cannabis in China, India and Tibet. *Journal of psychoactive drugs*, 13(1), 23-34.

⁶ Mikuriya, T. H. (1969). Marijuana in medicine: past, present and future. *California medicine*, 110(1), 34.

⁷ Li, H. L. (1974). An archaeological and historical account of cannabis in China. *Economic Botany*, 28(4), 437-448.

⁸ Zuardi, A. W. (2006). History of cannabis as a medicine: a review. *Brazilian Journal of Psychiatry*, 28, 153-157.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Butrica, J. L. (2002). The medical use of cannabis among the Greeks and Romans. *Journal of Cannabis Therapeutics*, 2(2), 51-70.

¹¹ McPartland, J. M. (2018). Cannabis systematics at the levels of family, genus, and species. *Cannabis and cannabinoid research*, 3(1), 203-212.

¹² Health Line. Sativa vs. Indica: What to expect across cannabis types and strains. March 22, 2021. Located at <https://www.healthline.com/health/sativa-vs-indica#sativa>. Accessed April 20, 2021. The two natural compounds (among the hundreds) that researchers (and consumers and law-makers) are especially focused are cannabidiol (CBD) and tetrahydrocannabinol (THC). Although an oversimplification, CBD has reported medical-health benefits while THC is what produces the 'high' or 'euphoria' experienced by consumers of Cannabis.

¹³ Potter, G. R., Bouchard, M., & Decorte, T. (2016). The globalization of cannabis cultivation. In *World Wide Weed* (pp. 21-40). Routledge.

¹⁴ Aldrich, M. (1997). History of therapeutic cannabis. Cannabis in medical practice. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 35-55. O'Shaughnessy is credited with introducing the term 'gunjah', later ganja', to the Western world in his work *On the Preparations of the Indian Hemp, or Gunjay*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Shader, R. I., Grinspoon, L., Harmatz, J. S., & Ewalt, J. R. (1971). The therapist variable. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 127(8), 1009-1012.

¹⁷ Mathre, M. L. (Ed.). (2010). Cannabis in medical practice: a legal, historical and pharmacological overview of the therapeutic use of marijuana. This is one of the central books necessary to understand the interaction between medical and legal policymaking in the US.

-
- ¹⁸ Russo, E. B. (2014). The pharmacological history of Cannabis. *Handbook of cannabis*, 23-43.
- ¹⁹ Mattison, J. B. (1887). Cocaine dosage and cocaine addiction. *The Lancet*, 129(3325), 1024-1026.
- ²⁰ Grinspoon, L. G., Grinspoon, L., & Bakalar, J. B. (1997). *Marihuana, the forbidden medicine*. Yale University Press.
- ²¹ Mikuriya, T. H. (1969). Marijuana in medicine: past, present and future. *California medicine*, 110(1), 34.
- ²² Johnson, N. (2019). *American Weed: A History of Cannabis Cultivation in the United States*. EchoGéo, (48).
- ²³ Lee, M. A. (2012). *Smoke signals: A social history of Marijuana-Medical, Recreational and Scientific*. Simon and Schuster.
- ²⁴ Patton, D. V. (2020). A history of United States cannabis law. *Journal of Law & Health*, 34, 1. This is an excellent source for those wanting to get a 'big picture' of the regulatory maize.
- ²⁵ Anslinger seemed to be obsessed with the idea that Marijuana smoking was a monster that would cause "white women to seek Negroes...and Satanic Jazz music."
- ²⁶ Patton.
- ²⁷ Findings of the LaGuardia Report. Located at <https://www.law.du.edu/documents/marijuana-summit/La-Guardia-Report.pdf>. Accessed April 3, 2021. The full report may be found here <https://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/Library/studies/lag/lagmenu.htm>.

-
- ²⁸Pacula, R. L., & Smart, R. (2017). Medical marijuana and marijuana legalization. *Annual review of clinical psychology*, 13, 397-419.
- ²⁹ Christianson, M. A. (2010). A great schism: Social norms and marijuana prohibition. *Harvard Law and Policy Review*, 4, 229.
- ³⁰Vitiello, M. (2019). Marijuana legalization, racial disparity, and the hope for reform. *Lewis & Clark Law Review*, 23, 789.
- ³¹ Swinburne, M., & Hoke, K. (2019). State Efforts to Create an Inclusive Marijuana Industry in the Shadow of the Unjust War on Drugs. *Journal of Business and Technology Law*, 15, 235.
- ³² Brown, R. (2019). Cannabis Social Equity: An Opportunity for the Revival of Affirmative Action in California. *Social Justice and Equity Law Journal*, 3, 205.
- ³³ Shepherd, C. D. (1999). Lethal concentration of power: How the DEA acts improperly to prohibit the growth of the industrial hemp. *UMKC Law Review*, 68, 239.
- ³⁴ Alexander, M. (2010). The war on drugs and the New Jim Crow. *Race, Poverty & the Environment*, 17(1), 75-77.
- ³⁵ Hawdon, J. E. (2001). The role of presidential rhetoric in the creation of a moral panic: Reagan, Bush, and the war on drugs. *Deviant Behavior*, 22(5), 419-445.
- ³⁶ Collins, J. (2020). A Brief History of Cannabis and the Drug Conventions. *AJIL Unbound*, 114, 279-284.
- ³⁷ United Nations. Office of Drugs and Crime. Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961. Located at <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/single-convention.html?ref=menu>. Accessed June 6, 2021. According to the ODC, "This Convention aims to combat drug abuse by coordinated international action. There are

two forms of intervention and control that work together. First, it seeks to limit the possession, use, trade in, distribution, import, export, manufacture and production of drugs exclusively to medical and scientific purposes. Second, it combats drug trafficking through international cooperation to deter and discourage drug traffickers.”

³⁸Heilmann, D. (2011). The international control of illegal drugs and the UN treaty regime: preventing or causing human rights violations. *Cardozo Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 19, 237.

³⁹ Paoli, L., Greenfield, V. A., & Reuter, P. (2012). Change is possible: The history of the international drug control regime and implications for future policymaking. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 47(8-9), 923-935.

⁴⁰ UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs. The first intersessional meeting of the 64th session of the Commission. Located at https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/commissions/CND/session/64_Session_2021/thematic-sessions.html. Accessed October 21, 2021.

⁴¹ III, J. J. D., Ewing, B., Peloquin, D., & MacCoun, R. J. (2011). 5. Rethinking America’s Illegal Drug Policy (pp. 215-290). University of Chicago Press.

⁴²Coit, M. (2018). The Fate of Industrial Hemp in the 2018 Farm Bill-Will Our Collective Ambivalence Finally be Resolved. *Journal of Food Law and Policy*, 14, 12.

⁴³Corroon, J., & Kight, R. (2018). Regulatory status of cannabidiol in the United States: a perspective. *Cannabis and cannabinoid research*, 3(1), 190-194.

⁴⁴ Mark, T. B., & Snell, W. (2019). Economic issues and perspectives for industrial hemp. *Industrial hemp as a modern commodity crop*, 107-118.

⁴⁵Schluttenhofer, C., & Yuan, L. (2019). Hemp hemp hooray for Cannabis research. *Science*, 363(6428), 701-702.

⁴⁶ Hill, K. P. (2015). Medical marijuana for treatment of chronic pain and other medical and psychiatric problems: a clinicaq2l review. *JAMA*, 313(24), 2474-2483.

⁴⁷ Bostwick, J. M. (2012, February). Blurred boundaries: the therapeutics and politics of medical marijuana. In *Mayo Clinic Proceedings* (Vol. 87, No. 2, pp. 172-186). Elsevier.

⁴⁸Cerdá, M., Wall, M., Keyes, K. M., Galea, S., &Hasin, D. (2012). Medical marijuana laws in 50 states: investigating the relationship between state legalization of medical marijuana and marijuana use, abuse and dependence. *Drug and alcohol dependence*, 120(1-3), 22-27.

⁴⁹JDSupra. The Cannabis Administration and Opportunity Act: Too Much Too Soon? Too Little Too Late? Or Just the Right Time? Located at <https://www.jdsupra.com/legalnews/the-cannabis-administration-and-5667781/>. Accessed August 6, 2021.

⁵⁰ Boston.Com. SAFE Banking Act would make cannabis business easier. October 3, 2021. Located at <https://www.boston.com/news/local-news/2021/10/03/safe-banking-act-would-make-cannabis-business-easier/>. Accessed October 2, 2021.

⁵¹ James, J. T., &Tippins, S. C. (2021). The Evident Need for Banking Reform in the Legal Marijuana Industry. *Journal of Social Change*, 13(2), 7.

⁵²Bouloc, P., & Van Der Werf, H. M. G. (2013). The role of hemp in sustainable development. *Hemp: industrial production and uses*, 278-289.

-
- ⁵³ Montford, S., & Small, E. (1999). A comparison of the biodiversity friendliness of crops with special reference to hemp (*Cannabis sativa* L.). *J. International Hemp Association*, 6(2), 53-63.
- ⁵⁴ Zimmer, L. E., & Morgan, J. P. (1997). *Marijuana myths, marijuana facts: A review of the scientific evidence*. New York: Lindesmith Center.
- ⁵⁵ Tang, K., Fracasso, A., Struik, P. C., Yin, X., & Amaducci, S. (2018). Water-and nitrogen-use efficiencies of hemp (*Cannabis sativa* L.) based on whole-canopy measurements and modeling. *Frontiers in plant science*, 9, 951.
- ⁵⁶ Schumacher, A. G. D., Pequito, S., & Pazour, J. (2020). Industrial hemp fiber: A sustainable and economical alternative to cotton. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 268, 122180.
- ⁵⁷ Sandler, L. N., & Gibson, K. A. (2019). A call for weed research in industrial hemp (*Cannabis sativa* L.). *Weed Research*, 59(4), 255-259.
- ⁵⁸ Reganold, J. P., Papendick, R. I., & Parr, J. F. (1990). Sustainable agriculture. *Scientific American*, 262(6), 112-121.
- ⁵⁹ Finnan, J., & Styles, D. (2013). Hemp: a more sustainable annual energy crop for climate and energy policy. *Energy Policy*, 58, 152-162.
- ⁶⁰ Schumacher, A. G. D., Pequito, S., & Pazour, J. (2020). Industrial hemp fiber: A sustainable and economical alternative to cotton. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 268, 122180.
- ⁶¹ Beluns, S., Gaidukovs, S., Platnieks, O., Gaidukova, G., Mierina, I., Grase, L., ... & Thakur, V. K. (2021). From wood and hemp biomass wastes to sustainable nanocellulose foams. *Industrial Crops and Products*, 170, 113780.

-
- ⁶² Davis, R. M. (2009). Hemp For Victory: A Global Warming Solution. Lulu. com.
- ⁶³ Ahmad, M., Ullah, K., Khan, M. A., Zafar, M., Tariq, M., Ali, S., & Sultana, S. (2011). Physicochemical analysis of hemp oil biodiesel: a promising non-edible new source for bioenergy. *Energy Sources, Part A: Recovery, Utilization, and Environmental Effects*, 33(14), 1365-1374.
- ⁶⁴ Li, S. Y., Stuart, J. D., Li, Y., & Parnas, R. S. (2010). The feasibility of converting Cannabis sativa L. oil into biodiesel. *Bioresource technology*, 101(21), 8457-8460.
- ⁶⁵ Rice, B. (2008). Hemp as a feedstock for biomass-to-energy conversion. *Journal of Industrial Hemp*, 13(2), 145-156.
- ⁶⁶ Viswanathan, M. B., Cheng, M. H., Clemente, T. E., Dweikat, I., & Singh, V. (2021). Economic perspective of ethanol and biodiesel coproduction from industrial hemp. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 299, 126875.
- ⁶⁷ Piotrowski, S., & Carus, M. (2011). Ecological benefits of hemp and flax cultivation and products. *Nova institute*, 5, 1-6.
- ⁶⁸ Wartenberg, A. C., Holden, P. A., Bodwitch, H., Parker-Shames, P., Novotny, T., Harmon, T. C., ... & Butsic, V. (2021). Cannabis and the environment: what science tells us and what we still need to know. *Environmental Science & Technology Letters*, 8(2), 98-107.
- ⁶⁹ Summers, H. M., Sproul, E., & Quinn, J. C. (2021). The greenhouse gas emissions of indoor cannabis production in the United States. *Nature Sustainability*, 1-7.
- ⁷⁰ Zheng, Z., Fiddes, K., & Yang, L. (2021). A narrative review on environmental impacts of cannabis cultivation. *Journal of Cannabis Research*, 3(1), 1-10.

-
- ⁷¹Carah, J. K., Howard, J. K., Thompson, S. E., Short Gianotti, A. G., Bauer, S. D., Carlson, S. M., ... & Power, M. E. (2015). High time for conservation: adding the environment to the debate on marijuana liberalization. *BioScience*, 65(8), 822-829.
- ⁷² Bauer, S., Olson, J., Cockrill, A., van Hattem, M., Miller, L., Tauzer, M., & Leppig, G. (2015). Impacts of surface water diversions for marijuana cultivation on aquatic habitat in four northwestern California watersheds. *PloS one*, 10(3), e0120016.
- ⁷³Zemel, F. I. (2013). Medical marijuana: a crossroads between land use planning and environmental health. *Journal of environmental health*, 75(9), 56-58.
- ⁷⁴ Arnold, J. M. (2013). Energy consumption and environmental impacts associated with cannabis cultivation (Doctoral dissertation, Humboldt State University).
- ⁷⁵*Ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ Mills, E. (2012). The carbon footprint of indoor Cannabis production. *Energy Policy*, 46, 58-67.
- ⁷⁷ Warren, G. S. (2015). Regulating pot to save the polar bear: energy and climate impacts of the marijuana industry. *Columbia Journal of Environmental Law*, 40, 385. Solar or other alternative sources of electricity may need to supplement these sources of power.
- ⁷⁸Maxmen, A. (2018). Coming soon to a lab near you? Genetically modified cannabis. *Nature*, 559(7713), 162-163.
- ⁷⁹ Thompson, C., Sweitzer, R., Gabriel, M., Purcell, K., Barrett, R., & Poppenga, R. (2014). Impacts of rodenticide and insecticide toxicants from marijuana cultivation sites on fisher survival rates in the Sierra National Forest, California. *Conservation Letters*, 7(2), 91-102.

