

The Eagle's Eye:  
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Welcome to *The Eagle's Eye: The La Salle American Studies Student Review*

Volume 6 of *The Eagle's Eye* casts a sweeping look at the cultural landscape of America, focusing on topics and themes that, together, capture the rich terrain of the American experience. Two essays look at urban life and immigration, one dealing with gang membership in the contemporary Southwest and one dealing with education in New York in the early twentieth century. A third essay examines the influence of birth control on American culture. The last two essays offer a transnational perspective on American artistic and commercial institutions.

Andrew Wagoner discusses why some immigrants from Central America, the Caribbean, and Mexico have found organized gangs a cultural antidote to urban poverty and as well as to feelings of racial and ethnic inferiority. Michal Wilczewski examines the effects of various educational agencies, such as night schools and ethnic schools, on early twentieth-century immigrants, especially on Jewish women in New York City. Nicole Polisano argues that changes in the availability and acceptance of birth control from 1960 to the present have altered gender roles and power structures in the home and in the workplace.

The last two essays provide a perspective on American life that is somewhat new to *The Eagle's Eye*: looking at the American experience from a global point of view. Erika Lunn contends that the Cold War actually had many fronts, including an artistic front where dancers from the United States and from the Soviet Union were, through competition and defection, used by each country as political weapons. Finally, Kate McWilliams suggests that not everyone loves McDonald's equally across the world, that some countries welcome the Golden Arches' cheeseburgers, while others have no taste for them at all.

Special thanks and recognition go to the American Studies Advisory Board and to the contributors for their time and expertise in creating the sixth publication of *The Eagle's Eye*.

Dr. Francis J. Ryan  
Professor and Director of American Studies

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**La Escuadra del Muerte Moderna: Short-Sighted Planners, Negligent Social Control, and the Barrio as Breeding Ground for Acculturation Angst**

Andrew Wagoner

The pressures of assimilation and acculturation weigh heavy on immigrant groups that arrive in the United States. Oftentimes, having to learn the language, obtain employment, and become accustomed to the cultural life of a new country can prove to be a daunting task facing a recent immigrant. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, these acculturation pressures were allayed by Settlement Houses and other organizations which looked to ease the transition of the European immigrant to America, instructing new immigrants in American customs and providing them with aid to survive in the urban areas they often found themselves. In relatively recent years, the face and wellspring of immigration has changed. No longer do boatloads of idealistic Europeans make their way from the east past Ellis Island. Instead, the channel of new immigrants now stems from the south from areas like Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic. With this new channel come new conflicts and barriers that these people must overcome.

Often facing isolation, marginalization, and prejudice, these immigrants search for an enclave in which they can voice their frustrations or express their ethnic heritage in a close-knit community. At times this community manifests itself as a gang—a word that has been vitiated by the actions of certain groups throughout history—which functions as a place where members can escape from the marginalization they experience within the dominant culture. The question to be asked, then, is what forces these immigrants—particularly Mexicans—to join these gangs or condone their action and in what way was the formation of gangs a response to the pressures of acculturation? By examining the physical, social, and economic forces which isolate Mexican immigrant populations and other Hispanic immigrant groups, one can gain a better perspective on organized gangs and the roles that they serve within communities, roles that were initially defined as community organizing and protection but have now gradually gravitated towards violence, crime, and trafficking.

Before engaging in this examination, one must attempt to wipe away the traditional thoughts that are associated with the word gang. Albert DiChiara, director of criminal justice at the University of Hartford, and Russell Chabot, Assistant Professor of Sociology at SUNY Buffalo, strive to clarify the meaning and significance of gangs. They comment, “One cannot generalize about all gangs, but it is important to recognize that some gang activity is an expression of the struggles of the urban underclass. It is also important to recognize that urban gangs form in the context of deprivation, police repression, institutional failure, and personal disorganization.”<sup>1</sup>

In recent years, mention of Hispanic gangs inevitably leads toward a discussion of such noted gangs as La Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and Calle 18—the former having garnered the reputation as arguably the most vicious and brutal gang in the world. While MS-13 is not the prototypical Hispanic gang, the driving forces which led to its formation

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<sup>1</sup> Albert DiChiara and Russell Chabot, “Gangs and the Contemporary Urban Struggle: An Unappreciated Aspect of Gangs,” in *Gangs and Society: Alternative Perspectives*, edited by Louis Kontos, David Brotherton, and Luis Barrios (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 79.

establish a bond that it shares with many gangs which look to protect Hispanic youths and recent immigrants who feel marginalized in the Anglo society.

MS-13, or Mara Salvatrucha—meaning “Salvadoran Gang” in Spanish—has its roots in race-torn Los Angeles in the 1980s. While it currently boasts a transnational cast of Salvadorans, Hondurans, Mexicans, Nicaraguans, and Bolivians, it originally began as a group of young men who had fled the civil war in El Salvador. Many made the collective migration to Los Angeles and settled in the Pico-Union neighborhood of the city. In Los Angeles they faced opposition by Mexican American and African American gangs, thus the Salvadorans joined together to protect themselves. Eventually other Central Americans were allowed to join and MS began to spread not only throughout the nation but also into El Salvador after MS members were deported from the United States.<sup>2</sup>

In an interview conducted by Ross Kemp—BAFTA award-winning English journalist—with an MS-13 member—Duke—who was with the gang when it began in Los Angeles and was deported to El Salvador, one can see how the violent environment in which they found themselves in Los Angeles contributed to the vicious turn that the gang took. He notes, “At that time in the eighties, late seventies, there was a race war, you know. Blacks didn’t like whites. Whites didn’t like blacks and this shit was happening. And we’re from El Salvador, we don’t understand that. We don’t live that race stuff. That stuff was United States. And then all of a sudden we had to start defending ourselves since we were only a few of us . . . We started being proud. We saw whites being proud of being white. We saw blacks being proud of being black. Shit, why wouldn’t we be proud of being Salvadoran?”<sup>3</sup> It is this sense of asserting national pride and maintaining an ethnic identity in an overwhelming sea of acculturation which frames the formation of Hispanic gangs within the United States. James Diego Vigil, professor of Anthropology at UCLA, expounds on the formation of Mexican gangs. He argues, “The pressures and anxieties of urban poverty, of the struggle toward a better life, and of overcoming feelings of ethnic and racial inferiority made immigrant cultural adaptation problematic. Such an experience often resulted in gangs.”<sup>4</sup>

Mexican immigration to the United States is an intriguing issue because of the experience Mexicans have had with Americans throughout the history of the United States. Vigil comments on this unique history. He writes, “The annexation of the Southwest left the Mexican residents a conquered minority, and racial and class antagonisms dating from that period have profoundly colored the circumstances of Mexican American adaptation to the majority society.”<sup>5</sup> The aforementioned antagonisms were only exacerbated by the living conditions in which many Mexican American immigrants found themselves when they came to the United States. Vigil notes that their reliance on low-paying jobs forced them to settle into areas where land and rent values were low. Most often, these areas were separate from the Anglo majority. The reliance on

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<sup>2</sup> Mary Beth Sheridan, “In N. Va. Gang, A Brutal Sense Of Belonging,” *The Washington Post*, 28 June 2004, A1

<sup>3</sup> *Ross Kemp on Gangs*, Documentary, directed by Ross Kemp (2008; London: 2 Entertain Video, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> James Diego Vigil, *Barrio Gangs: Street Life and Identity in Southern California* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

the industrial economy also proved to be deleterious to the conditions of Mexican immigrants.<sup>6</sup>

An understanding of urban areas populated by Mexican Americans is crucial to understanding the rise of Chicano gangs. The first large wave of Mexican immigration occurred in the 1920s which brought nearly 2 million immigrants from Mexico. From 1940 into the 1970s approximately 16 million immigrants poured into the country with the majority of them settling in urban areas. Nearly 90 percent of the Mexican American population is settled in urban areas.<sup>7</sup> Their tendency to settle in urban areas revolves around the fact that Mexican Americans were a reliable source of cheap labor so industrial developers found them useful. Vigil argues that immigration, settlement, urbanization, and adaptation problems stem from the ebb and flow of the industrial economy. Mexican Americans would flock to industrial boom sites, but once their services were no longer needed then developers would ignore them and their communities. Unemployment would prevail and families would struggle to make ends meet while they suffered in "shantytown migrant enclaves."<sup>8</sup>

While overt racial and ethnic tensions provided an impediment to acculturation, ecological placement and the living conditions of Mexican Americans created a natural gulf between the migrant class and the Anglo authority. Barrios and colonias are manifestations of the unequal standards of housing compared to those of the Anglo majority. Vigil once again comments on the inequality and residential segregation of the barrio as compared to Anglo society. He writes, "Discrimination and residential segregation helped developers and landlords make a profit without considering immigrants' needs. Additionally, rapid technological and economic changes often resulted in poor city planning: inferior land sites for development, unsurveyed and unpaved streets, lack of public utilities such as lights and sewers, and so on. Settlement patterns in southern California attest to this fact, as numerous barrios or colonias were founded in the most neglected interstices of the cities and outlying rural areas."<sup>9</sup> In a specific case of developers overlooking the needs of the barrio in Phoenix, Marjorie S. Zatz, professor and director at Arizona State University's School of Justice and Social Inquiry, and Edwardo L. Portillos, relay the inferiority and neglect felt by Mexican Americans living in shantytowns situated among booming economic development. They comment, "Just a mile away from their poverty-stricken neighborhoods, they can see the beautiful new housing developments being built on scenic South Mountain to the south, and the new ballpark to the north, constructed in part out of state and local funds. As a consequence, many residents of South Phoenix barrios feel isolated and alienated, excluded from the boom that surrounds their community."<sup>10</sup>

Because of diminishing economic opportunities, and also because they were blocked from competing in the Anglo economy by barriers of language and ecology, some Hispanic youths turned to drugs as a way to provide an income. It is this reason

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>9</sup> Diego Vigil, "Community Dynamics and the Rise of Street Gangs," in *Latinos Remaking America*, ed. Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco and Mariela M. Paez (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 99.

<sup>10</sup> Marjorie S. Zatz and Edwardo L. Portillos, "Voices from the Barrio: Chicano/a Gangs, Families, and Communities," in *American Youth Gangs at the Millennium*, ed. Finn-Aage Esbensen, Stephen G. Tibbets, and Larry Gaines (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2004), 115.

why some blame the problems of the barrio and gangs on the immigrants themselves. However, Zatz and Portillos do not quite agree. They counter, "The blight cannot be blamed solely on drugs and the drug business. Few economic resources have been invested in the community. No factories or other large businesses are located in the area. Convenience stores and liquor stores abound, but residents must go elsewhere if they want to shop at major chain grocery stores or retail outlets. No shopping malls, movie theaters, or skating rinks are nearby, leaving the streets as the only viable place for teens to hang out."<sup>11</sup> Lacking municipal resources and the care and attention that is directed towards developing sections of cities, inhabitants of the barrio are faced with a specter of despair which hangs over their communities. But while outside observers might argue that the violence and crime committed by these gangs is detrimental to the community, sometimes that attitude is not shared by others within the community itself. Cathy McIlwaine, senior lecturer in the Department of Geography at Queen Mary, University of London, and Caroline O.N. Moser comment on this ambivalence. They write, "While outside low-income urban neighborhoods these local violence brokers are viewed as homogenous and universally harmful, among the urban poor themselves a much more ambiguous relationship with them is evident, both as members of these groups (a minority) and as those who live with them on a daily basis (the majority). Both membership and support for these groups can therefore legitimize violence in the face of few alternative options."<sup>12</sup>

Out of these circumstances was born the Chicano gangs. Vigil comments, "The settlement of Mexicans in segregated, visually inferior location made adaptation difficult. A life of poverty in the hollows, ravines, across the tracks, could not facilitate accommodation or aid adjustments of new groups of Mexican immigrants to American society. Discrimination in earlier decades had already made early arrivals feel unwanted, and the years of large-scale immigration to large populated areas undergoing rapid culture change in this century created the conditions for major social problems."<sup>13</sup>

The multifaceted problems felt by Latino youths within neglected urban areas uniquely affected their acculturation to American society. Since their parents were often faced with economic repression and forced to work more than one job, they were often neglected and unsupervised. School teachers are at times unwilling or unable to communicate with the immigrant students, and thus the children face great difficulty in school and sometimes drop out. Similarly, while they are ecologically marginalized and segregated, they do not enjoy the same amenities that might keep other children out of gang activity. Danny Malec comments on how Latino youths inevitably turn to gangs as an anchor in the disorienting world in which they find themselves. He remarks:

For the disenfranchised Latino youth, the gang becomes a refuge—an oasis of understanding, acceptance, and recognition that was often lacking at home or in mainstream society. The Latino youth begins to supplement his or her developing identity with affiliation to a larger group, such as a

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>12</sup> Cathy McIlwaine and Caroline O.N. Moser, "Living in Fear: How the Urban Poor Perceive Violence, Fear and Insecurity," in *Fractured Cities: Social Exclusion, Urban Violence and Contested Spaces in Latin America*, ed. Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt (London: Zed, 2006), 128.

