Korean American Historical Society

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

VOL. 5, 2000–01

THE GOLDEN MOUNTAIN REVISITED

An Oral History by Anna Charr Kim,
Daughter of Easurk Emsen Charr

KOREANS IN GERMANY

The Story of Ok Ji Kim, a Nurse

Hae-soon Kim

ESSAYS AND COMMUNITY REPORTS ON KOREAN AMERICAN IDENTITY

The Use of Heritage *Ikhwan Choe*

Ethnic Identity of Young Korean Americans
Kwang Chung Kim, Young In Song and Ailee Moon

Korean American Parenting Styles *Eunai Shrake*

Fighting Spirit II: Korean American Boxers *Joseph Svinth*

BOOK REVIEWS

KOREAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COVER DESIGN based on an imperial Korean government passport issued to Duk Wha Ko, 1903 (Samuel S.O. Lee (Ed.), *Their Footsteps* (Seoul: Committee on the 90th Anniversary Celebration of Korean Immigration to Hawaii, 1993), 16).

We would like to gratefully acknowledge permission from the estate of Salome Han to publish on our website (http://www.kahs.org/main.htm) a photo of Korean women (Samuel S.O. Lee (Ed.), *Their Footsteps* (Seoul: Committee on the 90th Anniversary Celebration of Korean Immigration to Hawaii, 1993), title page (Salome Han collection)).

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Occasional Papers, Vol. 5

Editor's Note

We are pleased to introduce to you our fifth journal, which visits the topic of identity through a number of essays and community reports, in addition to two oral histories. As we enter the 21st century and a new historical moment for Korean Americans, we are once again faced with the looming question of what it means to be Korean in America; what does it mean to be Korean American? How do we fit into the larger American society? How is our identity translated and transformed by our cultural and social context, and vice versa? In these discussions, we are reminded that Korean American identity is not static. Woven throughout each of the articles in this volume is a strong sense of history and the need to interrogate how history has revised, if any, the stories of Korean Americans and reshaped Korean American identity.

First, **Anna Charr Kim** shares with us her life and family through a story that was begun by her father in *The Golden Mountain* when it was first published some 40 years ago. Here, she adds to her father's story by bringing her perspective to her parents' experiences, thereby allowing us a glimpse of the life of the "silent half" of her family—her mother's. Dr. Kim's perspective—that of a second-generation Korean American who grew up during the 1930s and 40s—is one which will become increasingly scarce. As we near the 100th anniversary of Korean immigration to the US, let us keep in mind the groundwork that this first wave laid for the rest of us, and strive to retain their lessons.

In a very lyrical essay, **Ikhwan Choe** reflects on the use of Korean heritage by extolling us to be active participants in narrating our past, present, and future and not mistake our heritage as a "quaint badge." Next, we have an essay that complicates the notion of identity through a feminist critique. In it, **Sung Sil "Sue" Sohng** insists that Korean American feminist identity is much more fluid than many have purported it to be. In our last essay, **Sang Ja Ahn** situates Korean American ethnic identity formation as part of the American universal nationalism and American discourse of cultural pluralism, reminding us of the very real political dimension to our identity of which we should be cognizant.

In-between our discussions of identity and heritage, we bring to you the latest in our series on Korean immigrants to Germany by **Hae-soon Kim**. The series which began with a miner in volume 3 ends with a nurse, Ok Ji Kim. Here we learn a little more of the difficulties and rewards Koreans who began new lives in Germany during the 1970s have experienced.

Our community reports both address Korean American identity with respect to youth. **Kwang Chung Kim**, **Young In Song** and **Ailee Moon** report on the results of a survey of Korean American young adults. Drawing from a data collected in three different regions of the country, this article suggests a shift from a monolithic Korean American ethnic identity to a more pluralistic identification, especially on the part of young Korean

Americans. **Eunai Shrake's** study explores yet another dimension of Korean American identity—that of parenting styles of Korean American immigrant parents and how the dynamics of parent-child relationship affect second generation Korean American identity. Here, we are reminded of the importance of linguistically and culturally sensitive programs to a community of which approximately 75 percent are first-generation.

