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The cover illustration was created by Tracy Liu, the undergraduate Art Editor of Alpenglow.

"The image represents the conversion of challenges into success, symbolized by building blocks that spell out each word. Here, construction workers reassemble the old letters into a new word and use "effort" as a necessary ingredient to create the change. Like the materials used in construction, the sources can come from anywhere but all come together to create something new. Failure is never the end, it's just another beginning." – Tracy Liu

May 2016

Womanhood Initiation

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Abstract

Womanhood Initiation is a poem I wrote during Maria Gillan's Advanced Poetry Workshop. Professor Gillan is a Professor of English at Binghamton University, and her workshop is unique in that it takes place during three long weekend sessions throughout the semester. This specific poem was inspired by one of Professor Gillan's writing prompts: "I do not feel like a man/woman yet." I tend to explore gender in my poetry, specifically girlhood and womanhood. Young women and girls, often put down in United States culture for their vanity and selfishness, are complex, intelligent people and have more to say that should be valued. In this poem, I explore feelings of discomfort in the transition from girlhood to womanhood. Experiences like menstruation and using makeup are supposed to signify womanhood, yet the girls and women I know still express uncertainty in their legitimacy as women. In this poem, I reach the conclusion that this confusion is part of being a woman, and our clumsy initiations into womanhood are ongoing.

I do not feel like a woman yet.
When I sit in front of my mirror in the morning,
lining my lips with red or plum or pink,
tracing my eyebrows with dark brown pencil,
I run my hands over the treasures in my drawers.
I have a chest of my own, now.

I used to relish the nights of my childhood dance recitals
because it meant I could wear my mother's makeup.
She would dust my cheeks with blush
and pull my hair back into a tight bun,
poking the back of my head with too many bobby pins.
I loved to sift through her drawers,
loved the cakey smell of lipstick.

And even with my own collection
of shiny tubes and compacts,
I trace my fingers over the bumps on my skin,
feeling like the awkward seventh grader
who wore too much eyeliner.
The pretty veil I draw onto my face
feels like an illusion some days.

Here I am, parading as a woman.
Here, if you take a tissue to my face,
it will all wash away.
You will see the girl underneath
with acne scars,
who rehearses what to say on the phone,
who can't walk in heels,
who pictures people she knows

talking about her after she leaves the room.

I always thought being a woman meant
carrying lipstick in your purse
and having a boyfriend
and talking about sex with your friends.
I have done all of these things
and still feel gawky and childish.

We can't seem to decide when womanhood begins.
People say after your period starts,
you become a woman.
But no twelve year old I knew,
including myself, felt any more womanly
after bleeding through her underwear.
If anything, we felt even more awkward,
put away another secret we had to keep.
We learned how to tuck tampons away
in our sleeves so no one would see.
The pink-tiled bathroom stalls became
headquarters for insecurity.

My mother told me recently
that while she was ordering food at a restaurant,
she pulled out her wallet,
and a pad fell out of her purse.
She said she was embarrassed
and tried to laugh it off.
I picture her in middle-school clumsiness,
cutting her own bangs in the bathroom mirror,
and she still does this.
She taught me how to shave my legs,
bought me my first set of makeup,
held me as I cried after breaking up
with my high school boyfriend.

Surely, she is a woman.
Surely, this is not an illusion.
Maybe being a woman feels like
bathroom stall secrets
and smudged makeup
and teeth clinking together
during a first kiss.
I thought there would be some moment,
some initiation or ceremony.
But there is much less fanfare than that.

I remember passing notes with friends in middle school
and dotting our "I's" with hearts.
Sometimes, I think being a woman is like that.
Scrawling your secrets and thoughts on lined paper,
folding them intricately,
and sharing them,
no matter how scary that may be.

May 2016

Examining Primarily White Institutions of Higher Education: Black Student Experience in the 1960s

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Abstract

A major outcome of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the desegregation of higher-learning institutions. Despite this, there was little change regarding the character and cultural norms of predominantly white institutions (PWIs) of higher learning. In this review of literature discussing the experiences of Black students attending PWIs during the 1960s, I argue that cultural norms such as racial discrimination yielded a detrimental impact on the success and wellbeing of African-American students. While I discuss what quality wellbeing for African-American students entails, I highlight the significance of black student unions to the wellbeing of black students. In order to further distinguish and understand the social climate of PWIs during the 1960s, literature regarding the learning atmospheres of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) during the 1960s will also be discussed. Although political in nature, it is my argument that the formation of black student unions served as a catalyst to effectively address and improve the psychological nature of being an African-American student at an institution deemed unresponsive to the needs of African-American students.

Introduction: Brief History of African-American Exclusion from Higher Education

While 2016 marks the 52nd year since college desegregation, diversity and inclusion continue to be highly debated topics on campuses across the United States. Throughout history, many African-Americans have perceived higher education as a pathway to the improvement of their social standing in America (Watkins, 1993). Many studies acknowledge John Russworm, who in 1826 became the first black person to graduate from a PWI with a bachelor's degree (Feagan, Vera, & Imani, 1996). Judging by this historical feat, one might assume that Russworm's graduation from a PWI was subsequently followed by a significant influx of black-student graduations from PWIs. However, the statistical trends of African-Americans that graduated from PWIs after 1826 suggest that PWIs continued to lack a strong black student presence after Russworm's graduation. Between 1826 and 1865, only 28 African-American students graduated from PWIs (Jackson Jr., 2002). Between 1865 and 1890 that number increased only by 2 students, making a total of 30 African-American graduates. Between 1890 and 1910, this number increased significantly, but failed to exceed 700 (Feagin et al., 1996). According to these statistics, only eight African-Americans graduated from an institution of higher learning every year for 84 years. This

graduation trend reflected that there were still barriers that hindered African-American enrollment and graduation at PWIs during the nineteenth century.

As the first few decades of the twentieth century commenced, PWIs in different geographic areas modified their enrollment policies. In the Northern region, blacks were openly encouraged to enroll at PWIs after the 1940s, whereas in the border region, blacks were encouraged to enroll at PWIs after the 1950s (Williamson, 1999). By 1954, there were 4,000 African-American freshmen at PWIs nationwide (Plaut, 1954). In the 1960s, an even larger increase in black student enrollment at PWIs followed the growth of college enrollment generally, and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

For institutions of higher learning, the Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin (Days III, 2004; Oppenheimer, 1995; Williamson, 1999). This act also called for a collection of data from all American institutions that identified students by race or ethnicity. Administrators at PWIs faced the likelihood of losing federal funding if they did not comply with the mandates of the act. Data collection from PWIs focused federal attention on the enrollment trends of students from each race demographic. The mandates of the Civil Rights Act and the collection of enrollment data made it possible for federal officials to keep a watchful eye on administrators as well as their enrollment trends according to race. By the early 1970s, two-thirds of all African-American students in the United States were enrolled at PWIs. The remaining one third of African-American students were enrolled at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs).

Historically Black Colleges & Universities: A Response to Racism

By 1968, 61% of all African-Americans enrolled in college (150,000) attended HBCUs. Although these institutions represent only 4% of all colleges and universities in the U.S. today, by 2011, 16% of African-American students were enrolled at HBCUs (Irvine & Fenwick, 2011). In the same year, 30% of African-American students graduated from HBCUs with a degree in the science, technology, engineering or mathematics (STEM) fields.

Throughout American history, HBCUs have played an integral role in higher education for African-American students. HBCUs were launched as a means for educating African-Americans during the years in which they were prohibited from attending the same colleges and universities as their White counterparts. Most HBCUs were established before 1890 wherever large populations of African-Americans resided (Evans, Evans, & Evans, 2002). In 1837, Cheyney State University was established in Pennsylvania as the first of the 106 HBCUs that exist today. Many researchers argue that HBCUs emerged as a direct response to white discrimination towards African-Americans that sought to secure basic and advanced learning experiences (Benton, 2001; Franklin & Moss, 1994). In other words, HBCUs aimed to serve the educational goals of African-American students.

Previous studies reflect that black students and white students differ in their expectations of what a successful academic experience should entail. For whites, the purpose of a higher education is to generate middle-class Americans who not only share white values, but also accept the existing social order (Williamson, 1999). At PWIs, this purpose was reflected by the courses offered and the structure of student organizations. During the late 1960s, black students perceived an adequate higher education as one that served multiple roles: 1) the preservation of black identity 2) the provision of a culturally relevant education, and 3) a platform to be equipped with the skills

necessary to work towards social change and the collective good of black communities (Walker, 1976; Williamson, 1999).

For black students, enrolling at HBCUs proved to be a feasible alternative to PWIs. The mission of HBCUs embodied the factors that black students associated with academic success. Several studies have evidenced that HBCUs provide black students with the education needed to return to their communities as effective leaders, teachers and scientists (Bowles & DeCosta, 1971; Neverdon-Morton, 1989). Whereas black student graduations from PWIs failed to surpass 700 by 1910, black student graduations from HBCUs had already amassed 2,000 by 1900 (Jackson Jr., 2002). Several studies have also shown that attending an HBCU yields positive impacts on the cognitive development and educational attainment of African-American students. Patrick Terenzini, Springer, Yaeger, Pascarella, & Nora (1996) compared the first year experiences of blacks attending PWIs with those of black students attending HBCUs. First year students at HBCUs reported higher levels of confidence in their academic abilities, more positive relationships with faculty and more involvement in student organizations (Terenzini et al., 1996). Additionally, first year students at PWIs also reported a higher inclination to transfer out of their institutions, less positive relationships with faculty, and less overall confidence in their academic abilities. The results of this study also reflected significant differences between the social climates of HBCUs and PWIs. First-year students at HBCUs reported a more tolerant climate on campus, while students at PWIs were more likely to report that their colleges promoted less respect for differences (Terenzini et al., 1996). The results of this study support the notion that in comparison to PWIs, HBCUs provide a social environment more conducive to the personal and academic success of black students.

Evidence of this claim has been provided through measures of academic achievement (student persistence, graduation rates and student satisfaction. Jacqueline Fleming studied 2,591 African-American students attending PWIs and HBCUs. For this study, participants reported higher levels of comfort and success in the classroom at HBCUs (Fleming, 1984). Stewart (1997) complemented Fleming's results by emphasizing that HBCUs offered Black students a firm education in a more nurturing environment.

In order to grasp the significance of HBCUs to the African-American pursuit of higher education, it is important to understand the racial discrimination faced by African-Americans throughout history. Racism towards African-Americans has been rooted in the systemic subordination of black people from the time that blacks were brought to the Americas as slaves (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009). This subordination has consistently been accompanied by inaccurate assumptions about black people in higher education. Such assumptions include the idea that African-Americans are intellectually inferior, an inference based solely on skin pigmentation. Additional assumptions include the idea that African-Americans did not possess the mental capacity to learn, and the idea that African-Americans did not desire a formal postsecondary education (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009).

The statistics regarding black enrollment at HBCUs reflect otherwise. The number of black students that graduated from HBCUs by 1900 indicated that several thousand African-Americans not only desired a postsecondary education during the nineteenth century, but also possessed the capacity to successfully complete undergraduate coursework. These statistics also reflect that HBCUs were more welcoming of African-American students than PWIs were. The fact that many PWIs were less welcoming of black students than they were of white students throughout the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries reflects racially discriminatory norms grounded in American history and facilitated by PWIs of higher education.

"I Don't Belong": Alienation in a Sea of Whiteness

Many researchers assert that a sense of belonging and a sense of social membership produce greater growth and accomplishment (Astin, 1993; Pace, 1975; Tinto, 1987). For many African-American students who enrolled at PWIs immediately following college desegregation, this sense of belonging, as well as its byproducts, were not felt. These students expected integration to entail the incorporation of their traditions and interests into the culture of predominantly white campuses (Biondi, 2012). Unfortunately, despite federal efforts to end college segregation, black students at PWIs were confronted with the reality that their new learning environments would not acknowledge their traditions or interests. Furthermore, such circumstances elicited feelings of alienation and isolation for Black students attending PWIs. Ultimately, these shared experiences of being an outsider to the mainstream White culture of PWIs impacted how many African-American students shaped their identities at PWIs.

It has been emphasized that college integration failed to bring about the necessary fundamental changes to the cultural norms of PWIs (Feagin & Sikes, 1995; Williamson, 1999). Upon the arrival of African-American students, many white students, professors, and administrators openly challenged the abilities of black students as well as their right to attend college. In addition to the teaching styles and campus services of PWIs being generally tailored to white students, curricula often reflected perspectives derived from the dominant white culture while excluding perspectives from non-white cultures (Taylor, 1989). According to students at City College in 1967, the curricula failed to offer courses on Africa or African-Americans (as cited

in Biondi, 2012). In 1966, a writer for the *Amsterdam News*, an African-American newspaper in New York City recalled, "Columbia University did not offer a single course on Negro history" (Biondi, 2012).

Past studies on the learning environments of PWIs have reflected that campus activities at PWIs reflected the interests and traditions of white students and faculty only. Statistics from these studies demonstrate a discrepancy in the appeal of campus activities at PWIs to African-American students. Sociologist Walter Allen conducted a comparative study of African-American students attending PWIs as well as those attending HBCU's. Sixty-two percent (62%) of African-American students at PWIs found campus activities unappealing (Allen, 1992). It was also found that only 33% of black students at HBCUs found campus activities to be unappealing. These statistics support the claim that following integration, black students were more likely to find appealing campus activities at HBCUs than they would at PWIs. Understanding these findings, as well as the lack of black representation in curricula and campus activities, may help one understand why black students often refrained from participation in mainstream student life and formed their own groups (Feagin & Sikes, 1995; Williamson, 1999).

In 1963, Malcolm X openly critiqued the concept of integration in higher education by asserting that PWIs recruited small numbers of Black students in order to portray their campuses as equally accessible (Biondi, 2012). He noted that although 1963 marked nearly a decade since the outlawing of segregated public schools by the Supreme Court, less than 10% of the America's black student population attended integrated schools (Biondi, 2012). While Malcolm X understood the higher education integration effort as tokenism, black students at PWIs soon understood that successful integration, even if permitted by white students, would cost them their identities.

One African-American undergraduate student anonymously shared her experience of integration at a PWI (Feagin & Sikes, 1995). She explained that integration did not imply fusing the black & white cultures, but rather, becoming white. She also went on to explain that white students had no reason to know the cultures of black students, but that in order to survive, black students needed to know everything about the culture of White students (Feagin & Sikes, 1995). In a *New York Times* article entitled "The Negro Student at an Integrated College," one black student shared a similar perspective. In the article, he explained that black students were being admitted to PWIs on the condition that they become white students with dark skins (Lukas, 1968). In *The Basis of Our Ethos*, a black Wellesley alumna remembered her campus as one that lacked recognition of the African-American experience. "[That] was our opportunity to become like [the whites]" she recalled (Biondi, 2012).

In *They Demand Relevance*, political scientist Charles Hamilton conducted a qualitative study on the experiences of African-American students integrating at PWIs. After visiting 60 colleges, he found that integration traditionally meant that black students needed to become more like their white classmates (Hamilton, 1972). He went on to term this idea of integration "racial assimilation" (Biondi, 2012), which he found problematic for many reasons. The concept of racial assimilation reinforced the racist belief that black students were inferior to white students, and therefore needed to adopt the traditions and interests of white students. Overall, the pressures that many black students felt to racially assimilate compromised their sense of self and loyalty to their heritage. Black students nationwide did not want their entrance into academia to be seen as a rejection of their culture and communities (Biondi, 2012). African-American students confronted the pressure to racially assimilate in ways that suggest a relationship between the racially

oppressive environment of PWIs during the 1960s and the wellbeing of black students that attended them.

Understanding Black Student Psychological Wellbeing

Human beings experience the best psychological development in environments where they are valued and accepted (Allen, 1992). Thus understanding the human development of black students at PWIs is of major importance. Several researchers have discussed how racial oppression affects the psychological health of African-Americans. In several studies, racial oppression has been shown to function as a chronic psychosocial stressor that negatively affects the mental and social adjustment of people of color (Akbar, 1996; Estell, 1994; Jackson, 1990; Johnson, 1990; Landrum-Brown, 1990; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). For African-Americans, racial discrimination is directly connected with psychological wellbeing (Pierre & Mahalik, 2005). Racial discrimination has also been shown to contribute to the prevalence of psychiatric disorders in African-Americans such as anxiety and depression (Burke, 1984; Outlaw, 1993). White & Cones (1999) embellished this connection by explaining that the continuing presence of racial discrimination triggers powerful emotions such as anger, grief, despair and uncertainty in the lives of African-American men. For African-American women, the reality of racism and sexism through various forms of prejudice and racial discrimination can induce stressful experiences that negatively affect their psychological wellbeing (Torrey, 1979). Based on past assertions by researchers regarding the wellbeing of African-Americans, it can be argued that racial discrimination negatively affects academic success for African-American students.

For African-American individuals, positive self-perception and positive identity development each play integral roles in mental health development. Researchers have found that

when blacks endorse their own values instead of assimilating to white values, psychological distress is likely to decrease and self-esteem is likely to increase (Asante, 1987; Karenga, 1980; White & Cones, 1999). Additionally, African-Americans who possess a strong and positive sense of black identity are more likely to achieve a higher quality of mental health than those who racially assimilate with the dominant white culture of the United States (Butler, 1975; Helms, 1990). It is important to understand what constitutes positive wellbeing for African-American students at PWIs because during the 1960s, black students at PWIs found themselves in learning environments that pressured them to forfeit their identities and adopt white values. Based on this understanding, it can be argued that at PWIs during the 1960s, this pressure led many black students to develop a negative sense of identity, and in turn, a lower quality of mental health.

Black Student Unions: An Effort towards Improved Wellbeing

The federal push for college integration should have resulted in a gradual shift towards multiculturalism at predominantly white campuses. However, the campus environments of PWIs did not seek to integrate the traditions and interests of African-American students. Instead, the social dogma of PWIs perpetuated a dominant white culture that pressured black students to racially assimilate with the culture of their white counterparts. At PWIs, this dogma facilitated modes of racial oppression that left African-American students feeling alienated from their campus communities.