<sup>13</sup> Vigil, *Barrio Gangs*, 24.

gang. As the youth draws closer to the gang, his or her identity becomes more interwoven with the gang identity, such that threat to the gang begins to be perceived as a threat to the individual's core identity. The youth will then go to great lengths to defend his or her gang identity, which in turn tends to strengthen the youth's core identity.<sup>14</sup>

It is out of this conflict that Latino street gangs arose. Struggling to assimilate and shunned by the majority, Latinos banded together and form cultural outlets for youths and immigrants whose needs are not met in otherwise, "socially acceptable" ways.<sup>15</sup> Vigil qualifies this formation of a separate enclave to which immigrants can flock to escape the conflict of assimilation. He writes: "Cultural conflict started at these structural levels and combined with linguistic practices, ethnic identity and other cultural patterns as problem sources. These conflicts are particularly acute with gang members, who generally lack strong attachments to the home and schools and are particularly low in academic achievement. Conventional pursuits are thus denied them, as they show more of a need to associate and identify with other marginal street youth like themselves. In large part, the gang subculture has arisen as a response to this conflict situation."<sup>16</sup>

Initially this subculture was a useful tool because it brought together multiple generations of the immigrant community and did, in fact, give the community a better sense of identity. Avelardo Valdez comments on the stretch of the intergenerational responsibility in the early gangs. He writes, "Among the benefits of these multigenerational ties was the existence of indigenous social control mechanisms such as extended family members and long-term neighbors. These mechanisms managed to moderate the extreme behavior of these delinquent groups and gangs by their supervision." The continued degradation and neglect of the barrio began to slowly tear this organization apart though. Valdez continues, "This generational connectiveness broke down as a result, in part, of greater economic and urban ecological factors that increasingly marginalized low-income Chicano communities in large southwestern cities."<sup>17</sup>

While some look at the emergence of gangs as a means of coping with acculturation in the American landscape, not all share the same harmonious view. Irving Spergel argues that gangs further isolate members because they draw them into a tighter and tighter community circle which is unwilling to make an effort to assimilate. Thus, gangs pose a paradox to those struggling with assimilation. Gangs are formed to allay the struggles of immigration and marginalization, but at the same time they contribute to further struggles. Spergel writes, "Street gangs do not ordinarily serve to integrate their members into mainstream society. They contribute to the defective socialization of their members. They can become quasi-independent structures and forces, partially related to

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<sup>14</sup> Danny Malec, "Transforming Latino Gang Violence in the United States," *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 18, (2006): 84.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>16</sup> Vigil, *Barro Gangs*, 63.

<sup>17</sup> Avelardo Valdez, "Toward a Typology of Contemporary Mexican American Youth Gangs," in *Gangs and Society: Alternative Perspectives* ed. Louis Kontos, David Brotherton, and Luis Barrios (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 38.

adult criminal organizations—in which case, they further weaken defective legitimate community structure and processes.”<sup>18</sup>

The debate surrounding Latino gangs and their function within the community is one which is marked with numerous points and counterpoints. However, what can be unequivocally stated is that the ecological and economic conditions in which immigrants found themselves in the barrio contributed greatly to the formation of gangs. Isolation and neglect by the dominant Anglo culture left many Hispanic immigrants struggling to get by and looking for an outlet for their angst. Rather than collectively assessing Hispanic gangs and looking to cease their activity, one must take a look at the history and environment in which this activity has been bred. Granted, some have committed brutal crimes which should not be condoned, but a close examination of urban gangs will reveal the struggles on multiple levels including economically, ecologically, socially, and educationally, which drive certain people to look for an alternative outlet.

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<sup>18</sup> Irving A. Spergel, “Gangs and Community Organization,” in *Reflections on Community Organization* ed. Jack Rothman (Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1999), 125.

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## **The Education of the American Immigrant: Night Schools, Ethnic Schools, and Women's Vocational Schools**

Michal J. Wilczewski

Throughout the history of immigration to the United States, the education of immigrants has played an important part in the Americanization and assimilation of immigrants from all over the world. After all, it is education that, in theory, is supposed to offer immigrants upward social mobility and access to better paying jobs. Historians of immigration who are interested in the education of immigrants have oftentimes focused specifically on the educational experiences of child immigrants and thus leave wide open for research, the topic of adult immigrants and their educational experience. Because immigration to America was a predominantly adult phenomenon in the early twentieth century, the education of such immigrants plays a key role in understanding the quality of life offered to them.<sup>19</sup> However, a close analysis of the educational opportunities offered to immigrants shows that American night schools and American organizations that aided in the education of immigrants did not meet the needs of immigrants as completely as various ethnic organizations with the same goal did. Furthermore, female immigrants, specifically Jewish women, experienced an educational system that was heavily invested in maintaining American and cultural traditions about women and their role in society as domestics.

The census of 1910 shows that of the 2,953,000 non-English speaking immigrants, 2,545,612 were over the age of twenty and thus not subject to mandatory education laws.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, for an adult immigrant to enroll in some kind of academic program was very much a personal decision, based on their want and need to become educated adults. In her article, "Success and Failure in Adult Education: The Immigrant Experience, 1914-1924," Maxine S. Seller claims that immigrants to America had three academic needs when crossing the border into the States. The first need was a basic understanding of the English language to simply go about day to day activities, but also to find better job opportunities.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, knowledge of the English language was necessary for citizenship, so immigrants sought to learn English in order to gain the rights of citizenship open to them.<sup>22</sup> The second need was educational instruction in the grammar, reading, and writing of their native languages.<sup>23</sup> In many circumstances, immigrants from more socially and politically oppressed countries were illiterate in their native languages and thus sought native language instruction in the United States. Lastly, immigrants sought a broad liberal arts education.<sup>24</sup> Because liberal arts educations were reserved for the privileged members of some societies, immigrants longed for an education that was rooted in the sciences, philosophy, literature, history, and political science. Seller claims that these three needs characterize what the immigrant population sought in their educational experience in America.

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<sup>19</sup> Maxine S. Seller, "Success and Failure in Adult Education: The Immigrant Experience 1914-1924," *Adult Education Quarterly* 28 (1978): 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>22</sup> Timothy L. Smith, "Immigrant Social Aspirations and American Education, 1880-1930." *American Quarterly* 21 (1969): 526.

<sup>23</sup> Seller, "Success and Failure," 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

In a noble attempt to educate and Americanize newly arrived immigrants, night schools and settlement houses were opened in the late nineteenth century. Their presence in the lives of immigrants greatly increased the quality of life for immigrants while at the same time advocated for their rights.<sup>25</sup> The women who worked in settlement houses often took the time to learn foreign languages and thus catered to the needs of immigrants very easily because of the open lines of communication established with knowledge of a common language. However, the onset of World War I and the rise of Communism in Europe sent a shock wave through the United States and Americans feared that newly arrived immigrants would still be under the influences of their corrupt governments.<sup>26</sup> As a result, night schools began teaching a curriculum that aimed to Americanize immigrants while teaching that their personal cultures were inferior to the American culture.

One of the first changes in these night schools was that immigrants were forbidden to use their native languages in order to express their needs.<sup>27</sup> Instead, they were forced to use English and were often mocked for using incorrect forms and speaking with heavy accents. Following the assimilationist ideals of President Theodore Roosevelt, teachers would teach the necessity of assimilation into American society instead of promoting a more culturally diverse message. Teachers often used the following quote from Roosevelt to stress the importance of learning English, "We have room for but one language here and that is the English language... and we have room for but one sole loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people."<sup>28</sup> Roosevelt's message is clear, that there is no place for foreign languages in America and immigrants to America must show loyalty to America alone. Immigrants faced with this call to assimilation found it difficult to become assimilated in American night schools because, unlike the employees in the settlement houses, teachers in night schools did not speak other languages. Therefore, adult immigrants often found it difficult to ask for assistance or further explanation.

Furthermore, night school programs were not successful means of educating immigrant populations because they failed to expand their scope broadly enough. Following the fear that Americans felt toward immigrants from Europe during World War I, it was the intention of night school programs to educate and assimilate every immigrant who stepped onto American soil. "Night schools were the most widespread and widely touted agencies for the education of immigrant adults, yet at the peak of the movement after massive public relations campaigns by the early 1920s, they had reached only a quarter of a million alien-adults out of a target population of almost fourteen million," explains Seller.<sup>29</sup> Because night educational programs only reached about two percent of the immigrant population, their ability to assimilate immigrants is almost negligible. There are several reasons to explain the poor outcome of night schooling. The first is that although courses were offered at night time, immigrants sometimes worked throughout the day and night in order to provide for their families. In other cases, some immigrants were simply too tired to go to class after working an entire day's work. On the other hand, their basic understanding of capitalism taught immigrants to seek out

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<sup>25</sup> Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (Champaign, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 1990), 147.

<sup>26</sup> Michael R. Olneck, "Americanization and the Education of Immigrants, 1900-1925: An Analysis of Symbolic Action." *American Journal of Education* 97 (1989): 408.

<sup>27</sup> Seller, "Success and Failure," 6.

<sup>28</sup> Sydney S. Weinberg, "Longing to Learn: The Education of Jewish Immigrant Women in New York City, 1900-1934," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 8 (1989): 119.

<sup>29</sup> Seller, "Success and Failure," 4.

financial stability and thus prioritize money-making opportunities over educational ones. Seller further explains that, "Immigrant fatigue, inappropriate materials, inconvenient locations and scheduling, inability of instructors to speak immigrant languages, lack of understanding of immigrant cultures, the condescending, patronizing attitudes of many American educators toward their prospective students, and American refusal to allow immigrants to participate in planning their own educational experiences were major components of this massive failure in adult education."<sup>30</sup>

Because American night schools failed to cater to all of the needs of immigrants, they were not nearly as successful in Americanizing immigrants as they had hoped. As Seller discusses, immigrants wanted and needed instruction in their native language and a liberal arts education in addition to English language instruction in order to fulfill their educational requirements. Ethnic organizations succeeded in educating adult immigrants because they catered to all of the needs of immigrants and their families. Ethnic community run organizations taught a more broadly based curriculum that in addition to discussing Americanization, also touched upon the many intellectual interests of the immigrants. Much like the beer gardens and Chinese Six Companies of the German and Chinese immigrant populations, respectively, ethnic organizations gave immigrants practical information that would prove to be helpful in their everyday lives.<sup>31</sup>

Most important to the education experiences of adult immigrants, ethnic community organizations provided the native language instruction that immigrants longed for. Classes were taught by immigrants who already lived in America for some time and acquired a working knowledge of English or by second or third generation children of immigrants.<sup>32</sup> The fact that the instructor spoke the native language could allow the adult students to ask questions freely so as to better understand the material discussed within the classroom. At the same time, courses were culturally sensitive and did not pass judgment on the student, but rather encouraged them to learn, thus creating strong bonds of trust within the ethnic community.<sup>33</sup> These strong ties of trust soon led to the formation of "lodges, athletic societies, nationalist societies, cultural societies, musical and library circles, political organizations, women's organizations of many kinds, cooperatives, theatres, unions and churches."<sup>34</sup> Immigrants of a common background flourished within their own ethnic communities because they enjoyed an intergenerational intimacy between old and new generation immigrants.

Ethnic organizations succeeded in the education of adult immigrants because they understood the intricacies of the various immigrant cultures.<sup>35</sup> Polish ethnic organizations were aware of the needs of Polish immigrants the same as Italian ethnic organizations were aware of the needs of Italian immigrants. Because the ethnic organizations were so closely tied to the various immigrant populations, the educational needs of adult immigrants were catered to.

Although ethnic organizations catered to the needs of immigrant populations more fully than American night schools, both groups tended to encourage female subservience

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>31</sup> Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. (New York: HarperCollings Publishing Inc. 2002), 244-245.

<sup>32</sup> Olneck, "Americanization and the Education of Immigrants," 413.

<sup>33</sup> Smith, 524.

<sup>34</sup> Seller, "Success and Failure," 9.

<sup>35</sup> Smith, 524.

to men and suggested that female immigrants need not be educated in matters of the liberal arts and languages, but rather in domesticity and child rearing.<sup>36</sup> Women from all different cultural backgrounds faced deeply rooted social norms in their immigration experiences to America. Immigrants sometimes had a difficult experience adapting to the social values in place through American society because they did not match those of their native country. Historians study women and their immigration to America because their experience is unique because of their double minority status – they are both foreign and female and thus, experience American society much more differently than their husbands, fathers, and brothers.

One immigrant group of women, however, seemed to lose out in opportunities of education because of both American and native cultural social values. Jewish women were thought to not need educations by their families and thus were sent to work as maids and housekeepers to the wealthy. Jewish women who still lived with their families were often expected to use their hard-earned wages to help support their brothers who were sent to become educated in all matters, religious and social. In some instances, it was believed that an educated Jewish woman would not be suitable for marriage and thus never able to fulfill wifely duties.<sup>37</sup>

However, in order to learn some skill set that would provide for an opportunity for employment, Jewish women enrolled in vocational schools where they could learn trades such as dressmaking, sewing, and hat trimming. In New York City, these schools were supported by the Board of Education. These vocational schools, however, seldom fulfilled their mission in educating immigrant women in their specific trades. Instead, they focused on the skills necessary to perform domestic work and encouraged their students to marry early. They simply saw education as a temporary fixture before young immigrant women could marry and start families.

Such examples of gender roles within the female Jewish immigrant experience also find their way into literature. In her short stories, Anzia Yeziarska portrays young Jewish women who face the same kind of gender roles as shown in vocational schools. In her short story “Wings,” the main character Shenah Pessah longs to leave her uncle’s house and her life as a janitress to experience America as she conceives it to be. Her uncle, however, continues to reinforce strict gender roles that she belongs in the home working for the tenants and taking care of him in his old age. Her life is to revolve around the home and not about thoughts of education. Shenah Pessah yearns to be more American in her everyday life, even selling her down comforter at a pawn shop so that she can buy American style clothing to impress her love interest and tenant, Mr. Barnes.<sup>38</sup>

Furthering the idea that Jewish women did not need to bother themselves in the affairs of academia, girls were seldom educated as much as their brothers. “Jews in Eastern Europe had seldom been permitted to own land and thus did not consider property the ultimate security. Instead, unconscious family strategies there, as here, relied upon investing in the future of male children so that they could advance either by means

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<sup>36</sup> Melissa Klapper, “Jewish Women and Vocational Education in New York City, 1885-1925,” *American Jewish Archives Journal* 53 (2001): 127.

<sup>37</sup> Weinberg, 115.