⁸⁰ Shine, C. (2007). Invasive species in an international context: IPPC, CBD, European Strategy on Invasive Alien Species and other legal instruments. *EPPO bulletin*, 37(1), 103-113.

⁸¹ Hoban, S., Bruford, M., Jackson, J. D. U., Lopes-Fernandes, M., Heuertz, M., Hohenlohe, P. A., ... & Laikre, L. (2020). Genetic diversity targets and indicators in the CBD post-2020 Global Biodiversity Framework must be improved. *Biological Conservation*, 248, 108654.

⁸² Clarke, R. C., & Merlin, M. D. (2016). Cannabis domestication, breeding history, present-day genetic diversity, and future prospects. *Critical reviews in plant sciences*, 35(5-6), 293-327.

⁸³ Pal, L., & Lucia, L. A. (2019). Renaissance of industrial hemp: a miracle crop for a multitude of products. *BioResources*, 14(2), 2460-2464.

⁸⁴ Ashworth, K., & Vizuite, W. (2017). High time to assess the environmental impacts of cannabis cultivation.

⁸⁵ Butsic, V., & Brenner, J. C. (2016). Cannabis (*Cannabis sativa* or *C. indica*) agriculture and the environment: a systematic, spatially-explicit survey and potential impacts. *Environmental Research Letters*, 11(4), 044023.

⁸⁶ Water Technology. Report: U.S. legal cannabis water use to almost double by 2025. February 24, 2021. Located at <https://www.watertechonline.com/industry/article/14198209/report-us-legal-cannabis-water-use-to-almost-double-by-2025>. Accessed October 4, 2021.

⁸⁷ King, J. W. (2019). The relationship between cannabis/hemp use in foods and processing methodology. *Current Opinion in Food Science*, 28, 32-40.

⁸⁸ González-García, S., Moreira, M. T., Artal, G., Maldonado, L., &Feijoo, G. (2010).
Environmental impact assessment of non-wood-based pulp production by soda-
anthraquinone pulping process. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 18(2), 137-145.

COVID 19, BLM and the Final Verdict: We Have a New Rascal
Rex Wirth, Independent Scholar

As May Day approached defunding the police (pigs) was in the air when suddenly there was no time to waste: The pigs must die, but they will not die in vain. Donald quickly evoked defense preparedness to save our pork. The food supply chain was under attack! It seems that pigs are born to die on a very tight schedule, are scientifically feed precisely the right thing at the right time to bring them to the exact desired (required?) weight on their last day and there is a batch of oinkers at every stage of plumpness moving through the pens toward final processing on any given day. If the workers in the meat processing plants, who finish the job after the pigs give their last full measure, can't work; the pigs still must die as scheduled because there is no place for them to go. Farmers don't like to kill and waste them, but they have no choice. That's just the way it is in the on-time delivery factory farming industry. How many pigs does it take to keep the bacon with our eggs? How many beakless chickens to lay the eggs? The numbers are staggering! The Coronavirus obviously has good targeting intelligence. Meat processing plants are perfect! To handle the supply of livestock in the food chain, keep our farmers in business and ensure the post-pandemic meat supply; we will have to muster the troops and hold the line in the processing plants. At last, the final element of war, something to defend. People like pigs can now do their part—together we can save the bacon, the Economy and the President.

June 23In Arizona, with COVID cases at all-time highs and hospital capacity near 85% in the vicinity, 3000 kids stuffed themselves into a Phoenix Dream Church without face masks to see Trump throw down the gauntlet and challenge Kung Flu to stop America's return to greatness before November 3rd—the crowd went wild! The "Sleepy Joe" line was working, the perfect call is now a laughing matter, Hunter is a Chinese agent and ANTIFA terrorists will do ten years for destroying America's legacy—"Lock them up!" It was a good day's work. It will be a triumph if it deflects the George Floyd momentum and takes us back to the old symbolic controversy about monuments, flags and safe streets.

Novel surged globally in the foreign Trumpster states, but the USA kept up and is still leading the pack. The task force is back at work and a "Novel" presidential debate series has begun. In this debate with the empty chair—Kung Flu acts, Trump tweets and the task force counters with the numbers and science while the faithful pray for the preservation of our first amendment freedoms. As with the lawyers at the impeachment proceedings, come what may, whatever he says they have to make it the truth. Now it's up to the people, not the Senate, to decide.

Happy Birthday Amerika

Is you is, or is you ain't, my constituency?

Homer Stokes

COVID picked up the gauntlet and did a little Kung Fu leaving Donald to deal with two days in a row of over 50,000 new infections in the US and 200,000 globally for his 4th of July Mt. Rushmore show. The sovereign Sioux Nation denied him access to the

monument located on their lands, but police eliminated any opposition before the motorcade arrived. COVID was not invited; there was no empty chair and no mention of her. Unlike Pappy Joe, Don doesn't realize that he is the incumbent. Otherwise, it was a pure Homer Stokes event. It's not hard to tell who penned Trump's redux of the 1920's Grand Dragon speech. Unfortunately, there were no Soggy Bottom Boys to catalyze the crowd that appeared to be ready for them.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q3eTSbC3neA&feature=emb_err_woyt

The empty chair returned to the 4th of July celebration and air show on the mall where the President excoriated COVID's savage nature, but acknowledged her tactical effectiveness. As he declared victory, again, he assured us that we will have effective treatments and a vaccine long before year's end. You could almost hear Novel laughing as Trump bragged about testing and gave her credit for at least 11 million infections in the US alone—I am better and more savage than I imagined. Then he returned to the Homer theme from Rushmore where we learned of a real mutation, “Left-wing Fascists”. A speech no one could like proposing a park with something for everyone to hate. If this saves his presidency, we deserve to die! Too bad we'll take the rest of humanity and probably the whole animal kingdom with us. Will we get to Mars first? It was a very long holiday weekend. I am happy it's over.

Imagine or Back to Normal

The next year in the life of Amerika opened an old track in a new way. ICE decided to interpret the law, maybe it's just a rule, requiring foreign students to be enrolled in person-to-person classes—That is to say, they were not permitted to come here for online programs—to mean that if the university that they attend changed their regular offerings to online courses because of the pandemic, their visas had to be cancelled and they would be deported. Could be a back door to an old proposal for punishing China, in spite of collateral damage, or maybe it's just meant to force cowardly university administrators to open fully in the Fall. No matter what, it is deflecting attention from COVID's string of new daily records. Full pressure is on governors and superintendents to fully open all K-12 schools. It's as if COVID is gone—the stock market is back up, again, because somebody said they have a promising treatment. In the midst of this new round of Trump populism and denial Joe asked us to imagine a new economy. But all he offered was \$700 billion worth of jobs! I guess that's a good reason to vote for him for those who need a job and think he's a better bet than Don, but there is nothing new! Joe did finally acknowledge all four crises that we face, but his priorities are nothing new and worse still are the same as Don's—Economic, Health, Race, and finally, Warming. Trump Tower has a new front door mat that reads, BLACK LIVES MATTER. What might that mean? Imagine! If you can't, we're all cooked.

Jobs Hoax

July 8 Biden and Sanders agreed to a unified approach that brings Bernie's wholehearted support to the Democratic effort. Bernie says it will make Joe the most

progressive candidate since FDR and he is confident that it is enough to mobilize his supporters. Heralding the new approach that prioritizes the climate crisis Joe observed that when Trump looks at the climate crisis, “he sees a hoax, but I see jobs!” They will be green jobs, of course, but a job is still a job and the main, possibly the only, goal of both campaigns is to promise and deliver more and better jobs faster. By definition jobs make the life and liberty of most of us dependent upon the few who own the property that generates wealth for the owners and income for the jobholders. Even though property has become the inalienable right of the 1%, the successful competitors; protecting property is still the government’s primary responsibility through which indirectly it protects income and, thereby, the life and liberty of all—many, most or a few more.

Joe has one proposal that could make him not just as progressive as FDR, but revolutionary. The idea of a Civilian Climate Corps. Conservation was very limited in scope, but climate is pervasive. Such a corps would include everyone and encompass the concerns of all of the progressive movements that have sprung from our four contemporary crises, but as a campaign issue it can only appeal to the hopeless jobless. Since Don offers limitless hope, it’s a loser. It’s “Jobs are Us” for November 3rd, but in January, at least with Joe, we’ll return to the Paris Accords, rejoin the WHO and establish the new CCC. By then COVID will either be a hoax or we should be ready for the climate revolution—It’s only mid-July and we’ve passed 135,000 deaths; Don loses again! All he can do now is bet against Fauci’s 100,000 infections per day projection—We just passed 75,000.

The Horror

July 17 Over the week-long celebration of John Lewis’ life, I had the leisure to sit through all three memorial services. To see the living church is nothing like watching the news. I had no idea! The icons of the civil rights movement, their successors, and the children and friends of John and Martin gave voice to the story of the church, the Beloved Community. It’s the story of resistance and restoration in the fields of Alabama following the corruption and betrayal of freedom by plantation capitalism and the continuing struggle against the spiritual wickedness, the horror, that still eclipses love in today’s global corporate capitalist culture. The story of John’s life was told by those, like him, who saw violence, felt the horror and were compelled to fight it. After that it was poetry about the love of freedom as freedom to love—The Beloved Community.

The most striking thing across the board was the love for America and the American ideal of freedom and a patriotism anchored in faith in the deep well of freedom they find in the Constitution and Declaration. It was not 1619 project stuff, but they carried me back another time and young John Locke, the prophet of Liberalism growing up in England. His father was an officer in Cromwell’s New Model Army and he lived through the dictatorship and the Glorious Revolution. After returning to England with Queen Mary, he published his *Treatises on Government* that served as texts for the founders—he dug the wells of freedom. Life, Liberty and property are his inalienable

rights. In the *Declaration* Tom traded property for chasing happiness, but James restored it fully in the constitution and property as the source of happiness has been the center of things ever since. Losers in the race face the terrifying prospect of a missing inalienable: if there is no bounty of nature (economic opportunity) upon which to exercise one's liberty to preserve one's life, it's the end of all three and the creator's gift expires.

Someone else came up with chattel slavery before Locke got his real job writing the constitution and development plan for the Carolinas, but as a social technology it was there and he couldn't ignore it in the emerging competitive world economy of the 1600's—like Plymouth Plantation before them the Carolinas were a profit-making corporate venture. Whatever he did, it didn't have a name. Some hundred years would pass before Adam Smith published the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 and became the father of Capitalism. Looking backward, as a planner and engineer, the prophet of Liberalism (Freedom) in his practical life was also the father of what is referred to as "plantation capitalism". It looks like the source of the horror that corrupted the Church and created the fields of Alabama might have been the impact of the practical John Locke on the idealistic vision he shared with America's founders: the horror of being property to which someone else holds the right, of being born with no liberty, but still feeling/knowing the self-evident truth—the prize. Four-hundred years after the destruction of freedom started in Africa and two-hundred years after the American founders started our struggle to secure its blessings, John Lewis won the prize in Selma: Freedom triumphed over expediency, Locke's self-evident equality was real and, at last, "American Democracy" could start down the road to realization of the dream. In Troy, Selma, under the rotundas of Washington and Atlanta, and in Ebenezer the people celebrated the life of a new founding father. Joe, Nancy, even Mitch and Kemp joined in along with every living former president, but the president was busy doing other things while most of the people just watched their favorite news.

Slip Slidin' Away

July 23 Novel scored a real blow as Joe continued to widen the gap, but slipperier than ever Donald donned his Presidential mask as he cancelled the victory celebration in Jacksonville. It's good to take precautions until Operation Warp Speed begins to wipe out COVID by the end of the year starting in November. Stumping from one corporate research and development site to another has replaced rallies. It's a win-win; it stimulates the stock market and there will be a vaccine announcement to replace Jacksonville. On the race crisis front Don doubled down on Lafayette Park, declared war on Liberal Democrat mayors and dispatched Homeland Security forces to Portland. Rather than bring law and order the Federal presence mobilized opposition; thousands replaced hundreds in the streets and things kept getting worse. While Trump stood alone, except for the family that gifted the Robert E. Lee statue to Richmond, in support of Confederate heroes; after crossing the Edmond Pettus Bridge for the last time John Lewis, the seventeen-term congressman, laid in State under the Capitol rotunda—the President was too busy to pay his/our last respects. There is talk of renaming the bridge

after this hero of the Civil Rights Movement. Looks like there's a new empty chair; a lose-lose here and it's back to Mar-A Logo.

2042

If we are still here, that's the year, they say, that the USA will no longer have a "white" majority population. We already have a female majority, so I guess celebrating every first for the now and future majority makes sense—with Luck we won't have to do a South Africa thing. It was sweet of Sarah to send a cautionary congratulatory note to Kamala; perhaps we are building in our normal incremental way the empathy and solidarity to celebrate the new society, where there is no longer a predominant racial group, when it arrives.