We are then treated to the second of two articles on Korean boxers, by **Joseph Svinth**. We are indebted to his tenacity and thoroughness for bringing to us the stories of three fighters who have excelled, Walter Cho, Richard Shinn, and Kim Messer—as well as some very unique photographs. Because of the period in which they lived and the fact that both were born in the United States and grew up in Asian American enclaves, both Cho and Shinn could be considered second generation fighters. They were also WW II veterans. He closes with Kim Messer, a contemporary Korean American female boxer who is now emerging on the world boxing arena.

Finally, the three book reviews offer evidence to the growing literature on Korean American history and diaspora. **Lili M. Kim** reviews Wayne Patterson's historical study on early Korean immigrants to Hawai'i, *The Ilse*. Through **Grace Yoo's** review of *Still Life with Rice*, we revisit the aftermath of Korean War that not only divided the country, but also tragically separated families. Lastly, **Rüdiger Frank's** review of *Korean Immigrants in Germany* helps us to better understand the context in which Koreans in Germany live. It also attests to the quickly growing and rapid rise of Korean communities outside the Korean Peninsula. While all three reviews point to the expanding literature on Korean and Korean American studies, we are also reminded by the authors how much more room there is for the field of Korean and Korean American studies to grow in the future. We look forward to your active participation in creating history with us.

In closing, we would like to express our sorrow and sense of loss for the untimely passing of Heritage Club Member and steadfast community stalwart, "Rocky" Yongsu Kim.

As you read this latest work, please feel free to contact us with any suggestions or comments that you might have. Thank you, and I hope that you are inspired by what you may find.

Sincerely,

Robert Hyung-chan Kim, Executive Director & Editor

editor@kahs.org

KAHS Oral Histories

The Golden Mountain Revisited: A Daughter's Perspective

Anna Charr Kim

The Song of the Golden Mountain

The Golden Mountain high,
Heart of gold, head in sky,
Four-square foundation firm,
Four Freedoms so confirm,
There stands the Golden Mountain high!

Man IS man, do not cry,
Right IS right, your tears dry;
In God we trust,
The law is just,
There stands the Golden Mountain high!

When race or creed will not decry,
When lynching will not justify,
When equal rights will not deny,
When human kindness will not shy,
There stands the Golden Mountain high!

When the past wrongs to rectify,
When future course to dignify,
When morbid minds to purify,
When righteous deeds to sanctify,
There stands the Golden Mountain high!

Our freedom song to magnify,
Ideals to exemplify,
Men's yearning hearts to satisfy,
Democracy to glorify,
There stands the Golden Mountain high!

—Easurk Emsen Charr[1]

ANNA CHARR KIM, Ph.D. is the eldest child of Easurk Emsen Charr, author of *The Golden Mountain* (Boston: *Forum*, 1961). Before recently retiring, she served as an assistant professor at National-Louis University where she taught reading and writing. She wrote this autobiography as a continuation of her parents' saga.

ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Anna Charr Kim, Tokyo 1987

Introduction

Although this story is primarily about my life as a second generation Korean American and of my extended family, it is also a continuation of Father's story as an early Korean immigrant to the United States in 1904. Easurk Emsen (pronounced "Eesuk Em sen") Charr's autobiography, *The Golden Mountain*, a tale of great hope and many frustrations, was written entirely in English, Father's second language, over a twenty year period.[2] "Golden Mountain" is a metaphor for the United States, but it is a metaphor also used by the Chinese to describe America. Because it is the only known autobiography written in its entirety by such an early Korean immigrant, it was reprinted in 1996 by the University of Illinois and retitled *The Golden Mountain: The Autobiography of a Korean Immigrant 1895-1960*, so as to make clear that the author was a Korean, with an introduction by Wayne Patterson of St. Norbert's College in Wisconsin and as part of Roger Daniels' series on the Asian American experience.[3]

The Golden Mountain describes my father's childhood in Korea, his education in the United States, and his many attempts to attain US citizenship based on his service in America's armed forces. However, as a daughter, the story of my mother's struggles for citizenship is more poignant to me than even my father's.

There were few other Koreans with whom to compare my parents during my own childhood. It is for

this reason that I began a search into my family's history. I wanted to know just who my parents were and how typical or atypical they were of other Korean immigrants or students of that generation. In the process of writing this memoir, I have discovered that my parents were not as typical as I had assumed. In fact, they were both rather unique among the immigrants of their generation.