As previously mentioned, the alienation that black students experienced encouraged them to form their own groups. Amidst pressures to racially assimilate at PWIs, these students recognized a common goal: the power to redefine integration as multiculturalism (Biondi, 2012). During the 1960s, many black students nationwide began recognizing their predominantly white

campuses as places to develop new ideas and techniques towards achieving this goal. As black students nationwide formed their own groups, black student unions emerged. Initially, during the 1960s, black student unions aimed to provide black students with a platform to effect social change at their PWIs and in their communities (Edwards, 1970).

While studies on black student unions have highlighted their political orientation, it may be helpful to understand how these student organizations appealed to the identity development of African-American students. For many black students, the pressure to racially assimilate generated a negative sense of identity. Black student unions worked to restore positive aspects of black identity while empowering African-American students in ways that instilled a sense of pride (Williamson, 1999). The formation of black student unions provided spaces where Black students could endorse their own values.

Black student unions met psychological and academic needs that were not being met through traditional university mechanisms (Exum, 1985). Based on this assertion and previous ones, the "needs" that Exum discussed include the need for African-American students to feel a sense of belonging at their respective campuses. This sense of belonging required the inclusion of black traditions and interests at PWIs. In contrast with the racially oppressive environment of many PWIs, black student unions acknowledged the common goals and interests of black students while providing spaces for African-Americans to sustain their identities.

In order to understand the purpose that black student unions served for the experiences of Black students at PWIs during the 1960s, it is important to understand the context. Many of the students who joined these groups were familiar with the racial discrimination exposed by the Civil Rights Movement (Biondi, 2012). Throughout the 1960's, civil rights leaders such as Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Bobby Seale, and Huey P. Newton became increasingly recognized by black

students as action-oriented activists in the quest for social change. In addition to publicly criticizing higher education integration efforts, Malcolm X publicly articulated action-oriented methods for social change. Such methods include gaining control of public institutions in black communities, revaluing the African heritage of Black people and throwing off the psychological shackles of self-hatred (Biondi, 2012). Stokely Carmichael, former cofounder of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), spent many years encouraging black students to openly challenge the white power structure of PWIs (Biondi, 2012). Prior to founding the Black Panther Party, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale attended Merritt College, where they participated in campus protests for the addition of a black history course (Biondi, 2012). Their efforts contributed to the addition of the course by the 1965-1966 academic year as well as the addition of a Black Studies department by 1968.

Discussion: Proposed Solutions and Future Directions

During my review of the literature regarding Black student experiences at PWIs during the 1960s, I identified two efforts that administrative forces at many PWIs made to improve the black student experience: 1) the implementation of Black Studies programs and curricula, and 2) the implementation of Black Studies centers.

In the fall of 1966, Sociologist Nathan Hare led thousands of students at San Francisco State College in protest for the addition of a Black Studies program; three years later, it was launched as the first Black Studies program in the United States (Bradley, 2008, p. 112; Williamson, 1999). By 1971, over 500 Black Studies programs were offered at PWIs across the United States (Williamson, 1999).

Many black students attending PWIs during the 1960s found it imperative to have their own separate living and eating facilities in order to survive on campus (Edwards, 1970, p. 98). For black students, separate campus facilities represented opportunities to appreciate other black students and opportunities to be immersed in black culture. In 1966, black male students at Cornell established the Elmwood House, an all-black male residence hall (Williamson, 1999). The Wari House was established the following year. Multiple researchers have investigated the concept of black culture centers (BCCs). Pittman contended that BCCs facilitate the identity development process for African-American students (Pittman, 1994). Stewart, Russell, and Wright (1997) contended that BCCs provide Black students at PWIs with the necessary support they need to excel on campus. Based on my analysis of what wellbeing entails for Black students at PWIs, BCCs appear to address the psychological wellbeing of black students by facilitating multiple modes of healthy black-identity development.

My review of the literature regarding the experiences of alienation and racial oppression that Black students endured at PWIs during the 1960s reflected that the racially oppressive norms that existed at many PWIs may have negatively impacted the wellbeing of African-American students. Considering the psychological dimension of being a black student at a racially oppressive institution opens the door for new perspectives and new questions regarding the formation of black student unions. Although the goals of black student union membership were political in nature, my review of the literature on the topic suggests that black student union membership may have been a collective push by black students towards a more positive sense of psychological wellbeing. To further investigate this hypothesis, it may be necessary to conduct a qualitative case study in which members of black student unions at different PWIs in the Northern and Southern states are interviewed about their campus experiences. Interview questions should be geared towards

understanding five things: 1) why these students chose to join black student unions; 2) how they perceive themselves in comparison to their white counterparts; 3) whether or not they have experienced racial discrimination at their respective learning institution; 4) whether or not they perceive their campuses as safe spaces, and lastly; and 5) the degree to which they perceive the contribution of their Black Student Union membership to their overall college experience. A case study grounded in these guidelines may further reflect the findings of my literature review, and more importantly, shed a new light on the issues that ignite instances of Black student protest at PWIs today.

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Examining Primarily White Institutions of Higher Education: Black Student Experience in the 1960s

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Abstract

A major outcome of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the desegregation of higher-learning institutions. Despite this, there was little change regarding the character and cultural norms of predominantly white institutions (PWIs) of higher learning. In this review of literature discussing the experiences of Black students attending PWIs during the 1960s, I argue that cultural norms such as racial discrimination yielded a detrimental impact on the success and wellbeing of African-American students. While I discuss what quality wellbeing for African-American students entails, I highlight the significance of black student unions to the wellbeing of black students. In order to further distinguish and understand the social climate of PWIs during the 1960s, literature regarding the learning atmospheres of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) during the 1960s will also be discussed. Although political in nature, it is my argument that the formation of black student unions served as a catalyst to effectively address and improve the psychological nature of being an African-American student at an institution deemed unresponsive to the needs of African-American students.

Introduction: Brief History of African-American Exclusion from Higher Education

While 2016 marks the 52nd year since college desegregation, diversity and inclusion continue to be highly debated topics on campuses across the United States. Throughout history, many African-Americans have perceived higher education as a pathway to the improvement of their social standing in America (Watkins, 1993). Many studies acknowledge John Russworm, who in 1826 became the first black person to graduate from a PWI with a bachelor's degree (Feagan, Vera, & Imani, 1996). Judging by this historical feat, one might assume that Russworm's graduation from a PWI was subsequently followed by a significant influx of black-student graduations from PWIs. However, the statistical trends of African-Americans that graduated from PWIs after 1826 suggest that PWIs continued to lack a strong black student presence after Russworm's graduation. Between 1826 and 1865, only 28 African-American students graduated from PWIs (Jackson Jr., 2002). Between 1865 and 1890 that number increased only by 2 students, making a total of 30 African-American graduates. Between 1890 and 1910, this number increased significantly, but failed to exceed 700 (Feagin et al., 1996). According to these statistics, only eight African-Americans graduated from an institution of higher learning every year for 84 years. This

graduation trend reflected that there were still barriers that hindered African-American enrollment and graduation at PWIs during the nineteenth century.

As the first few decades of the twentieth century commenced, PWIs in different geographic areas modified their enrollment policies. In the Northern region, blacks were openly encouraged to enroll at PWIs after the 1940s, whereas in the border region, blacks were encouraged to enroll at PWIs after the 1950s (Williamson, 1999). By 1954, there were 4,000 African-American freshmen at PWIs nationwide (Plaut, 1954). In the 1960s, an even larger increase in black student enrollment at PWIs followed the growth of college enrollment generally, and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

For institutions of higher learning, the Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin (Days III, 2004; Oppenheimer, 1995; Williamson, 1999). This act also called for a collection of data from all American institutions that identified students by race or ethnicity. Administrators at PWIs faced the likelihood of losing federal funding if they did not comply with the mandates of the act. Data collection from PWIs focused federal attention on the enrollment trends of students from each race demographic. The mandates of the Civil Rights Act and the collection of enrollment data made it possible for federal officials to keep a watchful eye on administrators as well as their enrollment trends according to race. By the early 1970s, two-thirds of all African-American students in the United States were enrolled at PWIs. The remaining one third of African-American students were enrolled at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs).

Historically Black Colleges & Universities: A Response to Racism

By 1968, 61% of all African-Americans enrolled in college (150,000) attended HBCUs. Although these institutions represent only 4% of all colleges and universities in the U.S. today, by 2011, 16% of African-American students were enrolled at HBCUs (Irvine & Fenwick, 2011). In the same year, 30% of African-American students graduated from HBCUs with a degree in the science, technology, engineering or mathematics (STEM) fields.

Throughout American history, HBCUs have played an integral role in higher education for African-American students. HBCUs were launched as a means for educating African-Americans during the years in which they were prohibited from attending the same colleges and universities as their White counterparts. Most HBCUs were established before 1890 wherever large populations of African-Americans resided (Evans, Evans, & Evans, 2002). In 1837, Cheyney State University was established in Pennsylvania as the first of the 106 HBCUs that exist today. Many researchers argue that HBCUs emerged as a direct response to white discrimination towards African-Americans that sought to secure basic and advanced learning experiences (Benton, 2001; Franklin & Moss, 1994). In other words, HBCUs aimed to serve the educational goals of African-American students.

Previous studies reflect that black students and white students differ in their expectations of what a successful academic experience should entail. For whites, the purpose of a higher education is to generate middle-class Americans who not only share white values, but also accept the existing social order (Williamson, 1999). At PWIs, this purpose was reflected by the courses offered and the structure of student organizations. During the late 1960s, black students perceived an adequate higher education as one that served multiple roles: 1) the preservation of black identity 2) the provision of a culturally relevant education, and 3) a platform to be equipped with the skills

necessary to work towards social change and the collective good of black communities (Walker, 1976; Williamson, 1999).

For black students, enrolling at HBCUs proved to be a feasible alternative to PWIs. The mission of HBCUs embodied the factors that black students associated with academic success. Several studies have evidenced that HBCUs provide black students with the education needed to return to their communities as effective leaders, teachers and scientists (Bowles & DeCosta, 1971; Neverdon-Morton, 1989). Whereas black student graduations from PWIs failed to surpass 700 by 1910, black student graduations from HBCUs had already amassed 2,000 by 1900 (Jackson Jr., 2002). Several studies have also shown that attending an HBCU yields positive impacts on the cognitive development and educational attainment of African-American students. Patrick Terenzini, Springer, Yaeger, Pascarella, & Nora (1996) compared the first year experiences of blacks attending PWIs with those of black students attending HBCUs. First year students at HBCUs reported higher levels of confidence in their academic abilities, more positive relationships with faculty and more involvement in student organizations (Terenzini et al., 1996). Additionally, first year students at PWIs also reported a higher inclination to transfer out of their institutions, less positive relationships with faculty, and less overall confidence in their academic abilities. The results of this study also reflected significant differences between the social climates of HBCUs and PWIs. First-year students at HBCUs reported a more tolerant climate on campus, while students at PWIs were more likely to report that their colleges promoted less respect for differences (Terenzini et al., 1996). The results of this study support the notion that in comparison to PWIs, HBCUs provide a social environment more conducive to the personal and academic success of black students.

Evidence of this claim has been provided through measures of academic achievement (student persistence, graduation rates and student satisfaction. Jacqueline Fleming studied 2,591 African-American students attending PWIs and HBCUs. For this study, participants reported higher levels of comfort and success in the classroom at HBCUs (Fleming, 1984). Stewart (1997) complemented Fleming's results by emphasizing that HBCUs offered Black students a firm education in a more nurturing environment.

In order to grasp the significance of HBCUs to the African-American pursuit of higher education, it is important to understand the racial discrimination faced by African-Americans throughout history. Racism towards African-Americans has been rooted in the systemic subordination of black people from the time that blacks were brought to the Americas as slaves (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009). This subordination has consistently been accompanied by inaccurate assumptions about black people in higher education. Such assumptions include the idea that African-Americans are intellectually inferior, an inference based solely on skin pigmentation. Additional assumptions include the idea that African-Americans did not possess the mental capacity to learn, and the idea that African-Americans did not desire a formal postsecondary education (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009).

The statistics regarding black enrollment at HBCUs reflect otherwise. The number of black students that graduated from HBCUs by 1900 indicated that several thousand African-Americans not only desired a postsecondary education during the nineteenth century, but also possessed the capacity to successfully complete undergraduate coursework. These statistics also reflect that HBCUs were more welcoming of African-American students than PWIs were. The fact that many PWIs were less welcoming of black students than they were of white students throughout the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries reflects racially discriminatory norms grounded in American history and facilitated by PWIs of higher education.

"I Don't Belong": Alienation in a Sea of Whiteness

Many researchers assert that a sense of belonging and a sense of social membership produce greater growth and accomplishment (Astin, 1993; Pace, 1975; Tinto, 1987). For many African-American students who enrolled at PWIs immediately following college desegregation, this sense of belonging, as well as its byproducts, were not felt. These students expected integration to entail the incorporation of their traditions and interests into the culture of predominantly white campuses (Biondi, 2012). Unfortunately, despite federal efforts to end college segregation, black students at PWIs were confronted with the reality that their new learning environments would not acknowledge their traditions or interests. Furthermore, such circumstances elicited feelings of alienation and isolation for Black students attending PWIs. Ultimately, these shared experiences of being an outsider to the mainstream White culture of PWIs impacted how many African-American students shaped their identities at PWIs.

It has been emphasized that college integration failed to bring about the necessary fundamental changes to the cultural norms of PWIs (Feagin & Sikes, 1995; Williamson, 1999). Upon the arrival of African-American students, many white students, professors, and administrators openly challenged the abilities of black students as well as their right to attend college. In addition to the teaching styles and campus services of PWIs being generally tailored to white students, curricula often reflected perspectives derived from the dominant white culture while excluding perspectives from non-white cultures (Taylor, 1989). According to students at City College in 1967, the curricula failed to offer courses on Africa or African-Americans (as cited

in Biondi, 2012). In 1966, a writer for the *Amsterdam News*, an African-American newspaper in New York City recalled, "Columbia University did not offer a single course on Negro history" (Biondi, 2012).

Past studies on the learning environments of PWIs have reflected that campus activities at PWIs reflected the interests and traditions of white students and faculty only. Statistics from these studies demonstrate a discrepancy in the appeal of campus activities at PWIs to African-American students. Sociologist Walter Allen conducted a comparative study of African-American students attending PWIs as well as those attending HBCU's. Sixty-two percent (62%) of African-American students at PWIs found campus activities unappealing (Allen, 1992). It was also found that only 33% of black students at HBCUs found campus activities to be unappealing. These statistics support the claim that following integration, black students were more likely to find appealing campus activities at HBCUs than they would at PWIs. Understanding these findings, as well as the lack of black representation in curricula and campus activities, may help one understand why black students often refrained from participation in mainstream student life and formed their own groups (Feagin & Sikes, 1995; Williamson, 1999).

In 1963, Malcolm X openly critiqued the concept of integration in higher education by asserting that PWIs recruited small numbers of Black students in order to portray their campuses as equally accessible (Biondi, 2012). He noted that although 1963 marked nearly a decade since the outlawing of segregated public schools by the Supreme Court, less than 10% of the America's black student population attended integrated schools (Biondi, 2012). While Malcolm X understood the higher education integration effort as tokenism, black students at PWIs soon understood that successful integration, even if permitted by white students, would cost them their identities.

One African-American undergraduate student anonymously shared her experience of integration at a PWI (Feagin & Sikes, 1995). She explained that integration did not imply fusing the black & white cultures, but rather, becoming white. She also went on to explain that white students had no reason to know the cultures of black students, but that in order to survive, black students needed to know everything about the culture of White students (Feagin & Sikes, 1995). In a *New York Times* article entitled "The Negro Student at an Integrated College," one black student shared a similar perspective. In the article, he explained that black students were being admitted to PWIs on the condition that they become white students with dark skins (Lukas, 1968). In *The Basis of Our Ethos*, a black Wellesley alumna remembered her campus as one that lacked recognition of the African-American experience. "[That] was our opportunity to become like [the whites]" she recalled (Biondi, 2012).

In *They Demand Relevance*, political scientist Charles Hamilton conducted a qualitative study on the experiences of African-American students integrating at PWIs. After visiting 60 colleges, he found that integration traditionally meant that black students needed to become more like their white classmates (Hamilton, 1972). He went on to term this idea of integration "racial assimilation" (Biondi, 2012), which he found problematic for many reasons. The concept of racial assimilation reinforced the racist belief that black students were inferior to white students, and therefore needed to adopt the traditions and interests of white students. Overall, the pressures that many black students felt to racially assimilate compromised their sense of self and loyalty to their heritage. Black students nationwide did not want their entrance into academia to be seen as a rejection of their culture and communities (Biondi, 2012). African-American students confronted the pressure to racially assimilate in ways that suggest a relationship between the racially

oppressive environment of PWIs during the 1960s and the wellbeing of black students that attended them.

Understanding Black Student Psychological Wellbeing

Human beings experience the best psychological development in environments where they are valued and accepted (Allen, 1992). Thus understanding the human development of black students at PWIs is of major importance. Several researchers have discussed how racial oppression affects the psychological health of African-Americans. In several studies, racial oppression has been shown to function as a chronic psychosocial stressor that negatively affects the mental and social adjustment of people of color (Akbar, 1996; Estell, 1994; Jackson, 1990; Johnson, 1990; Landrum-Brown, 1990; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). For African-Americans, racial discrimination is directly connected with psychological wellbeing (Pierre & Mahalik, 2005). Racial discrimination has also been shown to contribute to the prevalence of psychiatric disorders in African-Americans such as anxiety and depression (Burke, 1984; Outlaw, 1993). White & Cones (1999) embellished this connection by explaining that the continuing presence of racial discrimination triggers powerful emotions such as anger, grief, despair and uncertainty in the lives of African-American men. For African-American women, the reality of racism and sexism through various forms of prejudice and racial discrimination can induce stressful experiences that negatively affect their psychological wellbeing (Torrey, 1979). Based on past assertions by researchers regarding the wellbeing of African-Americans, it can be argued that racial discrimination negatively affects academic success for African-American students.

For African-American individuals, positive self-perception and positive identity development each play integral roles in mental health development. Researchers have found that

when blacks endorse their own values instead of assimilating to white values, psychological distress is likely to decrease and self-esteem is likely to increase (Asante, 1987; Karenga, 1980; White & Cones, 1999). Additionally, African-Americans who possess a strong and positive sense of black identity are more likely to achieve a higher quality of mental health than those who racially assimilate with the dominant white culture of the United States (Butler, 1975; Helms, 1990). It is important to understand what constitutes positive wellbeing for African-American students at PWIs because during the 1960s, black students at PWIs found themselves in learning environments that pressured them to forfeit their identities and adopt white values. Based on this understanding, it can be argued that at PWIs during the 1960s, this pressure led many black students to develop a negative sense of identity, and in turn, a lower quality of mental health.