Don's "nasty" nastiness never changes; he even brought Pocahontas back into the fray to illustrate how it works. If it worked once, use it—COVID even let him keep the same hat. It pays to remember that it wasn't the hats or the rallies or the chants that made Trump it was the birther thing and going after the black wilders of Central Park that set the "nasty" bar and turned out the slim margin—it only took a 3 or 4% turnout of new voters in an evenly divided primary field of eleven—that landed him in the Whitehouse. The question of the legality of a Harris presidency is already in the media. Will Trump go for a Birther rerun? There is plenty for Mr. Miller to work with and the anchor baby problem is his baby. Although he appears to be a persuasive guy, the 3% and the 20% that once needed persuading are now the TRUMP 2020 true believers. This red meat may be Joe's bait that brings the big fish into the middle of the pool of empty chairs around John Lewis and George Floyd where he will, with Steve's help, tear himself to pieces.

Don has already done an outstanding job of running himself into the ground by running against himself while "Sleepy Joe" stopped doing it, took it easy and showed the nation how to take care of themselves. Now Kamala has the job of exposing the whole Trump fiasco while reassuring the law enforcement community that safe policing is secure—their jobs are secure and Criminal Justice will remain the growth major of the future. It's hard to sell a "top cop" as a communist, but the progressive Democrats, that it works with, are going after Kamala from the other side—The old divide and conquer done by Democrats to Democrats. If Don's men could figure out how to use it, that would be true genius. Instead, they're gutting the postal service and engineering an insurgent presidential bid by Kanye West to limit and siphon off the black vote in November.

Next week another first, a virtual national convention, it looks like the Democrats may have figured out how to take advantage of the free coverage. If they do it right, we'll still be here and Kamala, her predecessors and successors will replace Marco, Christopher and the crew at the center the new myth that replaces white supremacy at the end of its 550-year run in 2042—the statues are already coming down.

Build It Back Better: A Virtual Convention

Aug 17

This old man he played one... The Democratic Convention was about the three crises that Trump has created or, at least, exacerbated: Health, Race and Economic. What about climate? By the end of the first two-hour session—It was well done—the answer was clear. Don has beaten himself trying to eliminate COVID and George, but he's still good at Make America Great Again, again. It worked once, and very well, so the Democrats figure that this is where the battle for the Whitehouse will be decided. After reminding us that *Greatness* had already been restored before Trump took over and Joe was part of the team that did it, the road to victory was revealed: Build It Back Better! No matter how it is done building it back has to be done at the expense of the biosphere—better here might be worse. Unfortunately, nothing at all can be done unless Joe wins so the vast number of clean-energy jobs we'll get from building a better grid makes it the winning solution for the climate; case closed, at least, until November 4th. A thumbs up from Michelle who would have brought any house down and it worked virtually—*Joe is rolling home*.

This old man he played two... Kicked off with a Keynote by seventeen rising stars capped off by Stacy Abrams and with the balloting starting at the Edwin Pettus Bridge where John Lewis' shoes made history, stories of working with Joe built to Jill Biden who told the full story of Joe's dedication to family, country and doing what's right. No matter what he puts on his shoes and his suit and goes to work. Delivered from the classroom where she taught high school English, it was better than *Father Knows Best* and when Joe came out and hugged her at the end it was family values alive and well on TV, once again—*The old man is rolling home*.

This old man he played three... The one, two, three punch by the first woman candidate for president, a contender for the job, and the first black president set the stage for the first black woman vice-presidential nominee. It was women's night and, in the end, Kamala threw down the gauntlet. The battle to turn out the vote to turn the rascal out was on... *Joe's not rolling home alone*.

This old man he played four on the Whitehouse door... The theme was vote with John Lewis at center stage the night was well orchestrated to set up Joe's acceptance speech. It was a speech that met all expectations. The climate crisis reclaimed its billing as one of four historic crises that have produced a perfect storm and created the once in a lifetime occasion where history and hope rhyme. It turns out that the hope is still a better job. "More and better jobs" has always worked before—*This old man is rolling home*.

Interlude: Waiting for the Trump Show

Unless our way of knowing, which is the basis of all we do is wrong, we now know that what we are doing is upsetting fundamental relationships upon which human life depends. Either science is wrong about the physical world that we did not invent or the theories of economics that we invented and the economic systems we engineered are flawed. The long-standing wager that has seen victory after victory for economics is *science will save us*, but a bet on economics has become a wager against physical science. Can science save us (the economy we created) from itself? The game will be called in the next four years: place your bet. Unfortunately, Joe is betting on economic opportunity when the only bet left for us is economic security. He remains a true believer in the nineteenth century progressive radical liberal ideal of equal opportunity; an ideal that requires inequality of result: a hierarchy of merit measured by wealth. Our hope is for an Aristotelian golden mean: a large middle class with a few rich and fewer poor. If history teaches us anything, it is that it doesn't work—trying harder has always made things worse. Building it back better is trying harder. If we don't try something new now, we're finished. There is a way out and it's up to each of us! Imagine your "Beloved Community", vote for Joe and then make him make it real. Make George's daughters words true; change the world. If we can't find a way to live securely as free and equal persons in one global community on this planet, we will be equally extinct. We only have four years to do it! If we fail the Earth will weep—we are meant for more than plastic.

South Carolina and the Soul of the Nation

Aug 24Fort Sumpter was the beginning of the battle to define the soul of the nation. It's been a long road, but it looks like the final battle is at hand. It's not about skin color; this is a battle between blacks and immigrants with the three white contenders for the prize looking on and doing what they have always done. No matter the outcome the prize winner will be subject to the victorious soul along with the rest of us. In a real sense it's fiction v. fact (Horatio Alger v. MLK); history v. "science" fiction (FDR v. Hayek).

The old man put on a normal well-orchestrated show which seems to have enraged, if not scared, our now and future leader, the savior of America, who actually suggested that delegates chant 12 more years! Except for the roll out of Nikki and Tim, who brought the real fight to Clyburn and Harris, night one was a cold war fear and loathing re-run targeting domestic communists and terrorists. The rhetoric was rabid, intended to scare us to death. At last, the truth breaks through; if it works, we are dead! The convention is turning into a war of the GOP with itself, while culture warriors save meritorious people of color from serfdom, the protectors have to kill the others to save capitalism. Jim and Kamala are watching and taking notes while foolish cops fan the flames in Kenosha. Poor Mike, he will have to face her and defend the show with no help from Abe.

America: Land of Opportunity. It's *Equality of Opportunity and Life* that leads to exceptionalism. No wealth without work—that's Cuba! Night two was Horatio Alger in Washington. The kids once again fanned the fear. Eric was not as angry as Don Jr. and

partner; his was an earnest call to help dad save America! Tiffany is difficult to explain. Living outside the bubble it seemed like advanced 21st Century triple-speak; neither Huxley nor Reagan could have imagined or done it. She would rage on about a terrible thing happening in America and I'd be thinking, "Yea, that's what Trump is doing!" After a brief pause, she'd tell me that if I voted for Biden and he was elected; he would do the terrible thing. While I was trying to deal with that, she would land the third and final blow "You have to vote for my dad; he's the only one that can save us from this." The amazing thing was that it worked and there is only one explanation for it; she really loves her dad. That is really amazing and after Melania's rose garden performance, I'm convinced that it is first- and only-time love will enter my mind when pondering Trump family affairs. A featured Cabinet Member, top staffer and Senator punctuated the show saying what they always say—it's always good to know that the China Flu is behind us.

The important speakers were the three AG's, a legal team to help Nikki and Tim with Kamala and much more. The first was the former Florida AG, a white woman, who knows corruption when she sees it and the Bidden family is it. I thought they were going to let the Hunter Ukraine thing go, but no—I may yet see Rudi in action. The second was the Florida AG, a Cuban immigrant whose parents fled Castro's tyranny, a firsthand look at the horrors of Communism. The third was the besieged Kentucky AG, a black man who has to deal with the Breanna Taylor case while he joins the white kick off speaker from night one to save *Western Civilization*—Turning Point will take care of the Liberal college professors while he gets the black looters and the other rioters and terrorists that are destroying America's cities. After this action-packed night, it was good to relax with Melania in the Rose Garden for a good start to several really sweet talks. If I hadn't learned that COVID is behind us, I would have wondered why none of the hundred odd guests were wearing masks.

Celebrating our Heroes - As Laura approached the Louisiana coast at level 4, night three featured another Laura, the Trump of the evening. It was a good presentation that put a new twist on Horatio Alger. If you can make it in New York, you can make it anywhere. So, she left her Carolina home and headed for the Big Apple where she found love, married into the loving Trump family and is living the American Dream. The seemingly normal program was punctuated with the totally outrageous. The Second Lady's presentation was as good as they get—in the end, I think, we learned that she is the second Second Lady to stay in the classroom. Joe's frat boy shenanigans on the radio played none stop as a succession of black heroes, from sports to civil rights, praised their American Hero and asked us to give him "Four more years", maybe twelve. Trust, Commitment, Love are the words inscribed on the statue of the legendary coach at Notre Dame. Those are the words Lou lives by and his standard for evaluating people. Trump exceeds expectations in all three areas, in fact, he may be the best ever across the board. He's not a politician, they always fail to meet such expectations; he is a leader and these are the tests of true leadership.

A truly toxic stew of sloppy shifting definitions was brewing. It offered something for everyone, in fact, it offered everyone everything—the American Dream! But it must

be earned and defended. Afterall it is the best and enemies at home and abroad want to steal good people's stuff and turn it into a Socialist nightmare. I admit that I'm hung up on standard definitions that keep me on the sidelines critiquing those with greater flexibility for their failure to understand the world properly—use my definitions. I had a great gotcha moment when Burgess talked about his father defending the Dream from Socialism in World War II. Didn't he know that Stalin was on our side?

Land of Greatness – Where at least I know I'm free. Novel managed to upset the planned closing festivities in Jacksonville before the Trump team definitively defeated her. With the China Flu behind us, they removed her chair from the stage. Violence in the streets of Democrat Cities where lotterers and terrorists are running wild constitute the only remaining threat full restoration of the economy. Ivanka delivered for daddy and secured the succession twelve years hence—our first woman president. Then Rudi returned as the Law-and-Order Mayor; New York was the safest city in the world until it went Democrat—the Trumps even had to move. Following a routine, but highest profile, series of testimonials—blacks love him, democrats are switching parties in congress and Mitch—the first couple appeared on the balcony for the main event.

The President was the defender of Western Civilization that had been advertised from the get go. He carried it to the extreme proving beyond any doubt that his America still springs from the racist roots of the reconquest that launched Columbus in 1492. To support the Reconquest and the Conquest of the Americas the Spanish developed sophisticated racial theory that was the accepted science of Western Civilization for centuries. This theory was not rejected by the British or the American separatists, it merely mellowed into the kinder gentler theory of the White Man's Burden and an extension of both, "Manifest Destiny". We have carried this heavy burden, which is now called structural racism, ever since. Carrying the burden is not/cannot be racist because we are doing it for them and as Donald says no president has done more for African-Americans than him. This is true; no president has done more to support those who believe themselves to be the last hope of the poor and underdeveloped who cannot help themselves—the police unions love him. He is the great white hope; he has created jobs and opportunities and will do much more as soon as the lotterers and terrorists that plague African-American neighborhoods are eliminated—terminated or properly schooled up. He has always said that there are good people on both sides and all of the good ones from the other side were in his show. The bad ones were getting ready to march on Washington the next day. Perhaps he should trade slogans with Joe. When it comes to structural racism, Donald definitely wants to *Build it back Better* and for Joe there are a lot of things like voting rights and even inalienable ones that need to be restored to make *America as Great as it once was Again*.

It was a long seventy minutes. The Whitehouse may have been the people's house in the 80's, but it's the Trump family home now and he is certain that he sealed the deal to keep it with this speech. I'd like to think I heard it wrong, but I'm certain that more than a few people were chanting "Twelve More Years" instead of "Four More Years"—they did want to repeal the Lame-duck Amendment for Ron.

Great fireworks!

The Day After

Aug 28 In the ashes of the fireworks Rev. Abernathy rallied the other side at Lincoln's feet, as promised, to finish what MLK started on August 28th fifty-seven years ago. When it comes to dreams, his first problem is to end a nightmare. It's rally time again! Air Force One has replaced the Whitehouse as the backdrop—the people's plane for the people's president. There will be several stops on the way to Kenosha, where a misunderstood, but good, young militia-man in the spirit of 1776 took up arms and traveled across state lines to protect of his fellow citizens and defend the American way—a new American hero for Hero's Night. Wisconsin's Democrat leadership is trying to block Trump's visit, but our champion will not be deterred—the dream goes on. The good people on the president's side are in the streets countering the terrorist element from the other side everywhere—somebody shot somebody wearing a Patriots Prayer hat in Portland. Looks like this will be the show, a continuous loop, until we get to the debates/election.

Rage

Sept 15 Half way down the campaign trail, at debate time, the scene is truly outrageous. In his Trump book, *Rage*, Bob Woodward revealed, once again, what a president knew and when he knew it. Last time once that was out, backed by tapes, Nixon fled; but Trump is doubling down and Republican office holders are still backing him. Air Force One is the transportation and backdrop for the new (Official?) whistle-stop presidential campaign. Since, as we learned during the Senate trial, the president's re-election is the national interest, these flights have to be official business. After the mobile Whitehouse taxies up to the venue filled with a sea of red hats, the President emerges to the cheers of the crowd, rages for them—the more outrageous the better—and takes off for the next airport.

Duly charged up his supporters are ready to go out and enjoy America in the Trump way: Opening day of the socially distanced NFL season—I think both teams had red outfits which might explain the sea hats in the stands. I don't know how much they paid to be there, but many of the fans, it seems, had paid not to cheer for their team but to boo the players. No players took a knee; they just stood respectfully; arms interlocked in solidarity during the *Star-Spangled Banner*. That was all it took to enrage the fans and discredit Sunday's heroes in Trump's Amerika.