From my recent readings into Korean Americans who arrived here later than my parents had and from what our youngest son, Ben, has described as the occupations of his Korean American friends' parents, my life and my husband's is also somewhat atypical in that we are both professionals. While my mother and my husband both came to the US as students and my father as an immigrant farm worker in Hawai'i, my father completed college, published his autobiography and wrote a collection of Korean fairy tales, as yet unpublished. Moreover, my mother always expressed a wish to open up a candy store like the entrepreneurial Korean immigrants of more recent vintage. This makes her typical of more recent immigrants, since they are often forced to become entrepreneurs because of their limited English language skills.

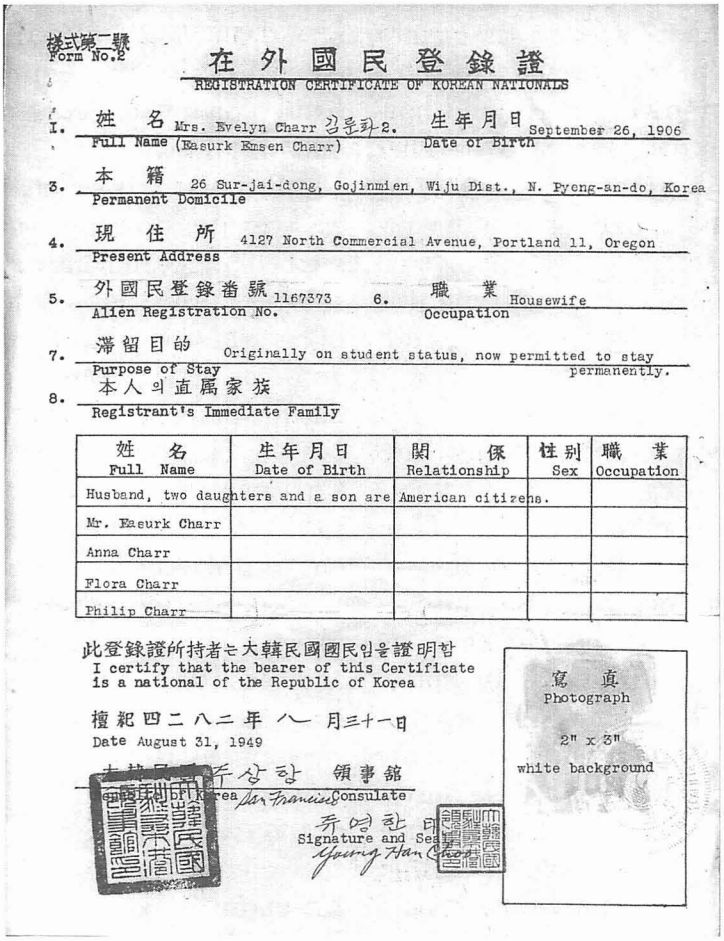
The effects of war have always played a major role in the history of Korea. Both my father and mother lived with the consequences of conflicts that were waged over this tiny but strategically located peninsula. Escaping from the ravages of war was one major reason why many emigrated, and it also played a role in my parent's decisions to emigrate. It also had a profound effect on my husband and his family.

Father's early years in Korea and his yearning to come to the US (described in his book) give insight into some of the reasons why a young man of his generation would journey across an ocean to a foreign country without his parents at the tender age of twelve. He had admired the early Christian missionaries who had come to North Korea and wished to become one just like them.

Like my father and my husband, my mother was also a Presbyterian and had attended church services several times a week while in Korea. They were among the 100,000 out of a total population of eight million who had been converted to Christianity, many by Presbyterian missionaries. This was especially true among North Koreans like my parents. In the US, bickering among members of the congregation drove both of my parents away from active church participation, however.

As stated by Joe Lyou, my father can be considered a *true* first generation Korean American.

Mother did return to attending church or reading religious material in her final years of life. It seemed so strange and out of character to me, since I did not remember having attended church with my parents except on religious holidays or for Korean language instruction while we lived in San Francisco. Father, on the other hand, never returned to his earlier church activities. A considerable ma-



樣式第二號
Form No. 2

在外國民登錄證
REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE OF KOREAN NATIONALS

1. 姓名 Full Name: Mrs. Evelyn Charr 김윤라 2. 生年月日 Date of Birth: September 26, 1906
(Easurk Emsen Charr)

3. 本籍 Permanent Domicile: 26 Sur-jai-dong, Gojinmien, Wiju Dist., N. Pyong-an-do, Korea

4. 現住所 Present Address: 4127 North Commercial Avenue, Portland 11, Oregon

5. 外國民登錄番號 Alien Registration No.: 1167373 6. 職業 Occupation: Housewife

7. 滯留目的 Purpose of Stay: Originally on student status, now permitted to stay permanently.