Black Student Unions: An Effort towards Improved Wellbeing

The federal push for college integration should have resulted in a gradual shift towards multiculturalism at predominantly white campuses. However, the campus environments of PWIs did not seek to integrate the traditions and interests of African-American students. Instead, the social dogma of PWIs perpetuated a dominant white culture that pressured black students to racially assimilate with the culture of their white counterparts. At PWIs, this dogma facilitated modes of racial oppression that left African-American students feeling alienated from their campus communities.

As previously mentioned, the alienation that black students experienced encouraged them to form their own groups. Amidst pressures to racially assimilate at PWIs, these students recognized a common goal: the power to redefine integration as multiculturalism (Biondi, 2012). During the 1960s, many black students nationwide began recognizing their predominantly white

campuses as places to develop new ideas and techniques towards achieving this goal. As black students nationwide formed their own groups, black student unions emerged. Initially, during the 1960s, black student unions aimed to provide black students with a platform to effect social change at their PWIs and in their communities (Edwards, 1970).

While studies on black student unions have highlighted their political orientation, it may be helpful to understand how these student organizations appealed to the identity development of African-American students. For many black students, the pressure to racially assimilate generated a negative sense of identity. Black student unions worked to restore positive aspects of black identity while empowering African-American students in ways that instilled a sense of pride (Williamson, 1999). The formation of black student unions provided spaces where Black students could endorse their own values.

Black student unions met psychological and academic needs that were not being met through traditional university mechanisms (Exum, 1985). Based on this assertion and previous ones, the "needs" that Exum discussed include the need for African-American students to feel a sense of belonging at their respective campuses. This sense of belonging required the inclusion of black traditions and interests at PWIs. In contrast with the racially oppressive environment of many PWIs, black student unions acknowledged the common goals and interests of black students while providing spaces for African-Americans to sustain their identities.

In order to understand the purpose that black student unions served for the experiences of Black students at PWIs during the 1960s, it is important to understand the context. Many of the students who joined these groups were familiar with the racial discrimination exposed by the Civil Rights Movement (Biondi, 2012). Throughout the 1960's, civil rights leaders such as Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Bobby Seale, and Huey P. Newton became increasingly recognized by black

students as action-oriented activists in the quest for social change. In addition to publicly criticizing higher education integration efforts, Malcolm X publicly articulated action-oriented methods for social change. Such methods include gaining control of public institutions in black communities, revaluing the African heritage of Black people and throwing off the psychological shackles of self-hatred (Biondi, 2012). Stokely Carmichael, former cofounder of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), spent many years encouraging black students to openly challenge the white power structure of PWIs (Biondi, 2012). Prior to founding the Black Panther Party, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale attended Merritt College, where they participated in campus protests for the addition of a black history course (Biondi, 2012). Their efforts contributed to the addition of the course by the 1965-1966 academic year as well as the addition of a Black Studies department by 1968.

Discussion: Proposed Solutions and Future Directions

During my review of the literature regarding Black student experiences at PWIs during the 1960s, I identified two efforts that administrative forces at many PWIs made to improve the black student experience: 1) the implementation of Black Studies programs and curricula, and 2) the implementation of Black Studies centers.

In the fall of 1966, Sociologist Nathan Hare led thousands of students at San Francisco State College in protest for the addition of a Black Studies program; three years later, it was launched as the first Black Studies program in the United States (Bradley, 2008, p. 112; Williamson, 1999). By 1971, over 500 Black Studies programs were offered at PWIs across the United States (Williamson, 1999).

Many black students attending PWIs during the 1960s found it imperative to have their own separate living and eating facilities in order to survive on campus (Edwards, 1970, p. 98). For black students, separate campus facilities represented opportunities to appreciate other black students and opportunities to be immersed in black culture. In 1966, black male students at Cornell established the Elmwood House, an all-black male residence hall (Williamson, 1999). The Wari House was established the following year. Multiple researchers have investigated the concept of black culture centers (BCCs). Pittman contended that BCCs facilitate the identity development process for African-American students (Pittman, 1994). Stewart, Russell, and Wright (1997) contended that BCCs provide Black students at PWIs with the necessary support they need to excel on campus. Based on my analysis of what wellbeing entails for Black students at PWIs, BCCs appear to address the psychological wellbeing of black students by facilitating multiple modes of healthy black-identity development.

My review of the literature regarding the experiences of alienation and racial oppression that Black students endured at PWIs during the 1960s reflected that the racially oppressive norms that existed at many PWIs may have negatively impacted the wellbeing of African-American students. Considering the psychological dimension of being a black student at a racially oppressive institution opens the door for new perspectives and new questions regarding the formation of black student unions. Although the goals of black student union membership were political in nature, my review of the literature on the topic suggests that black student union membership may have been a collective push by black students towards a more positive sense of psychological wellbeing. To further investigate this hypothesis, it may be necessary to conduct a qualitative case study in which members of black student unions at different PWIs in the Northern and Southern states are interviewed about their campus experiences. Interview questions should be geared towards

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Challenging Linguistic Superiority Through Social Attitudes: Language Complexities of the Ukrainian Diaspora in the United States

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Abstract

The English language in the United States has a strong legacy of linguistic imperialism that started with bans on the use of languages spoken by indigenous people in the early 1800s. The assumptions behind those policies were that the English language was civilized and progressive, while all other languages were barbaric and improper. In this paper, I examine how the historic language policies in the United States continue to create barriers in non-native speakers' success and achievement in social and political spheres. I proceed by discussing the English-only policies and native language bans that started the legacy of English superiority in the United States. Secondly, I examine their impact on society at large, focusing on cultural stereotypes and attitudes toward non-native English speakers, and their influence on non-native individuals' inability to achieve the American Dream and be exemplary citizens. Thirdly, I explore how such social attitudes create feelings of inferiority as well as shame and refusal to speak in individuals' native languages. Fourthly, I discuss a case study of Ukrainian Diaspora in the United States, and Ukrainians' complex relationship with language policies in Ukraine and the United States. I conclude with how a more pluralistic and cross-cultural approach to linguistic acceptance and how ethnic language studies could improve relations within the Ukrainian Diaspora and society at large.

Introduction

Social attitudes toward language in the United States have been informed by three successive but historically overlapping trends: multilingualism, assimilation, and exclusion in relation to non-native English speakers. Multilingual policies and attitudes were in place between 1770 and 1820, and were influenced by the German, British, Spanish, and French colonists who brought their language and culture to the New World (Schmid, 2001). In contrast, indigenous cultures, populations in American territories like Puerto Rico, Latino/a, and Chicano/a people faced forced assimilation in which they were taught to be *civilized* Americans and punished for their cultural roots, starting with provisions for the expenditure of funds made by Congress in 1802 to bring "civilization among the aborigines" (Schmid, 2001). Attitudes and polices of linguistic exclusion were adopted in response to new waves of immigration during the early 1900s from Southern and Eastern Europe, as immigrants occupied less skilled jobs, lived in poorer areas and, were mostly unfamiliar with living in countries with democratic ideals. Each of these linguistic trends, in their own way, served the purpose of *Americanizing* different cultures, and resulted in

ideological assumptions, social attitudes, and cultural stereotypes toward those who did not speak English as their native language in the United States (Schmid, 2001; Feagin 1997). Americanization aimed to assimilate immigrants into Americans who spoke fluent English and supported American nationalism, culture, and democracy.

In this paper, I claim that among the tools that sustain linguistic imperialism in the United States are social attitudes which result in superiority of proper English, and internal shame as well as identity confusion for non-native speakers. Social attitudes are popular beliefs and stereotypes that ascribe to a particular group of people specific qualities said to be representative of that group as a whole. Usually, in regard to languages other than English, social attitudes have negative impacts on social acceptance of non-native speakers because there is a sustained ideology of linguistic superiority of the native English-speaking group above all others (Feagin, 1997). This ideology is sustained because of the strengthening ethno-nationalism and nativism, forceful assimilate people who exhibit linguistic differences, and the exclusion of those deemed unfit for the category of American citizens (Schmid, 2001). They also fuel the historic belief that English is a language of intelligent, educated, and progressive people (Schmid, 2001).

The impact of linguistic superiority of is evidenced by analyzing the experiences of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States. Ukrainians faced Russian imperialism in their homeland, reclaimed their Ukrainian identity after immigrating to the United States, and then were excluded from their own Ukrainian identity because they spoke Russian (Sasynuik, 1999; Satzewich, 2003). Linguistic superiority was maintained by bans on Ukrainian language, destruction of all materials in Ukrainian, and discrimination against individuals who promoted or spoke Ukrainian. English language added complexity to the linguistic identity of Ukrainians since newcomers wanted to assimilate into American culture by learning English and being less involved in the activities of

the diaspora (Radzilowski, 2007). Linguistic superiority of the culturally-dominant language created not only the feeling of inferiority in Ukrainians and the desire to assimilate into society by distancing themselves and disassociating from their native culture, but also divisions and conflict within the Ukrainian communities at home and abroad (Bilaniuk 2003; Dzyuba 1968; Sasynuik, 1999;). The consideration of one language as superior also influenced native speakers of English to view Ukrainians as culturally inferior and undeserving of social respect and acceptance (Satzewich, 2000;).

The case study of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States demonstrates that (a) challenging social attitudes regarding native languages that have been considered inferior has to be an important component in efforts to reclaim and revitalize native languages; (b) liberal nationalist groups and movements should take into account diverse languages and re-appropriate the use of *colonizing* languages (such as Russian, in the case of Ukrainians) instead of excluding those members who had to assimilate into the dominant linguistic ideology; and (c) instead of blaming individuals for speaking in their native languages or excluding them, scholars, academics, activists, and educators would do better to concentrate their efforts into challenging the social structures in place.

I proceed by focusing on the historic social and political attitudes toward the English language. I analyze what social attitudes have been produced and how those stereotypes in the United States were created and continue to reinforce unequal conditions in political and social spheres. Secondly, I use the case study of the Ukrainian Diaspora to analyze language attitudes in Ukraine and the United States, focusing on how the periods of *Russification* in Ukraine suppressed the development and growth of the Ukrainian language, language politics within the Ukrainian diaspora, and divisions that the language has created between so-called "true" and "disloyal"

Ukrainians. I look into how immigrants and political refugees from Ukraine defined themselves as Ukrainians in the diaspora, and how language affected their internal and external relationship with other people and cultures. Thirdly, I examine social attitudes that linguistic imperialism has produced I conclude with the discussion of the importance of exposing and challenging such negative social attitudes toward languages.

The History of Language Laws in the U.S.

Language attitudes and policies in the United States are strongly connected to the concepts of nationalism and American identity (Pac, 2012). They fuel and define national identity, create cohesion among groups of diverse individuals, contribute to social values, and establish a sense of peoplehood. Early attitudes toward the English language in the United States were greatly influenced by the desire to form and define what it meant to be an American. Fueled by a nativist agenda and linguistic pluralism, English became a symbol of the United States and Americanization:

> …after the establishment of the U.S., central to the Americanization process was a nativist agenda advocating English as a symbol of American identity. This nativist ideology was justified through an Anglo-Saxon historical linear narrative of US history by romanticizing English as a historical element of national unity, and by projecting English onto the future as an element of common destiny. (Pac, 2012)

Proper English language became one of the categories of national identity: it served as a dividing line between the "insiders" and "outsiders" (Schmid, 2001). Language became a powerful tool in separating people into those who belonged and those who did not, creating power structures and

categories of fitness, and requiring those who wanted to participate in political and social spheres to assimilate.

The first policies and attitudes toward the English language among the Founding Fathers of the United States and Western European immigrants between 1770 and 1820, were influenced by bilingual tendencies: immigrants brought their culture and language to the new continent and wanted to keep the traditions of their homelands. Besides preserving cultural roots, such attitudes were also informed by pragmatic politics: the attempts to attract more voters from diverse backgrounds to support a specific political party. Multilingual policies were useful in attracting voters because European immigrants to the United States were interested in maintaining their native languages and cultures. Education in regions that spoke Western European languages was often bilingual and there was a strong support for bilingual press and public documents (Kloss, 1977).

In contrast to multilingual policies for Western European languages, Native Americans in the United States faced forced assimilation and prohibition of their native languages. "From the onset, Europeans did what they could to eradicate Native American languages. The colonists set out to 'civilize' and Christianize the Indians, forcing them to assimilate to Western civilization and to speak English" (Schmid, 2001). In 1802, the United States Government created provisions for the expenditure of funds to promote "civilization" among Native American people (Schmid, 2001). The assumptions behind those provisions were that indigenous people were *barbaric* and *uncivilized* – they did not meet the qualifications needed to become American citizens. Thus their cultural artifacts had to be abandoned and eradicated. Educational establishments, such as boarding schools, began the mission of Americanizing indigenous children, teaching them how to behave, speak, dress, and talk like English-speaking white children (Schmid, 2001). Such schools often

punished and discouraged children from speaking in their native languages and dialects. Populations of American territories like Puerto Rico, Latino/a, and Chicano/a people faced similar coerced linguistic (Garcia Martinez, 1976).

The first two trends of American linguistic practices such as mandatory monolingualism and assimilation were defined by accommodating different identity groups into the category of American citizens who spoke proper English. These practices aimed to strengthen national pride and encourage unity. Often described as the *Melting Pot* – different cultures into Americans were melted, often forcibly. During the 1900s, the new wave of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, however, brought a new wave of nativism and nationalism aimed at restriction and exclusion of those immigrants. The new immigrants occupied less skilled jobs, lived in the poorest areas, and were not accustomed to democratic ideals (Schmid, 2001). The first English language requirement for naturalization was adapted in order to limit entrance of Southern and Eastern Europeans into the United States because they were seen as unfit for assimilation (Schmid, 2001). They were seen as less desirable because they were considered uneducated, less intelligent, and distant from democratic ideals and values. Fear that the new immigrants would "threaten the nation's ability to assimilate and Americanize different cultures" was one of the motivating factors behind those exclusionary policies and negative attitudes (Carter, Green, & Hapern, 1996).

The hostile relationship of citizens toward non-European languages created the strong divisions between good American citizens and foreigners unworthy of political and social interactions. English-speaking majority adopted the attitude that those who did not abandon their native language in favor of English were not Americans. When American identity started to associate with speaking English, the newly arrived immigrants and their children were compelled to learn and speak English in order to gain social acceptance and integration. (Schmid, 2001).

One of the objections to this analysis of linguistic oppression could appeal to the fact that the English language has created a national solidarity, unity, and a unique American identity among the people. However, it is also important to consider the negative consequences of linguistic policies that excluded, assimilated, and denied people their native cultures. Taking into account the negative impacts of language laws could help to liberate those who have been oppressed and continue to experience language discrimination daily. National identity of the United States produced and maintained by the English language need not be dismissive or exclusionary to different ethnic languages and cultures, but can appreciate and welcome multilingualism and multiculturalism.

Social Attitudes towards Non-native Speakers

The historic periods of linguistic multilingualism, assimilation, and exclusion have influenced different negative social attitudes in the United States towards non-native English speakers, which prevailed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Stritikus, 2002). Those attitudes produced and maintained inequality in educational, social and political spheres, workplaces, and media representation between native and non-native speakers of English.

Social attitudes that I discuss are divided into two categories. The first is blaming non-English speaking individuals' capabilities for low academic, social, and political success, ignoring larger institutional structures that are in place in society. This blame creates views of others as less intelligent, leads to assimilative and often unproductive English-language systems of education, and produces inequality by benefitting native speakers' access to social privileges. The second is a feeling of inferiority that non-native speakers develop as a result of internalization of such hostile attitudes: they refuse to speak their native language, think of themselves as inferior, and have a

confusion of their identity and their role in society. Such attitudes result in difficulties to achieve the socially-defined goals of the American Dream and be accepted members of society.

Lost in Search of the American Dream

There was a prevailing view during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that those who did not speak English as their native language were intellectually inferior: "By the early twentieth century, the prevailing scientific community believed there was a close relationship between lack of English and lower intelligence" (Schmid, 2001). The political and social majority perceived the qualities of laziness, lack of intellect, and linguistic inferiority as inherent characteristics of non-native speakers' groups: "…the social majority does not perceive language and ethnic minorities' deprivations as outcomes of institutionalized language discrimination, but as inherent characteristics of these language groups, and the cause of their economic failure and poverty" (Pac, 2012). This allowed the majority to overlook the roots of the problem and justify social inequality and oppression.

The view that non-native speakers are intellectually inferior because of their inherent characteristics was helpful in assimilating non-native speakers and requiring them to learn English because English was seen as a form of liberation from "barbarism" and a path toward "civilization" (Schmid, 2001). Those who could not succeed in English were considered unfit for assimilation into American citizens because having poor English skills and a strong foreign accent would be the dividing line between those who were *normal* citizens and those who were *aliens* (Schmid, 2001). Those attitudes that considered non-English speakers to be intellectually deficient were self-reinforcing because they blamed individual actors for their laziness, deficiency in intellect and their inability to be successful.

Systems of education were often designed in ways that would disadvantage those who did not speak English as their native language (Pac, 2012). Firstly, non-native speakers had to go through the intensive English programs before they could take advanced classes, which would put them behind. Secondly, they often lived in lower socio-economic conditions and were excluded from social benefits and opportunities, which prevented them from being able to access special classes, activities, and school materials (Pac, 2012).

The negative attitudes of superiority of native English speakers resulted in support for intensive English education classes in most high schools around the United States, which necessarily required students to distance themselves from their native languages in order to be more successful. English in such classrooms was often taught "monolingually," ideal teachers were native speakers of English, and native language was seen as impeding English learning, advocating for the ideology that "the more English the better" (Pac, 2012). The model of forced English acquisition, through the denial of native cultures, often resulted in children's low self-esteem, low academic achievement, and underrepresentation in higher education (Pac 194).