<sup>38</sup> Anzia Yeziarska, “Wings,” in *How I Found America: Collected Stories of Anzia Yeziarska*, (New York City: Persea Books).

of an education or by building up a small business.”<sup>39</sup> Oftentimes, regardless of how well Jewish women performed in high school, they were sent out to work in order to make money in support of her family before getting married and starting their own. However, this attitude toward women and education could change depending on the economic status of the family and how readily available funds would be to send daughters to school. If a family was in good economic condition and could spare the extra expenses of having a daughter educated, then they would oftentimes make the sacrifice.<sup>40</sup>

The educational experiences of immigrants are an exceedingly complicated facet of immigration history because of the complex intertwining of American values with native cultural traditions. Immigrants coming to America were faced with the necessity to learn the English language if they wanted to be able to function within American society and thus gain access to better paying, higher level jobs. The government, aligned with various immigrant advocacy groups established night schools in which immigrants could acquire a basic understanding of the English language, just enough so that they could converse with others and function within the workplace. However, these night schools failed to cater to the needs of all immigrants because they did not offer instruction in the native language or provide a liberal arts education for their students. Instead, they were much more concerned with the Americanization and assimilation of immigrants into American society. On the other hand, ethnic organizations run out of various ethnic communities provided immigrants with educational outlets that served their needs completely. These ethnic organizations taught English, the native language, and provided a basis of the liberal arts and thus, according to Maxine S. Seller fulfilled the educational needs of immigrants who studied through them.<sup>41</sup>

However, these educational opportunities must be looked at through the lens of gender and cultural tradition. For some women, especially Jewish women, society and their cultural traditions dictated that women, much less immigrant women, did not need an education in order to succeed in her future endeavors. Instead, she was expected to marry early and become a domestic working tirelessly within the home in order to provide for her family, while her husband worked. Jewish women often had to forgo their own education for that of their brother's education because much more emphasis was placed on the education of males than females.

Therefore, while educational opportunities for immigrants were established in the hopes of educating all immigrants in order to Americanize and thus, assimilate them into American society, these opportunities were increasingly difficult to take advantage of. American night schools were inconvenient and did not support cultural pluralism, thus leaving no room for the traditional culture of its students. Women, especially Jewish women, experienced an even harsher reality. Despite the numerous educational avenues that they could choose from, they were seldom given permission by their families to continue their educations and instead, forced to work to help support and provide for the family. They were only offered the benefit of an education, when economic conditions in the family were good. Immigrants, and especially immigrant women, found the process of education to be difficult to undergo and thus few would take advantage of it. This lack

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<sup>39</sup> Weinberg, 108.

<sup>40</sup> Maxine S. Seller, “The Education of Immigrant Women, 1900-1935,” *Journal of Urban History* 4 (1978): 314.

<sup>41</sup> Seller, “Success and Failure,” 2.

of an educated immigrant population strengthened American fears that society would be overrun with the uneducated immigrants of Europe and thus break down the moral fiber and character of the great American society.

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**Birth Control and the Reshaping of Sexuality and the Traditional American Family,  
1960 to 2000**  
Nicole Polisano

“Margaret Sanger had to commit what was then called a crime in order to enrich humanity, and today we honor her courage and vision; for without them there would have been no beginning. Our sure beginning in the struggle for equality by non-violent direct action may not have been so resolute without the tradition established by Margaret Sanger and people like her.”

–Dr. Martin Luther King  
(May 5, 1966)

From as early as the ancient Egyptians, women used birth control. (Knowles) Whether it was through ingesting poisons in ancient history, or taking oral contraceptive in recent times, birth control has been a cause of controversy for many societies and for many people. As American culture throughout the twentieth century has increasingly become more comfortable with sexuality, the population using birth control has continued to grow. Moreover, birth control challenges the idealized Cult of Domesticity, and along with it the Separation of Spheres, which ascribed specific roles to males and females. The myth of the model American family also changed over the years because birth control gave women control over their bodies and finally offered them the opportunity to fight for equality in a society that largely assumed that they were inferior to men. The issue of birth control has reshaped the notion of the traditional Caucasian American family as well as sexuality itself from 1960 to 2000.

The birth control movement began in the late eighteenth century when people started questioning if the earth could sustain a large population. The birth rate far exceeded the death rate, and the population grew rapidly. During the early twentieth century, Margaret Sanger led the birth control movement when she established the first birth control clinic in the United States. At the clinic, Sanger also offered knowledge and resources about ways to enhance the quality of sexual relationships. The birth control movement shocked many people because they believed that sex was only for married couples as a means to reproduce. However, Sanger publicly advocated this particularly sensitive issue. (Davis, 44-45) The Comstock Laws enacted by Congress in 1873 criminalized the publication, distribution, and possession of information about or devices for an “unlawful” abortion or contraception. (“Comstock Act.”) Even though Sanger went against these laws many times, she remained faithful to her goal. “She believed that there was no shame in being responsible about ones ability to bear or not bear children, and freely and openly expressed her beliefs.” (Kennedy, 127)

In addition, Sanger also organized the National Birth Control League in 1917, which later changed its name to the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942. “Planned Parenthood delivers health care services and sex education and information to millions of women and men.” (“Who We Are – Planned Parenthood”) Because Sanger wanted people to increase their sexual responsibility, she believed Planned Parenthood to be a place to help all people.

In 1934, Sanger requested that a famous American physician, biologist, and researcher, Gregory Pincus, create an oral contraceptive to prevent pregnancy. Because of

the little funding Sanger generated, Pincus was unable to continue his discovery. However, in 1957, Frank Colton, a chemist at the Searle Pharmaceutical Company, accidentally developed an oral contraceptive. Sanger's persistency to discover an oral form of birth control benefited women in the end. Colton allowed Pincus to have samples of the drug for his research. (Kennedy, 60)

The years 1946 to 1964 marked an increase in the number of births in the world. The years called the "Post-World War II Baby Boom" occurred when many husbands returned to the household after the war. The return of the males in the United States signaled the beginning of many families. Over the eighteen-year period, the number of births ranged from 2.8 million to 4.5 million. In the United States alone, women gave birth to approximately seventy-nine million babies during the Baby Boom. (Davis 40-41)

By the end of the Baby Boom era, the myth of the model Caucasian family influenced the shaping of most families in the United States. Moreover, in the 1960s, many Americans believed in the Cult of Domesticity, a belief whose source can be traced to the nineteenth century. (DeTocqueville) The idea that there were separate expectations for men and women created a division between the two sexes. As the main source of income, the father worked hard to take care of his family. He belonged in the public world and away from the household. On the other hand, the mother took on a homemaker role, cooking, cleaning, and taking care of the household to make it stable and comfortable for her husband. She had the responsibility of bearing and raising the children, and making them presentable for when the father arrived home each evening for dinner. (Friedan)

In addition, the perfect family in the 1950s and 60s, as often portrayed by the media, seemed to have the ideal lifestyle. They seemed happy, content, and successful. The family represented everything that was good in life – honesty and purity. However, in many situations, this was not the case. The model family was often an unequal partnership. Wives were still viewed in some people's minds as their husbands' property. Many women rarely experienced any individual time or freedom to establish themselves in a profession outside of the home. Although many women would never openly admit their discouragement, their lifestyle left them disappointed and wanting something more. (Friedan)

Clearly then, in 1960, when the Food and Drug Administration finally approved the first oral birth control pill, a highly successful method of contraception, the pill triumphed in the market. ("U.S. Approves Pill for Birth Control") The pill offered women the ability to take control of their bodies and their lives. After trying for years to develop ways to prevent pregnancy, the birth control pill was more effective than the rest. With the pill, women finally had the opportunity to escape from the typical homemaker stereotypes. Bearing and raising children changed many women's appearances and attitudes, and the pill gave them something to prevent subsiding to the regular norms. "Within three years of its existence, 1.2 million women were taking the birth control pill." (Mintz)

In the meantime, the nation went through a sexual revolution. While new and improved methods of contraception continued to become available, the popular birth control pill gave women the same sexual freedom that men previously experienced. The media, movies, fashion, literature, newspapers, and advertisements exploited sex. *Playboy Magazine* featuring nude photographs, singles bars, topless bathing suits, short

skirts, sexual acts in films, and singles-only weekends at resorts changed the way people previously viewed sexuality. (Smith, T.)

In addition, as women took control of their lives, birth control and the sexual revolution grew. "As a result, it became more acceptable to have an active social life and a sex life outside of marriage." (Mintz) Birth control began to reshape the American family because many women chose not to marry at a young age. Because of the availability of effective birth control, many women realized they could have sexual experiences without the fear of pregnancy. Not surprisingly, and the number of marriages decreased.

Furthermore, by the 1960s, women began to enter the work force with greater frequency. Because they now controlled their bodies, many women went back to school and pursued careers. With more effective contraceptives, women could work without interruption. In 1963, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act. The act made it illegal to pay a man more than a woman for the same occupation in the workplace. A year later, the Civil Rights Act banned discrimination based on race, sex, or religion. The act also made it illegal for businesses to reserve specific jobs for males or females, or to dismiss a woman for getting pregnant. With birth control, women began breaking away from the social norms to excel in the work force. This was something that most women never encountered before, and these two federal acts protected women from the prejudices they might have otherwise encountered. Some women took advantage of the alternative homemaker lifestyle and experienced the outside world. Others did not experience such opportunities because of their already growing family. (Mintz)

Also in the 1960s, it became easier to obtain a divorce. Unhappy with their marriage, a spouse could file for divorce. In fact, some husbands, often angered about their wives using birth control as a source of power over their bodies, frequently filed for divorce. On the other hand, wives, who realized that marriage life did not give them the opportunities that they wanted, could also file for divorce. For every one-thousand married persons, 2.2 percent ended in divorce. A divorce not only changed the typical family structure, but it also affected the whole family. (Crouch and Arnold) Many children feel lonely or emotionally detached when a parent leaves the household. Often turning towards influences that will fill the missing piece in their lives; these types of children are more likely to become involved in some type of negative pressure, such as bullying, drugs, or alcohol.

The legal tipping point of birth control occurred in 1965 when the *Griswold versus Connecticut* case made history at the Supreme Court. Estelle Griswold, a physician and Executive Director of the Planned Parenthood League in Connecticut, gave information and medical advice to married couples concerning birth control. Connecticut at that time prohibited giving information, instruction, and/or medical advice to any married persons trying to prevent conception. Convicted and fined one hundred dollars, Griswold brought her case to the Supreme Court of the United States. The court ruled that the Constitution protected the right to marital privacy, and the case strengthened the Planned Parenthood League and birth control. The Supreme Court declared that the Connecticut law, which had been in effect since 1879, was unconstitutional. Protected by the Constitution, birth control allowed all married women the luxury of avoiding pregnancy. ("*Griswold v. Connecticut*")

In just ten years, birth control gave women increased personal and professional opportunities. Whether it was to avoid having children or to pursue a career, birth control helped women change the myth of the model American family, with its Separation of Spheres and the Cult of Domesticity. Even though it was a slow beginning, the chances available to women opened their eyes to the world around them. By using birth control, wives could escape from their pressured roles of motherhood.

The model American family continued to experience more changes in the 1970s. "As children were no longer economic assets, but liabilities, parents found that the family went from being a unit of production to a unit of consumption." (Mintz) Because of the economic burden, more married women began taking the birth control pill as a contraceptive to avoid pregnancy. The American family that once had six or seven children in previous years decreased to two or three. (Mintz) Fewer children meant less money to spend, less work, and more free time for women. Women could take advantage of their new free time to spend with their family or partake in personal hobbies.

In addition, the Supreme Court Case of Eisenstadt versus Baird in 1972, building on the Griswold Case, extended the right of birth control to unmarried persons. The case gave all females the ability to take birth control contraceptives to prevent pregnancy. ("Eisenstadt v. Baird") Since all females had access to birth control, the myth of the model Caucasian American family continued to restructure. Because of the court case, unmarried couples could engage in sexual intercourse without the fear of pregnancy, and as a result, such couples often postponed their marriages. ("Live Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Divorces: 1960 to 2000")

Meanwhile, during these years, the Women's Liberation Movement took force and grew throughout the United States. The movement attacked the social assumption that all women enjoyed responding to the needs of their spouses and children as part of their roles as wives and mothers. The movement went against the typical portrayal of women, that childcare and housework were the peak of a woman's accomplishments and her sole means of fulfillment. (Friedan) The movement's focus on sexism also opened the public to the prejudices that women endured. Progressively, women began to alter their attitudes toward family roles and housework. With a strong stand on birth control, an increasing number of women began taking the pill. For those women who once believed in the homemaker stereotypes, the Women's Liberation Movement showed them a different view and offered them new opportunities in their lives. (Perry)

At the same time, more women also decided to attend college and enter the work force. With the chance to take contraceptives to escape or delay the responsibilities of motherhood, a greater majority of married women experienced independence for the first time. Women had a chance to fulfill the missing piece of their lives. Married women, no longer defined as who their husbands were, possessed their own unique individual characteristics as persons. Now that women had a career and earned wages, the authority in the household began to shift from the dominant male to an equal partnership. (Mintz) With the help of birth control and the Women's Liberation Movement, both single and married women entered the public with their own voice declaring their freedom. Women in the 1970s had a completely new confidence that they never experienced before.

While more women changed their lifestyle, the myth of the Caucasian American family drastically changed. According to Crouch and Arnold in the "United States Divorce Rates" the number of divorces rose to an all time high, and with a new reason,

irreconcilable differences. Because of birth control, women gained self-confidence and many filed for divorce. Moreover, with divorces came a growing number of single-parent households. The change left children, if the family had any, a domestic life often fraught with discord and tension. From statistics, children in divorced families have a higher drop out rate and are more prone to become involved in bad influences. A divorce can have long-term affects on a child's confidence and self-esteem. (Crouch and Arnold)

Since the 1960s, birth control reshaped the myth of the model American family and gave women a new view of life. Birth control also strengthened the Women's Liberation Movement. As more women entered the workforce to establish themselves, many used birth control as a way to live a rewarding lifestyle without children. Since birth control was easily obtainable to all, couples without children also continued to grow. Many women had a fulfilling life already and did not want to conform to the stereotypical assumptions about women. With the passing of time, the traditional American family slowly changed. According to the United States Census, in 1960 only 30% males and 34% females were unmarried, but by 1980, 37% males were unmarried and 41% of females were unmarried. ("Marital Status Data for 1890 - 1970")

In the 1980s, birth control caused a controversy between liberals and conservatives. In an attempt to find ways to strengthen the American family, each opposing side came up with their own views. With the increasing number of divorces, single parents, and working mothers, conservatives introduced a "Pro-Family Movement." In an attempt to control what they saw as sexual promiscuity, "conservatives tried to limit the access to abortion, the amount of sex on television, and teenagers' access to contraceptive information." (Mintz) The conservatives' main goal was to reunite and repair the model American family.