8. 本人의直屬家族 Registrant's Immediate Family

姓名 Full Name	生年月日 Date of Birth	關係 Relationship	性別 Sex	職業 Occupation
Husband, two daughters and a son are		American citizens.		
Mr. Easurk Charr				
Anna Charr				
Flora Charr				
Philip Charr				

此登錄證所持者는大韓民國國民임을證明함
I certify that the bearer of this Certificate is a national of the Republic of Korea

檀紀四二八二年 八 月三十一日
Date August 31, 1949

領事 San Francisco Consulate

Signature and Seal

寫眞 Photograph
2" x 3"
white background

ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Evelyn Charr's Korean Registration Certificate

jority of the Koreans who went to Hawai'i, like Father, were connected in some way with Christianity and with American missionaries. However, it was not until I read his autobiography that I became aware of Father's earlier church beginnings and his goals of returning to Korea as a missionary doctor.

I feel that the patriotism toward his adopted country that abounds in my father's book is an accurate reflection of his essential character and personality, as well as being typical of immigrants of that era. That he cared enough to write his own story in his second language demonstrated his wish to leave a legacy for following generations and to thank those Americans who helped him along his adventure.[4] As stated by Joe Lyou, my father can be considered a *true* first generation Korean American.[5]

Father's book abounds with an undiminished sense of awe and wonder with respect to his adventures in the United States. Nevertheless, it has been criticized by some readers for its lack of attention to the issue of racial discrimination despite the fact that

it was the overwhelming cause of his difficulty in gaining US citizenship. My father and others of his generation tended to be more stoic and accepting of their fate, however bitter it was, in contrast to their original dreams. Father and others like him emigrated willingly; they were not as demanding as their descendants have been in pointing out the instances of discrimination and unfair practices they may have experienced. Since Father had expected to return to Korea after his studies, he and others like him were more concerned with restoring independence for their native country. Thus, he was active in promoting an interest in Korea and in pressing the cause of liberation from the oppressive Japanese "protectors."[6] However, he was more fortunate than most of his contemporaries. Although he first immigrated to Hawai'i as a plantation laborer, he was able to continue onto the mainland after only six months in Hawai'i because his father managed to provide passage money. He also graduated from college and served in the military.

Yet both of my parents struggled to become citizens of their new country. First my father when he was a WW I veteran, and then my mother, first as a student and later during the Korean War. Koreans were an unnamed nationality; only Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos were recognized as persons eligible to become

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ORIGINAL
TO BE GIVEN TO
THE PERSON NATURALIZED

No. 7889762

CERTIFICATE OF NATURALIZATION

Petition No. 27754

Personal description of holder as of date of naturalization: Date of birth September 22nd, 1902; sex Female; complexion Dark; color of eyes Brown; color of hair Black; height 5 feet 2 inches; weight 106 pounds; visible distinctive marks None; Marital status Married; former nationality Korea.

I certify that the description above given is true, and that the photograph affixed hereto is a likeness of me.

Evelyn Kim Charr
(Complete and true signature of holder)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DISTRICT OF OREGON } ss:

Be it known, that at a term of the UNITED STATES DISTRICT Court of DISTRICT OF OREGON held pursuant to law at PORTLAND, OREGON on December 11th, 1958 the Court having found that EVELYN KIM CHARR then residing at 1127 N Commercial Avenue, Portland, Oregon intends to reside permanently in the United States (when so required by the Naturalization Laws of the United States), had in all other respects complied with the applicable provisions of such naturalization laws, and was entitled to be admitted to citizenship, thereupon ordered that such person be and she was admitted as a citizen of the United States of America.

In testimony whereof the seal of the court is hereunto affixed this 11th day of December in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-eight and of our Independence the one hundred and eighty-third.