When non-native English-speaking students in a few high schools and other educational establishments in the United States were introduced to their native languages and were able to express themselves and find acceptance in their social circles, they became significantly more successful. Augustine Romero and Sean Arce from Tucson Unified School District and Julio Cammarota (2009) from University of Arizona, who implemented critical race theory and encouraged students' reflection and participation in their classrooms, found that "…students started to experience greater academic success, and it is therein that our student developed their academic identities." Moreover, instruction in both native languages and English improved students' self-esteem, personal and professional achievement, and educational access (Pac, 2012;

Romero, Arce & Cammarota, 2009; Stritikus, 2002). Among the goals of ethnic studies were promoting acceptance of different nationalities and cultures in the United States while teaching linguistic minorities to become successful without assimilating or denying their native cultures (Romero, Arce & Cammarota, 2009).

But this success went only so far in most cases: instead of promoting bilingual and ethnic studies that could empower and provide non-native students with the tools to successfully navigate the world, many of these were forbidden and declared *un-American*. For example, the HB 2281, passed in Arizona, banned courses in the curriculums of any public or charter school that "1. Promote the overthrow of the United States government; 2. Promote resentment toward a race or class of people; 3. Are designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic group; and 4. Advocate ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals" (State of Arizona House of Legislators). While appearing to be neutral in language, the bill is racially charged and specifically targets Mexican Americans and Latinas/os (Elnagar, 2013). It excludes minority populations from public education, silencing the issues of race and ethnicity in education, "In practice, the law excludes, silences, and erases educational access to the cultural knowledge of colonized people in the Southwest" (Elnagar, 2013). In the view of legislators, ethnic studies disturbed the idea of a coherent American national identity, and the ideology of assimilation that tried to erase differences, and defined what it meant to be an American citizen in exclusionary and assimilative ways (Pac, 2012).

In the majority of schools in the United States that did not provide ethnic studies or bilingual education, non-native speakers were forced to assimilate and try harder in order to disprove social and political stereotypes that called them lazy and less intelligent: "This pressure, both implicit and explicit, involves continuing to perform the ways of assimilation that

marginalized peoples learned in order to get into college in the first place" (Martinez, 2009). Not considering institutional systems of inequality, non-native speaking students saw individual effort as the only cause of success, and worked harder to achieve success, as Martinez (2009) puts it:

> I was the "exceptional minority" in these courses, the one who believed the ideological myth that access and retention in higher education are achieved primarily through an individual's effort. Scholastic equal opportunity seemed a reality for all of those students in my cohort, and I believed that those outside of it did not attend college because they "did not value education" and did not want to achieve the American Dream.

Those students were seen as unable to achieve the American Dream because of the qualities in their character and their ethnicity, overlooking that they experienced assimilation, had to suppress their cultural identity, and fight for social inclusion (Martinez, 2009).

Internal Inferiority and Identity Confusion

Social attitudes and stereotypes often resulted in non-native speakers' feeling of inferiority, such as shame in their accent, the desire to limit the use of a native language, and the need to learn to speak "proper" English (Anzaldua, 2007). Linguistic identity is internal to how the person feels, relates, and thinks of oneself, "Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself" (Anzaldúa, 2007). Students who spoke in languages other than English were told that those languages would impede their learning capabilities: "In general, American society historically considers languages other than English and non-standard varieties of English as a problem rather than an asset, and stigmatizes the speakers in the everyday English language, media, films, and advertisement" (Pac, 2012). Media, advertisements, dominant political discourse connected the idea of what it meant

to be an American with the use and knowledge of English language. This was a message to those who do not speak the English language that they did not belong to an American identity, and had to abandon their native tongue in order to fit in (Pac, 2012).

The English language also served as a gatekeeper for the entrance to the majority culture, in which not speaking English was associated with *foreignness* and *difference*. In order to fully belong, one had to suppress one's native language. Individuals were encouraged to try harder to learn English, to blame those who do not appreciate English learning, and to measure their success in education with the level of English (Interviews in Stritikus, 2002). By internalizing the belief that their native language was inferior to English, non-native speakers also felt shame toward their culture and ethnicity (Anzaldua, 2007). As a result, those who had an accent or did not speak English as their native language felt the need to assimilate: "In this circular motion, by denigrating the social, cultural, and economic value of languages other than English and their speakers, the Anglo-Saxon elites perpetuated their privileged position, social inequality, and racism" (Pac, 2012).

The Ukrainian Diaspora in the United States

The case study of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States exemplifies a form of linguistic imperialism discussed in this paper because Ukrainians experienced Russian linguistic discrimination imposed by the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, and then by their own Russian-favoring compatriots during the years of Independent Ukraine. In the Ukrainian Diaspora, Ukrainians struggled to deal with issues of language as well, because the newly-arrived immigrants during the fourth wave of immigration who did not speak the Ukrainian language were not met warmly by the old waves of immigrants who wanted to preserve the authentic and historic form of

Ukrainian culture and tradition. By desiring to fit into the social culture in the United States, Ukrainians were further distanced from the diaspora by learning and promoting communication in English.

Ukrainian Russification and Language Prohibitions

A leading Ukrainian educator Konstantin Ushynskiy has insisted that a language is synonymous with a nation: "Should a language perish, a nation will perish" (Holowinsky, Shimahara, & Tomlinson-Clarke, 2001). Ushynskiy was referring to Ukrainian culture and language, specifically Ukrainians' complex relationship to language and their linguistic identity. The close geographical proximity to Russia and decades of living under the Tsarist Russian Empire and the Soviet Union created linguistic confusion among Ukrainians. Their own language was often declared inferior, their cultural artifacts were destroyed, and they could not speak, write or teach in their native language. Most of these efforts were in place to assimilate Ukrainians into Russian society, or, if unfit, destroy their culture and exclude them from political and social life (Satzewich, 2003).

There were three periods of Russification in Ukrainian history that have created the social and psychological divisions between Russian and Ukrainian languages. The first dated period of direct and forced Russification began in 1622 when Tsar Mikhail issued an order to burn all copies of Kyrylo Stavrovetsky's didactic gospels printed in Ukrainian (Antoshevskiy (2010); Virchenko, n.d.). When the Ukrainian language was prohibited, it was a sign to Ukrainian writers, academics, and scholars that their language and culture were inferior to that of the Russian Empire. Russian was recognized as the proper language, associated with intelligence, status, respect, and nobility.

Converting to Russian meant greater opportunities for work, education, and social acceptance in society (Bilaniuk, 2003).

The second period began with the emergence of the Soviet Union during 1917 and lasted till the Soviet collapse in 1991. Language was central to the cohesive national identity of the Soviet Union. Along with declaring Russian as its sole official language, the Soviet Union employed more subtle and communist-ideological methods, as Russian was declared the language of "social interactions" and the language of the "great Lenin" (Holowinsky, Shimahara, & Tomlinson-Clarke 2001). Those who spoke Ukrainian were viewed as bourgeois, nationalistic, separatist, and counterrevolutionary, which was equivalent to the accusation of a crime against the Soviet Union (Dzyuba, 1968).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine struggled to locate its national linguistic identity. The third period of Russification was subtle and more complex. Firstly, there were ethnic Russians remaining on the Ukrainian territory after the borders of the Independent Ukraine were established, who spoke and advocated for Russian while resisting urbanization. Secondly, the legacy of prohibition of Ukrainian and social attitudes that regarded it as a less intelligent and less noble language remained very strong in academic, social, and political discourses (Bilaniuk, 2003). Thirdly, people in most regions in Ukraine began to speak in *syrchuk* - the combination and blend of Ukrainian and Russian without a clear line between the two languages. However, it was still clear that even the attempts to inject Ukrainian within the halls of academia and public policy did little to challenge the social attitudes which regarded Russian as the language of progressive, educated, culturally-aware, and intelligent people (Bilaniuk, 2003).

Along with official language discrimination came the feeling of inferiority: Ukrainians began to think of themselves as little brothers and sisters of Russia (Dzyuba, 1968). Russian was

considered a language of power, high culture, science, and was also more institutionalized among public officials and professors (Bilaniuk, 2003). Students, even when taught in Ukrainian, desired to speak and learn Russian in social environments in order to appear civilized, progressive, and intelligent. Language started to divide people between those who were "true" Ukrainians – those, who spoke in Ukrainian and lived according to Ukrainian cultural traditions and customs, and were often regarded as "villagers;" versus people who lived in the cities, who often communicated in Russian, supported advancement, and active political and social life by distancing themselves from Ukrainian traditions. However, those divisions were not clearly defined, and the majority of individuals were nationalists who spoke in Russian; people who easily communicated in both, depending on their surroundings; and Ukrainians who spoke in Ukrainian but were not fierce supporters of nationalism or patriotism (Bilaniuk, 2003).

Defining 'Ukrainian' as a Legitimate Identity in the United States

Vic Satzewich (2003) identified four different waves of immigration from Ukraine to the United States:

The first wave, which took place roughly between 1880 and 1914, consisted mainly of labor migrants; the second wave occurred between 1920 and 1930 and consisted of a combination of labor migrants and political refugees; the third wave occurred between 1940 and 1954 and consisted mainly of political refugees; the fourth wave began in the late 1980s and continues to this day. The majority of fourth wave emigrants are labor migrants, although some refugees can also be found within this wave."

People in the Ukrainian Diaspora have a different relationship to their homeland, complex ethnic groups, social divisions, conflicts, and diverse attitudes toward language. The very first large

waves of Ukrainian immigrants came to the U.S. in the 1870s and consisted mostly of people who were too poor to receive an education. They were often labeled as "Russian" or "Austrian" according to the U.S. Immigration Statistics because Ukraine was under Russian and Austrian rule at that time (Radzilowski, 2007). Next came the peasants after the Russian Revolution in the 1920s, who were also poor and occupied the lowest-paid dangerous jobs in the U.S. (Radzilowski, 2007). The third waves consisted of mainly labor workers and political refugees who were escaping from economic, political, and social oppression in the Soviet Union during and after the World War II. The fourth wave occurred after the years of Independent Ukraine when people had the freedom to travel and emigrate, and consisted of people joining their families abroad or looking for better job opportunities and education (Radzilowski, 2007). The main difference between the waves was that the first immigrants had to occupy unskilled jobs, lived in poor areas, faced harsher discrimination at home and abroad, whereas later waves had greater access to education, social acceptance, and political protection (Satzewich, 2003). As a result, the Ukrainian Diaspora had elements of "a labor diaspora, a victim diaspora, and a cultural diaspora" at different points in time in the United States (Satzewich, 2003).

Because of the complex relationship to their ethnic identity in Ukraine, the first-wave of Ukrainian immigrants to the United States defined themselves as Ukrainians in the diaspora: "…the irony in the case of Ukrainians…is that their consciousness of themselves as 'Ukrainian' did not develop until they were *in* the diaspora and was not part of the baggage that they *brought to* the diaspora…many first-wave migrants became 'Ukrainian' in the diaspora" (Satzewich, 2003). Ukrainians wanted to establish "Ukrainian" as a legitimate identity because of their stateless identity in Ukraine, and in response to social, academic, and political exclusion in the United States (Satzewich, 2000).

The stateless identity of Ukrainians was informed by politics of the Russian Empire that tried to assimilate Ukrainians into Russian society by eliminating Ukrainian culture, traditions, artifacts, and historical narratives. People who immigrated to escape from political, social, and economic repressions during the Tsarist rule, looking for appropriate work and social life conditions, defined themselves as Ukrainians in the U.S. and formed their diaspora because of the freedom to express and identify with Ukrainian culture, "… this [the diaspora] was the first chance that many Ukrainians had to be Ukrainian and to express freely the symbolic aspects of their identity and heritage" (Satzewich, 2003). American political, economic and social elites needed to make sense of new immigrants from the Tsarist Russia: "The stateless Ukrainians - incorporated into the Tsarist Russian empire - were at the physical and symbolic periphery of Europe, and thus there was plenty of ambiguity about who they were…pre-existing racialized discourses were superimposed upon the Ukrainian immigrants to make sense of who they were" (Satzewich, 2000).

Moreover, Ukrainians were also forced to develop their distinct identity in response to racial stereotypes and accusations of unfitness to be characterized as American citizens. They were often regarded as those who lived in poor areas and occupied the least skilled jobs:

Ukrainian immigrants were often regarded as "the scum of the continent" who "diseased" the upstanding communities within which English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, Germans, and Americans lived. This kind of hostile ideological climate often became translated into "everyday racism" directed against Ukrainians and other eastern European immigrants. (Satzewich, 2000)

In response to the climate of hostility, some Ukrainians tried to separate themselves from Ukrainian culture completely, losing ties to language, customs, and family. The majority, however, started developing their unique cultural communities across the United States, since they needed

the support of the diaspora in order to have a fulfilled social life (Radzilowski, 2007). Because they were rejected by mainstream institutions and society, they formed organizations, churches, educational groups, markets, and other social activities to solidify their identity (Satzewich, 2000).

During the later waves of immigration, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and during the years of Independent Ukraine, most people left Ukraine for personal reasons such as family reunification, job opportunities and education (Radzilowski, 2007). They were often more educated, progressively-oriented, and distant from historic Ukrainian traditions. An article in the *Ukrainian Weekly* newspaper described the difficult relationship between the "old" and "new" immigrants:

> ...all the previous waves from Ukraine, despite differences in education or political beliefs, shared a common commitment to their Ukrainian heritage, whether it was their Church, or their language, or their culture and traditions. This long-term commitment does not seem to be present in many Fourth Wave immigrants, in fact, there often seems to be a disdain for things Ukrainian (Sasynuik, 1999).

The fourth wave of immigrants did not need the strong sense of themselves as Ukrainians or the support of the diaspora to be accepted into social and political life in the United States because they were educated, socially progressive, and, sometimes, had or quickly acquired sufficient knowledge and skills of English.

Language Complexities within the Ukrainian Diaspora

The first waves of immigration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created distinctly Ukrainian communities that spoke, praised, taught, and advocated for the use of

the Ukrainian language. While most of the first waves of immigrants that came during the Russian or learned and adapted in the diaspora, most people from the later waves of immigration during the Soviet period were more comfortable speaking Russian; they were not as comfortable with Ukrainian (Satzewich, 2003). As a result, the period from the 1990s to the present created divisions in the diaspora, in which "old" immigrants did not accept "new" Ukrainians, and refused to call them "true" Ukrainians:

> Given the widespread use of Russian in Ukraine during the Soviet period, many of the new immigrants are more comfortable speaking Russian than Ukrainian. But Ukrainians in the diaspora bristle when they hear new Ukrainian arrivals speak what in the diaspora was defined as the language of oppression in Ukraine; nor do they understand why any 'good' Ukrainian would choose to use that language. (Satzewich, 2003)

Ukrainians in the diaspora felt that they put effort into preserving cultural roots, maintaining the Ukrainian language and customs, and were deeply disappointed that many newly arrived Ukrainians in the United States did not express an interest in maintaining native traditions (Satzewich, 2003). In response to that hostile treatment, the new immigrants were hesitant to join diaspora and adapt to its language because to them it seemed as an archaic remnant of the turn-of-the century Ukrainian spoken in villages in Galicia in Western Ukraine (Wilson 2000). It was considered a "peasant" Ukrainian that seemed "incomprehensible to speakers of modern Ukrainian" (Satzewich, 2003). As a result, the Ukrainian diaspora, by trying to preserve the "authentic" Ukrainian language and culture, began to distance itself from the new immigrants because they were not "true" Ukrainians. As it rejected the new waves of immigrants, it started losing its connections to life in contemporary Ukraine, making it harder to pass on Ukrainian traditions in the United States.

The English language has created further complexities within the Ukrainian diaspora. The later waves of immigrants from Ukraine (from 1991 to the present) sometimes were able to learn English in their homeland, received better education, and did not face the similar level of discrimination in regard to their Ukrainian roots as the previous generations. Those factors allowed new immigrants to distance themselves further from the diaspora, because they did not need its support in order to assimilate and be accepted into American culture. The climate in the United States that encouraged cultural assimilation influenced Ukrainians, willingly or unwillingly, to desire distance from their traditions in order to successfully fit into social life (Radzilowski, 2007). Fedunkiw(n.d.), while discussing the contemporary situation of the Ukrainian diaspora, writes that, "…less than 17 percent of people of Ukrainian descent said Ukrainian was their primary language - and the future of the Ukrainian-American community can seem uncertain." The English language was one of the factors that contributed and reinforced the desire for that assimilation, because having better English skills could open doors for Ukrainian immigrants into better social and political opportunities (Radzilowski, 2007).

Those desires of acceptance experienced by Ukrainian immigrants are similar to those of Native American, Chicano/a, and other non-native English speaking groups in the United States, who felt the pressure to assimilate by distancing themselves from their own culture. Their lack of success was often blamed on their inability to speak English, therefore, influencing non-native speakers to seek inclusion and abandon their native languages and traditions. (Anzaldua, 2007; Radzilowski, 2007). Moreover, those individuals were often pressured to pick between (a) resisting assimilation and being accepted within their native community or (b) abandoning their native culture and being socially accepted in the United States. Challenging that either/or choice could be liberating to those seeking the acceptance of diversity. Instead of assimilating or excluding non-

native speakers, the social environment needs to be accepting of the fluidity and intersections of different linguistic identities.

Conclusion

This case study of Ukraine and how social attitudes and linguistic imperialism have impacted the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States demonstrates the complexities of language attitudes and how the factor of individual blame only divides and disconnects cultural communities. Firstly, it is necessary to take into account the complexities of language and communication in the society of diverse residents. Secondly, there needs to be a shift from blaming individuals to examining larger institutions in place.

Immigration, cross-cultural exchanges, travelling, and global communication have developed new linguistic identities that are constantly changing and re-defining themselves. Static understandings of languages continue supporting the hegemonic structures that reinforce inequality and exclusion between citizens and non-citizens. They reinforce inequality and exclusion by creating fixed characteristics that define what it is to belong to the larger society. In those excluded groups, as evidenced by the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States, language serves as an entrance exam that defines and separates "true" members of a culture versus those who are said to be traitors.

If people in society view language as complex, fluid, and changing, then the communities will be more accepting toward individuals who speak multiple languages and have accents. As a result, non-native speakers, instead of seeking assimilation, would be encouraged to appreciate and accept their ethnic and cultural differences in the United States. Shifting attention from individual blame to institutional practices and structures could have the potential to challenge

linguistic imperialism, exclusion, educational hegemony, and find more accepting and liberating methods of addressing the issues of language. Challenging social and political institutions is a lengthy and complex process, but awareness about the issues of linguistic imperialism can serve as beneficial and important step in this process.