The other book of the week by Trump's former lawyer explains why Donald J. is an American white supremacist. That's what he wants to bring back when he says "Make America Great, Again" and his followers are true believers. Back on main street, those who couldn't afford NFL tickets were protesting NASCAR by investing in a new Stars and Bars to go with the Tumpbo Star-spangled banner mounted in the back of their big BLM rioter monitoring pick-ups. In Portland, the epicenter of all rioting, armed with paint-ball guns they were having some fun, marking the enemy when things turned

serious. It seems that a skinny, tuck wearing ANTIFA extremist gunned down a Praying Patriot. I like to think it was a wild-west draw down in front of a cheering crowd. The skinny dude did say it was self-defense before the U. S. marshals caught up with him at Tumwater and his trail came to its end in a hail of bullets. Guess we'll never know— isn't there a video somewhere?

It keeps getting crazier; now driven by property protectors the same trucks are combing the backroads of Oregon, setting up road blocks and stopping everyone to keep ANTIFA terrorists from starting more wild fires. Climate change has nothing to do the fires consuming the West; it's clearly, as we learned during the last whistle-stop, "poor forest management" that is being exploited by ANTIFA arsonists.

Maybe, if everyone, who can (It's not possible in Washington.), takes the president's advice, breaks the law and votes twice to test the system and make sure that their vote is counted; everything will turn out all right. Every whistle-stop brings a new variation on his twin crises of lawlessness and election theft that as it gets played out on the ground eclipses, sometimes erases, the real threats from COVID, global warming and even economic distress. He's beginning to look like a very dynamic genius; where will we be by election time? For Donald the best defense is always a good offense, but what is his offense good for? Joe is well ahead, as he has always been. He learned his lesson and stopped running against himself. Now he seems to be maintaining, running for president, mobilizing the voters he needs by going to them and talking about the issues they care about. It's rage v. reason. Not just on the campaign trail and the debate stage, but in court. The outcome may be determined by the success of the Senate's court packing and where the Trump judges and Justices stand in the end.

American Revolutions: The Soul of the Nation

The last revolution took place in England where the new Liberal order was well established before the American war for independence. Defining that revolution did start in 1776, but it was with the publication of *The Wealth of Nations*; the misunderstanding of which is the core of the Neoliberal global order that now consumes the wealth of the nation(s). The Treaty of Westphalia launched the age of the nation state in 1648, but that changed at Brenton-Woods in 1944 as the first federal state launched on a new revolutionary project that is consuming the Earth. The American soul is firmly rooted in the English revolution that ended feudalism and created private property, as it was explained by John Locke in his *Treatises on Government* and embellished by Thomas Jefferson in *The Declaration*. Jefferson launched us upward in pursuit of happiness, but the other founders, as contemporaries of Adam Smith, never lost sight of the importance of wealth for their new nation. The shared vision that emerged was happy citizens in a rich, sometimes self-sufficient, nation or as Trump and many with and before him understand it the world's richest nation.

Plato taught us in the *Republic* that a rich (luxurious) city-state is of necessity and imperialist state and that the self-sufficient state is where happiness is found. Since we missed that lesson, we misunderstood Adam Smith and undermined the potential of

Free-Trade among nations. Global Free-Trade would have—like national free-markets, made up of a large number of individual producers—inverted the intentions of individual nations at the global/aggregate level giving all nations the best products at the lowest cost, just as free markets should have done for individual consumers. Adam Smith took seriously the assumptions that enlightenment thinkers made about human nature. He accepted that we are rational and that means value-maximizing. If we were, free-markets and free-trade would have worked and we'd have been living happily ever after for a long time instead of suffering through the Century of Carnage and continuing to perfect the tools of war and thermonuclear holocaust. What's wrong here? What's wrong with us? Was Adam Smith wrong? We went for the wealth of the Nation instead of the wealth of nations—there can only be one richest! As individuals we applied the same logic and began to act like difference maximizers while pretending to be value-maximizers and using our rational faculties to rationalize the result. Adam Smith was half right: we can be rational if we choose to be—we really are free.

Instead of letting free markets take adequate care of everyone and thinking about our own values in order to work toward happiness as individuals; we adopted the value free morality: More is better. Herbert Spencer replaced Adam Smith as our guide and we were off doing progress, manifesting our destiny and saving the world for Democracy (Aristotle's perverted form of rule by the many that James Madison attacked in *Federalist 10*). Instead of thinking of ourselves as rational beings, we understood ourselves as competitive beings and developed a rationality of competition and merit that became the basis of all relationships in the United States. It's against our competitive nature to stay or end up equal. Because of our understanding of human nature there always has to be a single hierarchy with one winner at the top! But all is not lost! We still accept our founding self-evident truth that all men are, at least, created equal. At the turn of the 20th Century and, again, in the wake of the Great Depression we moved toward equality when we turned to "Equality of Opportunity" to save us from ourselves and save the soul of the Nation. Every competitor had to be given an equal chance and as a nation we really cared—free public education, voting rights, civil rights, affirmative action and a war on poverty. Finally, Bill Clinton declared victory, ended welfare as we had known it and believing in our success with the problem of race behind us, we returned to the logic of competition that would keep America first by finding the best among us to run things because they are rewarded according to their merit. Winning became the new morality, it is everything. Since the game cannot go on without it, growth is the imperative.

1776 Commission

Sept 2 Why would any winner forfeit his just reward? Donald really believes that he will be president in 2026 to lead the celebration of 250 years of American greatness. He thinks that along with FDR's welfare, that Clinton ended, we've outgrown the FDR lame-duck amendment. To make sure that the celebration is everything it should be; he has launched a patriotic education program—usually Google takes one straight to China on the topic. The rhetoric is pure Indian Wars, Jim Crow, Cold War stuff with a new twist,

law enforcement has become rule of law. It is pure white supremacy backed by a rainbow choir of achievers. With ten days to go Trump drew the line, he wanted to debate the soul of the nation—it would be equality and freedom to vs. subordination and security (freedom from). Equality and freedom have to win in America, but Joe would seem to hold the high ground there. So, to win Trump must define the conflict in the American soul out of existence by equating equality with the security of a good job and freedom with private property adequately protected by the police. Restoring the American soul; making it exceptional, again! Consequently, whatever we do or have done is/was good. Any attack on our history becomes an assault on the soul of the nation—the 1776 Commission is required to save the soul of the nation from subversive far-left Democrats, Socialists and Communists who have been undermining America through control of education, the media and up until now the courts. The result of their assault on the American soul is clear: Lawlessness. Not satisfied with rioting, looting and arson the radical leftists now seek to defund the police. It's a clear choice between law and order (rule of law) and chaos (insecurity/property loss)—*The Road to Serfdom*.

Joe finds himself on the high ground, but how can he seize the moment? Does he attack or defend? What is the winning strategy? Trump represents everything we hate, everything we defeated in WWII and the Cold War; he is in every way the opposite of the mythical examples of our great presidents—the ones w/monuments! Should be a slam dunk, but it's not. Why? Because of education in America! It really is open and it makes us free, but we don't believe it—perhaps, we even fear it. Trump promises to relieve this tension in our individual and collective souls by making us secure. He parrots variations of our favorite rationalizations, but we have to do it to ourselves. The problem is that we can't know what it's like to be unfree until it happens—we've always said it can't happen here. Imagine! Education as the single truth that keeps us secure (free from everything else). Only when it's too late will we know it; belief won't enter into it. Joe was not off to a good start with: "I am not a Socialist." "I got here by beating the Socialists." "Just look at my record."

Sept 18 For better or worse, once again, everything has changed. Tomorrow RBG will become the first woman to lie in state at the Capitol while the vultures return to their lair to await the president's word and reap the ultimate reward. Donald is relishing the thrill of victory and rushing to deliver not realizing that his utility as a tool of the Lord ends at 6 to 3. A progressive, Justice Ginsberg was a conservative jurist who understood the tension between equality and liberty in the American soul; RBG did justice by improving the balance between them and creating a more perfect union for us to enjoy, maintain and improve. To maintain or not to maintain; that is now the question.

The Dissenters Hope: Amy Coney Barrett

Sept 26 The announcement was anything but typical. A Brady bunch plus one with two adopted Haitians was there to support mom. There has to be a deep commitment working here; its nature although unknown, looks hopeful. Beyond dissent RBG's most tenacious hope was to preserve the integrity of the court. This hope that she shared

with her friend Antonin, no doubt lives on in this nominee for her replacement. It's the Democrats that need to get on board and fast! Covenants are very good things where lawyers are concerned because it's part of their business and once the confirmation is over only lawyers will remain. If the family were to sit down, watch and discuss the Ginsburg service at the Capitol and the first debate, the dissenter's hope would prevail. Amy may, in fact, turn out to be the realization of RBG's hope. They have nearly identical career paths although followed for very different reasons. For Ruth it was the only path available—she couldn't get a job. For Amy it was the best path to the Supreme Court that was only available because of RBG. They both married lawyers who fully supported them in their careers and both were committed to their family and their faith. A covenant is only binding on those who choose to enter into it, whereas, the constitution created and recreates the "We" in "We the people". Ruth's stewardship of the Constitution was very good for Amy. Amy could be equally good for the future "We" and every person in the union if she doesn't help us cook ourselves before she has the chance.

It Never Ends: The Debates and COVID

Sept 29 Chris Wallace, Mr. "will you accept the results", asked the questions at the first debate. Joe tried to respond while Donald did the only thing he knows how to do—he did rally in Cleveland. After a real rally and fund raiser at weeks end back in D.C., COVID struck POTUS and FLOTUS along with a chunk of his in-crowd and three Republican senators. As a gaggle of doctors in white lab coats on the steps at Walter Reed announced that the president was doing well, Donald settled into the presidential SUV for a mini-parade to greet his followers who lined the streets outside the medical center.

Novel was wined and dined at Walter Reed, starting with cocktails, nothing but the best—no more empty chairs. With one month to go before election day, back in Louisville, the Republican convention hero and savior of Western Civilization was in trouble for saving the three white protectors, who served Brianna too well, from grand jury indictments by not asking for any. That left only the economy which saw stocks take off at the hint of a relief deal, but back home at the Whitehouse after claiming personal victory over COVID and telling us we have nothing to fear, Trump called off negotiations until next year—might be that third drug—and caused the market to plunge. It's really too bad there wasn't a crowd to welcome him home; he could have thrown his mask to them.

Oct 7 With twelve feet and plastic barriers between them VPOTUS and pretender faced off in Salt Lake City. Things were back to normal; they held their own and there was nothing new. After Trump decided that a \$1200.00 check for most Americans might buy him some votes, the stock market took off, again. POTUS won't go for a virtual debate so next week is off. Maybe we'll get a face to face in two weeks. He's back on the rally circuit taking a lap for his victory over COVID. It might come down to a game of musical

chairs. He pulled COVID's empty chair, the music stopped and he says she's out of the game. Maybe she'll pull Trump's chair and put him out; who knows?

After Joe teamed up with CBS for a townhall to replace the debate, Don booked a competing slot on NBC. They say Joe won the ratings war—the Apprentice wasn't selling as voters massed on the polls for early voting. The only thing of interest on the hill was the lecture on dark money out of Rhode Island. The Barrington Declaration promised herd immunity as we headed for the final debate. With two weeks to go until election the FBI set us up an exciting sideshow. It seems that the Wolverine Militias from Michigan, Wisconsin and beyond had planned to arrest and remove Michigan's Democrat governor for trial and disposition in Wisconsin for her crimes. The plot was discovered in time and now with the perpetrators in custody "Lock her up!" rings out, again, on Trump's rally circuit. His response "Lock 'em all up!" probably bests "Stand back and stand by." The crowd wanted their governor locked up. Who is he talking about? Who is he talking to? At least Homer Stokes knew that much.

Face to Face at Last

Oct 22The muting of the mics worked. The result took me way back to the *Honeymooners*. Like Gleason, Trump has a big mouth, but when forced to keep it shut, he couldn't help making faces to communicate with his base. I hadn't realized before that he has a facial expression for each of his catch phrases that fills the pause after the accompanying harangues to punctuate the show at every rally. Trump/Pence have replaced Crandon/Norton in our real-world farce, but they're not acting and it isn't funny even if his supporters are entertained.

Joe was able to make his case on COVID and the border as Donald tried to take us back to Hunter and the decision on impeachment; no doubt against the urging of his advisors and at the behest of Rudi. This triggered the whole who did what with whom and who got what from whom that has plagued this election from the beginning—Joe gave as good as he got. Everything, even the kitchen sink, was thrown into foreign relations and criminal justice as they circled around the racism and xenophobia. Trump showed that he is a quick study and demonstrated what he learned from his A-team during impeachment while doing those things normally thought to be racist, he proved that he was the least racist person in the room. It was not a masterful performance, but that doesn't mean it didn't work.

The real question is: Why does I work? It seems to come down to two basic emotions guilt and rage. Although fear may underpin both, it doesn't enter into the dynamics of our systemic racism. For American Conservatives, who want to conserve the true Liberalism of Adam Smith and John Locke, it's a question of Madisonian stability, law and order. For American Liberals, who believe in progress and want to make America better, it's a question of justice and peace. Any violent reaction against systemic restraints or governmental efforts to even things out are met with rage inspired by lawlessness or reverse discrimination from conservatives while the liberal Liberals hold up their unproductive guilt as a sign of their moral superiority that only further

enrages the other side. The Conservatives have forgotten what they want to conserve and the Liberals never knew what needed to be changed so it degenerated into a completely empty war of words until Don got real. By definition “again” makes Trump a reactionary, not a conservative; he thinks America was great in the past, but lost it and he believes he is the messiah who will restore the lost greatness! In international relations there are two competing schools of thought and action the Realist and the Liberal. American foreign policy has always leaned toward Realism, but until now at home we’ve all been Liberals—it’s what we call democracy. Thomas Hobbes showed us that voting/representation and realism don’t mix well. Old fashioned Realists made the trains run on time, but with the Space Force Don promises to get us to the stars on time if we will only believe—His base does!