Seal

R. DeMott
Clerk of the UNITED STATES DISTRICT Court.
By Mary P. Ward Deputy Clerk.

It is a violation of the U.S. Code (and punishable as such) to copy, print, photograph, or otherwise illegally use this certificate.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Evelyn Charr's Naturalization Certificate

citizens after having served in the US Army. Later, he was denied citizenship because the Chinese Exclusion Act superceded all other statues. On the other hand, Mother had come as a student and therefore was forbidden to remain unless she was enrolled in school. Once the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed, the fact that she was Korean and not Chinese was used as the basis for denying her citizenship. Therefore, it could be said that they were the victims of a double standard—on one hand, the presence of the Chinese Exclusion Act was used as justification for denying Father citizenship; on the other, the Act's absence was used as the basis for denying citizenship to Mother. As a result, it took each 32 years to gain citizenship—how different from the relative ease with which new immigrants become citizens!

. . . Korean men with degrees had been reduced to menial labor and picking produce. However, these men were not as driven by job satisfaction as by a need to liberate their native country . . .

Because I am still searching for any surviving siblings of Mother's, her story will be told as best as can be gleaned from my own reflections and some photographs and records provided by my brother, Philip.

Another part of my story concerns my husband, Andrew, and his family, especially the part he played during the Korean War. As that conflict may have been the defining moment in the long history of Korea, his story gives it a personal perspective that is probably typical of many other Koreans' experiences.

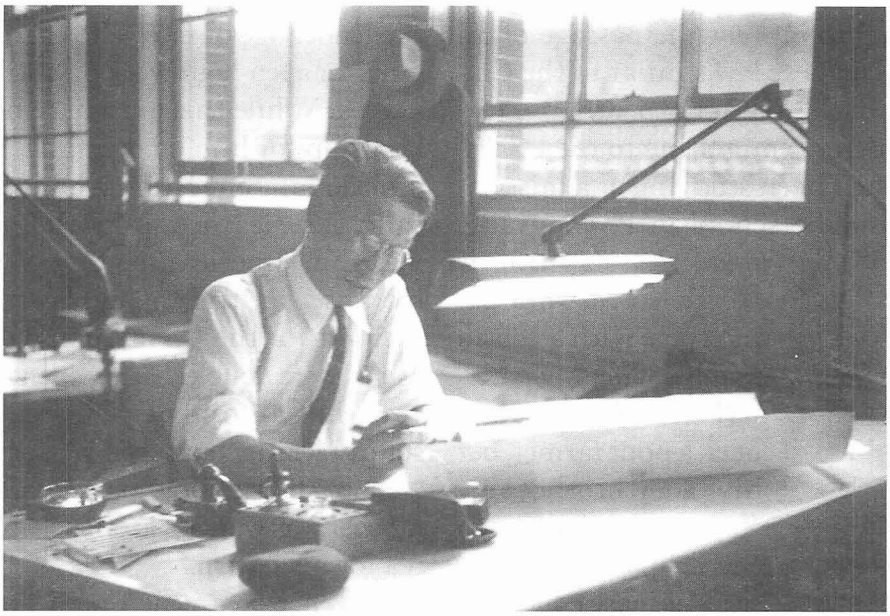
Because this story will also describe our children, Mickey, Jenny and Ben as well as their offspring, four generations of Koreans in America will be mentioned, some more briefly than others. I believe their stories and life choices are important. Despite the fact that they are members of a minority, they still mirror their own generation in ways that are quite different from my parents' and my own generation, in that all except one has married a non-Korean. I believe that they represent changes that are typical of the offspring of immigrants from every country and reflect the overall trends that are occurring in American society today. That is, I believe that intermarriages between groups are contributing to a real "melting pot" in the US.

My Parents

Father

I remember Father as a small, wiry, white-haired man with a perpetual pipe in his mouth. Because of his smoking, he had been relegated to the basement where the furnace became his constant companion. His speech was slow and deliberate; he loved to tell long involved stories, but I was always bored as he retrieved names of streets and other trivia. Now I am astounded at his memory for facts, since that has always been my own weakness.

In pictures of his earlier college days, of course, his hair was black and



ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Easurk Emsen Charr as a Draftsman for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (ca. 1950)

his demeanor serious. On occasion he had confided in me that as a youngster, he had been considered "cute." He claimed in his book that his hair had turned white during the five years he struggled over issues of naturalization for his wife and himself after they had moved to San Francisco during the Great Depression.[7]

Father was one of a group of seven thousand individuals who were allowed to leave Korea between 1903–05 to become plantation laborers in Hawai'i. At that time, the Japanese and Russians were at odds in their struggle for influence over the small peninsula called Korea. Before his departure in 1904, Father had described seeing Russian and Japanese troops entering P'yeongyang. In both cases, his family as a whole had become refugees, a reason many other immigrants to the US have given for leaving their native countries.