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Mental Health Initiatives for Asian American Women

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Abstract

Despite being one of the fastest growing minorities of the United States, Asian Americans are most at risk for developing mental disorders and least likely to seek professional help. With a significant portion of the United States represented by Asian ethnicities, addressing the mental health needs of this population is not only important but necessary to advance the overall health of all Americans. The purpose of this paper is to describe the influences of cultural norms and standards that increase risk factors for poor mental health outcomes and negative help seeking attitudes in first generation Asian American college-aged females. These influences include: cultural beliefs, school-related peer relationships, and familial relationships. The paper also will conclude with a discussion about some potential strategies to improve overall health of Asian American female college students, such as the increased utilization of treatment services, and implications for future research study.

Introduction

Asian American females are an incredibly vulnerable subgroup of the Asian American population. They have the highest lifetime rate of suicidal thoughts (Kuroki & Tilley, 2012). Regrettably, Asian Americans as a whole are significantly less likely than Caucasians to mention

their mental health concerns to a relative (12% vs 25%), a mental health professional (4% vs 26%), or a physician (2% vs 13%) (Asian American Federation, 2009). The fact that this population is most susceptible to compromised psychological health, yet are also the least likely to seek help for mental health treatment is alarming. This indicates the need for more awareness and culturally appropriate services. Still, the data surrounding Asian American female students related to mental health and service utilization is scarce. In order to improve the quality of care provided for this population, more research needs to be completed.

In general, the Asian American population encompasses a variety of ethnicities. The term "Asian" identifies those who are Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Japanese, or Vietnamese

(Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012). Given the diversity of the Asian population in relationship to culture and ethnicity, it is no surprise that the Asian population grew more than any other racial group in the last 15 years (Hoeffel et al., 2012). Currently at 15.5 million people, Asian Americans are projected to be the fastest-growing ethnic group in the United States (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2014). With a significant portion of the United States represented by Asian ethnicities, addressing the mental health needs of this population is not only important but necessary to advance the overall health of all Americans.

Unfortunately, mental illness is often harder to diagnose because of the lack of diagnostic lab testing available and qualitative nature of the signs and symptoms. Furthermore, due to the cultural influences affecting the perception of mental disorders, diagnosing and treating mental illness is even more elusive in the Asian community. As a result, admitting any signs of mental distress is characterized as a sign of weakness for the family. In addition, there is a factor of shame for not just the family but also the individual for not having lived up to the standards that were expected from them. To this end, there is less initiative for the affected individual to seek help or treatment which can spiral them further into the progression of the mental illness. In fact, Asian Americans are three times less likely to seek mental health services than Americans (Nishi, 2015). In particular, first generation Asian Americans are most vulnerable to this pattern. It is important to understand the types of intervention techniques involved to encourage them to take advantage of their resources.

To address the growing prevalence of mental health illness in the Asian American population and improve the help seeking attitudes of this community, it is critical to explore the variables that contribute to these issues. Identifying cultural and familial influences, peer and school pressures, parental relationships and evaluating how they affect the mental health of Asian

Americans can help improve their outcomes. In particular, understanding the role of these factors on Asian American mental health can allow for improved interventions that are efficient, successful, and beneficial for this community.

As the fastest growing ethnic minority of the United States, it is fundamental to invest in the health of the Asian Americans in order to provide a hopeful future for America's health. Investigating all the factors related to their mental health development and poor treatment-seeking behaviors in this population can yield applicable data that applies to other minority or immigrant groups in this country. This will allow opportunities to support vulnerable populations and help advance the overall health of all diverse communities. In particular, there is a focus on the role of higher education on mental health outcomes to raise awareness on how to better support the student subculture. With the demand for pursuing higher education increasing, this endeavor is key to maintaining a safe environment for students to grow and become successful.

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to describe the influences of cultural norms and standards that increase risk factors for poor mental health outcomes and negative help seeking attitudes of first generation Asian American college-aged females. According to Guiao and Thompson (2004), later adolescent (17-19 years old) Asian American females are at a higher risk for developing a depression (a psychiatric disorder) than their younger counterparts (12-14). Because the age range of college students overlaps with the later adolescent age range, a study should be conducted to investigate how the college lifestyle plays a role in this relationship.

While general cultural factors like pressure for academic excellence and protective parenting styles have already been found to play a role in poor mental health outcomes in Asian

American female students, the college experience has yet to be considered. For example, the availability of mental health resources and social support in the college setting is poorly understood. First generation Asian Americans females are forced to navigate through college without the social support of the friends or family they left back home. Likewise, despite the availability of college counselors, there is a paucity of Asian American representation. The lack of adequate representation can result in an incompetent understanding of the cultural influences that are contributing to an Asian American female's psychological distress. Addressing the needs of this population to improve mental health outcomes can lead to healthier, happier communities, benefiting all Americans as a whole.

Review of Literature

The factors that can influence mental health in Asian American women are multi-dimensional, but understanding them may offer some ideas for assisting people with mental health issues or crises. Cultural influences, relationships in a school environment, and parent-child relationships may all contribute both positively and negatively to the mental health of Asian Americans.

Cultural Influences on Mental Health

Filial piety. There is a strong cultural component in the way of life for many of these Asian groups. Filial piety is one such example. This principle focuses on the importance of family togetherness. It emphasizes bringing pride to the family and respecting the decisions and opinions of one's elders.

In a study performed by Rhee, Chang, and Rhee (2003) Asian adolescents were naturally more dependent on their parents' opinions than their Caucasian peers. This behavior is common

for Asian families because of the cultural belief of filial piety. Although maintaining their cultural heritage is important, Asian American adolescents are pressured to assimilate to American ideologies in order to be successful. In contrast, however, these new Western ideologies place emphasis on the individual rather than the family (Zhou & Siu, 2009). In immigrant parent families, the pressure to retain their cultural identity while assimilating to the American belief system is overwhelming to many Asian Americans. The discrepancy in cultural identities can cause conflicts to arise within the family, resulting in intergenerational conflicts, and ultimately contributing to poor emotional health (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003).

Filial piety also emphasizes on upholding the family honor. This responsibility to uphold the family's pride may dissuade the individual from communicating problems to their elders out of shame and embarrassment (Uba, 1994). Not surprisingly, Asian adolescents reported more communication difficulties with their parents than Caucasian students (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003). This reluctance to communicate with the only social support system available can exacerbate the problem into an unmanageable and progressively unhealthy one.

Interestingly, the influence of filial piety on Asian Americans can be easily observed in social circumstances. The Asian student population reported significantly fewer friends than their Caucasian peers which is consistent with the cultural emphasis on familial unity (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003). Because the family is the most prioritized source of social support, peer-to-peer interactions are not as significant. Unfortunately, this reality is associated with social isolation, rejection, and poorer interpersonal skills, resulting in an inadequate social support system (Rhee et al, 2003). This is a significant risk factor for Asian adolescents to develop depression and other mental illness disorders.

Religious philosophies. Beliefs rooted in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism encourage students to exercise emotional restraint to avoid public embarrassment and familial shame (Shea & Yeh, 2008). Not only are Asian American adolescents at risk for poor mental health, they are discouraged from seeking appropriate resources as a result of their culture's ideologies.

Another important cultural standard for Asian Americans is the value for a quality education to reach financial security. Often, the financial success of an individual is a way of honoring their family. The foundation of this attitude is from the Confucian respect for learning (Zhou & Siu, 2009). Coupling this attitude with the strong reverence for their parents and the heavy emphasis on education, Asian American students set high academic expectations for themselves. Regrettably, these high achieving academic attitudes that Asian Americans adopt predispose them to increased levels of stress. Evidently, it is clear that Asian culture can contribute significantly to the behaviors and attitudes that lead to unfavorable mental health outcomes. However, it is important to respect and maintain culture in order to preserve intergenerational stability because strong family relations also facilitate positive mental health outcomes. Indeed, these cultural values put these individuals at risk but with the appropriate interventions, and publicity of available treatment options and resources, Asian Americans can achieve optimal mental health. One such intervention includes addressing unrealistic societal expectations like the model minority standard frequently imposed on this group.

School Relationships on Mental Health

The model minority myth. This notion expresses that Asian Americans are the ideal racial group in the United States due to their academic and financial success (Fong, 2008). Unfortunately, this notion oversimplifies the economic and educational realities of this population (Fong, 2008).

The expectation to live up to the standard proposed by the model minority myth creates overwhelming stress for many Asian American students. This pressure can discourage these students from seeking help in the event of a psychological crisis. According to a recent study, there is an inverse relationship between internalized model minority myth and help-seeking attitudes (Kim & Lee, 2014). In other words, the model minority stereotype acts as a barrier for Asian American students to seek appropriate resources for help. Kim and Lee (2014) explain that an individual may value emotional self-control in order to satisfy the conditions of the model minority myth. Essentially, emotional restraint is considered a valuable attribute for Asian American students who internalize the model minority myth and are likely to have unfavorable help seeking attitudes as it compromises the former (Kim & Lee, 2014). The model minority myth not only places unnecessary burden for Asian American students to meet the exaggerated academic expectations of the stereotype but also deters them from seeking appropriate help. In return, this not only compromises the mental health of Asian American students but also hinders their ability to seek treatment.

High susceptibility to peer and social pressures. School relationships were positively correlated with suicide attempts due to acculturated stress from social pressures (Wong & Maffini, 2011). These include conformity to other peers' fashion, the desire to fit in with social groups, and the need to show interest in boys, all of which are antithetical to their parents' values (Wong & Maffini, 2011). This peer pressure can create internalized confusion and guilt because of the conflict of interests between family values and the assimilated values from a Westernized society. Therefore, due to the vulnerability of Asian American women to peer pressure, there is a mental health concern for individuals attending academic institutions as a result of the high social community.

At the same time, strong peer relationships was also associated with increased drug and alcohol use in Asian American females with depression (Fang, Barnes-Ceeney, Schinke, 2011). It was theorized that these citizen may engage in substance use to "fit in" with their peers who are using because they are very peer oriented and therefore susceptible to social influences (Fang, Barnes-Ceeney, Schinke, 2011).

Poor coping techniques in school. Asian American female college may also engage in maladaptive coping methods which further put these individuals at risk for long term issues. A vast majority of these students are at risk for substance use despite high academic performance (Fang et al., 2011). Therefore, school performance is not a relevant factor for identifying substance use but rather the parental expectations and their pressure on students to succeed.

Often times, these students resort to illicit drugs and alcohol to alleviate their depression (Iwamoto, Liu, & McCoy, 2011). Indeed, women who drank more heavily and used more substances reported poorer mental health compared to those who drank and used less (Cheng, Iwamoto, & Lee, 2012). There is a positive correlation between drug and alcohol use and poor mental health. Additionally, avoidant coping was identified as a strong predictor for depressive symptoms because such strategies included self-blame or self-criticism, which contributed to decreased self-worth (Iwamoto, Liu, & McCoy, 2011). These results illustrate the need to resolve mental health issues before individuals resort to alcoholic or substance abuse that can cause physiological harm.

Parent-Child Relationships on Mental Health

Risk factors. One of the risk factors Asian American female students experience is having more expectations imposed on them than their male peers. For instance, Asian mothers may expect their daughters to be psychologically and financially independent which emphasizes the

importance of an excellent education (Yuwen & Chen, 2013). This demonstrates the added pressure for Asian American females to not just meet the standards of the model minority myth but also achieve financial independence to please their parents. In fact, due to increased pressure to perform well in school, female Asian students reported higher rates of suicide attempts when they had stronger school relationships (Wong & Maffini, 2011). Evidently, gender-based pressure may contribute to the growing statistic for mental health illness in Asian American women.

Compared to their male counterparts, female Asian Americans are consistently evaluated on higher standards and with more protective gestures by their parents (Yuwen & Chen, 2013). This could be attributed to the philosophy that female students who are harder workers and well educated can become financially independent whereas it does not matter as much for male students. Females perceived higher levels of parental monitoring and control than males did. This leads to increased parent-child conflicts which can compromise the psychological and emotional health of Asian American females (Yuwen & Chen, 2013). Overall, stricter parental control, more familial obligations and greater expectations to retain Asian cultural traditions can lead to an acculturative experience of stress for female Asian American students. In fact, the influence of these stricter standards for Asian American females is demonstrated by a study performed by Guiao and Thompson (2004) which revealed that 17-19 year old Asian American females were at a significantly high risk for developing depression and engaging in alcohol use.

Higher acculturation. Asian American women who are more acculturated to the Western communities have a higher risk factor for poor mental health outcomes. For instance, women born in another country were less likely than those born in the United States to have a lifetime case of mental disorders (Takeuchi et al., 2007). In fact, US nativity was strongly associated with developing an anxiety disorder (Takeuchi et al., 2007). This notion is further supported by the data

that second generation women were more at risk for lifetime and 12 month disorders (Takeuchi et al., 2007).

Recently, it was discovered that among Asian American women who were children of immigrants, severe family conflict led to alcohol and drug use as coping mechanisms (Hahm et al., 2013). In other words, the presence of intergenerational conflict predicted increased drug use, suicidal ideation, and suicidal attempts (Hahm et al., 2013). This relationship highlights the significance of immigration-related factors on mental health in Asian American women. In particular, Asian Americans who are children of immigrants had a higher prevalence of suicidal ideation and attempts than U.S. adult women (Hahm et al., 2013). This is likely due to the greater divergence of values and ideals between immigrant family members and United States born women.

Decreased self-esteem. Another risk factor in parent child relationships is low self-esteem. Students who grew up with poor maturational support had a lower perception of self-worth (Chung, 2003). The difference in communication style for affection between Asian and Western cultures caused cultural turmoil for students exposed to them. Hard discipline and family honor led to inadequate maturational support for these college women. To fill this emotional void, they sought out romantic relationships in college. With many lacking appropriate judgement in mate selection, they soon became emotionally distraught over their unsuccessful romances. This continuous rejection of love from the college and family settings reinforced feelings of hopelessness which contributed to their suicidal behaviors (Chung, 2003). It is evident that family belongingness and communication for affection are critical variables that protect against adverse mental health behaviors like suicide and depression for Asian American college females.

Coincidentally, adolescents with poor parental communication had a higher likelihood of low self-esteem (Rhee et al., 2003).

It is true that Asian American college females are more likely to have positive attitudes about seeking professional help than their male counterparts because society disapproves of males displaying emotions (Shea &Yeh, 2008). However, their utilization of adequate mental health resources is still lacking. While cultural stigma has been commonly identified for this outcome, new research proposes that self-stigma, a reduction of self-worth, is a more potent reason for poor professional help usage among Asian American college women (Miville and Constantine, 2007). Therefore, the role of self-esteem should be explored more to comprehend the reasoning for underutilization of professional support for this population.

Protective factors. It is clear that there are several risk factors involving parent child relationships that contribute to poor mental health outcomes. At the same time, the very variables that increase risk for the Asian American female community can be recognized as protective factors, depending on the circumstance. Protective factors are qualities that prevent individuals from developing mental illness or improve their likelihood for utilizing professional treatment (Lund, Chan, & Liang, 2014).

Sense of belonging. It was also determined that strong relational health defined as grounded relationships with mentors, peers, and the community had a lower depression incidence than those with poorer relational health (Lund, Chan, & Liang, 2014). In other words, a sense of belonging within a community was a protective factor for developing depression in a college setting. In fact, Joiner's interpersonal-psychological theory states that belongingness is protective against suicidal desire (Wong & Maffini, 2011). Family belonging was an especially protective

factor from suicide attempts possibly because it was a main source of self-esteem and acted as a security buffer (Wong & Maffini, 2011). This could be illustrated by high family responsiveness, and verbal affection which are protective family behaviors that minimize the Asian value gaps between daughters and their parents (Park, Tsong, & Vo, 2009).

Implications for Mental Health Care

With so many culturally rooted behaviors that contribute to disadvantageous mental health outcomes, there is a need for culturally competent health care services available in order to provide quality care. Literature has definitely supported the need for increased awareness of mental health services, addressing inaccurate societal expectations about culture and gender, improving intergenerational relationships, reducing mental health stigma within the community, and culturally competent and ethnically diverse health care staff to improve mental health outcomes for this community.

Any health care professional should have some familiarity with some of the belief systems of a particular culture to provide quality care. The professionals' self-awareness for their own culture and professional background is equally important (Campinha-Bacote, 1997). Any care provider who may be providing mental health assistance should have some familiarity with the practices and belief system of a culture group to provide good care. This care includes being aware of one's own culture influences that may both facilitate or inhibit care.

Unfortunately, there are not a lot of current interventions available to address the growing mental health concerns of the Asian American female student population at a university setting. To this end, strategies to initiate assistance and promote positive treatment seeking attitudes for this community continue to remain unclear. Improving mental health outcomes and encouraging treatment utilization is a multifaceted effort all members of the community should invest in

whether it exists on a local, state-wide, or even federal level. In particular, addressing mental illness should be an agenda for not just health care professionals but also for political stakeholders and academic institutions. While at infancy, development of policies to raise awareness, establish local resources, and create a supportive community are promising.

It is evident that there are many variables related to the development of mental illness in Asian American women and their poor help-seeking attitudes. These factors include cultural values, school-related pressures, and parental relationships. Due to the growing population of this ethnic demographic, it is imperative to identify early intervention strategies to reduce the prevalence of the problem and raise awareness and promote establishment of local resources to encourage treatment utilization. There is a paucity in research that specifically addresses the needs for the vulnerable population identified in this paper so more research initiatives should be developed to aid this cultural demographic.

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Nontraditional Students: An Exploratory Study of College Students Raising Families

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Abstract

Despite being one of the fastest growing minorities of the United States, Asian Americans are most at risk for developing mental disorders and least likely to seek professional help. With a significant portion of the United States represented by Asian ethnicities, addressing the mental health needs of this population is not only important but necessary to advance the overall health of all Americans. The purpose of this paper is to describe the influences of cultural norms and standards that increase risk factors for poor mental health outcomes and negative help seeking attitudes in first generation Asian American college-aged females. These influences include: cultural beliefs, school-related peer relationships, and familial relationships. The paper also will conclude with a discussion about some potential strategies to improve overall health of Asian American female college students, such as the increased utilization of treatment services, and implications for future research study.