Don’s advantage is that he is active. Unlike politicians he never uses the passive voice. This is the plague of all liberals, both conservative and progressive, that shields them from systemic racism and many other systemic problems because, as Americans, they are dogmatic individualists. The difference between conservatives and progressives (liberals) is that the liberals warn against blaming the victim (guilt) as they do it while conservatives don’t care. Rashad Robinson (Color of Change) looking in from the outside clearly sees the problem: “use of the passive voice makes the individuals of color the target, indirectly making them responsible, consequently, there is no need to search for perpetrators.” It’s not an issue of institutional wrong doing or exploitation—In America, anyone can pull themselves up by their bootstraps. For Robinson the solution is simple use the active voice to target powerful interests that exploit individuals and benefit from their suffering. That’s what systemic racism is. Until American Liberals can admit it and use the active voice to address it, we are stuck. Joe is the master of the passive voice—that’s how they work across the aisle.

It’s time to go into cloister with the other 200 million potential voters to do our duty and wait for the white smoke from AP.

We Have a New Rascal!

The voice of We the People was finally definitively projected on the sunny morning of November 7th. The verdict is in and Donald John is guilty. Now Joe has to get active and work across the aisle at the same time. COVID figured, come what may, the race was over about the same time I went into cloister, but the rallies kept her active. Whether her action will help or hurt us in the long run now depends on Joe.

A Republic, we kept it?

AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITIES IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

PRESENTERS:

DR. JEREMEY WOLFE

DR. GARY WILSON

DR. BRAD CAMERON



AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITIES IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

A review of the literature on authoritarian personalities in law enforcement and human development training interventions designed to reduce authoritarianism.

THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY TYPE

The authoritarian personality is a hypothetical personality type characterized by extreme obedience and unquestioning respect for and submission to the authority of a person external to the self, which is supposedly realized through the oppression of subordinate people. Conceptually, the term authoritarian personality originated from the writings of Erich Fromm, and usually is applied to people who exhibit a strict and oppressive personality towards their subordinates.

The Authoritarian Personality published by Harper & Row in 1950, was an attempt by a group of researchers to explain the conditions that allowed Nazi-ism to gain a foothold in Europe. The researchers, led by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, used various psychological scales to attempt to explain racism and the atmosphere that led to the slaughter of six million Jews and others in psychological terms.

According to Adorno's theory, the elements of the Authoritarian personality type are:

- Blind allegiance to conventional beliefs about right and wrong
- Respect for submission to acknowledged authority
- Belief in aggression toward those who do not subscribe to conventional thinking, or who are different
- A negative view of people in general - i.e. the belief that people would all lie, cheat or steal if given the opportunity

- A need for strong leadership which displays uncompromising power
- A belief in simple answers and polemics - i.e. The media controls us all or the source of all our problems is the loss of morals these days.
- Resistance to creative, dangerous ideas. A black and white worldview.
- A tendency to project one's own feelings of inadequacy, rage and fear onto a scapegoated group
- A preoccupation with violence and sex

To measure these things in subjects, Adorno devised a test that asked them to state how much they agreed with particular statements. Each statement was correlated to one of the above elements. For example:

Q. The businessman and the manufacturer are more important to our country than artists and writers. (Distrust of artists and writers)

Q. Every person should have complete faith in a supernatural being whose decisions he obeys without question. (Submission to established authority)

Q. An insult to our honor should always be punished. (Aggression toward those who harbor unconventional thinking)

By 1955, the book and its theory had been vilified and torn down by many critics as propaganda masquerading as poor science. The most notorious part of the book - and the most enduring - is the infamous **Adorno F-scale** (F for Fascist), which purported to measure Fascist tendencies by evaluating responses to a series of weighted questions. The F-scale was only one of the research instruments used by the group, but it is the one that has endured the longest.

The F-scale measures responses on several different components of authoritarianism including:

- conventionalism
- authoritarian aggression
- anti-intraception (a low tolerance for creative thinking and emotion-importance)
- superstition and stereotyping behavior
- power and toughness
- destructiveness and cynicism
- Projectivity
- sex

The notion of a relatively stable, clearly differentiated "police personality" has been the subject of some debate in the social psychological research (Gatto and Dambrun 2012; Rubinstein 2006; Twersky-Glasner 2005). The balance of that research does, however, suggest that police officers often have unique personality characteristics and attitudes relative to those of the broader public (Abrahamsen and Strype 2010; Holtgrave 2015; Laguna et al. 2010; Twersky-Glasner 2005).

Some scholars posit that the career of policing may attract individuals with distinct values-"solidarity, loyalty, duty, and honor" (Crank 2014). Other research has indicated distinct personality characteristics across a range of attributes: authoritarianism (Laguna et al. 2010; Rubinstein 2006), social dominance orientation (Sidanius et al. 2004), ethnocentrism (Perrott and Taylor 1994; Wortley 2003; Wortley and Homel 1995), obsessive-compulsive disorder (Holtgrave 2015), and belief in a just world (Atiba Goff and Barsamian Kahn 2012; Hall et al. 2016).

Researchers have long investigated traits present in the "police personality" (e.g., Bannish & Ruiz, 2003; Gomà-i-Freixanet & Wismeijer, 2002; Griffin & Ruiz, 1999; Laguna, Linn, Ward, & Rupslaukyte, 2010; Lorinskas & Kulis, 1986). In his review of the literature, Lefkowitz (1975) identified traits commonly associated with police officers (e.g., PSYCHOPATHIC SUBTYPES IN POLICE 4 authoritarianism, aggression, and cynicism) but cited equivocal findings as to the existence of an archetypal police personality.

MODIFYING AUTHORITARIAN TRAITS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

A Midwest university in the late 1980s received grant funding to train law enforcement officers who provide alcohol and prevention services to students (Cameron, 1990). A research study was included as part of the grant project.

The purpose of the study was two-fold (1) determine if officers have authoritarian personality traits, and (2) determine if those traits can be modified through training.

HYPOTHESES

The study hypothesized law enforcement have these authoritarian traits and training in social and emotional education and skills will reduce these traits (Cameron, 1990).

METHODOLOGY

The quantitative study utilized the California F scale in a pre-test and post-test format to test for authoritarian traits of law enforcement officers. In between the pre-test and the post-test the experimental group of officers were trained using a curriculum that included human development, personal growth concepts, and micro-counseling skills (Cameron, 1990).

FINDINGS

The sample included 217 law enforcement officers in a Midwest state, localized to a city, with a population of 40,000. Analysis of the results suggested authoritarian traits could be modified through training, leading to a reduction in the authoritarian traits. The analysis also revealed this reduction was temporary and lasted less than two months (Cameron, 1990).

CONCLUSIONS

Law enforcement and the public would benefit from a reduction in authoritarian traits. This reduction can occur but needs ongoing training to sustain the reductions (Cameron, 1990).

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study recommends ongoing and periodic training for law enforcement officers, which includes content in human development, personal growth concepts, and micro-counseling skills. This may reduce or eliminate the authoritarian traits and the erosion of the social and emotional education and skills (Cameron, 1990).

UPDATED RECOMMENDATIONS

A reduction in authoritarian traits increases officers ability to react appropriately and compassionately. Mentally healthy law enforcement officers not only realize improvement in their own professional and personal lives, but also increase the trust of diverse communities (Varghese, et.al., 2019).

UPDATED RECOMMENDATIONS

Authoritarian traits may lead to compassion fatigue, and reduced compassion satisfaction. Highly authoritarian individuals experience increased alienation, reduced collegial relationships, and increased aggression when challenged, Additionally authoritarian traits may increase when exposed to primary or secondary trauma (Andersen, Papazoglou, & Collins, 2018).

UPDATED RECOMMENDATIONS

Law enforcement officer training models should be expanded to include specific skills: cognitive, emotional, social and moral. These skills reduce authoritarian traits, improve the wellness of the officers, and encourage healthy relationships with community members. These training models have two imperative for success, (1) trainers need to believe in the value of the models, and (2) a cultural shift at the organizational level must take place (Blumberg & et. al, 2019).

Empires of Spices

Gardens of Herbs

Romance of Spices

- “Spices have played a romantic and dramatic role in history” (Julia F. Morton, Golden Book of Herbs, p. 94, ca. 1976)
- And gardens have also been romantic.

Spice Caravans

- The mention of spice evokes visions of the mysterious Far East and caravans crossing Asian and African deserts.

Spices in History



HERBS COME FROM GARDENS

- romantic caravans of herbs
- have not been a great item
- on the historical hit parade.

HERBS AND GARDENS

- GARDENS HAVE EXISTED ALL OVER THE WORLD
- FAMOUS ONE INCLUDE
 - Garden of Eden
 - Hanging Gardens of Babylon
 - Even the literary Secret Garden
 - All these are local

Romance of Herbs

- One can Google and find some modern short lists of herbs as romantic.
- Whole Foods has a list of fresh herbs it considers romantic.
- And another site list eight.
- But spices hold the imagination.
- Spices have been globalizers.

The Spice Trade



ISTANBUL 2011



Spice Souq Qatar



Spice Souq Qatar



Spice Souq Qatar



Spice Souq Qatar



Spice Souq Qatar



Spice Souq Dubai

- Tired of spices?
- There is an unlimited supply of fresh dates.



Taste of Dubai Event 2016

- Dubai has now an annual festival that is for “food.” It is a place with fun and foods for all.



Taste of Dubai - 2016



Spicy Chicken Soup

- For spicy packaged chicken soup just add your own beans



Spicy Chicken Soup

- Then mix in your personal spice mix. We usually use black pepper and salt. But here in Dubai....what are all those spices?
- Ask the non-Emirate cook, because Emirate women do not cook.



In 1492

- Columbus sailed the ocean blue,
- Looking for the short-cut to the Spice Islands.
- All he found were three spices:
 - Allspice
 - Vanilla beans
 - Chili peppers (capsicum peppers)

Allspice from Jamaica



Allspice from Jamaica



Allspice

- The name “allspice” was coined in English by 1621. The name was adopted because allspice combines the flavors of cinnamon, nutmeg and cloves.

Names for Allspice

- **Allspice is also called**
- **Jamaica pepper**
- **myrtle pepper,**
- **pimenta,**
- **turkish Yenibahar**
- **Pimento**
- **English pepper, or**
- **newspace**

Allspice

- Allspice is the dried unripe "berries" of **Pimenta dioica**, a midcanopy tree native to the Greater Antilles and Caribbean facing countries.

Vanilla Beans Mexican



Chili Peppers



Chili Peppers Go Global

- Interestingly enough chili peppers went global not long after Columbus returned to Europe with some.
- But Chilis (capsicum peppers) are not peppers
- The name pepper, especially in English, has been stuck onto a lot of hot spices or herbs that are not actually pepper.

Herbs versus Spices

- In general use, **herbs** are any plants used for food, flavoring, medicine, or perfume. Culinary use typically distinguishes herbs from spices.

Herbs versus Spices

- Herbs refer to the leafy green parts of a plant (either fresh or dried).
- while a "spice" is a product from another part of the plant (usually dried), including seeds, berries, bark, roots and fruits.

Spices in the Middle Ages

- The trade in Spices in the Middle Ages increased during and after the Crusades.
- The Medieval Spice Trade dominated a large portion of the economy in the ancient world. India was the center of trade.

Medieval Spice Recipes

- India's spice trade "reached eastward to China for sales and to Indonesia and Indochina for supply, and westward toward Persia, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and Egypt for distribution to both the Islamic Middle East and ultimately Europe." (Paul Freedman, *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination*.)

Medieval Spice Trade

- Part of India's trade in spices was to the **Moluccas** Islands which today are part of Indonesia.
- These remote islands were the principal source of black pepper, cloves, nutmeg and mace.

Medieval Spice Islands

Moluccas Islands



India and Spice Today

- Today India still dominates the spice trade.
- At least 80% of the world's spice is grown in India.
- India exports however, only about 10% because most people do not know how to use the varieties available.
- An example is cambodge

Cambodge

- Nice looking package, and the fruit looks like prunes.



Cambodge



- But it has been smoked to the high heavens. It is like chewing on a prune that has been soaked in liquid smoke for a month or a year or a hundred years maybe.
- It is used in curries and fish sauces.
- We abandon our opened package

Spices in India Today

- Of the 109 varieties of spices listed by the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO), the country produces more than 65. The varying climatic conditions in India provide ample scope for the cultivation of a variety of spices.

Spices in India Today



- Checking quality of spices on a Indian spice plantation.

Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



Spices in India Today



- Two spice traders on their way to market.

Spices in India Today



India Spices in Candy

- India uses spices in its candies to the point that most candies are not very sweet, but they have a spice taste that is clearly an acquired taste.



India Halwa

- Halwa is a gelatin desert that is flavored with spices.
- Halwa from India is not very sweet and not a sticky gelatin but it has a mild spicy flavor. .



Download from
Dreamstime.com
This watermarked comp image is for previewing purposes only.

17546601
Mnogotepia | Dreamstime.com

Qatari Halwa

- Qatari Halwa is a gelatin desert that is made from sugar, corn starch, butter. It is flavored with cardamom and garnished with nuts.
- The best Halwa comes from Oman.