In contrast, liberals viewed family issues from a different perspective. To strengthen the American family, "liberals created nutritional and health programs for pregnant women and gave federal assistance for low-income families. Liberals also developed national standards for childcare centers and a requirement that employers give parents unpaid leave to take care of a newborn or seriously ill child." (Mintz) Although both perspectives offered compelling arguments, both attempts to strengthen the family were not completely successful, and the American family continued to disintegrate.

As American culture became increasingly liberal, changes took place that altered the traditional American household. In the 1980s, only fifteen percent of the nation's households included a working husband, unemployed wife, and one or more children. ("Live Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Divorces: 1960 to 2000") The media adapted in large measure to the new ways of living and rarely portrayed the clichéd motherly figure, which once shaped society. Now, the mother wore a dress or suit at the office. Because of birth control, the stereotypical family has drastically changed.

As the late 1980s ended, more than sixty million people worldwide practiced birth control. ("Live Births, Deaths,...") For the first time, the female Baby Boomers lived a different lifestyle and did not assume their standard role as the homemaker responsible for the family. "In 1965, 38.5% of women aged twenty-four through thirty-four were in the paid labor force. By 1986, this same group now aged forty-five through fifty-five had a 66.3% rate. Women became dedicated to paid employment, and did not want to abandon the life they built for themselves." (Fraser) With birth control, confident women pursued careers and lived (their life) the way they wanted to, while also enjoying it.

In the 1990s, the birth control pill gave a completely new meaning to the way people viewed the myth of the model Caucasian American family. The males' distinctive role as the primary wage earner continued to dissolve rapidly. Men's employment actually decreased from the 1960s. As the cost of living increased, a greater number of females entered the workforce. (Ellwood) With birth control controlling pregnancy, females took advantage of education to improve their status in the work force. More women graduated from college than ever before. In 1990, 18% of women graduated from college compared to 1970 when only 8% graduated with a Bachelor's Degree. Women were also participating in occupations that once distinguished them from males, such as doctors, police officers, scientists, and chief executive officers. (Smith, D.)

Furthermore, with two incomes in the family, women could help the household, while receiving personal satisfaction and accomplishment. The husband and wife shared power when it came to money and the household. For the most part, there was also an equal partnership between husband and wife in situations like housework and childrearing. (Ellwood) Not surprisingly, at this time only nine percent of households fit the definition of the myth of the model American family that once was pervasive throughout the country. (Fraser)

The new realities of family life were in sharp contrast with the idealized philosophy of the American family from the 1960s. Because of birth control, families in the 1990s have fewer children than ever before. According to the United States Census, the average number of children per family was 1.87. ("Live Births, Deaths,...") In contrast to the 1960s, it was now clear that women took birth control to experience a fulfilling life without children. "For the first time in history, the United States is generationally imbalanced: there are more grandparents than grandchildren." (Fraser) The last of the Baby Boom era changed history as those born during the era went against their own parents' beliefs and the standards of the society.

In 1990, for every one-thousand married persons, 4.7% of them ended in divorce. That has more than doubled since the 1960s. (Crouch and Arnold) The increase in divorce rates reshaped the family life in the late 20th century. With divorce came the dramatic increase in the number of single-parent households. According to the *Urban Institute's 1997 National Survey of American Families*, twenty-seven percent of American children lived in single-parent households. Almost all of the single-parent households have a female head of the household. The father figure, in many of the cases, is often absent from family events. As the number of single-parent households rose, so did the number of couple's cohabitating. The number of unmarried couples living together quadrupled from 1970 to 2000. (Halpern, Clark, and Fernandez)

Various religions have strong beliefs about contraceptives and their effects on families. From researching the Muslims, Jewish, and Catholics faiths, it is clear that the different attitudes about contraceptives reflect back on the core beliefs of the religion.

The Muslim faith prohibits all pre-marital relations. This is a serious crime under the Sharia Law, and it can sometimes end in death. However, once an arranged marriage occurs in the traditional Muslim family, almost all forms of birth control are acceptable. "Muslims also believe that contraception helps to preserve the attractiveness of the wife, thereby increasing the enjoyment of the marriage. Ironically, for Muslim women, family planning is vital to their empowerment." (Williams) Some Muslim women use birth control as not only a means to prevent pregnancy, but also a way to establish a confident

and enjoying lifestyle. Muslim beliefs about birth control are similar to the beliefs of the new type of American family that allowed women to avoid bearing children if they opted to do so.

However, other followers of the Muslim faith believe that birth control can only damage a marriage. Because the *Koran* states that couples should “procreate and abound in number,” these Muslims believe that only God can decide who controls reproduction. (Williams) Since the Islamic faith has strict policies and beliefs about premarital relations, one can deduce that birth control affects Muslim American families.

The Jewish faith allows for the use of certain types of birth control. Since premarital relations are unacceptable, the religion permits the use of birth control to only married women. Many Jews believe that once married, it is the decision of the couple to use birth control. On the other hand, there are other sects within the religion, such as Conservative Judaism, that believe that birth control is a sin because it does not follow the commandment to “choose life.” (Williams) From the research, there appears to be no consensus on whether the Jewish religion has had any significant influence on birth control and American family life.

While the Muslim and Jewish faiths accept some forms of artificial contraceptive, the Roman Catholic Church forbids the use of artificial birth control. “Catholicism is the only major faith institution in the United States that forbids all chemical and barrier methods of birth control and considers them morally unacceptable.” (Williams) Since sex outside of marriage is a sin, some leaders promote complete abstinence before marriage, while others only allow physical affection. “Catholicism preaches that all sexual acts have no value except for procreation so using birth control to prevent reproduction encourages sinful uses of sex.” (Williams) Leaders proclaim that sex is for procreation purposes and as an expression of love between married spouses.

However, most Catholics disagree with the Church's belief about birth control because they believe it is up to the women to decide whether to reproduce. According to the 1995 National Survey of Family Growth, “seventy-five percent of Catholic women of childbearing age who are sexually active use a contraceptive method forbidden by the church.” (“National Survey of Family Growth”) The statistics suggest that even with the Church's influence, many American women chose to follow their own personal beliefs when it deals with reproduction. Although the evidence is just one example, the results show that the Catholic Church's views do not influence or change many of the Catholics who use birth control.

Many historians, sociologists, and economists have studied the twentieth century family; however, among the more engaging sociologists to examine contemporary society, whose work has direct implication for understanding gender dynamics, has been Geert Hofstede . He conducted research on the five dimensions on which cultures differ: high power distance (versus low power distance), individualism (versus collectivism), masculinity (versus femininity), uncertainty avoidance index (versus uncertainty), and long-term orientation (versus short-term orientation). Hofstede believed that each culture is different and having insights into these other cultures can provide for a more effective interaction between people.

Hofstede's dimensions of masculinity versus femininity offers an effective tool for examining how and why the model Caucasian American family has changed. As part of the Cult of Domesticity in the early 1960s, many women were originally homemakers

who enjoyed their role. There were also separate spheres for men (primarily in the workplace) and women primarily at home). With the appearance of birth control, and especially oral contraceptives, women began to take hold of their lives and gain control, often with inspiration from the Women's Liberation Movement. Women had a chance to change the previous philosophies about their nature, with the opportunities to education themselves and establish a career to improve their social standings. The number of males in the work place also decreased as some men took on homemaker roles, while their wives went into the work force. From the 1960s to 2000, birth control helped women to challenge male hegemony in American culture and to achieve greater measures of gender equality in both the home and the workplace. (Hofstede)

In conclusion, birth control has reshaped the stereotypical American family and sexual practices in general from the 1960s to 2000. Although there are varying forms of birth control that have come about throughout the years, they all have one thing in common: they helped women take control of their lives and assisted them in achieving new professional experiences and opportunities.

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## Appendix


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**Griswold v. Connecticut (No. 496)**  
**151 Conn. 544, 200 A.2d 479, reversed.**

<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Opinion</b> [ Douglas ]	<b>Concurrence</b> [ Goldberg ]	<b>Concurrence</b> [ Harlan ]	<b>Concurrence</b> [ White ]	<b>Dissent</b> [ Black ]	<b>Dissent</b> [ Stewart ]
<a href="#">HTML version</a> PDF version						

### Syllabus

## SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

381 U.S. 479

### Griswold v. Connecticut

APPEAL FROM THE SUPREME COURT OF ERRORS OF CONNECTICUT

No. 496 Argued: March 29-30, 1965 --- Decided: June 7, 1965

Appellants, the Executive Director of the Planned Parenthood League of Connecticut, and its medical director, a licensed physician, were convicted as accessories for giving married persons information and medical advice on how to prevent conception and, following examination, prescribing a contraceptive device or material for the wife's use. A Connecticut statute makes it a crime for any person to use any drug or article to prevent conception. Appellants claimed that the accessory statute, as applied, violated the [Fourteenth Amendment](#). An intermediate appellate court and the State's highest court affirmed the judgment.

*Held:*

1. Appellants have standing to assert the constitutional rights of the married people. *Tileston v. Ullman*, [318 U.S. 44](#), distinguished. P. 481.
2. The Connecticut statute forbidding use of contraceptives violates the right of marital privacy which is within the penumbra of specific guarantees of the Bill of Rights. Pp. 481-486.

**[p480]**

“Griswold v. Connecticut.” 1965. Legal Information Institute Supreme Court Collection.

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## Dance in the Cultural Cold War

Erika Lunn

It was stated by Clifford Geertz that “culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions as processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something in which they can be intelligibly...described.”<sup>42</sup> Culture cannot be taken away from the context in which it is located because it then loses all meaning. The context is what binds all of the attributes together. The concept of dance has several definitions depending upon the context in which it is placed. For example, the culture of dance in Italy during the Renaissance is quite different from the culture of dance in American clubs in the twenty-first century. The concept is still dance, but the context which surrounds both situations alters its meaning. The Cold War is one context in which dance can be viewed. In the race to be the best country, the Cold War adversaries affected not just politics and military situations but culture as well. The effects on one aspect of culture, dance, can be viewed in the perspective of the Soviet Union and its individual dancers.

It is necessary to understand the history of the Cold War in order to analyze the effect it held on the cultural concept of dance. After World War II, the Soviet Union wanted to maintain control over Eastern Europe and in doing so transplant the communist ideology to its people.<sup>43</sup> This created conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. The United States, an anticommunist country, utilized the “widely-held belief at the time in its ‘manifest destiny’ to lead the world to Christian salvation” or in other words to eliminate all traces of communism.<sup>44</sup> To do this, the United States needed to focus on the source of the issue. “In American rhetoric all communism—whether Asian, Latin American, or European—emanated from Moscow. Thus American metaphors for Soviet influence—‘captive nations,’ ‘Soviet satellites,’ and puppet governments—fueled the rhetoric of American cultural diplomacy.”<sup>45</sup> Therefore, culture was utilized by the United States as a means to counter the communist influence. This means of countering or eliminating such influence, however, was not just executed by the United States. Both sides in the Cold War utilized culture for this purpose.

Since the Cold War was fought unlike any other war, the opponents developed different methods of engaging in conflict. Politics and military strength was only a small part of how the war was fought.<sup>46</sup> Instead, the two countries took the concepts of ideas,

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<sup>42</sup> Patrick Major and Rana Mitter, "East is East and West is West? Towards a Comparative Socio-Cultural History of the Cold War." *Cold War History* 4, no. 1 (2003): 3. *History Reference Center*, EBSCOhost <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=11412603&site=ehost-live>> (accessed April 25, 2009).

<sup>43</sup> “Cold War,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2009 Encyclopedia Britannica Online <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/125110/Cold-War>> (accessed May 2, 2009).

<sup>44</sup> Patrick Major and Rana Mitter, 4

<sup>45</sup> Marsha Siefert, “From Cold War to Wary Peace: American Culture in the USSR and Russia,” in *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism after 1945*, ed. Alexander Stephan (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 186.

<sup>46</sup> Ieva Zake, “Controversies of US-USSR Cultural Contacts During the Cold War: The Perspective of Latvian Refugees,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 21, no. 1 (March 2008): 55 *History Reference Center*, EBSCOhost, <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=31573680&site=ehost-live>> (accessed April 25, 2009)

values, technology, and scientific knowledge as a means of influencing the other.<sup>47</sup> They then took these concepts and placed them in the dimensions of propaganda, psychology, culture and ideology.<sup>48</sup> For example, one country may have placed propaganda in the ideas of a novel in order to influence the other or they may have placed psychological theories in the technology of films. The adversaries' purpose for this exchange of influence was to show the other that they were more developed, more advanced. "Cultural products...became a test of what each system could produce, in quality and quantity."<sup>49</sup> The war was fought not with weapons, but through ideas and products. The idea was to create better technology than the other country and become more influential than the other.

In order to engage in this method of battle, the opponents decided to employ tactics that were psychological. This occurred in the form of the Cultural Agreement of 1958.<sup>50</sup> "The Cultural Agreement of 1958 made possible cultural, scientific and education exchanges..." which transpired through "people-to-people exchange."<sup>51</sup> In other words, it was agreed that the United States and the Soviet Union would allow individuals in the fields of culture, science, and education to visit each other in order to exchange knowledge. This was promoted because "it was hoped that non-political communication through cultural agreements, educational exchanges, sports meetings, tourist visits and a wide range of people-to-people contacts could bring down barriers and help to defuse the ideological conflict."<sup>52</sup> Developed by Dwight D. Eisenhower, this idea was created "to help the two nations learn about each other."<sup>53</sup> In other words, by learning about one another acceptance and understanding would result. While the belief that this exchange could eliminate barriers between the two was a well promoted concept, the two countries also used the agreement to show who was more advanced in the previously mentioned fields.