Introduction

Asian American females are an incredibly vulnerable subgroup of the Asian American population. They have the highest lifetime rate of suicidal thoughts (Kuroki & Tilley, 2012). Regrettably, Asian Americans as a whole are significantly less likely than Caucasians to mention their mental health concerns to a relative (12% vs 25%), a mental health professional (4% vs 26%), or a physician (2% vs 13%) (Asian American Federation, 2009). The fact that this population is most susceptible to compromised psychological health, yet are also the least likely to seek help for mental health treatment is alarming. This indicates the need for more awareness and culturally appropriate services. Still, the data surrounding Asian American female students related to mental health and service utilization is scarce. In order to improve the quality of care provided for this population, more research needs to be completed.

In general, the Asian American population encompasses a variety of ethnicities. The term "Asian" identifies those who are Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Japanese, or Vietnamese (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012). Given the diversity of the Asian population in relationship to culture and ethnicity, it is no surprise that the Asian population grew more than any other racial group in the last 15 years (Hoeffel et al., 2012). Currently at 15.5 million people, Asian

Americans are projected to be the fastest-growing ethnic group in the United States (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2014). With a significant portion of the United States represented by Asian ethnicities, addressing the mental health needs of this population is not only important but necessary to advance the overall health of all Americans.

Unfortunately, mental illness is often harder to diagnose because of the lack of diagnostic lab testing available and qualitative nature of the signs and symptoms. Furthermore, due to the cultural influences affecting the perception of mental disorders, diagnosing and treating mental illness is even more elusive in the Asian community. As a result, admitting any signs of mental distress is characterized as a sign of weakness for the family. In addition, there is a factor of shame for not just the family but also the individual for not having lived up to the standards that were expected from them. To this end, there is less initiative for the affected individual to seek help or treatment which can spiral them further into the progression of the mental illness. In fact, Asian Americans are three times less likely to seek mental health services than Americans (Nishi, 2015). In particular, first generation Asian Americans are most vulnerable to this pattern. It is important to understand the types of intervention techniques involved to encourage them to take advantage of their resources.

To address the growing prevalence of mental health illness in the Asian American population and improve the help seeking attitudes of this community, it is critical to explore the variables that contribute to these issues. Identifying cultural and familial influences, peer and school pressures, parental relationships and evaluating how they affect the mental health of Asian Americans can help improve their outcomes. In particular, understanding the role of these factors on Asian American mental health can allow for improved interventions that are efficient, successful, and beneficial for this community.

As the fastest growing ethnic minority of the United States, it is fundamental to invest in the health of the Asian Americans in order to provide a hopeful future for America's health. Investigating all the factors related to their mental health development and poor treatment-seeking behaviors in this population can yield applicable data that applies to other minority or immigrant groups in this country. This will allow opportunities to support vulnerable populations and help advance the overall health of all diverse communities. In particular, there is a focus on the role of higher education on mental health outcomes to raise awareness on how to better support the student subculture. With the demand for pursuing higher education increasing, this endeavor is key to maintaining a safe environment for students to grow and become successful.

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to describe the influences of cultural norms and standards that increase risk factors for poor mental health outcomes and negative help seeking attitudes of first generation Asian American college-aged females.-According to Guiao and Thompson (2004), later adolescent (17-19 years old) Asian American females are at a higher risk for developing a depression (a psychiatric disorder) than their younger counterparts (12-14). Because the age range of college students overlaps with the later adolescent age range, a study should be conducted to investigate how the college lifestyle plays a role in this relationship.

While general cultural factors like pressure for academic excellence and protective parenting styles have already been found to play a role in poor mental health outcomes in Asian American female students, the college experience has yet to be considered. For example, the availability of mental health resources and social support in the college setting is poorly understood. First generation Asian Americans females are forced to navigate through college

without the social support of the friends or family they left back home. Likewise, despite the availability of college counselors, there is a paucity of Asian American representation. The lack of adequate representation can result in an incompetent understanding of the cultural influences that are contributing to an Asian American female's psychological distress. Addressing the needs of this population to improve mental health outcomes can lead to healthier, happier communities, benefiting all Americans as a whole.

Review of Literature

The factors that can influence mental health in Asian American women are multi-dimensional, but understanding them may offer some ideas for assisting people with mental health issues or crises. Cultural influences, relationships in a school environment, and parent-child relationships may all contribute both positively and negatively to the mental health of Asian Americans.

Cultural Influences on Mental Health

Filial piety. There is a strong cultural component in the way of life for many of these Asian groups. Filial piety is one such example. This principle focuses on the importance of family togetherness. It emphasizes bringing pride to the family and respecting the decisions and opinions of one's elders.

In a study performed by Rhee, Chang, and Rhee (2003) Asian adolescents were naturally more dependent on their parents' opinions than their Caucasian peers. This behavior is common for Asian families because of the cultural belief of filial piety. Although maintaining their cultural heritage is important, Asian American adolescents are pressured to assimilate to American ideologies in order to be successful. In contrast, however, these new Western ideologies place

emphasis on the individual rather than the family (Zhou & Siu, 2009). In immigrant parent families, the pressure to retain their cultural identity while assimilating to the American belief system is overwhelming to many Asian Americans. The discrepancy in cultural identities can cause conflicts to arise within the family, resulting in intergenerational conflicts, and ultimately contributing to poor emotional health (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003).

Filial piety also emphasizes on upholding the family honor. This responsibility to uphold the family's pride may dissuade the individual from communicating problems to their elders out of shame and embarrassment (Uba, 1994). Not surprisingly, Asian adolescents reported more communication difficulties with their parents than Caucasian students (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003). This reluctance to communicate with the only social support system available can exacerbate the problem into an unmanageable and progressively unhealthy one.

Interestingly, the influence of filial piety on Asian Americans can be easily observed in social circumstances. The Asian student population reported significantly fewer friends than their Caucasian peers which is consistent with the cultural emphasis on familial unity (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003). Because the family is the most prioritized source of social support, peer-to-peer interactions are not as significant. Unfortunately, this reality is associated with social isolation, rejection, and poorer interpersonal skills, resulting in an inadequate social support system (Rhee et al, 2003). This is a significant risk factor for Asian adolescents to develop depression and other mental illness disorders.

Religious philosophies. Beliefs rooted in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism encourage students to exercise emotional restraint to avoid public embarrassment and familial shame (Shea & Yeh, 2008). Not only are Asian American adolescents at risk for poor mental

health, they are discouraged from seeking appropriate resources as a result of their culture's ideologies.

Another important cultural standard for Asian Americans is the value for a quality education to reach financial security. Often, the financial success of an individual is a way of honoring their family. The foundation of this attitude is from the Confucian respect for learning (Zhou & Siu, 2009). Coupling this attitude with the strong reverence for their parents and the heavy emphasis on education, Asian American students set high academic expectations for themselves. Regrettably, these high achieving academic attitudes that Asian Americans adopt predispose them to increased levels of stress. Evidently, it is clear that Asian culture can contribute significantly to the behaviors and attitudes that lead to unfavorable mental health outcomes. However, it is important to respect and maintain culture in order to preserve intergenerational stability because strong family relations also facilitate positive mental health outcomes. Indeed, these cultural values put these individuals at risk but with the appropriate interventions, and publicity of available treatment options and resources, Asian Americans can achieve optimal mental health. One such intervention includes addressing unrealistic societal expectations like the model minority standard frequently imposed on this group.

School Relationships on Mental Health

The model minority myth. This notion expresses that Asian Americans are the ideal racial group in the United States due to their academic and financial success (Fong, 2008). Unfortunately, this notion oversimplifies the economic and educational realities of this population (Fong, 2008). The expectation to live up to the standard proposed by the model minority myth creates overwhelming stress for many Asian American students. This pressure can discourage these students from seeking help in the event of a psychological crisis. According to a recent study, there

is an inverse relationship between internalized model minority myth and help-seeking attitudes (Kim & Lee, 2014). In other words, the model minority stereotype acts as a barrier for Asian American students to seek appropriate resources for help. Kim and Lee (2014) explain that an individual may value emotional self-control in order to satisfy the conditions of the model minority myth. Essentially, emotional restraint is considered a valuable attribute for Asian American students who internalize the model minority myth and are likely to have unfavorable help seeking attitudes as it compromises the former (Kim & Lee, 2014). The model minority myth not only places unnecessary burden for Asian American students to meet the exaggerated academic expectations of the stereotype but also deters them from seeking appropriate help. In return, this not only compromises the mental health of Asian American students but also hinders their ability to seek treatment.

High susceptibility to peer and social pressures. School relationships were positively correlated with suicide attempts due to acculturated stress from social pressures (Wong & Maffini, 2011). These include conformity to other peers' fashion, the desire to fit in with social groups, and the need to show interest in boys, all of which are antithetical to their parents' values (Wong & Maffini, 2011). This peer pressure can create internalized confusion and guilt because of the conflict of interests between family values and the assimilated values from a Westernized society. Therefore, due to the vulnerability of Asian American women to peer pressure, there is a mental health concern for individuals attending academic institutions as a result of the high social community.

At the same time, strong peer relationships was also associated with increased drug and alcohol use in Asian American females with depression (Fang, Barnes-Ceeney, Schinke, 2011). It was theorized that these citizen may engage in substance use to "fit in" with their peers who are

using because they are very peer oriented and therefore susceptible to social influences (Fang, Barnes-Ceeney, Schinke, 2011).

Poor coping techniques in school. Asian American female college may also engage in maladaptive coping methods which further put these individuals at risk for long term issues. A vast majority of these students are at risk for substance use despite high academic performance (Fang et al., 2011). Therefore, school performance is not a relevant factor for identifying substance use but rather the parental expectations and their pressure on students to succeed.

Often times, these students resort to illicit drugs and alcohol to alleviate their depression (Iwamoto, Liu, & McCoy, 2011). Indeed, women who drank more heavily and used more substances reported poorer mental health compared to those who drank and used less (Cheng, Iwamoto, & Lee, 2012). There is a positive correlation between drug and alcohol use and poor mental health. Additionally, avoidant coping was identified as a strong predictor for depressive symptoms because such strategies included self-blame or self-criticism, which contributed to decreased self-worth (Iwamoto, Liu, & McCoy, 2011). These results illustrate the need to resolve mental health issues before individuals resort to alcoholic or substance abuse that can cause physiological harm.

Parent-Child Relationships on Mental Health

Risk factors. One of the risk factors Asian American female students experience is having more expectations imposed on them than their male peers. For instance, Asian mothers may expect their daughters to be psychologically and financially independent which emphasizes the importance of an excellent education (Yuwen & Chen, 2013). This demonstrates the added pressure for Asian American females to not just meet the standards of the model minority myth but also achieve financial independence to please their parents. In fact, due to increased pressure

to perform well in school, female Asian students reported higher rates of suicide attempts when they had stronger school relationships (Wong & Maffini, 2011). Evidently, gender-based pressure may contribute to the growing statistic for mental health illness in Asian American women.

Compared to their male counterparts, female Asian Americans are consistently evaluated on higher standards and with more protective gestures by their parents (Yuwen & Chen, 2013). This could be attributed to the philosophy that female students who are harder workers and well educated can become financially independent whereas it does not matter as much for male students. Females perceived higher levels of parental monitoring and control than males did. This leads to increased parent-child conflicts which can compromise the psychological and emotional health of Asian American females (Yuwen & Chen, 2013). Overall, stricter parental control, more familial obligations and greater expectations to retain Asian cultural traditions can lead to an acculturative experience of stress for female Asian American students. In fact, the influence of these stricter standards for Asian American females is demonstrated by a study performed by Guiao and Thompson (2004) which revealed that 17-19 year old Asian American females were at a significantly high risk for developing depression and engaging in alcohol use.

Higher acculturation. Asian American women who are more acculturated to the Western communities have a higher risk factor for poor mental health outcomes. For instance, women born in another country were less likely than those born in the United States to have a lifetime case of mental disorders (Takeuchi et al., 2007). In fact, US nativity was strongly associated with developing an anxiety disorder (Takeuchi et al., 2007). This notion is further supported by the data that second generation women were more at risk for lifetime and 12 month disorders (Takeuchi et al., 2007).

Recently, it was discovered that among Asian American women who were children of immigrants, severe family conflict led to alcohol and drug use as coping mechanisms (Hahm et al., 2013). In other words, the presence of intergenerational conflict predicted increased drug use, suicidal ideation, and suicidal attempts (Hahm et al., 2013). This relationship highlights the significance of immigration-related factors on mental health in Asian American women. In particular, Asian Americans who are children of immigrants had a higher prevalence of suicidal ideation and attempts than U.S. adult women (Hahm et al., 2013). This is likely due to the greater divergence of values and ideals between immigrant family members and United States born women.

Decreased self-esteem. Another risk factor in parent child relationships is low self-esteem. Students who grew up with poor maturational support had a lower perception of self-worth (Chung, 2003). The difference in communication style for affection between Asian and Western cultures caused cultural turmoil for students exposed to them. Hard discipline and family honor led to inadequate maturational support for these college women. To fill this emotional void, they sought out romantic relationships in college. With many lacking appropriate judgement in mate selection, they soon became emotionally distraught over their unsuccessful romances. This continuous rejection of love from the college and family settings reinforced feelings of hopelessness which contributed to their suicidal behaviors (Chung, 2003). It is evident that family belongingness and communication for affection are critical variables that protect against adverse mental health behaviors like suicide and depression for Asian American college females. Coincidentally, adolescents with poor parental communication had a higher likelihood of low self-esteem (Rhee et al., 2003).

It is true that Asian American college females are more likely to have positive attitudes about seeking professional help than their male counterparts because society disapproves of males displaying emotions (Shea &Yeh, 2008). However, their utilization of adequate mental health resources is still lacking. While cultural stigma has been commonly identified for this outcome, new research proposes that self-stigma, a reduction of self-worth, is a more potent reason for poor professional help usage among Asian American college women (Miville and Constantine, 2007). Therefore, the role of self-esteem should be explored more to comprehend the reasoning for underutilization of professional support for this population.

Protective factors. It is clear that there are several risk factors involving parent child relationships that contribute to poor mental health outcomes. At the same time, the very variables that increase risk for the Asian American female community can be recognized as protective factors, depending on the circumstance. Protective factors are qualities that prevent individuals from developing mental illness or improve their likelihood for utilizing professional treatment (Lund, Chan, & Liang, 2014).

Sense of belonging. It was also determined that strong relational health defined as grounded relationships with mentors, peers, and the community had a lower depression incidence than those with poorer relational health (Lund, Chan, & Liang, 2014). In other words, a sense of belonging within a community was a protective factor for developing depression in a college setting. In fact, Joiner's interpersonal-psychological theory states that belongingness is protective against suicidal desire (Wong & Maffini, 2011). Family belonging was an especially protective factor from suicide attempts possibly because it was a main source of self-esteem and acted as a security buffer (Wong & Maffini, 2011). This could be illustrated by high family responsiveness,

and verbal affection which are protective family behaviors that minimize the Asian value gaps between daughters and their parents (Park, Tsong, & Vo, 2009).

Implications for Mental Health Care

With so many culturally rooted behaviors that contribute to disadvantageous mental health outcomes, there is a need for culturally competent health care services available in order to provide quality care. Literature has definitely supported the need for increased awareness of mental health services, addressing inaccurate societal expectations about culture and gender, improving intergenerational relationships, reducing mental health stigma within the community, and culturally competent and ethnically diverse health care staff to improve mental health outcomes for this community.

Any health care professional should have some familiarity with some of the belief systems of a particular culture to provide quality care. The professionals' self-awareness for their own culture and professional background is equally important (Campinha-Bacote, 1997). Any care provider who may be providing mental health assistance should have some familiarity with the practices and belief system of a culture group to provide good care. This care includes being aware of one's own culture influences that may both facilitate or inhibit care.

Unfortunately, there are not a lot of current interventions available to address the growing mental health concerns of the Asian American female student population at a university setting. To this end, strategies to initiate assistance and promote positive treatment seeking attitudes for this community continue to remain unclear. Improving mental health outcomes and encouraging treatment utilization is a multifaceted effort all members of the community should invest in whether it exists on a local, state-wide, or even federal level. In particular, addressing mental illness should be an agenda for not just health care professionals but also for political stakeholders

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Do Natural Disasters Induce More Crime?

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Abstract

The Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004 resulted in grave consequences for South East Asia. Indonesia, in particular, had the highest death toll, losing over 150,000 people. Indonesia's coastal region Aceh was the hardest hit by this disaster. Exploiting exogenous spatial variation at the district level, we use difference-in-difference analysis to estimate the causal effect of the 2004 disaster on subsequent crime rates. We find that after the tsunami, total annual crime rate went down, on average, by 244 crimes per annum.

Introduction

The toll from natural disasters has been on rise in the past two decades and consequences have been especially severe in low-income countries (Kahn 2005; United Nations and World Bank 2010). The toll of natural disasters in terms of human life is staggering and it affect all facets of human life, *e.g.,* after the 2004 Tsunami, Indonesia reported that the disaster affected 532,898 people. In addition, the death toll due to the Tsunami stood at 165,708 and the economic costs totaled approximately 15 USD billion (PreventionWeb, n.d.).

Previous economic studies have examined the effect of natural disasters on poverty, household expenditures, incomes, remittances and child health in developing countries (Anttila-Hughes & Hsiang 2013; Baez &Santos 2008; Gignoux & Menéndez 2014; Halliday 2006; Premand 2008; Yang 2008). However, limited research identifies the true causal effects of natural disasters on subsequent crime levels (Spencer, 2014).

Crime is one of the most pressing problems in much of the developing world (Fajnzylber, Lederman, and Loayza 1998). Despite the fact that data on criminality in the developing world is scarce and data generally underestimates true crime rates[1], crime rates are still higher in the developing world than they are in high-income countries.

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[1] Various reasons for this bias exist. Victims may not want to report crimes to the police because they are not easily accessible, or because they prefer to rely on their community's internal justice. Sometimes victims will not report crimes because they know

In this paper, we examine the causal effects of the 2004 tsunami on subsequent crime rates in Indonesia. The 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami occurred on December 26th with an epicenter off the west coast of Sumatra, Indonesia. Exploiting exogenous spatial variation at the district level, we use difference-in-difference analysis on crime information gathered from the Regional Autonomy Watch KPPOD/Asia Foundation and the Baden Pusat Statistik (Indonesia's Central Bureau of Statistics, BPS) that spans over 33 provinces of Indonesia, to estimate the effect of the disaster on subsequent crime rates.