Father emigrated to the US just as conditions in Korea were worsening due to the corruption and ineptitude of the regime in power. By the Spring of 1905 when the Russo-Japanese War had ended, the opportunity for Koreans to emigrate to America was over and would not resume until after World War II.[8] He left Korea at a propitious moment in its history.

The year following Father's departure was the year Korea officially became a protectorate of Japan and emigration to the US was closed on the pretext that Koreans were unprotected by consulates overseas. Its main purpose was to stop any further emigration by Koreans to Hawai'i, so that the power of the Japanese in Hawai'i would not be diluted. This in turn

helped to prevent the passage of an anti-Japanese law similar to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.[9]

Before emigrating to the US, Father had been studying at a missionary middle school in P'yeongyang, now the capital of North Korea, while living there with a cousin and his wife. My paternal grandfather had been a poor farmer, but his older brother, my "big uncle" had been the recipient of a classical Chinese education and was regarded as a community leader.[10] Professionally he was a geomancer (a person skilled in choosing the best burial plots for ancestors), but when he had become a Christian, his avocation became making sure all his relatives and acquaintances were introduced to Christianity as well.

Despite his service in the US Army, Father was denied citizenship . . . The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 took precedence over all other regulations.

Moving from the mountains to live near the missionaries outside of P'yeongyang and to attend their schools, Father grew to admire their work, houses and manner of dress. His fervent desire was to come to the United States, become a doctor like the physician who had healed him, and return to his homeland as a missionary doctor. When he was told by his uncle before the second year of middle school had begun that such an opportunity to emigrate had presented itself, his sick father encouraged him to take advantage of it, knowing of his son's aspirations.

Thus Father had come with his cousin to Hawai'i's sugarcane fields at the tender age of twelve to earn fifty cents for a ten-hour work day, six days a week. While this must have been a hardship for him emotionally, it did provide him an advantage linguistically, as he learned to speak English with an American accent. Several months after arriving in Hawai'i, Father left for the US mainland where wages were double. Father spent eight years in California and many other states picking fruit and performing "school (house) boy jobs," while his mother was waiting anxiously in Korea for his return.

Even Korean men with degrees had been reduced to menial labor and picking produce. However, these men were not as driven by job satisfaction as by a need to liberate their native country from their Japanese oppressors. They appeared to be willing to suffer such indignities for a greater cause and many patriots, such as Ch'ang-Ho Ahn, had helped those who followed them, including Father, to gain such mundane positions as were then available.

In 1913 a missionary from Korea named Dr. George McCune changed my father's life when he told him about Park College in Missouri, an institution attended by the children of many Presbyterian missionaries. He could work part-time there like all the other students to help pay his way. Interestingly enough, Father worked in the Print Shop, while his brother did similar work in Korea. Father was able to complete high school at Park College, after which he volunteered to serve in the armed forces toward the end of World War I, even though as a

non-citizen he was under no obligation to do so. He hoped in this way to demonstrate his great love for his adopted country. He then returned to Park College to earn a pre-med bachelor's degree.

Despite his service in the US Army, Father was denied citizenship, since only Filipinos (presumably because of the Philippines' territorial status) were listed as potential citizens. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 took precedence over all other regulations. The Act had been passed because immigrants, then as now, were blamed by even earlier arriving immigrants for their unemployment. Father was denied citizenship yet again while he was a student at Park College.

Another misfortune which befell Father was that after having entered the University of Kansas Medical School, he was unable to work his way through school as he had done at Park College. He then tried to become a pharmacist and enrolled in the University of Illinois at Chicago, but failed again due to the pressures of work.

Father was forced to give up his plans to become a doctor and opted instead for a job at Rand McNally in Chicago as a cartographer under Dr. Paul Goode, a professor at the University of Chicago. In his autobiography, Father wrote that he was compensated for his career change by the fact that he had found a beautiful mate in Mother.

My Mother

Nien-wha ("Lotus Flower") or Evelyn Kim, my mother, was born in Wi Ju, North P'yeong'an province, Korea, north of P'yeongyang sometime between 1902 and 1906, according to her documents.[11] Mother was lovely in appearance and coquettish in disposition. Because of her large eyes and long eyelashes, she was evidently considered to be an aberration among Koreans. Mother said she had appeared sleepy to her friends and had been teased unmercifully as a child. In response, she reportedly had cut off her eyelashes. Nevertheless, with her round face, full lips, brilliant smile, and vibrant personality, she had always appeared vivacious and youthful to those who beheld her. In fact, I had always thought of her as being thirty years old, even when I became thirty myself.