Because of the implication of the agreement, both countries responded accordingly. Stringent guidelines were developed which both countries had to follow in order for the agreement to be approved.

"American culture was accepted into the USSR on the formal principle of exact exchange: on performer for another, ten students for another ten. Still, of course, each desired the better of the balance and each attempted to play upon the other's inconsistencies between ideology and practice."<sup>54</sup>

The guideline of exact exchange occurred because neither wanted the other to have the upper hand, even though both desired it for themselves. "The Soviets played the cultural and academic exchanges as a political game in which they tried to control everything."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Patrick Major and Rana Mitter, 2

<sup>49</sup> Marsha Siefert, 185.

<sup>50</sup> Peter G. Boyle, *American-Soviet Relations: From the Russian Revolution to the fall of Communism*, (London: Routledge, 1993), 258.

<sup>51</sup> Peter G. Boyle, 258-259.

<sup>52</sup> Peter G. Boyle, 258.

<sup>53</sup> Ieva Zake, 57.

<sup>54</sup> Marsha Siefert, 187.

<sup>55</sup> Ieva Zake, 59.

This desire is the reason for which the Soviet Union was selective in its choice of exchange subjects. Those who came over to the United States from the Soviet Union were hand selected.<sup>56</sup> Candidates were chosen as those most “loyal to the regime” and those who “were less likely to be seduced by the attractions of the American way of life.”<sup>57</sup> As a result of these selection processes, the most artistic and intellectual subjects were not always apart of the exchange. This took away part of the cultural and intellectual ideas of the agreement and placed the Cultural Agreement of 1958 more within a political context. The countries employed these tactics in order to present superiority, while still displaying physical evidence that they were trying to cooperate.

The cultural exchange was carried out in a variety of different methods. Among the different methods, “[t]he most visible of those exchanges were the performing arts.”<sup>58</sup> With the mandatory law of exact exchange, performing artists from both countries participated. “Soviet dance groups, symphony orchestras, ice shows, circuses, as well as the many individual artists... visited the United States each year... [a]nd in the Soviet Union, American ensembles and soloists invariable played to full houses.”<sup>59</sup> Many different performing arts groups were part of the cultural exchange. One particular group that was included in the performing arts group was dance. Specific examples of Soviet dance in the United States as a result of the cultural exchange included, “Moiseyev Folk Dance Ensemble and the Bolshoi and Kirov Ballets,” while examples of American dance in the Soviet Union included, “the American Ballet Theater, New York City Ballet, Jeffrey Ballet, Alvin Ailey Dance Theater, Jose Limon Dance Company, and Paul Taylor Dance Company.”<sup>60</sup> These dance companies, both Soviet and American based, were utilized as weapons of the Cold War. The main focus was to be better than the other: to have better dancers, better choreography, and better costumes. This in turn had an effect on dance, changing leading countries and individual dancers’ perceptions.

While the background of the Cold War and the historical event of the Cultural Agreement of 1958 are crucial to understanding what was occurring culturally in different countries, it is essential to look at those countries’ perceptions to understand the effect. The Russian perspective of dance during the Cold War was influenced by the entrance of western culture into a country which was isolated from all beliefs except those approved of by the Soviet Union.<sup>61</sup> As stated before, the point of the cultural exchange was to display the superiority of one’s country. Therefore, the Soviet government was against the introduction of “new artistic concepts” from the West and often regulated what could and could not be introduced into the Soviet Union.<sup>62</sup> “Any art form... that was branded as ‘modern,’ ‘decadent,’ or forbidden by the Soviets was by definition a demonstration of freedom and anticommunism.”<sup>63</sup> In order to eliminate anticommunist ideology, the government implemented restrictions upon what culture could and could not be shown in the Soviet Union. This caused some forms of dance,

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<sup>56</sup> Peter G. Boyle, 259.

<sup>57</sup> Ieva Zake, 59 and Peter G. Boyle, 259.

<sup>58</sup> Yale Richmond, “Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: How the Arts Influenced Policy,” *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 35, no. 3 (October 1): 239-245.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Yale Richmond, 239-245

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Marsha Siefert, 191.

such as modern dance, to be restricted from being performed in the USSR.<sup>64</sup> The Soviet government displayed its disapproval of modern dance because it believed it was a form of anticommunist ideology.

While the Soviet government disapproved of all dance which they considered to be anticommunist ideology, Russian citizens represented mixed opinions. The cultural exchange brought those western concepts that were not previously seen. "Visits by American and other western performers brought a breath of fresh air, as well as new artistic concepts in music and dance, to a country where orthodoxy and conservatism had long been guiding principles in the arts."<sup>65</sup> The "breath of fresh air" represented an acceptance of the western style of dance into the Soviet Union.<sup>66</sup> "New artistic concepts" allow growth and development in the art world, and the introduction of western styles provided the opportunity for this to occur.<sup>67</sup> While this view point displays an acceptance of western dance, not every Russian citizen was in favor of its performance. A Russian historian revealed both negative and positive view points about the 1962 arrival of the New York City Ballet. "Older people rejected it: 'The Americans aren't dancing; they're solving algebra problems with their feet.'<sup>68</sup> The disapproval of western dance by older Russian citizens may have occurred due to their history with the implementation of communist ideology into the Soviet Union. According to this assessment, however, the younger generation felt differently. "But the young saw in Balanchine's productions the heights that the Petersburg cultural avant-garde could have reached if it had not been crushed by the Soviet authorities. Leningrad's...dancers were inspired."<sup>69</sup> The Russian response to the cultural exchange presented both positive and negative views of western dance. It was in these responses that a physical action took place.

As previously mentioned, the introduction of new art led to development and growth, and Soviet dancers needed to find a way in which to practice this new art form. According to Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, to defect means "to forsake one cause, party, or nation for another often because of a change of ideology."<sup>70</sup> Soviet dancers began to act with their feet, defecting to other countries which would allow them to dance as they pleased. The act of defection caused fear within the Soviet government.<sup>71</sup> Because the opponents used the cultural exchange as a means to show their superiority, this lost standing for the Soviet Union. "Ballet came to symbolize another crisis important to the Cold War competition—the importance of defections."<sup>72</sup> Defections were physical actions which represented the dancers' want for artistic freedom. When dancers defected to western countries, not only did the Soviet Union lose its best dancers, but the western countries gained them. This caused the Soviet Union to act accordingly. Peter G. Boyle stated, that "on the Soviet side, fear of defection added another element to the already rigorous process of screening soviet citizens who were

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Yale Richmond, 239-245.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Yale Richmond, 239-245.

<sup>68</sup> Yale Richmond, 239-245.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> "defect," *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, 2009, <<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/defect>> (accessed May 4, 2009).

<sup>71</sup> Peter G. Boyle, 259.

<sup>72</sup> Marsha Siefert, 193.

permitted to travel to the United States under such programmes.”<sup>73</sup> This was done to prevent as many citizens from defecting as possible. This was not the only action the Soviet Union took to prevent defections from occurring. At one point, they even chose to cancel their programs as a preventative measure.<sup>74</sup> For Soviet dancers, defection provided them with a method for them to acquire artistic freedom.

Other reasons existed as a motive for dancers to defect to western countries. Because the Soviet Union was a communist country, its citizens were confined within a “closed society.”<sup>75</sup> This resulted in “very few opportunities for travel or other contacts by Americans.”<sup>76</sup> Soviet citizens were limited in their actions and communications. Therefore, artists would defect from the Soviet Union in order to obtain autonomy. In western countries, dancers were not restricted by the regulations of the Soviet government. The knowledge of this autonomy was acquired when “the Americans allowed the Soviet visitors to travel freely within the US.”<sup>77</sup> The experience of traveling to the United States and viewing life there presented Soviet citizens with the opportunity to compare their lives with the lives of United States citizens. “Because substantial privileges were given to top Soviet performers, these defections appeared to demonstrate the lure of American life, however the Soviet authorities tried to portray it.”<sup>78</sup> The defection to western countries portrayed a want for a life that was not obtainable in the Soviet Union. Another reason for defection was finances.<sup>79</sup> The restrictions of the Soviet government continued into the financial sector. The salaries for dancers were regulated by the government as were the costs of performances.<sup>80</sup> “Due to the Soviet state-controlled low prices for tickets the Americans had to subsidize their cultural programs, while the Soviets in the US always made money.”<sup>81</sup> As with the subject of autonomy, the presentation of the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union gave Soviet citizens an opportunity to see that dancers in one country had a higher salary than those of the other. The fact that it was they, the Soviet citizens, who were making less money, was just another reason for Soviet dancers to defect to a country where they could become wealthier. Autonomy and an increase in finances were opportunities which did not exist in the Soviet Union. The cultural exchange provided a chance for Soviet citizens to compare the differences between the Soviet Union and other western countries.

The topic of defection during the cultural exchange of the Cold War cannot be viewed without discussing its consequences. Many Russian exiles, or émigrés, did not return to the country once the fall of communism occurred.<sup>82</sup> This is because of several reasons. The first was the difficulty it took to leave in the first place.<sup>83</sup> Many dancers

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<sup>73</sup> Peter G. Boyle, 259.

<sup>74</sup> Ieva Zake, 59.

<sup>75</sup> Peter G. Boyle, 258.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ieva Zake, 59.

<sup>78</sup> Marsha Siefert, 193.

<sup>79</sup> Ieva Zake, 59.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ieva Zake, 59.

<sup>82</sup> “The homecoming,” *Economist*, 325, no. 7791: 73 (1992) *History Reference Center*, EBSCOhost Center <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=31573680&site=ehost-live>> (accessed April 25, 2009)

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

went to great lengths to defect from the Soviet Union, and returning to Russia would undermine their efforts. Not only was it difficult to leave; it would be even more difficult to return.<sup>84</sup> “The Soviet system made leaving difficult, and returning more so. Émigrés were considered traitors.”<sup>85</sup> The leaving of one's country, and particularly the Soviet Union, during the Cold War meant that one was taking the enemy's side. A dancer who returned would be considered a traitor and disloyal to the Soviet cause. The KGB, or Committee for State Security, which was the “foreign intelligence and domestic security agency of the Soviet Union,” had its own plans for dancers who defected.<sup>86</sup> In regards to the defection of two dancers, Rudolf Nureyev and Natalia Makarova, the punishment was severe.<sup>87</sup> “Rudolf Nureyev and Natalia Makarova both escaped the Soviet Union to dance abroad, and their legs were to be broken as fitting punishment.”<sup>88</sup> Dancers who defected were considered traitors according to the Soviet government and were not welcomed back into the Soviet Union. While this is true, those who managed to leave were admired by Soviet citizens because they were able to obtain what those who stayed could not. “In the modern Russian hierarchy of values, anyone who manages to get out and live comfortably abroad is a respected and envied man at home.”<sup>89</sup> Dancers who took the chance and defected from the Soviet Union were envied for the opportunities they were able to obtain. The Soviet Union and its citizens treated the defection of dancers with mixed views, and while they were considered traitors for leaving their country, they were often admired for what they had obtained.

It is necessary to introduce real life examples of dancers defecting from the Soviet Union in order for their significance in the Cold War to be understood. Three dancers in particular defected during the 1960's and 70's: Alexander Godunov, Rudolf Nureyev, and Mikhail Baryshnikov.<sup>90</sup> “Russian ballet star Rudolf Nureyev was one of the first to vote with his feet, defecting to England in 1961, with others like Mikhail Barishnikov in 1974 and Alexander Godunov following suit.”<sup>91</sup> These individuals are a physical depiction of the effect of the cultural exchange on the dance world. They represent a need for artistic freedom, a need which could only be obtained through the action of defecting to the west. The dancers served a symbolic purpose; they represented an advance in war for one side.

One dancer to defect from the Soviet Union during the Cold War was Alexander Godunov. Godunov was born in Russia in 1949 and started dancing in Latvia at the age of nine.<sup>92</sup> “At 17 he joined Igor Moiseyev's Young Ballet, and three years later he joined

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<sup>84</sup> “The homecoming.”

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> “KGB,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2009, Encyclopedia Britannica Online, <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9045233>> (accessed May 2, 2009).

<sup>87</sup> David Pryce-Jones, “In from the Cold War: The latest from the KGB,” *National Review*, 51, no. 19 (10/11/1999): 22, *History Reference Center*, EBSCOhost, <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=2315036&site=ehost-live>> (accessed April 25, 2009).

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> “The homecoming.”

<sup>90</sup> Marsha Siefert, 193.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> “Godunov, Alexander,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2009, Encyclopedia Britannica Online, <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/236933/Alexander-Godunov>> (accessed May 2, 2009).

the Bolshoi, becoming the company's youngest principal dancer."<sup>93</sup> These, however, are only demographics; it was his personality which characterized his defection. He was "a dancer noted for his flamboyance, arrogance and heart-stopping dramatic portrayal in ballet's classical repertory."<sup>94</sup> His dramatics and arrogant personality did not stop in the dance world. Godunov had no problem with going against society and defecting to the United States. His defection as well was anything but subtle. "Godunov was the rock 'n' roll star of the ballet world, thumbing his nose at the establishment and sometimes, it seemed, at his audience as well."<sup>95</sup> The defiance he showed towards the Soviet government eventually became a physical action: his defection. Godunov defected to the United States in 1979 while in New York City for the cultural exchange.<sup>96</sup> His actions were simple, but the results were dramatic in comparison. He "simply walked out of his Manhattan hotel Aug. 21, 1979, and asked for political asylum the next day."<sup>97</sup> Uncomplicated, effortless, and trouble free, the defection of Alexander Godunov stayed for only so long. Godunov's wife had participated in the cultural exchange as well, but she decided not to stay in the United States.<sup>98</sup> "The U.S. government grounded the jet carrying the Bolshoi dancers back to Moscow until Godunov's wife, soloist Lyudmila Vlasova, assured them she was returning home willingly – even without Godunov." In his actions, Godunov displayed priorities which revolved around his dance career and not his family. Leaving the Soviet Union and his career with the Bolshoi behind, the dancer was leaping towards a life uncontrolled by the Soviet government.