Omani Halwa

- Cardamom spice lover's delight.



Omani Halwa

- The best Halwa comes from Oman.
- But if Qatari is the best one can get, then second best will have to do.
- Qatari Halwa being made.



Turkish Delight in Istanbul

- Turkish delight (*lokum*) is in terms of freshness like Krispy Kream Doughnuts; best when fresh from the oven.
- It is a gelatin desert that is flavored with herbs or spices (*rāḥat al-ḥulqūm*) or “throat comfort”.
- Hmm...whom to betray to get this stuff!



Sugar versus Spice

- In the Middle Ages sugar was expensive and considered a spice.
- The source for raw sugar was at first with the Arabs.
- However, after the Portuguese discovered the Azores Islands and then the Spanish the Canary Islands,
- sugar was produced in these new lands.

Sugar in the Caribbean

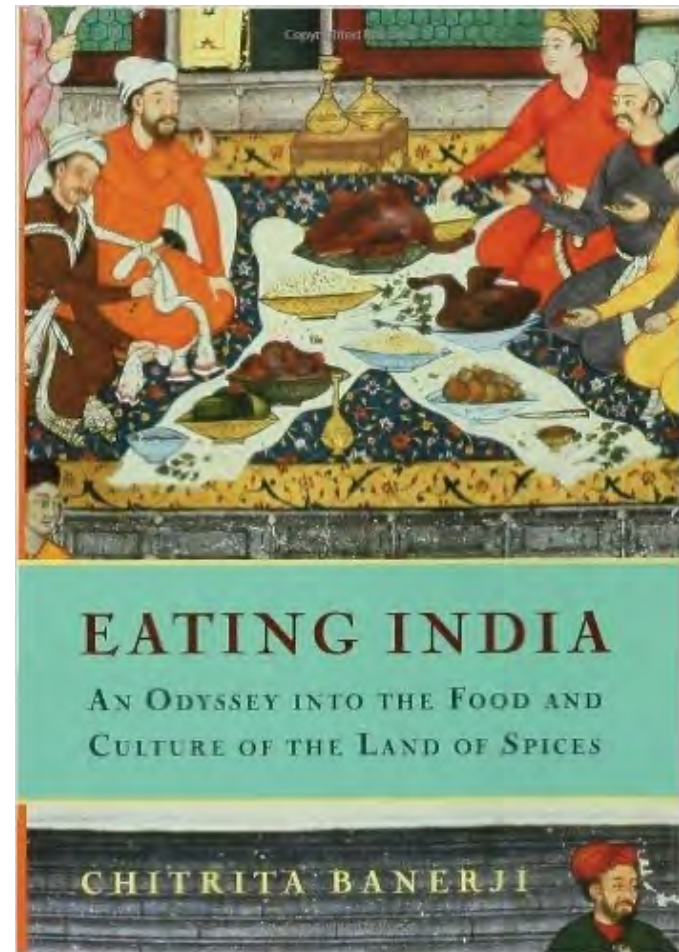
- Sugar Plantations were to develop in the Caribbean and also in Brazil.
- However, along with the slavery came the mosquito, *Aedes aegypti* mosquito
- Yellow Fever, a deadly disease then spread with a high mortality rate.

Sugar in the Caribbean

- Not to belabor the point the use of sugar is much greater in the West and seems to decrease as one moves eastward across Asia to Japan and Korea where it is not used much as a sweetener.
- Still for Europeans sugar was for centuries a spice.

Eating India Today

- Today's spicy Indian food is alive and well in India, and also in the USA.
- The quest for Indian spices and those of the rest of the world is the focus of Michael Krondl's book is about the spice trade

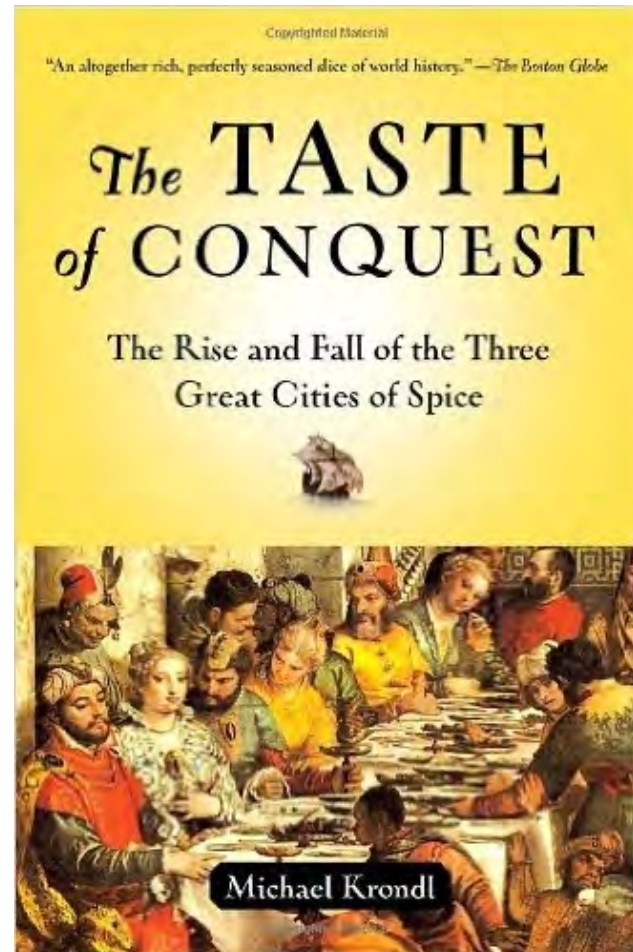


The Cities of Spice

- So the three cities of spice in European history were:
- Venice
- Lisbon
- Amsterdam

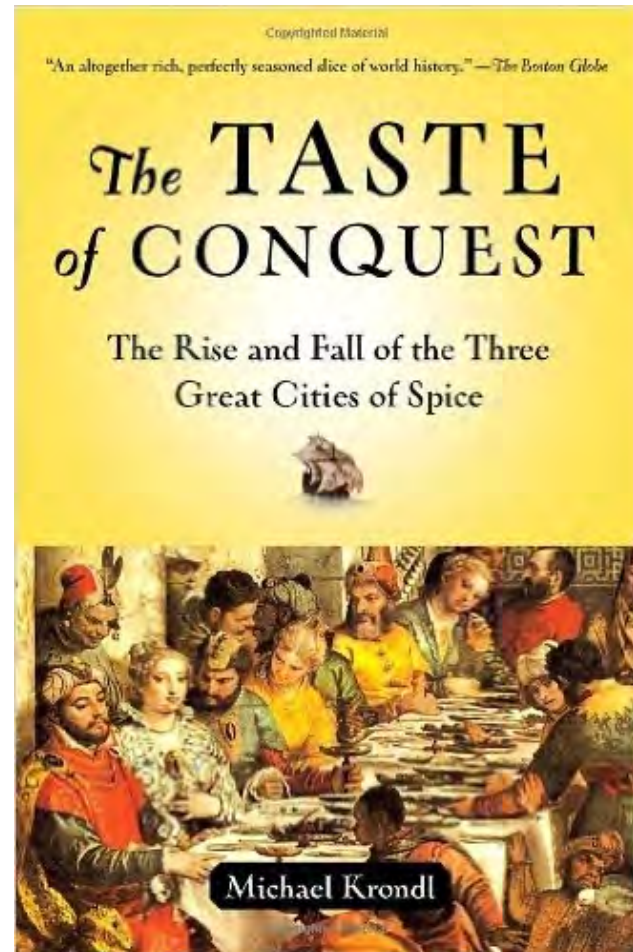
The Taste of Conquest

- Michael Krondl's book is about the spice trade and its imperial impacts.



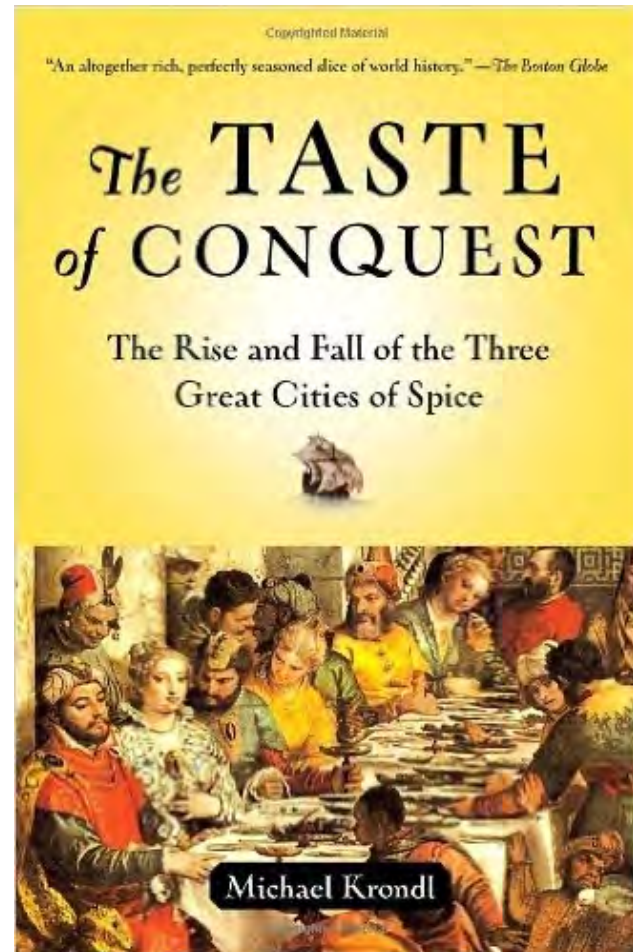
The Taste of Conquest

- Michael Krondl describes the use of spices in the Middle Ages.
- Most of us were taught that spices, especially black pepper, were used as preservatives.



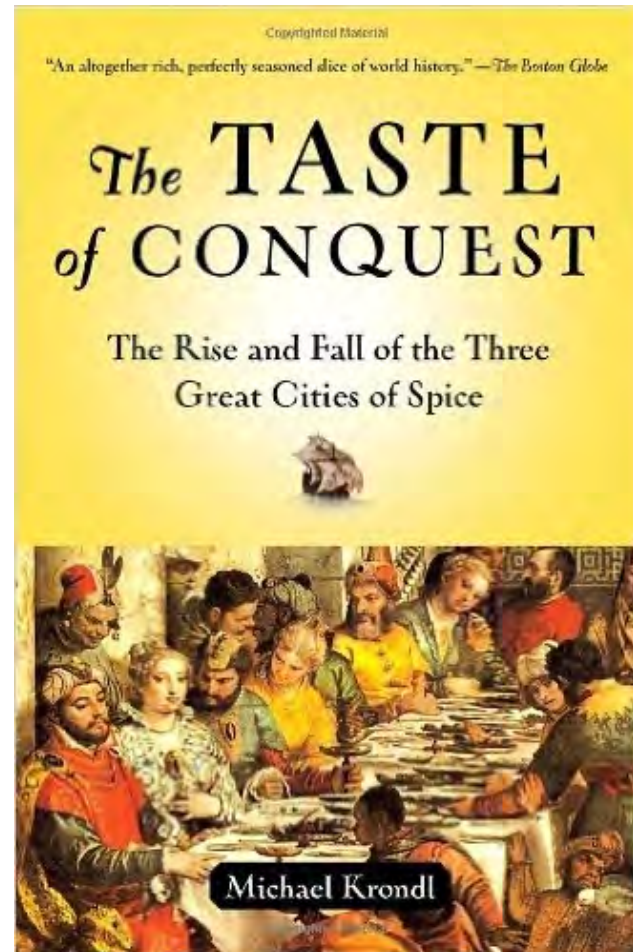
The Taste of Conquest

- Michael Krondl's refutes the claim that rancid meat is the reason for the use of spices. He quotes cook books from the 1200s and 1300s to show that the reason for using spices was to enhance the flavors and not to cover the taste of rancid meat.



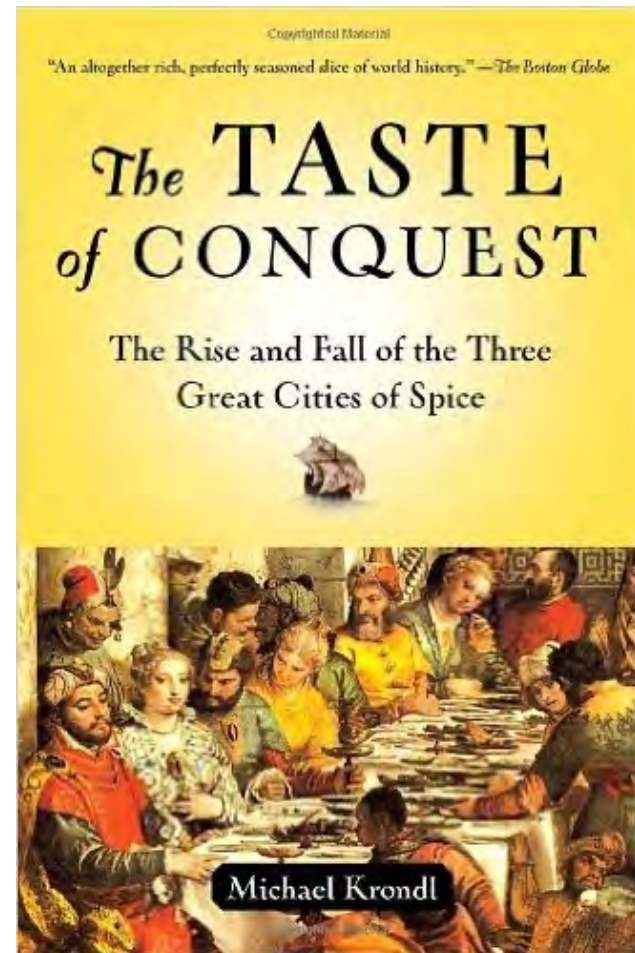
The Taste of Conquest

- Michael Krondl cites cook books and descriptions of the feasts of the wealthy to show that not only were spices used in cooking, but the quantities were HUGE!!!