Korean women were ideally suited to benefit from the Christian movement to Korea. They thrived under the principle of all being equal as children of God.

A few hundred political refugees and picture brides planning to marry earlier male immigrants were also included in the semi-official emigration period between 1905 and 1940.[12] It was for this reason that Mother prided herself on the fact that she had come over in 1926 independently and not as a "picture bride" like so many of her peers.[13] In fact, Father had arranged for a picture bride, but she left him shortly after she had arrived in the US, according to Mother.

Mother had vowed that she

ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Evelyn Kim (*center, standing*) with Her Family (Korea, ca. 1920)

would come to the this country even if she had been forced to swim the Pacific by herself. It was reported in a Portland news article that she had threatened to commit suicide if her parents did not concede to her wishes.[14] Since she was a twenty-year-old nurse when she left Korea, while Father had only been a child of twelve, her communication skills were affected accordingly. As can be seen on her naturalization papers, Mother's handwriting always tended to be wavering and cramped, unlike Father's beautifully crafted letters which often adorned diplomas etc. at Park College. Her English was broken and her handwriting was poor. This was in stark contrast to my father's beautiful calligraphy and exceptional handwriting. In fact, one of the chores I disliked as a child was having to take dictation (in English) as Mother "wrote" to her friends.

These differences in their language abilities led to a feeling of inferiority on the part of Mother and a constant denigrating on her part of Father's accomplishments. For instance, she always reminded us of his poor earning power while employed in the civil service. Even when he published his autobiography, Mother expressed regret for the money he had spent on a vanity press publication. On the other hand, Father had had to resort to this strategy for printing his book, since issues of immigration

ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Evelyn Charr (*middle row, end*) with Her Graduating Class from Kenwood-Loring School
(*The Kayell of The Kenwood-Loring School*, 10 (June 1930): 30)

were not typical fare for the reading public at that time.

I remember how often he would take out his small Underwood typewriter to work on his latest project. Little did I appreciate what he was attempting to do at that time and how valuable his book would become in trying to construct our family history.

Korean women were ideally suited to benefit from the Christian movement in Korea. They thrived under the principle of all being equal as children of God. Through education, women saw a great opportunity to improve their minds, situation and life.[15] Founded by missionaries for women, schools such as the Ewha School for Girls performed a vital role in freeing Korean women from their subservient position in a traditional neo-Confucian patriarchal society.[16]

That her Kenwood-Loring transcript indicated that Mother had attended Ewha was another indication of an unusual academic background for a woman of her generation. Since Mother had been a practicing Christian and had attended such a school, she undoubtedly had been influenced by the new Western thinking. Later, Mother may have received her nursing education at Severance Hospital, also established by missionaries in Seoul.

Mother emigrated to the US in 1926 as one of fewer than five hundred students with passports from the Japanese government.[17] Many Korean students had journeyed abroad to Japan or to the US to obtain higher education, since the Japanese had discontinued the teaching of Korean, stressing vocational education instead and later forbidding the use of the Korean language.[18]

How Mother managed to emigrate while Korea was under Japanese rule suggests that she likely came from a prosperous family. Under nor-

mal circumstances, just to gather the sixty dollars passage fee would have been a monumental task (and one that Father did not have to face, since the Hawaiian planters had illegally prepaid the Korean laborers' passage). According to Mother, her mother's in-laws frequently helped themselves to food, etc., when they came to visit. Moreover, Mother was able to attend the Ewha School for Girls (a private institution) prior to coming to the US. However, her status as a foreign student led to many years of harassment and frustration for her.

Like Father, Mother had also wanted to become a doctor and return to her native land. Mother had been a nurse in Korea and according to the statements she made to me, she had seen too many Korean babies dying during or after childbirth, and she wished to correct this problem. In an interview written in the *Portland Oregonian*, she reportedly had seen one mother who had lost eight children in all during childbirth:

> "I can still hear her cries. I vowed I would become a doctor and help save all the children."[19]

Upon her arrival in the US, Mother had entered the University of Dubuque in Iowa, much as Father had done at Park College earlier. I had always assumed that Mother had attended an American university, but she had probably been relegated to the high school level based upon her English language ability, much as Father had at Park College.