Alexander Godunov's dramatic defection removed him from Soviet society and in turn presented him with opportunities that he would not have had otherwise. His defection was one which represented a step towards artistic freedom.<sup>99</sup> Laura Bleiberg stated in 1995 that "it's hard to remember in these post-Cold War days that dancers used to risk their lives for artistic freedom – and that 'artistic freedom' was no mere cliché."<sup>100</sup> Godunov utilized his visit to the United States as a means in which to obtain the freedom to dance as he pleased. Without this freedom, he could not have achieved his many accomplishments. Godunov joined ABT, or the American Ballet Theater, soon after he defected.<sup>101</sup> It was there that he danced with his usual "dramatic intensity and technical distinction"<sup>102</sup> Although he was a principal dancer for the 1981-1982 season, he was dismissed soon after.<sup>103</sup> His dismissal from the dance world caused him to explore other opportunities, one of which was film. Godunov acted in the 1985 film *Witness*, the 1986 film *The Money Pit*, and the 1988 film *Die Hard*.<sup>104</sup> The previous accomplishments occurred because Godunov defected from the Soviet Union. He left a closed-society where his options were limited and entered one which presented him with opportunities.

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Laura Bleiberg, "Godunov was First Bolshoi Principal to Defect to U.S," *The Ottawa Citizen*, (May 20, 1995): E 11, <<http://www.proquest.com>>, (accessed March 30, 2009).

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> "Godunov, Alexander"

<sup>97</sup> Laura Bleiberg, E 11.

<sup>98</sup> "Godunov, Alexander."

<sup>99</sup> Laura Bleiberg, E 11.

<sup>100</sup> Laura Bleiberg, E 11.

<sup>101</sup> "Godunov, Alexander."

<sup>102</sup> Laura Bleiberg, E 11.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> "Godunov, Alexander."

This defection characterized the need for artistic freedom and defiance towards the Soviet society.

The defection of a second dancer, Rudolf Nureyev, is another example of an individual affected by the Cold War. Nureyev was born on March 17, 1938 on a train; he was the youngest of four and the only male.<sup>105</sup> During school, he was introduced to dance, and it was here that his obsession began. Unfortunately, “his father wanted the boy to follow him into the army or at least to pursue his early academic successes in a professional career....He was strongly opposed to his only son’s adopting a career which even in Russia was eccentric for a man.”<sup>106</sup> Through his persistence and determination, Nureyev was eventually able to gain entrance into the Kirov School in Leningrad at the age of 17.<sup>107</sup> Similar to Godunov, Nureyev’s personality played a vital role in his defection. At the age of 17, “he was skinny, solitary and sharp-tongued; he resisted discipline, failed to conform and – worst of all – refused to join the political Komosol, as was expected of all keen students.” The Komosol was a “communist youth group” in the Soviet Union.<sup>108</sup> These characteristics and actions were not conventional to the attributes of Soviet society. His nonconformist nature and his refusal to join the communist youth group were early signs of his motivation for defecting. “Nureyev shined on the ballet stage, earning a role as a soloist...he graduated in 1958.”<sup>109</sup> It was soon after his graduation that he had the opportunity to defect. Nureyev went to France for the cultural exchange and the result of his performances was “sensational.”<sup>110</sup> In keeping in character with his personality, he saw the response and ran with it. “This dramatic acclaim, coupled with a now defiant disregard for company regulations about staying out late and mixing with foreigners, was more than his superiors could stand;” he was to return to Moscow at once.<sup>111</sup> The dancer was aware of what this order implied. “Nureyev guessed that this was the point of no return; once back in Russia he would never be given another chance.”<sup>112</sup> Nureyev made a decision and took the chance when he could. While at the airport when he was supposed to be heading back to the Soviet Union, Rudolf Nureyev asked for political asylum.<sup>113</sup> It was in these actions that the dancer removed himself from a life which was controlled by the Soviet government. This led him to the opportunity to pursue his goals and chose his own path in life.

In defecting from the Soviet Union, Nureyev came to acquire numerous accomplishments. At first, though, he had to become accustomed to the West. The period right after his defection was utilized as a time to acquaint himself with the western style of dance.<sup>114</sup> Alexander Bland stated, “He toured round France and Italy for a year – learning the hard way the conditions and methods of ballet in the West without making

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<sup>105</sup> Alexander Bland, *The Nureyev Image* (New York: Quadrangle/ The New York Times Book Co., 1976), 9.

<sup>106</sup> Alexander Bland, 10.

<sup>107</sup> Alexander Bland, 11, 13.

<sup>108</sup> Rob Staeger, “Chapter 9: Asylum in the Spotlight,” *Asylees*, (2003): 30-33, *History Reference Center*, EBSCOhost <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=12193771&site=ehost-live>> (accessed April 27, 2009).

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Alexander Bland, 20.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Alexander Bland, 20-21.

<sup>113</sup> Rob Staeger.

<sup>114</sup> Alexander Bland, 24.

any ambitious experiments.”<sup>115</sup> It was only a matter of time, however, before Nureyev began to mass produce his accomplishments. These included, but were not limited to “personal ballet[s], ...perform[ing] in a modern-dance ballet to electronic music, ...film-director, ...a season with a group of his own, ...a disc, and ...a film actor.”<sup>116</sup> Throughout the events of his life, Nureyev was presented with opportunities which never would have occurred had he not defected from the Soviet Union. “The width and range of Nureyev’s activities have meant that he has become an international star whose name strikes echoes in fields far outside the ballet.”<sup>117</sup> While his life was one which many Soviet dancers did not have the chance to live, he maintained a belief throughout his career. This belief is the epitome of his defection. “He wanted to work as a dancer and be judged as a dancer, an artist for whom the present and the future were more important than the past.”<sup>118</sup> Rudolf Nureyev’s outlook on life enabled him to defect from the Soviet Union. It depicted his reasoning and allowed him to achieve what many Soviet dancers could not because of the restrictions of the Soviet government.

A third dancer who defected from the Soviet Union was Mikhail Baryshnikov. Baryshnikov was born in 1948 in Latvia, and it was here that he attended Riga’s opera ballet school.<sup>119</sup> Following that, he joined the Kirov Ballet as a soloist.<sup>120</sup> His views of dance clashed with those of the Soviet government. “Baryshnikov was extremely popular with Soviet audiences, but he began to chafe at the official restrictions that were placed upon him as an artist, particularly the prohibition on his performance of contemporary foreign ballets.”<sup>121</sup> The restriction of artistic freedom on his dancing limited Baryshnikov to the styles of dance he could perform. Just prior to his defection, Baryshnikov was living a life of which many Soviets only dreamed. He had an apartment, a career, and a great salary.<sup>122</sup> In the words of Mikhail Baryshnikov himself,

“By Soviet terms, I had carte blanche at the Kirov Theatre. I had this wonderful apartment in Leningrad, in a fine old house. I was having considerable success with my career. I had become ‘a government entity,’ so to speak, in that I was receiving the highest salary of the Kirov dancers.”<sup>123</sup>

While he was well off by any means, he was not unaffected by the Soviet government. Events leading up to his defection revealed just how influential the government was in his life, and he had only three goals at the time.<sup>124</sup> The first was to “get everything possible out of the theatre in terms of artistic satisfaction and achievement,” the second was to

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Alexander Bland, 39.

<sup>117</sup> Alexander Bland, 40.

<sup>118</sup> Alexander Bland, 28.

<sup>119</sup> “Baryshnikov, Mikhail,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2009, Encyclopedia Britannica Online <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/54550/Mikhail-Baryshnikov>> (accessed May 2, 2009).

<sup>120</sup> “Baryshnikov, Mikhail.”

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Mikhail Baryshnikov, “Baryshnikov’s Defining Moment: Ballet’s Superstar Reflects on his KGB – Influenced Decision to Defect to the West 25 Years Ago,” *National Post* (June 5, 1999): 2, <<http://www.proquest.com>>, (accessed March 30, 2009).

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Mikhail Baryshnikov, 2.

“preserve the good situation [he] had with material things,” and the third was “a peaceful mind.”<sup>125</sup> It was this peaceful mind that he had difficulty achieving and which affected his decision to stay in the west. His decision to defect, however, was not one of a preconceived nature.<sup>126</sup> While in Toronto during a cultural exchange, friends of Baryshnikov offered him the chance to defect and he took it.<sup>127</sup> Baryshnikov stated, “To go home meant going back to all the growing pressures and tensions and troubles. To stay was just to walk away from all that. It was not at all a ‘brave’ decision but a matter of practical reality.”<sup>128</sup> His decision to defect to the West was one that reflected the confining nature of the Soviet government and the lack of autonomy in his life. In defecting, he was not only able to escape these but also gain artistic freedom.

Baryshnikov's defection enabled him to live the life that he was not able to in the Soviet Union. According to Baryshnikov, his actions were not one of a hero, only of a man trying to survive.<sup>129</sup> “It was the action of a man just beginning to understand that he was running out of ideas on how to survive the system.”<sup>130</sup> In the action of defection, he was able to escape the Soviet system and find a method to live the life which coincided with his desired goals. While he did not view himself as a hero, his friends back in Russia felt differently. “There was no doubt in anyone's mind that Misha, as an artist, had done the right thing for himself. This comforted those who were left behind.”<sup>131</sup> By leaving, he would have opportunities in the west that they knew he would never be presented with in the Soviet Union. “Since his defection, Misha's image has lost much of its reality for many in Leningrad. To some extent Misha has been turned into a symbol of freedom, of success, and of sublime art.”<sup>132</sup> This statement reveals the impact Mikhail Baryshnikov's defection had on Soviet citizens. In obtaining what they could not, Baryshnikov was a living representation of the freedom of the West. He lived the ideal life that was restricted by the Soviet government.

In reviewing the similarities of the three dancers, they all represented a common theme. This was the theme of defection for artistic freedom and escape from the restrictions of the Soviet government. The communist system controlled all aspects of Soviet life. With the introduction of the cultural exchange, dancers were shown a life without these restrictions. As they participated in the exchanges, they were then presented with the opportunity to escape these restrictions and live a life of creativity and freedom. Moreover, in watching their best dancers defect, the Soviet government lost the superior artistic weapons that it held over the western countries. In the end, the defection of Soviet dancers to the West represented a lost battle in the Cold War.

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Mikhail Baryshnikov, 2.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Mikhail Baryshnikov, 2.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Mikhail Baryshnikov, 2.

<sup>131</sup> Nina Alover, *Baryshnikov in Russia*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1984) 17.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

**McDonald's International:  
Is Everyone Lovin' It?**  
Kate McWilliams

The McDonald's Corporation is neither run by one man nor one executive committee. Instead, it is a federation of hundreds of independent entrepreneurs who follow the same basic format that the McDonald brothers had developed. McDonald's was founded in 1948 by Dick and Mac McDonald as the first fast food restaurant. The first restaurant was a self service drive-in with only nine menu items in California that focused on speed, efficiency and cleanliness. By the 1950s, the brothers were looking to expand their restaurant further through franchises, and Roy Kroc helped to make that possible. Kroc helped to develop a method of franchising that produced "a restaurant chain that is best known for its consistency from one store to the next."<sup>133</sup>

By the mid-1960s, the McDonald's Corporation had franchises all around America and was looking for a new market to explore. Kroc began to look toward expanding the company internationally. In fact, "the rationale for going international was as simple as determining that the market was there."<sup>134</sup> The international market was available for other American companies and services; it was just never capitalized on. The company began its expansion in 1965, and by the 1970s, it was becoming an international success. By 1985, one out of every four McDonald's restaurants was located in one of 44 foreign countries.<sup>135</sup> Today, McDonald's has over 30,000 restaurants located in about 120 countries. McDonald's has transformed from a simple drive-in burger stand with nine menu items to a symbol of Americana that has had both positive and negative connotations in different countries.

By expanding McDonald's internationally, the company was "attempting to export something that was now endemic to American life but totally foreign everywhere else."<sup>136</sup> The expansion was not an immediate success nor did it take off as quickly as it had in America. Instead, the company went through a trial period in the Caribbean, the Netherlands, and Canada before they developed their fool-proof plan of expansion. In 1965, McDonald's began its expansion into the Caribbean. They failed, however, because the company itself did not have a major stake in the franchise. They handed the company over to two owners who were unsuccessful and left the franchise without the hope of recovering.<sup>137</sup> From this, the corporation realized that it had to be just as involved in its foreign stores as it was in its American ones. In 1970, the company tried again to expand internationally, this time in the Netherlands. It made a similar mistake in the Netherlands as it had in the Caribbean. The McDonald's franchise in the Netherlands was owned by another corporation instead of one owner operator. This led to a series of small mistakes that added up into long term failure.<sup>138</sup> From its first two ventures, the McDonald's company had realized that it needed to stay involved with the foreign franchises and maintain the same strategies that had been successful in America.

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<sup>133</sup> John F. Love, *McDonald's: Behind the Arches* (Bantam Books, 1986), 67.

<sup>134</sup> Love, 417.

<sup>135</sup> Love, 419.

<sup>136</sup> Love, 418.

<sup>137</sup> Love, 420.

<sup>138</sup> Love, 421.

There was one more challenge that the corporation had to face before it was able to have a successful international franchise: the foreign culture. When McDonald's first opened its doors in Canada in 1970, the franchise was losing money. For years, the operation was losing approximately one million dollars a year. The McDonald's corporation bought the 43 Canadian stores in order to save the franchise. McDonald's Canada took off when the corporation produced capital to make McDonald's operation seem as Canadian as a Canadian-owned company. They sold to Canadians, made profits from Canadians, and supported the Canadian economy by buying from Canadians.<sup>139</sup> Canadians felt as though the restaurant was theirs and was supporting them instead of supporting America. By showing how the fast food chain was a Canadian business, McDonald's Canada was finally able to become successful. The corporation had found its key to international success. McDonald's International was not going to be successful if it were owned exclusively by American McDonald's. International McDonald's are "owned fifty percent by McDonald's and fifty percent by a local entrepreneur who runs the foreign operation as a mini-McDonald's."<sup>140</sup> This way of making McDonald's not just an American company began to produce success all over the world.