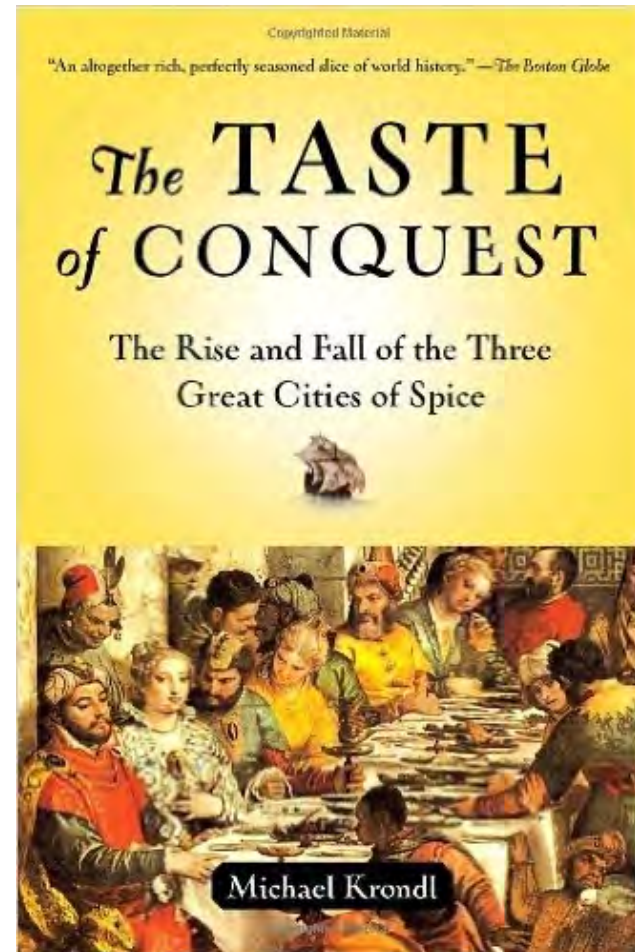
The Taste of Conquest

- Michael Krondl also describes the Medieval belief that spices supplied nutrition that food was otherwise lacking.



The Taste of Conquest

- Michael Krondl also discusses the medicinal use of spices. Even today some spices such as cinnamon are alleged to have medicinal properties.



Medieval Medicinal Use of Spices

- Many spices have antimicrobial properties. This may explain why spices are more commonly used in warmer climates, which have more infectious disease, and why the use of spices is prominent in meat, which is particularly susceptible to spoiling.

Medieval Medicinal Use of Spices

- The traditional India medical system of Ayurveda used a variety of remedies among which were spices in strict diets.
- Among the spices used were cardamom and cinnamon.

Galen's Humoral System

- Pharmacology books written during the Middle Ages show that oriental spices were widely used as medicine. The reason is that the medieval medical system was mostly based on the humoral theory invented by Hippocrates and Galen.

Galen's Humoral System

- Asian spices including pepper, ginger, and cinnamon were considered as special and valuable drugs with curative powers in the Medieval Europe. Among these spices, pepper was most widely and frequently used as medicine according to medieval medical textbooks.

Galen's Humoral System

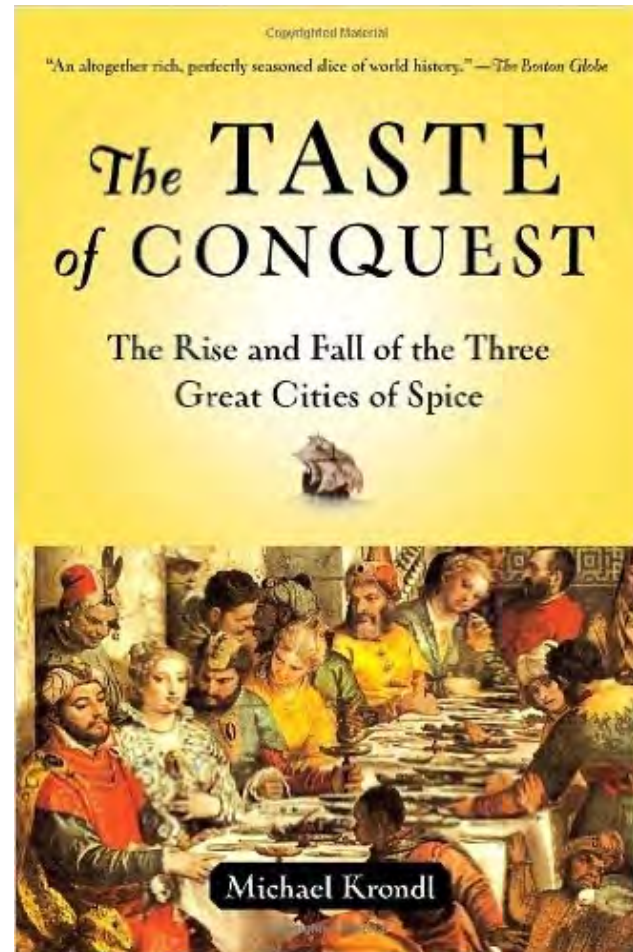
- According to this theory, health is determined by the balance of the following four humors which compose the human body: blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. Each humor has its own qualities such as cold, hot, wet, and dry.

Galen's Humoral System

- Humoral imbalance was one of the main causes of disease, so it was important to have humoral equilibrium. Asian spices with hot and dry qualities were used to balance the cold and wet European diet.

The Taste of Conquest

- Michael Krondl also notes that the demand for spices in Europe not only continued to grow but that the cost was increasing with the profits going to Europeans and to Muslim enemies who funded their wars against Christians with spice trade profits.



Spices and Money

- The demand for spices drove the suppliers to engage in trade.
- Their aim was MONEY.

Venice and the Spice Trade

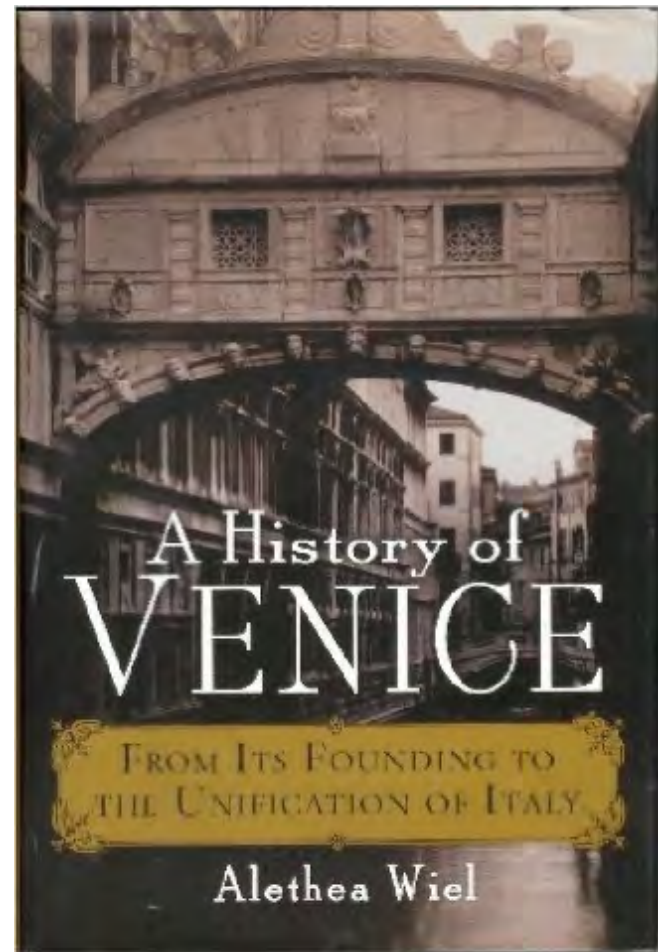
- Venice is a glorious city that has survived its decline.
- Venice arose from the mud flats of the Po River delta as it enters the Adriatic Sea.
- Finding refuge its inhabitants eventually developed a system of ship building that supplied their commercial enterprise of trade.

Venice and the Spice Trade

The good thing about Michael Krondl's book is that it is about the spice trade. So he describes in detail the spice trade of Venice and also its use of spices in its own cuisine.

Venice and the Spice Trade

- In contrast to Michael Krondl's focus on the spice trade are histories that do not mention it.
-
- 450 pages and not a mention of spice, at least not in the index.



Venice and the Spice Trade

- Michael Krondl does not tell a straight history of the spice trade. He presents a series of extended vignettes describing recipes, battles, trade.
- The impact of the spices from Egypt and Constantinople by Venetians and then exported to central Europe and beyond were wonderful. Money flowed in.

Venice and the Spice Trade

- Venice was at its height about the time of the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Thereafter its trade in spices began a slow decline.
- Its galley shipbuilding factory system made Venice a naval-trading **thalassocracy** ; however, money declined as the trade declined. Competition put Venice out of the spice trade.

By the 1700s the city was entering a low period.

Venice and the Spice Trade

- Michael Krondl claims that today most of the trade has been forgotten. It is remembered mainly in some of the local dishes and pastries.

Venice and the Spice Trade

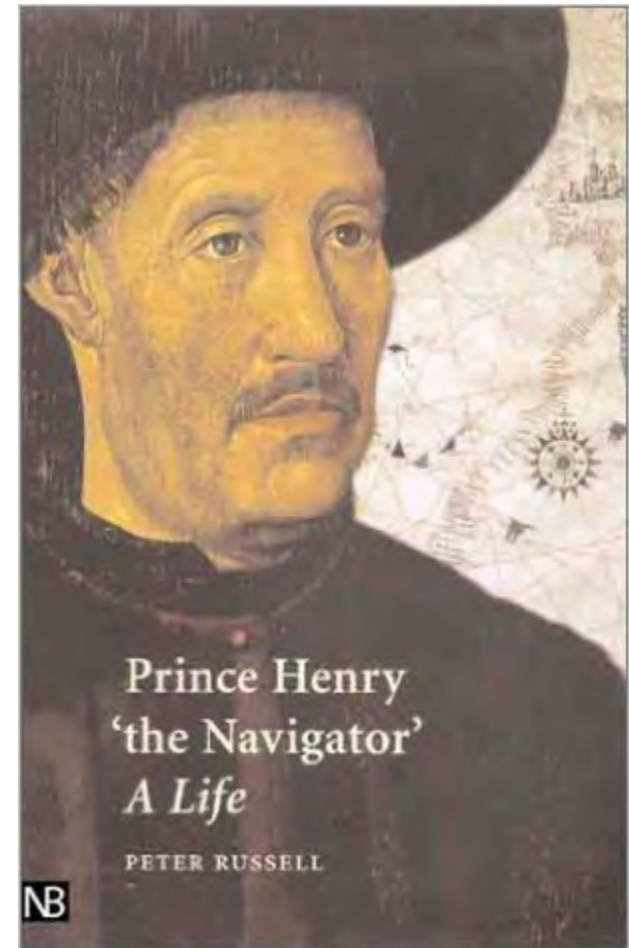
- Venice lost its role as middlemen in the spice trade to the Portuguese.

Spices and Wars

- Spices were expensive.
- The money paid for spices went to the Moslems who were the middle men in the spice trade
- The Spanish-Portuguese quest for the spice islands aimed to cut out the middleman.
- And it did. Well the Portuguese did.

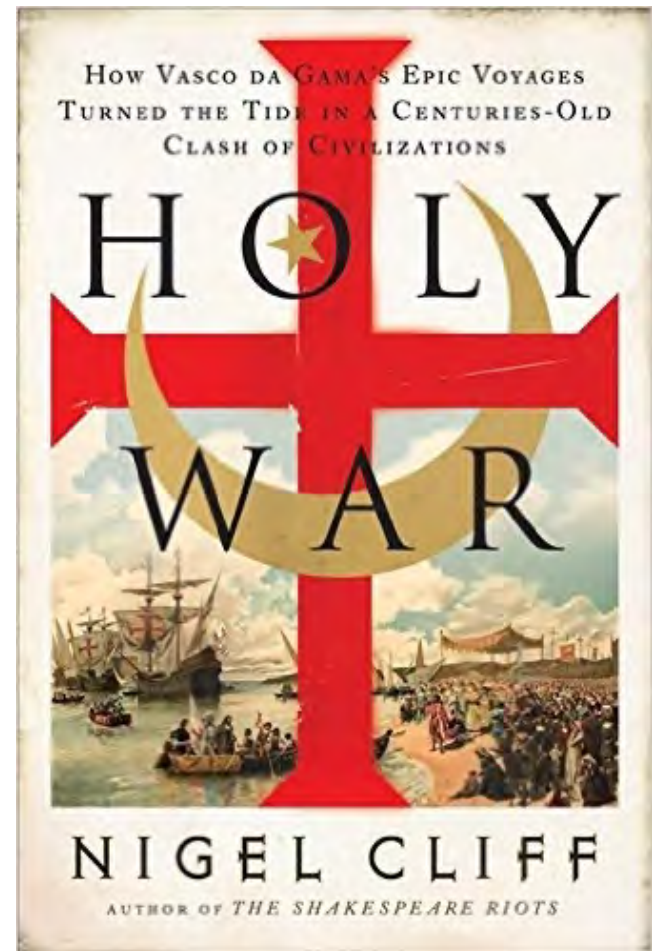
Lisbon and the Spice Trade

- Led by Prince Henry the Portuguese sailed further and further down the coast of Africa.
- Discovering the Azores Islands in the process.
- And eventually reaching the Cape of Good Hope.