We contribute to the economics literature by estimating the causal effects of a natural disaster on criminal activity in a low-income country. Broadly, the paper contributes to an emerging literature on the effects of natural disasters on various outcomes, such as consumption, fertility, health, income, and migration. Studies of two earthquakes that struck El Salvador in 2001 find that the earthquake shock led to lower migration and a reduction in household income (Baez & Santos 2008; Halliday 2006; Yang 2008). Premand (2008) finds moderate short-term effects of hurricane Mitch on consumption growth but no evidence for persistence. In contrast to these papers, we focus on crime outcomes.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. The next section provides context on Indonesia and on crime in the country. The third section describes our data source and variables. The fourth section details the identification strategy. The fifth section presents our results. In the final section, we conclude.

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that the police are powerless to apprehend criminals and obtain reparation. Sometimes they do not want others to know what happened to them. Police reports are therefore likely to yield an underestimation of criminality.

Natural Disasters and the Aceh Province in Indonesia

Setting

Indonesia is a low-income country that has exhibited steady progress and GDP growth for the past 30 years. The country has also experienced rapid increase in school enrollment and life expectancy as well as a large decrease in its poverty headcount, specifically in the past 10 years.

The success of the country as a whole stands in stark contrast to the economic development of the Aceh province. The province has been stuck in political and socioeconomic problems that have negatively affected the economic status of its inhabitants. Over the five years prior to the disaster, Aceh had been experiencing socio-political instability and economic disruption. The instability was rooted in the conflict between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the government (Gaillard, Clave, & Kelman, 2008). Between the 1970s and the 2000s, natural gas and oil had proven to be a new prominent source of business for Aceh (Gaillard, Clave, & Kelman, 2008). Due to the discovery of these resources, GDP had begun to increase at a rate that was a faster than any other provinces in Indonesia at the time. Ironically, the rate of poverty had begun to increase at an alarming rate as well. Between the years of 1980 and 2002, the poverty rate had risen 239% while Indonesia, as a whole, witnessed a decline in its poverty rate by 47% (Athukorala et al., 2005). Between 1999 and 2002, Aceh's poverty rate had doubled. The high poverty created other dire problems; 48.5% of the population lacked access to clean water, 38% lacked access to health services and 36.3% of children under the age of 5 malnourished (Athukorala et al., 2005).

The geography of Indonesia is distinct because the country consists of over 18,000 islands, 922 of them being permanently inhabited. The islands themselves are not very large, the largest being Sumatra, in which Aceh is located. The fact that these islands are small makes them vulnerable to oceanic disasters.

The December 26th Tsunami

Between 1907-2004, Indonesia experienced 312 natural disasters, averaging three natural disasters per year. The death toll per disaster stands at 976 with another 51,000 people economically affected per event (Athukorala et al., 2005).

The 2004 tsunami is regarded as the worst natural disaster in Indonesian history. An earthquake measured at 9.0 on the Richter scale led to a massive tsunami that reached the shallow waters of Indonesia within 28 minutes. Indonesia's toll was staggering – 167,000 were reported dead, 128,000 were reported missing and 647,000 were displaced (USAID, 2005). The province of Aceh, the closest to the east of the epicenter of the earthquake, bore the largest toll. According to the Indonesian government, fatalities surpassed 125,000 people, 110,000 people were missing; and over 400,000 people were displaced within the province (Athukorala et al., 2005). The three urban centers -- Banda, Aceh Jaya and Aceh Barat --- reported the highest number of people killed or missing (Gaillard et al., 2008).

In addition to the toll of human lives, the economic toll due to the disaster was also devastating. The World Bank reported damages of approximated US $4.5 billion, equivalent to about 100 % of Aceh's total GDP during the year of 2003 (Athukorala et al., 2005).

Data

Our primary dataset combines two sources: the Asia Foundation (KPPOD) and the Indonesia's Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS). The panel dataset covers 342 regions, which spans 33 provinces in Indonesia. Crime data comes from the Central Bureau of Statistics and includes number of crimes reported within each village. The data comprises crime from theft, robbery, mistreatment, plunder, rape, drugs, and murder.

According to Indonesian Crime Prevention foundation (ICPF) survey, there have been anecdotal links to more frequent instances of crime in provinces such as Aceh, which was hit hard by the tsunami. The most frequent crimes reported from these results were theft and looting (Indonesian Crime Protection Foundation, 2015). Most of the criminals were noted as young people and nonresidents of the area. People even noted that criminals included uniformed officials. Most of the goods were taken from houses, shops, house yards, cars and even from corpses.

Table 1 provides summary statistics of our analysis data. Variables include total crime (sum of all crimes), population, poverty headcount, high school enrollment, income per capita, population and number of villages. The mean of total crime in Aceh in 2003 was 392.15 (SD =466.20); in 2005, the mean was 167.61 (SD = 150.24). The average number of crimes declined sharply in the post period. Non-Aceh areas serve as a comparison group in our analysis The mean for total crime in this area in 2003 was 145.95 (SD of 121.43); and in 2005, the mean was 131.89 (SD of 110.51). Crime data from both Aceh and the comparison areas suggest an overall decrease in crime in Indonesia in the post-disaster period.

Table 1: Summary Statistics

	Observations	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Total Crime	684	144.28	135.71	0	1433.00
Poverty Headcount	684	18.26	9.81	0	53.22
High Sch Enrollment	684	101,462.20	125869.20	0	899806.00
Number of Villages	684	203.17	164.58	0	1266
Income per Population	684	7,861,375.00	1.58e+07	0	2.30e+08
Population (in thousands)	684	635,742.90	610801.50	0	4684748.00

In Aceh, high school enrollment experienced a decline in the mean number of people from 64293.69 to 56355.85. On the other hand, all other provinces exhibited an increase in high school enrollment as the mean jumped from 98353.35 to 107880.7. Income per total population of these regions also varied significantly, as the average income per total population decreased in Aceh over time, while other regions in Indonesia demonstrated an increase in income.

Identification Strategy

To estimate the effect of the tsunami on subsequent crime rates, we employ a difference-in-differences strategy. Specifically, we estimate the following equation:

$$Y_{it}=\beta_0+\beta_1 Treat_{it}+\beta_2 Post_{it}+\beta_3 Treat_{it}\times Post_{it}+X_{it}+\varepsilon_{it} \qquad (1)$$

The treatment, *Treat*$_{it}$, in this estimation is the province of Aceh, which is the most affected province by the tsunami. We use all other areas as a comparison benchmark. *Treat*$_{it}$ in Equation 1 captures 13 regions within the province of Aceh.

Our identification strategy controls for time in post- and pre- periods of the natural event. The pre-disaster period is 2003, a year before the disaster, and the post-disaster period is 2005. *Post*$_{it}$ accounts for any time trends in the outcome variable or for any interventions within the analysis period that could influence crime levels.

X$_{it}$ in Equation 1 accounts for district-level differences in population, poverty headcount, enrollment in secondary school, income per capita, number of villages and share of agriculture as total of GDP. In our empirical specification (Equation 1), β_3 captures the true causal effect of the 2004 tsunami on subsequent crime, holding all else constant. The key assumption in our analysis is that the average change in the comparison group (non-Aceh districts) represents a true

counterfactual (i.e., the non-Aceh districts and the rate of crime within them follows the same pattern of Aceh prior to the natural disaster).

Results

To uncover the causal effect of the Indian Ocean Tsunami on crime rates we run a difference-in-differences analysis. The specification without any control variables reveals a large negative relationship between the tsunami and subsequent crime rate. The regions that were affected by the tsunami, all else equal, exhibit on average 210 fewer crimes after the disaster as compared to the comparison areas (see Table 2).

Table 2: Main Results: Difference-in-Difference Estimation

Dependent Variable		
	Number of Crimes	Number of Crimes
	(1)	(2)
Treat*Post	-210.48***	-243.86***
	(52.50)	(33.89)
Mean Dependent Variable at Baseline	144.28	144.28
Controls	NO	YES
Observations	684	684

Notes: Standard errors in parenthesis. * Significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%. Controls include poverty headcount, number completed high school, number of villages, income per capita, and population

We then run our specification with controls. We control for population, poverty, schooling, and number of villages, and income. When we run our regression again we find that the coefficient for key variable becomes -243.86, which is consistent with the first specification but likely including other covariates eliminates some of the positive bias in the first regression specification.

Discussion and Conclusion

Using data from Indonesia before and after the tsunami disaster in 2004, we attempt to measure the impact of the disaster on crime rates. We use the Aceh province as the treatment unit of our analysis and we compare it with the rest of the Indonesian provinces. We use the difference-in-difference method to estimate the causal effect of the 2004 disaster on crime rates. We find that after the tsunami, crime rate goes down on average by 243.86. A key limitation in our analysis is our inability to test for the parallel trend assumption, which requires that the trend in the crime rate for both Aceh and comparison units during the pre-disaster era are similar.

Several channels could account for our surprising result. First, disasters may strengthen social cohesion and social capital and therefore decrease individuals' criminal proclivity in disaster periods. Second, when a disaster strikes, it is plausible that many crimes do not get reported and so our analysis may not account for them. The areas impacted by the natural disaster are often left in shambles and the officials of the area might have other, more important obligations to attend to.

Our paper provides one input into the consequences of natural disasters. Given that the likelihood of natural disasters is expected to rise, and with rapid urbanization the consequences to be larger, a careful analysis of the full array of benefits and costs to a disaster are necessary.

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From Jim Crow to Racial Tolerance: The African-American Experience During Interwar Period Paris

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From Jim Crow to Racial Tolerance: The African-American Experience During Interwar Period Paris

Abstract

During World War I, African-American soldiers came to France and discovered the relative diminishment of racial prejudices in the country. Since much of the United States still held racist Jim Crow era laws and prejudices, African-Americans had been barred from the same opportunities as their white counterparts. Because of this, many African-Americans moved to Paris during the interwar period to seek opportunities that were not available to them in the United States. This paper will explore how the less rigid and more nuanced racial ideologies found in Paris, enabled African-Americans to create strong relationships with Parisians and find the freedom that they were unable to find in the United States. By using the stories of James Reese Europe, Ada "Bricktop" Smith, and Josephine Baker as well as articles from The New York Times and popular African-American newspapers, I will explain to the reader how African-Americans were able to find success in Paris because of both the popularity of African-American culture with Parisians and the French population's less rigid racial system.

During World War I, African-American soldiers arrived in Paris to fight for the Allies. While in Paris, African-Americans became increasingly frustrated fighting for European freedom, since this freedom was something that they did not have at home due to the strict color lines drawn in much of the United States. After the war, many returned home and were disappointed to see that their position as a second-class citizen did not change. In 1919, violence towards African-Americans became rampant as countless riots happened in cities across the United States, continuing to remind African-Americans that they were not equally accepted into white society. W.E.B. Du Bois (1919) commented on this atrocity:

> We are returning from the war! *The Crisis* and tens of thousands of black men were
>
> drafted into a great struggle. For bleeding France and what she means and has meant
>
> and will mean to us and humanity and against the threat of German race arrogance,
>
> we fought gladly and to the last drop of blood; for America and her highest ideals,

we fought in far-off hope; for the dominant southern oligarchy entrenched in Washington, we fought in bitter resignation. For the America that represents and gloats lynching, disfranchisement, caste, brutality and devilish insult- for this, in the hateful upturning and mixing of things, we were forced by the vindictive fate to fight also.

The violence and continuation of discrimination toward African-Americans led many African-Americans to leave the United States to search for greater racial tolerance abroad. The African-American newspaper *The Topeka Plaindealer* explained,

The belief of the Evening Post is that the excellent behavior, both at home and abroad, of our colored soldiers will have a beneficial effect upon the vexed race question in the future. What the Negro needs at home is not codding but justice; justice in the courts, justice in the schools and justice in the world of business. He has proven himself a true blood American in time of war and true Americans will not forget it. (South Says Give Negros A Chance in Schools, 1919).

Many African-American soldiers served in France during World War I and learned of the opportunities that were prevalent for African-Americans. After the war, they chose to return to Paris, instead of their homes in the United States.

One soldier, Eugene Bullard, was an example of African-Americans who seized opportunities that were not prevalent in the United States. Bullard left the United States for Paris in 1914 to fight in World War I for France. While in Paris, Bullard enrolled in aviation school, something that was unheard of for African-Americans in the United States. He, became the first African-American pilot. After his aviation training, he joined the Lafayette Flying Corps and fought for the Allies during World War I (Hodgers, 1983). When the war

ended, Bullard decided to continue living in Paris because of the unique opportunities that were present for African-Americans abroad as opposed to in the United States. Bullard continued gaining opportunities in Paris as he worked as a bandleader at Zelli's Zig Zag bar and operated the nightclubs *Le Grand Duc* and *L'Escadrille* ("Eugene Bullard, Ex-Pilot, Dead," 1961).

Another group who found distinctive opportunities in Paris during the war was the musicians in the 369th infantry, known as the *Harlem Hellfighters*. This distinctive group not only brought live jazz music to Europe, but also significantly fostered a strong relationship between the Parisians and African-Americans during the interwar period. When World War I began, Colonel William Hayward, a commander in the United States Army, approached James Reese Europe, a prominent jazz musician, to create a band with the top African-American musicians that would be used for recruitment purposes for the army. James Reese Europe expressed interest in creating the band, but explained that he would be unable to do so since the top musicians of the decade made more money playing music than they would if they were to join the army. Thus, Hayward contacted some of the wealthiest Americans in the United States during the decade and convinced them to donate to the creation of an army band. This fundraiser was widely successful; he was able to raise $10,000 in donations, leading to the creation of an African-American jazz band for the U.S. Army.

Although the first purpose of the band was to lead recruitment parades, the 369th band left for Europe in 1919 with James Reese Europe as the bandleader, to help cheer up Allied soldiers abroad. Soon after they arrived, the band was invited to perform a concert in Paris with the top Allied bands including the British Grenadiers' Band, the band of the

Garde Républicaine and the Royal Italian Band. Although James Reese Europe's band was not as internationally recognized as the others, the audience fell in love with its unique jazz music, which juxtaposed the classical music the other national bands played. Europe explained, "We won France by playing music which was ours and not a pale imitation of others" (Europe, personal communications, n.d.). The concert was so successful that newspapers in both the United States and France commented on how exciting the jazz band was. *The Topeka Plaindealer* wrote, "When the band gave its first concert in Paris, the so called jazz features, made a great sensation, and Europe had to play in Paris for weeks" ("Europe, Jazz King, Slain by Drummer Herbert Wright," 1919). In the April 1919 *Literary Digest*, James Reese Europe recalled the moment his band became famous: "My band of course, could not compare with any of these, yet the crowd, and it was such a crowd as I never saw anywhere else in the world, deserted them for us." At the concert the jazz musicians were so popular that the bandleader of the Garde Républicaine approached Europe and insisted that he compose a jazz piece for the French band. The popularity of the 369th band on the international stage led to jazz music becoming increasingly prevalent in Europe.

As the war closed with an Allied victory, many of the original members of the band returned to the United States to continue their music careers at home. Although these musicians left, the love of jazz music in France grew, encouraging countless African-Americans to make the trip across the Atlantic to play jazz music for Parisians. In 1923, *The New York Times* published an article titled, "For US Jazz Players, Europe is the Place to be," which encouraged jazz musicians in the United States to travel to Europe for fame

and success in the music industry due to the widespread popularity of the African-American led music abroad. (Watrous, 1996)

This intense love of jazz music in Paris led many African-Americans abroad to try to fill the Parisians' request to have more jazz musicians in the city. In a 1919 article, *The Sun* exclaimed to its readers, "Jazz bands have been growing in popularity with a certain set here, and negro jazz players have been in great demand." As the Harlem Renaissance was emerging in New York City during the time period, many African-American musicians chose to move to New York to be part of the growing African-American culture. Yet on arrival, many of the musicians were unable to find work due to the large influx of musicians in the city and the small number of clubs available for African-American performers. As a result, many African-Americans left New York to find jobs in Paris. As musicians traveled to Paris from Harlem, the Harlem Renaissance's influence followed, creating a Parisian version of the renaissance abroad known as *Le Tumulte Noir* (Haskins, 1983, p. 107).

While France and its imperial possessions were hardly racial paradises, the relative racial tolerance exhibited in Paris allowed African-American jazz music to thrive across racial boundaries. In the United States, as jazz music was cited as "Negro culture," affluent white Americans often tried to mitigate its popularity. In 1921, a white woman in New York was caught listening to jazz music in her apartment and was brought to court for "disorderly conduct." Although the woman's neighbors heard her listening to jazz music, when she argued that it was classical music instead of jazz, the court sided in her favor since the music taste was "more appropriate." *The New York Tribune* covered the case and expressed how simply due to denying that she was listening to African-American music

she won the case. The article expanded, "No one put in even a word of defense of jazz. Only the devil's advocate could do that." (*New York Tribune,* 1923)

Because of the United States' racial divisions, African-American musicians had trouble finding the success and popularity that they were able to find in France. In the same *New York Tribune* article, the author continued to explain the juxtaposition of jazz's popularity in the United States and Europe:

> Yet the worst of it is, we like [jazz.] Most of us are too cultured to admit it. Throughout our great land champions of culture without stint, culture to the utmost, tell us that jazz is an insidious toxin that eats into our moral and aesthetic fiber, but jazz is not without honor save in its own country. If this year you are joining the great trek to London and Paris, you may park your culture, if you [are] wise enough to arm yourself with a dozen or so of the jazziest records in captivity. Thus armed you may scale the dizzy heights of London and Paris society. (*New York Tribune,* 1921).