In Japan, for example, Den Fujita wanted to open a McDonald's franchise because he believed that Japanese citizens would like it because it was western. However, he knew that the Japanese people as a whole were anti-foreign and would not support a foreign company, especially from America. Fujita knew that "American fast-food could be a big hit in Japanese culture seeking to identify with the success of the West, but the company that attempts to sell it must look one hundred percent Japanese."<sup>141</sup> That is just what he did in 1971. He imported American McDonald's and sold it as though it were completely Japanese, even though half of the profits went to the American corporation. He promoted that the restaurant was owned by Japanese, worked by Japanese, and supported by Japanese. McDonald's Japan became a success in the same way that McDonald's Canada had succeeded. McDonald's Israel also promotes that the company is as Israeli as any other company. The McDonald's Israel website continually gives examples as to how the company is completely Israeli and how it helps Israeli citizens.<sup>142</sup> The site describes how the restaurants are owned and run by the Israeli people along with supporting the country.<sup>143</sup> The site is trying to gain support for the fast food chain by explaining that it is an Israeli company.

The final hurdle that McDonald's International had to deal with was the clash of cultures. Even though the restaurants were run by entrepreneurs in the foreign countries, the two cultures clashed. America was accustomed to the idea of fast food and hamburgers, but other countries were not. The company realized early on that it would be much easier to change the culture of the host country to fit McDonald's than to change McDonald's to fit each culture. Therefore, while they may make minor changes to their menu for each country, they focus more on maintaining the "American-ness" of the restaurants. The fast food chain imports American food and culture through the

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<sup>139</sup> Love, 423.

<sup>140</sup> Love, 431.

<sup>141</sup> Love, 426.

<sup>142</sup> "Welcome to McDonald's Israel," *McDonald's: I'm Lovin' It*, <http://www.mcdonalds.com/countries/israel.html> (accessed April 12, 2009).

<sup>143</sup> "Welcome to McDonald's Israel"

international chains. The main reason why McDonald's has either been rejected or accepted in different countries is essentially because it is an American-based company.

"McDonaldization" is a term that has been used to describe the expansion of McDonald's. It has been defined as the "process by which the principles...are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world"<sup>144</sup> and as a "process that homogenizes various spheres of American society through spreading the basic principles of efficiency, predictability, calculability, and control."<sup>145</sup> McDonaldization, in other words, refers to the hegemony of American culture through the fast food chain. The term also implies a restaurant that is standardized and cheap. McDonaldization has occurred because of the principle of not changing to correspond to any one culture and, therefore, has brought American culture to foreign cultures. Changes in the host culture can be anything from the food that is consumed to the proper way to act in the restaurant. Some other cultural changes were due to the specific service in the restaurants, such as the friendly cashiers or the practice of throwing out trash when finished eating. For example, in Moscow, people standing in the lines, waiting to be served, had to be given certain information on how to order.<sup>146</sup> They also had to be told that when the employees inside were smiling at them, they were not making fun of them.<sup>147</sup> The citizens of Moscow were not accustomed to the friendliness and the related emotionalism that McDonald's employees exhibited. This reality questions the degree to which Muscovite culture may have actually been changed by McDonald's.

McDonaldization, as a symbol of America, was behind much of the negative feelings toward the company that was found, and continues to be found, in Israel, the Netherlands, and Korea. McDonald's opened in Israel in 1993 and brought with it a new culture that clashed with the definition of Jewish nationalism and Jewish identity. McDonald's transforms local traditions through a process of mutual accommodation that is "pushing for the implementation of a liberal conception of the state and civil society."<sup>148</sup> McDonald's in Israel has influenced the society primarily because the cheeseburger is not a feature of the Israeli diet. Also, the McDonald's restaurants remain open on Saturdays, which is the Jewish Sabbath. Through its menu and its hours of operation, McDonald's is changing the way that Israelis live. Finally, McDonald's in Israel is "addressed to more affluent sectors of Israeli society."<sup>149</sup> In Israel, only the top half of society can afford to eat at the fast food restaurants, unlike the clientele in America. This phenomenon helped to define class distinctions even more. McDonald's is clearly a symbol of Americanization in Israel, and the restaurant chain is seen by many as a threat to their society.

McDonald's in the Netherlands has also brought a change to the culture. As Peter Stephenson points out, the only thing open on Sundays, other than the churches, are the

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<sup>144</sup> Alan Bryman, "McDonald's as a Disneyized Institution," *American Behavioral Scientist*, no. 47.2 (2003): 154.

<sup>145</sup> Nicholas John and Eva Illouz, "Global Habitas, Local Stratification, and Symbolic Struggles Over Identity: The Case of McDonald's Israel," *American Behavioral Scientist*, no. 47.2 (2003): 202.

<sup>146</sup> Bryman, 165.

<sup>147</sup> Bryman, 165.

<sup>148</sup> John, 204.

<sup>149</sup> John, 221.

McDonald's which are located in every major town.<sup>150</sup> The majority of those who eat at McDonald's in the Netherlands are young adults and families. Large numbers of adults generally do not patronize the restaurant because of the narrow selection of cuisine and the children's play area, which makes it hard for adult customers to have a conversation. Another negative aspect of McDonald's that Stephenson observed was the way that the Dutch, who are by nature courteous, are seen as rude.<sup>151</sup> For instance, when the Dutch walk up to a street vendor to order food, they take notice of who was there before them and learn their place in line. There is no system of numbers because there is no need for one. McDonald's has gone against their culture and implemented its own way of taking orders. The customers walk up and place their order with one employee, who hands them a slip with their order on it. Then, they wait in the queue for their turn to hand in their slip and get their food. However, since they have already placed their order, the normal Dutch queue has been disrupted, and the customers do not wait for their turn, but instead often try to push through as fast as they can. The attempt to use the old system of buying food at vendors with the new American form in McDonald's has led to the impression that the Dutch people are rude because of the way they push and do not wait their turn. McDonald's, by attempting to mesh American culture with Dutch culture, has violated the concept of the person in contemporary Dutch culture "via the importation of impersonal mass institutions."<sup>152</sup> The highly individualized and competitive society that McDonald's has brought to the Netherlands has in fact challenged Dutch identity and society.

The first McDonald's opened in Seoul, South Korea in 1988, and by 1994 there were 26 restaurants in Korea. Some Koreans, however, have shunned McDonald's because of American cultural hegemony which is "defined as the encroachment of cultural practices and values that reflect American political and economic power."<sup>153</sup> Many Koreans believe that eating at a McDonald's is tantamount to treason because they are not supporting Korean farmers but are supporting Americans. The corporation attempted to alleviate such concerns by emphasizing the Koreanness of the firm, and it expected the customers to put aside political concerns and make economic choices.<sup>154</sup> This, however, did not occur. Koreans avidly support their compatriots by eating native produce. Their negativity towards McDonald's is stronger because they feel as though eating at the restaurant will diminish their Korean identity. McDonald's in Korea is a "highly loaded symbol of American culture, and as such reflects all the complications and contradictions that have characterized Korean-American relations over the past fifty years."<sup>155</sup> McDonald's Korea is more than just a restaurant. It is a symbol of Americana, and supporting the restaurant is seen as supporting America and therefore treasonous. Koreans are unable to let go of their national pride and political views to eat at an American restaurant no matter how Korean it tries to be.

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<sup>150</sup> Peter E. Stephenson, "Going to McDonald's in Leiden: Reflections on the Concept of Self and Society in the Netherlands," *Ethos*, no. 17.2 (1989): 227.

<sup>151</sup> Stephenson, 237.

<sup>152</sup> Stephenson, 242.

<sup>153</sup> Sangmee Bak, "McDonald's in Seoul: Food Choices, Identity, and Nationalism," in *Golden arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*, ed. James L. Watson. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 151.

<sup>154</sup> Bak, 153-4.

<sup>155</sup> Bak, 160.

While some countries feared McDonaldization because of the different culture that came with it, other countries embraced it. Some countries, especially in East Asia, liked McDonald's because it was American. Taiwan, for example, has been transformed into a modern industrial power and a center of world business through the process of globalization, of which McDonald's is a reflection.<sup>156</sup> The first McDonald's opened in Taiwan in 1984 in east Taipei. By June of 1996, there were 131 McDonald's in Taiwan. For citizens of Taiwan, "eating hamburgers is perceived as cosmopolitan, a way to connect with the world beyond Taiwan."<sup>157</sup> Instead of American culture taking over indigenous food traditions, there was a revival of these traditions.<sup>158</sup> There was an increase in chewing on betel nuts, for example, that had been common in the history of Taiwan. Furthermore, there has been a clash between the younger and older generations about culinary values, but Wu, who wrote about McDonald's in Taipei in his article "McDonald's in Taipei: Hamburgers, Betel Nuts, and National Identity," does not look negatively on McDonald's. The Taiwanese people were very welcoming to the creation of McDonald's, and the arrival of the fast food chain "set new standards for operation, competition, and management within the local catering industry."<sup>159</sup> The restaurant that symbolized America was seen as a positive force that helped to rejuvenate the Taiwanese culinary tradition, especially regarding betel nut chewing.

Den Fujita, who brought McDonald's to Japan, knew that the Japanese would be excited for a fast food chain that was American because to them, "fast food is not simply a commodity; it is a representation of 'the West' or 'America.'"<sup>160</sup> Introduced to Japan in 1971, the company made sure that Japanese consumer would want to go there to eat. The restaurant is identified with American culture, while still promoting that it is a Japanese business. McDonald's Japan has had to change some aspects of the culture for it to be successful. The manners that exist in a fast food restaurant are the polar opposite of the traditional Japanese etiquette.<sup>161</sup> Some examples of how the table manners differ are eating with ones hands and standing up while eating. Even though the table manners were incredibly different, Japanese citizens still enjoy McDonald's because of its cultural heritage. "The image of America as a social paradise persists in Japan," and McDonald's is able to give the Japanese a true feeling of Americana.<sup>162</sup>

The first McDonald's opened in China in 1990 and the largest McDonald's in the world opened near Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1992. To the Chinese, McDonald's represents "Americana and the promise of modernization."<sup>163</sup> The restaurants in China are a common scene in the major cities and are always filled with leisurely crowds and chatting noise. What draws the Chinese to McDonald's? "McDonald's is a beloved

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<sup>156</sup> David H. Wu, "McDonald's in Taipei: Hamburgers, betel Nuts, and National Identity," in *Golden arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*, ed. James L. Watson. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 115.

<sup>157</sup> Wu, 115.

<sup>158</sup> Wu, 115.

<sup>159</sup> Wu, 133.

<sup>160</sup> Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "McDonald's in Japan: Changing Manners and Etiquette," in *Golden arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*, ed. James L. Watson. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 161.

<sup>161</sup> Ohnuki-Tierney, 179.

<sup>162</sup> Ohnuki-Tierney, 181.

<sup>163</sup> Yunxiang Yan, "McDonald's in Beijing: The Localization of Americana," in *Golden arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*, ed. James L. Watson. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 41.

American flavor. Not the flavor of the food, but of American culture."<sup>164</sup> The Chinese view McDonald's as a "symbol of modern cosmopolitan culture."<sup>165</sup> It is not the food that draws the Chinese into the McDonald's; it is the feeling that they are experiencing a culture that is western and American. When they walk through the golden arches, they feel as though they are entering a piece of American culture. "Most adult customers appear to be attracted to McDonald's by its style rather than its food."<sup>166</sup> They go to the restaurant because they have a desire to feel western and modernized. McDonald's holds that symbol for them, and the company has capitalized on the symbol that it holds.

Just as in other places, McDonald's also changed the restaurant culture of China. Before the fast food restaurant, when Chinese families went to a restaurant, they strived to spend more money than others dining in the restaurant. They would pay attention to what the other table ordered and attempt to order more expensive fare. The reason behind this was pride. They strove to spend more than others in the restaurant for fear of losing face.<sup>167</sup> They found pride in spending the most money on their meal, and this tradition was widespread in China. McDonald's changed this because the restaurant paved the way for equal meals. The menu and the prices were limited so everyone who ate at McDonald's was given an approximately equal meal. Other families were able to see that they were spending about the same amount as other families and did not worry about feeling ashamed. Because they knew how much each other was spending and were able to make it equal, there was less competition over which family could spend the most. The restaurant did not intentionally change this aspect of their culture, but McDonald's was the reason behind the change.

Another change in culture that occurred because of McDonald's was birthday parties. Celebrations of any kind at a McDonald's became popular in China because the fast food restaurants were new and more stylish than the vulgar traditional restaurants and, equally important, the fast food chain was significantly less expensive.<sup>168</sup> Chinese McDonald's have a "Book of Little Honorary Guests" in which they record the birthdays of children who eat at the restaurant. This book allows the company to focus its advertising strategies on children who bring their families with them.<sup>169</sup> For their birthdays, the children are given a ritual dance and singing of "Happy Birthday," along with games and presents and table service that makes them feel important. Because parents are restricted in China to the number of children they are allowed to have, the family gives their children a very high status and always attempts to please them. The birthday parties were an American tradition that was used as a marketing ploy for the fast food chain. Through the birthday parties, they were able to entice families to come and celebrate, while eating their food. McDonald's expanded on the culture of putting the children first by implementing the American form of birthday parties.

The Chinese are very fond of McDonald's because of its symbolism. "It is precisely the experience of eating foreign foods that draws people to McDonald's."<sup>170</sup> As

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<sup>164</sup> Fenggang Yang, "Lost in the Market, Saved at McDonald's: Conversion to Christianity in China," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, no. 44.4 (2005): 425.

<sup>165</sup> Yang, 437.

<sup>166</sup> Yan, 45

<sup>167</sup> Yan, 42.

<sup>168</sup> Yan, 57.