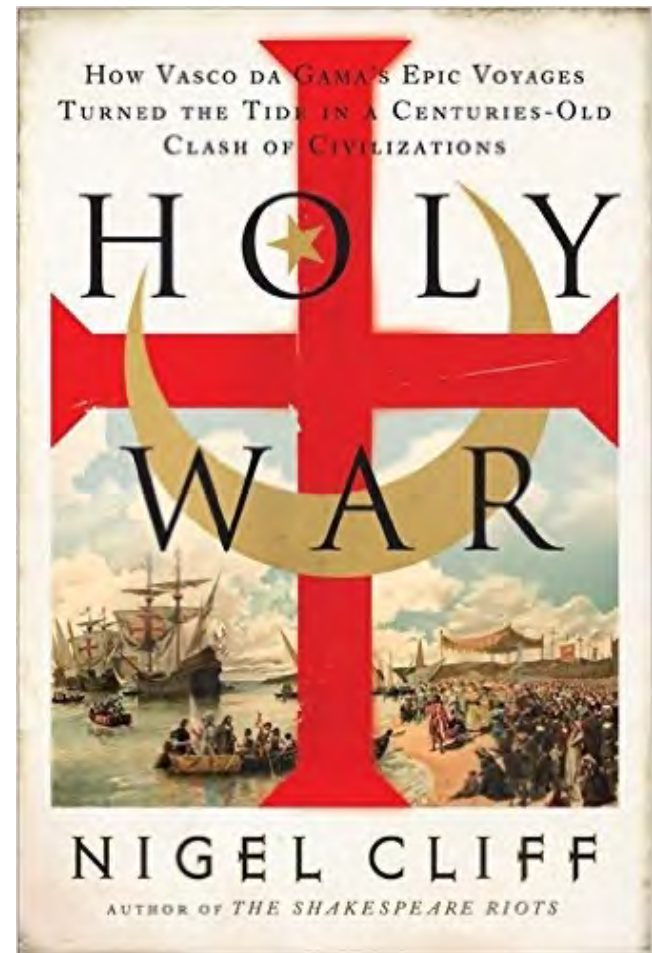
Lisbon and the Spice Trade

- Vasco d Gamma then sailed to India in 1497.
- The Portuguese encountered old enemies who had been in north Africa knew Portuguese or Spanish.
- The Muslims were often the merchants for the spice trade who worked in the lands of Hindu rulers.



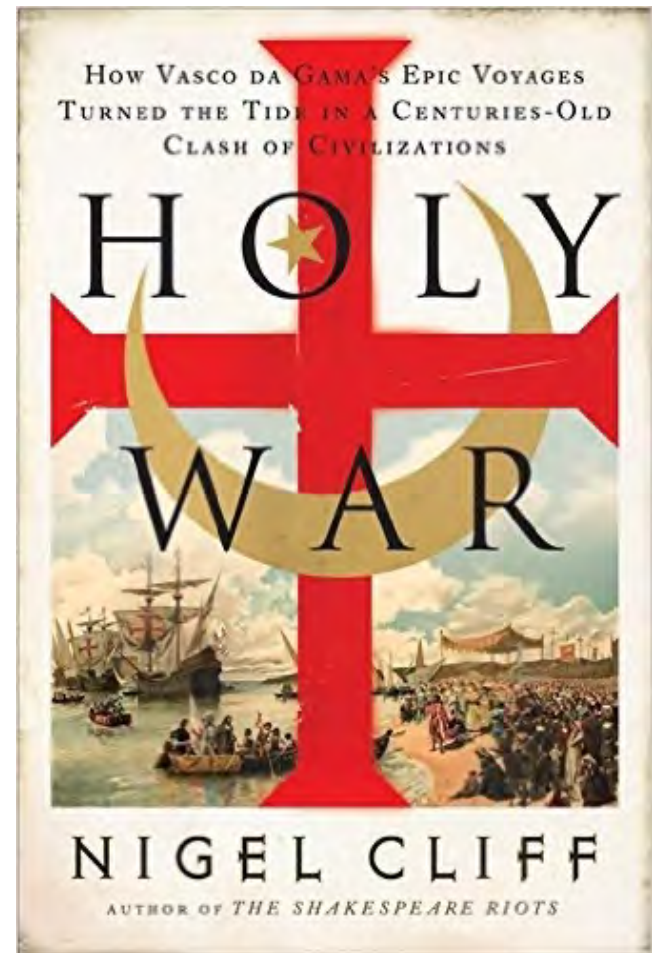
Lisbon and the Spice Trade

- The Muslims were often the merchants for the spice trade who worked in the lands of Hindu rulers.
- It took the Portuguese a while to comprehend that the Hindu temples with their strange carvings of the Holy Family



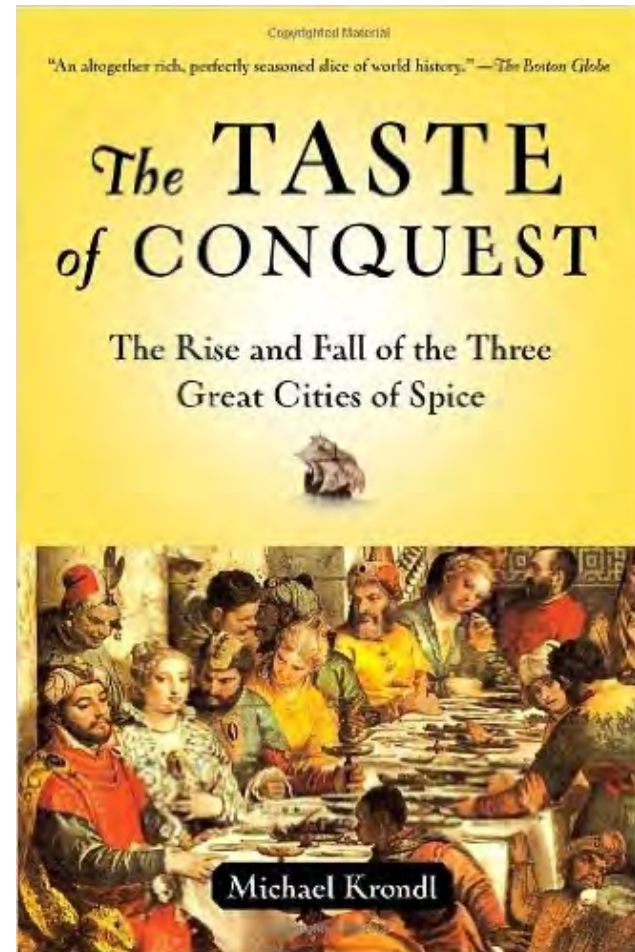
Lisbon and the Spice Trade

- For the next 100 years the Portuguese dominated the Indian Ocean and its environs.
- Huge quantities of spices left India to go to Lisbon.
- Shipping losses were significant.



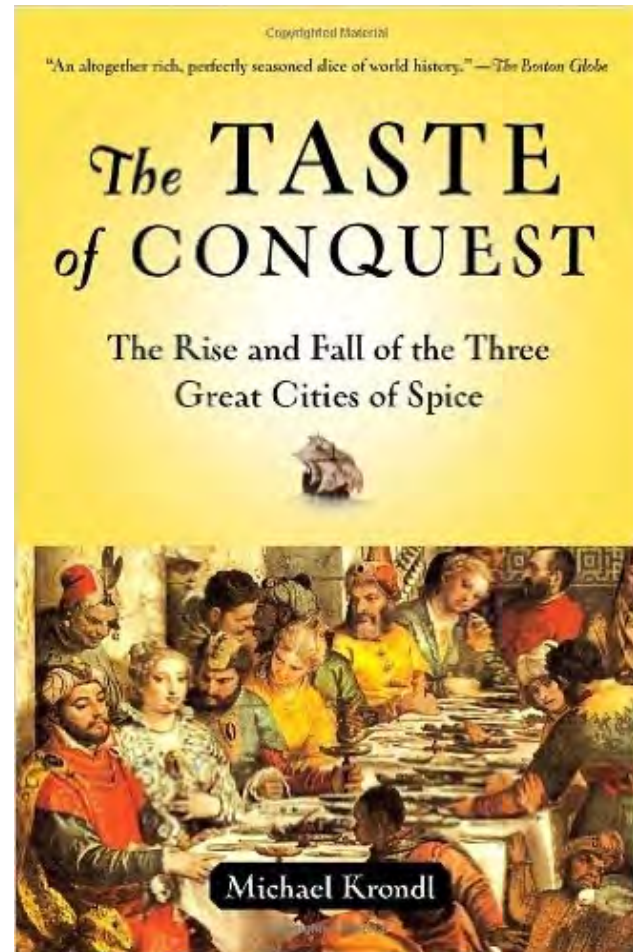
Lisbon and the Spice Trade

- Kroundl does not address the Spice trade in India. He focuses on the depot for the boat loads of spices that arrived.



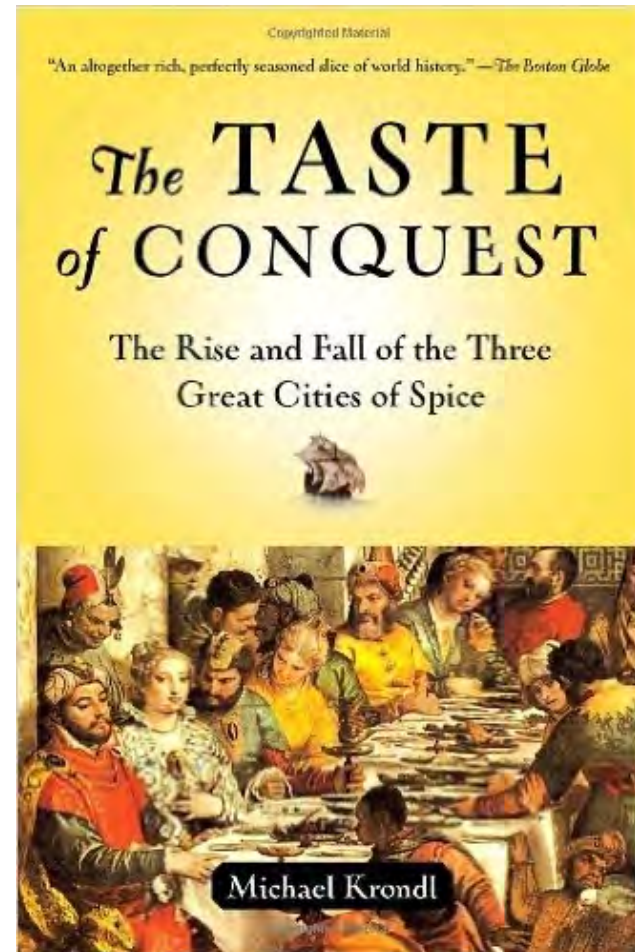
Amsterdam and Spices

- Like Lisbon, Amsterdam today has a spice history, but it now is disengaged from the trade.



Amsterdam and Spices

- Amsterdam like Lisbon has a museum and a few remembrances of its days of ruling the spice trade.
- Some Dutch pastries and dishes flavored with spices are its chief remembrance..



Spices Decline

- Nationalism and the decline of spices in France and elsewhere.
- The lost of empires, the rise of nationalism, changing tastes led to some people and countries reducing their spice consumption and substituting herbs for spices.

Provence

- Southern France, especially in the provinces of Provence, Occitane and elsewhere are centers of herb production.

Provence

- Herbs de Provence are a mixture that is sold even by commercial vendors such as Spice Islands.





- Grocers today have spices that are several times the size of the one to the left.
- Usually a mixture of herbs and spices.
- McCormick and Spice Island and other brands
- All very affordable.

Modern Spices and Herbs



- Globalization sends spices and herbs around the world
- Affordable and favorable.

Perfumes

- Besides cooking and other traditional uses of the French have developed perfumes that use herbs to achieve wonderful fragrances.

Perfumes

- L'Occitane Company sells perfumes and many other fragrance products in 3000 stores globally.
- The L'Occitane Company is only one of many French perfume makers centered in



Herbs in Perfumes

- Spices can be used in perfumes, but most of the products available use herb such as roses or lavender.



Grasse in Occitan is the Center

- Grasse is the center of the perfume industry, but many flowers are grown in neighboring provinces.



French Perfumes

- There are over 16,000 French perfumes and colognes.
- Chanel
- Christian Dior
- Guerlain
- Cartier
 - And many more

Perfumes and Romance

- Gardens of herbs are used in perfumes.
- Perfumes are scents for romance.
- Therefore, gardens of herbs are romantic.

The Spice Rack

- But do not abandon the spice rack,
- It may be spices in cooking is the way to a man's heart.

Finis

- Farewell to spices of distant lands
- And hello to spring planting of herbs
- Summer drying.
- Autumn and winter uses.

Spices in History

Finis



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Krondl, Michael. *The Taste of Conquest: The Rise and Fall of the Three Great Cities of Spice*. NY: Ballantine Books, 2007.
- Millward, James A. *The Silk Road: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Banerji, Chitrita. *Eating India: An Odyssey into the Food and Culture of the Land of Spices*. NY: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2008. Kindle Edition.
- Barth, Joe. *Pepper: A Guide to the World's Most Famous Spice*. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2019. Kindle Edition.
- Czarra, Fred. *Spices: A Global History*. London: Reaktion Books, 2009. Kindle Edition.
- Freedman, Paul. *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014. Kindle Edition.
- Allen, Gary. *Herbs: A Global History*. London: Reaktion Books, 2012. Kindle Edition.