Throughout the 1920s, African-American musicians constantly traveled back and forth from Harlem to Paris, creating a unique musical bond between the two cities during the decade. Many African-American musicians used Paris for inspiration to write new music. This allowed many of the Parisian patrons to hear previews of music that was not yet released in the United States. In a 1921 article from a Kentucky newspaper, *The Public Ledger,* the author explained the interesting phenomenon of African-American jazz musicians writing in Paris:

> It is an upside down world. We are sending 'English tweeds' to Australia and Paris is sending jazz ones to New York! Truly! Within the last two weeks, the products

of this latest French Industry has begun to arrive here; and they are the real thing. One of the latest songs from their boulevards is 'Paris qui Jazz,' which any member of the A.E.F. will tell you means 'Paris which jazzes.' And at least a half dozen others have begun to be heard about the environs of Broadway. (*The Public Ledger,* 1921)

Just as African-American musicians in the United States were receiving music from Paris, musicians were constantly arriving to Paris from New York, contributing to the continuous flow of new sheet music between the two cities (Bricktop, 1983, p. 120). Popular African-American cabaret singer and nightclub owner, Ada "Bricktop" Smith recalled this exchange in her memoir, *Bricktop,*

> [Jazz] was all the rage in Paris in those middle twenties. A new sound in American music had both been because of the Harlem Renaissance, and all the great bands, like Duke Ellington's, that had gotten a chance for some exposure [in Paris]. (Bricktop, 1983, p. 120)

Although Paris was physically removed from the cultural success of the Harlem Renaissance, African-Americans in Paris directly contributed to its achievements. Paris provided a second city for African-Americans to find inspiration to both write and perform jazz music.

In 1923, third-class travel was created which allowed middle-class Americans the ability to travel to Europe. As travel to Paris became much more accessible to Americans, large influxes of white, middle -class Americans journeyed to Paris, causing U.S. race discrimination to follow with them. Many of the white American tourists would frequent Montmarte and Montparnasse, creating an "Americanized colony" of expatriates. Visitors

of these neighborhoods were known for not intermingling with the Parisians and for bringing their racist ideologies abroad. *The Negro Star* commented upon this unique racial problem due to the increase of American tourists in Paris.

> American race prejudice is running into official songs in Paris as a result of the objection of white American tourists to dining in French restaurants where all are admitted without regard to color. The Americans declare that they will have things over here as they have them at home. They want to keep the American Negro in Paris in his place. ("They Aim in One Direction," 1923)

This issue became increasingly controversial throughout the decade as more American tourists came to the city. The *Negro Star* noted,

> These latter... explained that they did not care what the French Negro did, they seldom saw or came in contact with one of them, but they would not stand for American Negroes, such as were kept in their 'place' at home, being admitted to an equality with them… The white Americans say that these Negro Americans are dancing with white women and everything else, in direct contradiction to the American spirit of 'you stay in your place. ("They Aim in One Direction," 1923).

In 1924, to help mitigate the American tourists' disdain of African-Americans abroad, the N.A.A.C.P. sent a large collection of African-American-authored books to the American Library in Paris. They felt that introducing these books to the popular tourist library in the city would help promote equality among all Americans in Paris regardless of their race. *The Broad Ax* newspaper from Salt Lake City, Utah covered the story:

> The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, has sent a collection of books by colored authors about the

> Negro to the American library in Paris which hopes by means of articles in its publication in French and other European magazines to present something of Negro culture and the Negro problem in their true light… The library is expected to be of service to members of scientific societies and tourists travelling in Europe. ("MAACP Sends Books on Negro to American Library in Paris, 1924)

Although the N.A.A.C.P. tried to promote equality abroad, American tourists still continued to attempt to maintain their American-style racial discrimination in Paris.

Instead of ignoring white American tourists' hatred of African-Americans, Parisians protected their African-American guests from some of the most extreme racial problems that popped up in the city. In 1923, *Time* magazine published "Foreign News: Jim Crow Tendency" which commented on the continuation of U.S. tourists discriminating against African-Americans. The article explained that at the New York Bar in Paris, the bar owner had been forcibly ejecting African-Americans from the club in order to appeal to the white Americans who came to the establishment. In response, the Chamber of Deputies had to question whether someone could be thrown out of an establishment due to race (an issue that was not prevalent prior to the Americans arriving) (Time Inc., 1923). In 1924, *The New York Times* published an article titled "Paris Restaurants Now Draw Color Line to Please Americans; Negro Deputy Protests." The Parisians made clear that,

> Now in France there is no color line. Generally speaking, white, black, brown and yellow get the same treatment or anyway are entitled to it … Americans will never succeed in installing in France some of their customs which accord neither with the historic traditions, generosity of liberty and justice of our country. (James, 1924)

Despite warnings by the people of France that discrimination would not be accepted in Paris, American tourists continued to bring their racist ideologies abroad. In 1924, a club in an American neighborhood in Paris tried to throw out a group of interracial patrons who were dancing with each other. The club was brought to court for discriminating against the African-American patrons and was shut down. The court issued a statement stating, "discrimination against people of color will not be tolerated in France. Those who cannot observe this fact may leave France at all speed. France does not want the dollars of those who cannot respect her laws and customs" (Shack, 2001 p. 68). The Parisians were very stern that they would not allow Americans to come abroad and compromise the rights of African-Americans in the city.

Despite some French attempts to alleviate racial tensions between African-Americans and white Americans, racial discrimination still played a role in the lives of the African-Americans in the city. Paul Roberson, an American black musician in Paris, sought to divorce his wife for a white woman. Although this should not have been an issue, since interracial marriages were prevalent among African-Americans and Parisians, the racial animosity of his home country still played a role in his daily life. While in Paris, Cole Porter, his producer CB Cochran, and cabaret owner, Ada "Bricktop" Smith had to convince Roberson that if he left his wife for a white woman, his musical career would plummet, since he would be seen as controversial both by tourists in Paris and at home. Thus after long considerations he realized that he would not be able to divorce his wife to enter an interracial marriage (Shack, 2001 p. 128).

Benjamin Seldon, an African-American living in Paris, had a similar situation. In a 1926 letter from A. Clayton Powell to Benjamin Seldon, Powell advised him similarly against interracial marriage. In his letter he explained to his friend,

I think a man should marry the women of his choice regardless of color or racial identity, but I felt it my duty to say to the white men who are backing us and the Colored Committee that you had selected a French girl for a wife …. All except one felt that neither race would have taken kindly to you and your little partner because of racial prejudice in America. (Powell, Personal Communications, 1926)

Although it is uncertain how Seldon responded to this disapproval toward his engagement, it is evident that although interracial relationships were not uncommon within Paris, racial prejudices at home still played a role in the decisions made in African-Americans lives abroad.

Despite the influence of American racial ideologies in the city, many interracial couples chose to ignore American tourists and continued to take part in interracial marriages. Often these marriages took place between Parisian woman and African-American men. These relationships helped to intertwine cultures and created a strong bond between Parisians and African-Americans, while angering white American tourists who had negative viewpoints on the intermingling of the two races (Shack, 2004, p. 64). In a 1923 article from London's *The Times,* a British author observed the relationship between the two groups:

In excuse for the conduct on the part of visitors which is a breach of the amenities of French life, it should be pointed out that Americans have been specifically annoyed at finding negro emigrants of an undesirable class from the United States

flaunting about Paris restaurants in company with white women. ("No 'Colour' Line

In France," 1923)

Throughout the decade, African-Americans were able to find opportunities that would

likely not have existed in the United States. One of these success stories belonged to Ada

"Bricktop" Smith, who became one of the most prominent and successful Americans in

Paris during the decade. In 1924, Bricktop chose to open her own nightclub, *Le Grand Duc*

to help foster the African-American talent that was arriving to Paris. Bricktop explained

that, "opening up a new club wasn't a big thing, really, except that I was new at it. Setting

up in Paris at the time was easy. All I needed was a place. The furniture was already there"

(Bricktop, 1983, p. 110). *Le Grand Duc* became a fixture for African-American musicians,

with many musicians frequenting it the morning after their night gigs to exchange ideas

and to unwind after work (Shack, 2001, p. 29).

Le Grand Duc became so popular that it became one of the top social spots in Paris

for both Americans and Parisians, and was written about in popular French newspapers in

both French and English. Bricktop was stunned by the recognition since clubs were not

often written about in newspapers and it helped spread her name internationally (Bricktop,

1983, p. 94). African-American paper, *The New York Amsterdam,* wrote about her

successes, "Bricktop is well known in the amusement centers of Europe … where she sang

and danced. She has entertained most of the crowned heads and titled folk, and taught

dance steps to the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York" ("Bricktop Gave Party to

Friends," 1929). As her popularity rose, her friends encouraged her to change the name of

her club from *Le Grande Duc* to *Chez Bricktop* so the club would always be associated

with her since the French government kept trying to shut down nightclubs. She was told

that if she kept her name in the title, patrons would be able to find the club more easily if it needed to move venues to stay in business. Indeed, because of her popularity with Parisians and African-Americans, she was able to move her venue without losing any business. Her smart business skills led *The Chicago Defender* to call Bricktop "the proprietress of the smartest night club in Paree" ("Bricktop's Happy Home," 1927).

As her popularity grew, and prominent white Americans such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, Cole Porter and Dwight Fiske included her as one of their closest friends, racial prejudice against Bricktop diminished. These relationships were so strong that Bricktop recalled, "I forgot racial prejudice existed." Bricktop enjoyed her racial freedom and often talked to newspapers and magazines about her opportunities to be successful in Pris, despite being African-American. Bricktop was so open about her interracial relationships that in an interview for *Women's Wear Daily* she told them, "I slept with both white men and black men … I could dispel that myth about Negro men being the only ones who knew how to make love" (Bricktop, 1983, p. 131). Despite American tourists trying to promote racial discrimination in the city, African-Americans, such as Bricktop, from continued to express themselves in Paris.

Prominent members of the American expatriate community also began to frequent *Chez Bricktop*, giving Bricktop a powerful name in Paris. This power became useful when F. Scott Fitzgerald and his wife, Zelda, were arrested for drunkenly swimming in a fountain. Fitzgerald pleaded with the police officer that he was a friend of Bricktop, and that he should not be arrested because of this prominent connection. Although the officer did not believe that someone who would bathe drunk in a fountain would know Bricktop, he gave in to curiosity to see if Bricktop would identify Fitzgerald as a friend. When

Bricktop verified their friendship, Fitzgerald was let go without any penalty. Bricktop was astonished that because of her name recognition she was able to help her friend escape legal troubles (Bricktop, 1983, p. 96).

In addition to her close friendship with F. Scott Fitzgerald, one of Bricktop's closest confidents in Paris was the songwriter Cole Porter. The first time Bricktop saw Porter she was singing one of his songs in Paris. Porter was notorious for leaving a club when a performer sang one of his songs, since he was particular about how it should be sung and never seemed to feel as though the singers were performing it correctly. Yet Bricktop caught Cole Porter's attention, and he stayed for the entire performance and congratulated her at the end (Bricktop, 1983, p.101). As their relationship expanded throughout the decade, Cole Porter became a popular performer at Chez Bricktop with his infamous double entendre lyrics (Bricktop, 1983, p. 123). One of the most popular of Cole Porter'songs was written for his musical *Paris* in 1928 "Let's Do It" was known for its infamous lines such as "And that's why birds do it, bees do it, even educated fleas do it, let's do it, let's fall in love." In addition to bringing jazz music to the fore, Chez Bricktop welcomed sexualizing lyrics and continued to push boundaries to keep her club modern and popular among Parisians and Americans alike.

As African-American jazz music continued to grow due to the opening of nightclubs such as *Chez Bricktop,* the music became slightly controversial in Paris as some Parisians felt that the new music was diminishing their classic French music. Despite thinking this, many Parisians believed that since jazz music was from the United States, it represented modernity, which was necessary for the country to strive for post World War I (Archer-Straw, 2000, p. 109). Many Parisians looked to music to help cheer them up and

as an outlet for their emotions related war. Malcolm Cowley, in his memoir *A Second Flowering,* recalled the beginnings of jazz music in Paris: "Jazz carried with it a content message of change, excitement, violent escape, with an undertone of sadness, but a promise of enjoyment somewhere around the corner next week…"(Cowley, 1951, p. 29). By using jazz music to help combat post-war emotions, Parisians were able to relate to one another in a more positive way.

As American culture, such as jazz music, spread throughout Paris, it sparked a great debate among Europeans, about whether they should embrace the American way or reject it to promote their own nationalist ideals (Iriye, 1993, p.109). Some Parisians tried to delegitimize jazz music to try and convert the French population back to their classical routes. As jazz music became controversial, as it was anti-nationalist, Parisians continued to listen to African-American music and strayed from their classical French musicians. Instead of fighting to keep classical music prevalent in French culture, Some Parisian musicians tried to adapt to the new jazz culture. Many had difficulty doing so because clubs were looking to hire black musicians due to the increased demand for authentic African-American performers. *The Savannah Tribune* noted that the French musicians "would gladly cast aside their violins and flutes with which they won first prize as virtuosos at the National Conservatory, and do the jazzing themselves with banjo, motor-car horn or any other instrument of moral torture to their artistic temperament. But their efforts are scorned by restaurant and dancing managers who tell them, 'call again when you have changed the color of your skin'" ("Only Negro Jazz Pleases Paris French Musicians in Despair offer to Use Motor Horns," 1922). This increased demand for African-American performers made

jazz music increasingly controversial since French musicians were losing their jobs to African-American jazz musicians.

When nationalist members of the French government complained that they were losing their national identity to an American one, there was a push in the early 1920s to remove American jazz musicians from France. Since jazz music was becoming increasingly popular in the country, French musicians were unable to find employment due to all music venues catering to the popularity of the African-American music. In May of 1924, the Parisian police attempted to remove jazz music from the country. *The New York Times* explained that:

> Between twenty and thirty American and English jazz band musicians, working in the most fashionable and expensive night clubs of Paris and the French seaside and health resorts, received notice today that they must quit French soil within five days. Others are expecting a similar order tomorrow" (France Orders Our Jazz Players Expelled," 1924).

Over time, French police attempted to clear the city of American music, starting with the popular American neighborhood of Montparnasse. In a 1927 newspaper article, the writer reflected upon the lack of jazz music in the neighborhood:

> Pianos have actually been padlocked in carrying out the order, and the orchestra in the cafes, the Rotonde and the Dome, internationally known as a Montparnasse rendezvous, will be silent from now on. The popular impromptu musicals at the café Dingo and Select, dear to the hearts of American residents, will also have to be foregone ("Montparnasse Jazz is Stilled By Police," 1927).

During the government's anti-jazz push, the jazz music program that had been playing from the Eiffel Tour since 1921 was replaced with government-sponsored classical programs. In March 1923, *The New York Times* broke the story that,

> Promptly at the stroke of 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon, while the Eiffel Tower was in the midst of a program of classical music, the meddler, who is officially known as 'Zero Wireless Telephone Poet' broke in with a characterless interruption, 'Classical music is no good' said the voice speaking in English, 'let me give you some real music. ("American Radio Joker Bothers Eiffel Tower," 1923).

Attempts to end the popularity of African-American jazz during the decade failed, and jazz music remained a favorite among the Parisians. The desire for African-American performers by Parisians created a strong bond between the two groups throughout the decade. The bond between African-Americans and Parisians became so strong that despite attempts from the national government to remove the Americanized music to keep the country's national identity, the population ignored their government and kept listening to jazz music. In a 1922 article in *The New York Times*, "Warns Jazz Crazy will Ruin France," the author explained the conflict between the Parisians and their government:

> "Nothing so far appears to have been able to abate the adoration of the jazz craze-not even the almost official condemnation and contempt on the occasion of the Cannes conference, when the Premier austerely decided that diplomatic discussions must never again be carried on within hearing distance of the strains of colored musicians noisy instruments" ("Warns Jazz Craze will Ruin France," 1922).

Despite the French government's attempt to end the Americanization of Paris, the Parisian public continued to listen to African-American music and to leave their French classical music behind (Costilgoila, 1984, p. 168).

Through the influence of jazz, Parisians developed a strong love of black culture that they referred to as "négrophilie" (Shack, 2001, p. 64). Throughout the decade, black culture penetrated Parisian culture through music, art and dance revues, such as the 1925 revue, La Revue Nègre staring Josephine Baker. La Revue Nègre was successful and received positive reviews around the world including in *The New Yorker,* which stated, "Josephine Baker has arrived at the Theatre des Champs-Elysees in La Revue Nègre and the result has been unanimous. Paris has never drawn a color line" (Flanner, 1972, p. 3). The show became an inspiration for African-American performers who saw that they were so popular with the Parisian population that African-Americans were able to support an entire show based upon their culture. Although there was an abundance of positive reviews for the show, some Parisians felt as though it was not "savage enough" and wanted the show to reflect their tribal and sexual stereotype of members of the French West African colonies (Boittin, 2010, p.4). To help promote herself and her show, Josephine Baker used these African stereotypes to help gain popularity with Parisians. Many of her performances featured her dancing widely to tribal music while wearing little clothing (Archer-Straw, 2000, p. 117).

Due to the popularization in Paris of black culture, African-American performers found a success that would not have been possible in the United States. In 1930 the African-American newspaper, *The Topeka Plaindealer* published an article titled, "Is Europe Heaven for Sepia Theatrical Stats? Sensational Reception of Colored Stage Stars in

Capitals Dwarfs Miniature Success Achieved in United States!!" In the article, the author described how African-American stars were able to gain popularity abroad due to the interest in African-American culture. The author cites Josephine Baker for her ability to break racial boundaries by becoming such a high-profile performer in Paris, something that would have been difficult to achieve in the United States. The author wrote,

> Her rotating shoulders and hips before jazz-mad audiences have crowned her the queen of craziest and hottest rhythm ever seen in Sunny Spain or romantic Italy. She is still the toast of the continent and it has been said that she was the drawing card to the old world. Tall and slender, a teasing tantalizing brown, she has swept the men completely off their feet. Her string of admirers is composed of all classes, from waiters and bus boys to dukes and counts. Over here in America the name of Josephine Baker was entirely unknown. (1930)

The article concluded that the popularity of African-American performers abroad was due to opportunities in countries with an interest in African-American culture, even though Josephine Baker alluded more to African stereotypes than to African-American culture.

Due to the strong racial divide in the United States, African-Americans were unable to receive respect and significant opportunities. Because of this, many African-Americans went to Paris during the interwar period to find a haven to promote themselves. Once these individuals were able to break free from American cultural constraints, they gained widespread popularity abroad. Through jazz music, African-Americans created a strong connection with Parisians who fell in love with their music. This can be juxtaposed to the white resentment of jazz music in the United States, where although some white Americans

enjoyed jazz music, it was "uncultured" to say so. However, jazz's popularity existed internationally in nightclubs such as *Chez Bricktop*, and through performances like La Revue Nègre. Although the United States was not ready for African-American cultural acceptance, the openness of the Parisian population to African-Americans, gave them chances to promote their cultural art forms while finding popularity for their culture.

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