<sup>169</sup> Yan, 62.

<sup>170</sup> Yan, 60.

the corporation has spread throughout the Chinese cities, it has become more of a middle class establishment that has gained recognition not because of the food that it serves, but because of the “experience [of] a Chinese version of American culture”<sup>171</sup> that it produces.

When the first McDonald's opened in Hong Kong in 1975, few believed that it was going to survive, but by 1997, there were 125 outlets in the territory. McDonald's has become “American culture packaged as all-American, middle-class food.”<sup>172</sup> The young people in Hong Kong especially flocked to McDonald's because of its inherent symbol. Hong Kong has over the years been increasingly seen as a creation of the global capitalist economy, so there was little debate as to whether or not it would last, but its symbol of Americana gave McDonald's the chance that it needed to survive.

McDonald's, as has been described, is a symbol of America all over the world. This symbol does not solely determine whether or not the country will socially accept or reject the restaurant, but it has also been a part of major controversies. Because of its symbolic implication, the fast food chain is easily the target of political debate, except in Hong Kong. McDonald's has been a part of controversies from taking political stands in Egypt, to placement at a memorial site in Israel, and finally to the trade relationships between France and the United States.<sup>173</sup>

In Egypt, in 2002, Shaaban Abd al-Rahim, a popular musician, had become instantaneously famous. McDonald's Egypt was looking for a popular figure to be their spokesperson because in Egypt, there was an “increasing use of dramatic and music stars to advertise commercial products.”<sup>174</sup> McDonald's Egypt had “passed from the exotic to the ordinary, although it is still very much experientially linked to the western and modern and, no doubt, remains a symbol of Americana.”<sup>175</sup> Since McDonald's Egypt had assimilated into the Egyptian culture, it was not a surprise for the company to follow in the footsteps of other retailers and find a popular musician or actor to serve as a spokesperson.

The company then asked Shaaban to be their spokesman, given the increasing popularity of his song. The fast food chain wanted him to promote the *Mcfalafel* in three commercials. Shaaban, however, did not last long because the company did not want to support someone they felt was a “hate monger.”<sup>176</sup> He was seen as a hate monger because the song that gave him his popularity was titled “I Hate Israel”. When the title of the song reached McDonald's headquarters in America, Shaaban was dropped because “the politics surrounding Palestine-Israel clearly outweighed the company's obvious anticipation that Shaaban would help boost earnings in Egypt.”<sup>177</sup> McDonald's did not see Shaaban's endorsement as more important than possibly taking a political stand against Israel. If the company had not dropped him, it would most probably have been

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<sup>171</sup> Yan, 72.

<sup>172</sup> James L. Watson, “McDonald's in Hong Kong: Consumerism, Dietary Change, and the Arise of a Children's Culture,” in *Golden arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*, ed. James L. Watson. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 82.

<sup>173</sup> Watson, 97.

<sup>174</sup> Joel Gordon, “Singing the Pulse of the Egyptian-Arab Street: Shaaban Abd al-Rahim and the Geo-Pop-Politics of Fast Food,” *Popular Music*, no. 22.1 (2003) 80.

<sup>175</sup> Gordon, 81.

<sup>176</sup> Gordon, 81.

<sup>177</sup> Gordon, 82.

seen as anti-Israeli because the company supported a man who was anti-Israeli. Thus, McDonald's Egypt was taking a stand on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by choosing to remain neutral. Ironically, Shaaban gained cultural status with some people because he had gone global by "taking on first the Israelis, then McDonald's, and, ultimately, the Americans."<sup>178</sup>

The Israeli- McDonald's conflict goes one step forward. The opening page on the McDonald's Egypt webpage is a disclaimer, stating that the company denies "all information claiming that the company is donating part of its sales to support Israel."<sup>179</sup> The disclaimer continues to say that McDonald's does not support any religious or political regime but is strictly in Egypt for commercial reasons.<sup>180</sup> The company does not want to take a stand because not only will it reflect the Egyptian stand on any conflict, but it will also be seen as an American stand because of the symbolism that the fast food restaurant holds.

McDonald's faced another controversy in Israel based on the placement of a restaurant next to a national shrine. For some in Israel, as in other countries, the "golden arches became an icon of global homogenization of both landscapes and culinary tastes explicitly identified with the 'American way of life.'"<sup>181</sup> This fascination with the American way of life led to excitement for the fast food chain which they believed epitomized the new culture of consumerism and consumption.<sup>182</sup> In accordance with what was already stated in regards to Israeli's view on McDonald's, there were those who believed as though the McDonaldization that was taking place "could eventually overwhelm Israel's national character."<sup>183</sup> The Golani Junction is a national shrine to the Golani Brigade, a unit of infantrymen formed in 1948 that protected Israel and went on various raids against enemies in the Middle East. The site was created to commemorate those who fought in the Brigade, and over the years, its sacredness has grown. A debate arose when there was a plan for a McDonald's to be opened on the shrine. The actual junction is located around a very peaceful and beautiful landscape, which adds to the sacredness of the shrine. The McDonald's stands out intrusively in the landscape because of the giant golden arches in the front of the building. Also, the fast food chain, with its clear symbol of Americana, was a threat to the Israeli culture that gave the junction its meaning. "The golden arches constituted a 'counter movement' that seemed to challenge the memorial and the values it enshrined."<sup>184</sup> Even with the heavy negativity towards the introduction of a McDonald's on the national shrine, the restaurant opened in 1994. The opening of a McDonald's on the Golani Junction shows just how far McDonaldization was willing to go. The site was a very popular attraction, so the placement of a McDonald's on the site was a very smart decision businesswise. Additionally, the fact that the restaurant was permitted to open on the site reflects the power that the

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<sup>178</sup> Gordon, 82.

<sup>179</sup> "McDonald's Egypt," *McDonald's: I'm Lovin' It*, <http://www.mcdonaldsegypt.com/loader.html> (accessed April 12, 2009).

<sup>180</sup> McDonald's Egypt," *McDonald's: I'm Lovin' It*, <http://www.mcdonaldsegypt.com/loader.html> (accessed April 12, 2009).

<sup>181</sup> Maoz Azaryahu, "McDonald's or Golani Junction? A case of a Contested Place in Israel," *The Professional Geographer*, no. 51.4 (1999): 485.

<sup>182</sup> Azaryahu, 485.

<sup>183</sup> Azaryahu, 486.

<sup>184</sup> Azaryahu, 481.

corporation had in its international affairs. Americanization apparently took the forefront over Israeli culture.

McDonald's faces the most opposition to its restaurants in France, which has been known for its demonstrations against McDonald's, and "yet France is the country where McDonald's has the best business record in Europe."<sup>185</sup> In France, as in other countries, the restaurant is seen as a symbol of America, and the appeal to go to the restaurants lies in "its style, its set of practices, its peculiar type of place..." all linked closely to the representation with America that the French give to the fast food chain.<sup>186</sup> The French, unlike those in eastern Asia who welcomed McDonaldization, were against what they saw as the infiltration of American society into their culture. The French opposition to McDonald's was actually economic and political because it dealt with American agricultural policy, the tasteless and unhealthy food, and against globalization.<sup>187</sup>

In response to their opposition, the French have had various demonstrations against the fast food chain. Between 1997 and 1999, Ronald McDonald was kidnapped from multiple locations by those who were anti-McDonald's.<sup>188</sup> Another demonstration happened in Foix, France in 1999 where small producers responded angrily to the opening of a new McDonald's. They picketed the area and held signs that said "With each hamburger consumed, a small farmer disappears."<sup>189</sup> These farmers were worried about losing their business because McDonald's would not support them by buying their crops. One of the most publicized attacks on a French McDonald's took place in Millau France and was organized by Jose Bove.

On August 12, 1999, Jose Bove led a group of people to a McDonald's that was scheduled to open in a few days and dismantled it. They took everything that they could, resulting in \$120,000 worth of damages, and dumped the rubble outside the town hall. They were trying, in a nonviolent way, to show how they felt about the opening of a McDonald's. Bove's objective was to "have a non-violent but symbolically forceful action, in broad daylight and with the largest participation possible."<sup>190</sup> Their reasoning behind their opposition to the fast food chain was that McDonald's symbolized America and the trade relations with Europe and McGlobalization.

At the time of the protest, there were increasing tensions between European and American trade limitations. The European Union had limited the amount of hormone-treated beef being imported from America, and they had strict guidelines as to what types of hormones were allowed to be used in the beef. America, in response, put a higher tariff on France luxury goods, including Roquefort cheese. Bove and farmers in the Millau area supported their families by making Roquefort cheese, which is a specialty cheese. They felt as though America was rejecting their luxuries and trying to give France their hormone-enhanced beef. The protestors used the destruction of the McDonald's to "highlight what [they saw] as the unfairness of the United State's decision to levy high tariffs on Roquefort cheese, pate de foie, and other imported food" while

<sup>185</sup> Marianne Debouzy, "Working for McDonald's France: Resistance to the Americanization of Work," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 70 (2006): 126.

<sup>186</sup> Debouzy, 127.

<sup>187</sup> Debouzy, 128.

<sup>188</sup> Debouzy, 128.

<sup>189</sup> Debouzy, 128.

<sup>190</sup> "Jose Bove: the Man Who Dismantled a McDonald's," *BBC Home*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/onthefuture/A706736> (accessed March 9, 2009).

trying to “force it’s hormone-enhanced food down French throats.”<sup>191</sup> The farmers were worried about losing their jobs by, as Bove put it, “multinationals whose aim was to kill peasants.”<sup>192</sup> This hormone enhanced beef represented the industrialized agriculture of America that was slowly creeping its way into French society. The protestors wanted to maintain the agriculture they had and not lose their farms due to the cheap, industrialized food of McDonald’s.

The protestors were also worried about losing their culture because of McGlobalization. French citizens have always enjoyed a lengthy lunch and a short dinner, and the fast food industry that promoted eating quickly at low cost went against this tradition. McDonald’s symbolized an encroachment on a culture that had long, enjoyable meals once a day for meals that were prepared and eaten at a very quick rate.<sup>193</sup> The French were annoyed with the McDonaldization that was causing the disappearance of the long lunches that were still held in high regard.<sup>194</sup> Not only were the meals shorter due to the fast food chain, but also the quality of the food was inferior, and the food was not French. Bove expressed his beliefs perfectly by saying “Look, cooking is culture. All over the world. Every nation, every region, has its own food culture. Food and farming define people. We cannot let it all go, to be replaced with hamburgers. People will not let the happen.”<sup>195</sup> The French wanted to preserve their food culture, and they feared McDonald’s impact on that culture. Once again, McDonald’s was being persecuted for its symbol of America and its threat to foreign culture.

The success of McDonald’s France can be assessed only when success is defined. If success is determined only by financial profit, then the company is highly successful. In fact, McDonald’s France is the most profitable franchise in Europe. However, if success is understood as the acceptance from the foreign country, then there is a different answer. The demonstrations against the fast food chain suggest that from a cultural standpoint, the restaurant is failing.

Americans themselves view McDonald’s differently from Europeans. They see it as a part of their culture, but do not see it changing their culture in a drastic measure. However, American attitudes towards McDonald’s often deal with how unclean the restaurants are and how they cater to the lower class. There is no question about how clean the fast food chain is in other countries because it is not a problem. In the documentary *Super Size Me*, A French lady was interviewed and said that she would eat McDonald’s in France, but not in American because they were cleaner in France.<sup>196</sup> Unlike in foreign countries where McDonald’s is for the middle and upper classes, the fast food chain in America is seen as catering to the lower class. This is not to say that middle and upper class Americans do not eat at McDonald’s, but the restaurant is not seen as a classy place to dine. The biggest plight against McDonald’s in America, as seen in the documentary *Super Size Me*, is the unhealthy food.<sup>197</sup> The main problems

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<sup>191</sup> Suzanne Daley, “Montredon Journal; French See a Hero in War on ‘McDomination’,” *The New York Times*, Oct. 12, 1999.

<sup>192</sup> Debouzy, 129.

<sup>193</sup> “Jose Bove- the Man Who Dismantled a McDonald’s”.

<sup>194</sup> Daley.

<sup>195</sup> Samuel Lowenberg, “Anti-Americanism: Is Anger at the U.S. Growing?” *CQ Global Researcher*, no. 1.3, (2007).

<sup>196</sup> *Super Size Me*, prod. And dir. Morgan Spurlock, 100 min., Kathbur Pictures, 2004, DVD.

<sup>197</sup> *Super Size Me*.

with the fast food chain are the high levels of sugars and such in the food that lead to unhealthy lifestyles. Foreign countries are now only beginning to notice the weight changes in their citizens due in large measure to new food options, but the unhealthiness of the food has generally not yet become a leading problem against McDonald's in other countries.

In 2003, McDonald's launched its first global campaign "I'm Lovin' It." The international campaign proved that the company truly was an international retailer. McDonaldization had led to McGlobalization where the company is popping up in new countries all over the globe. McDonald's is currently in approximately 120 countries, and the expansion shows no signs of slowing down. As long as the market exists, McDonald's will take advantage of it. As McDonald's continues its expansion, there will be continued opposition to the cultural influences of McDonald's along with the symbol of McDonald's as Americana. As noted previously, the company was the first American retailer to expand internationally, and it paved the way for others to follow.

McDonald's, being a symbol of America, has prompted both international acceptance as well rejection. While China and Japan were happy to have the restaurant because it brought the flavor of America to the East, South Korea and France were hesitant and even resistant because they felt as though the company, in exercising American cultural hegemony, was undermining their own cultures. McDonald's will continue to bring American culture with it, because they have been at least profitably successful in most of their international endeavors. McDonald's is accurately portrayed as a symbol of Americana, yet this symbol has also led to controversies where countries like Egypt and France believe that protesting against McDonald's is like protesting against America. Admittedly, while the McDonald's corporation has developed a successful approach to expanding internationally, this approach has not diminished the many people and countries who continue to believe that the Golden Arches, with its burgers, shakes, and fries, constitute a direct threat to their national character and culture.