Mother's transcripts from The Kenwood-Loring School in Chicago, a private college preparatory school that she attended in 1929 after her marriage, reveal that she transferred three units of English from the University of Dubuque. She was also given credit for two years each of Japanese and Chinese language, presumably from her school, Ewha School for Girls, in Korea. Her graduating yearbook, dated 1930, has the following entry next to her name and photo:

> Small, dark,
> Math. shark—
> Evelyn.[20]

Although Mother had often mentioned that she had taken Geometry in school, little had I suspected that she had been considered a 'math whiz' and also good at English (!) at Kenwood-Loring until I read remarks written by her classmates in her 1930 yearbook, the year of her graduation.[21] Among some of the comments I found were:

> Dear Evelyn,
> If it wasn't for you I
> wouldn't have pulled
> through this year. Remember in Physiography,
> English and Geometry?
> Good luck and success to
> one of my best friends
> made while in K.L.
> Heaps of love,
> "Eunice" [Reese]

Another note from a graduating classmate reads:

> Dear Evelyn,
> What would I have done
> without you in Eng. IV.
> Love,
> "Nat" [Natalie Barnes]

She evidently also had a sweet personality, since this characteristic was described in some of the testimonials in her yearbook:

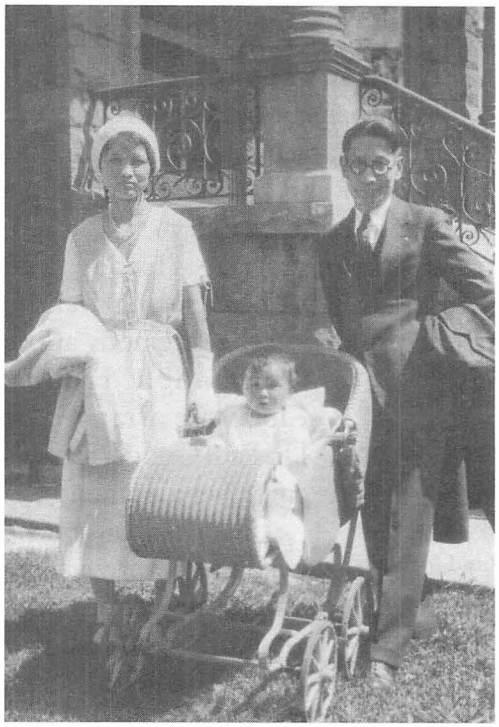
> Love to Evelyn—one of the sweetest girls here —Janet [Blume]
>
> To a very sweet little class mate—Dottie [Purviance]
>
> Love to Evelyn—one of the very sweetest girls in school —Virginia [Wyman]
>
> My best love to Evelyn one of the sweetest girls I've ever met —Always Bonnie [Henry]
>
> Love to one of the sweetest girls I know.—Rachel

She was voted Second Choice by her classmates as being the most quiet and the most generous. Two classmates wrote the following poem about her:

> Evelyn—
> Lovable, quiet, and shy,
> She can make friends and
> not half try.[22]

Another classmate predicted that ten years later, "Evelyn Charr has returned to her native land, Korea, and is now principal of a girls' school near Tusan [sic]."[23]

Pictures of my attractive mother with her graduating class show her in a long white flapper style dress just like her classmates, carrying a huge bouquet of roses. Another photograph I remember well is of Mother smiling widely and wearing a cloche hat typical of that era. However, I do not remember seeing such a smile in our later family pictures, the smile now being replaced instead with a frown and a more somber and tight-lipped appearance. After all, Mother's life had not turned out as she had envisioned.



ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Evelyn and Easurk Emsen Charr with Anna, Chicago 1931

Unfortunately, neither of my parents were to realize his/her dreams of becoming a doctor. Although my brother, Phillip, their only son, did become a dentist after studying at the University of Oregon with Mother's financial support, she did not consider these two professions equal in importance.

In 1928, two years after she had met Father at a student gathering in Chicago while enrolled at the University of Dubuque, my parents were

married in Graham Tyler Chapel at the University of Chicago.[24] According to Father's book, my parents were the first Asian couple married in that chapel and the first Korean couple ever married in the city of Chicago, other Korean marriages having been all Eurasian.[25] The wedding and the dinner following the ceremony at the Quadrangle Faculty Club were arranged by Dr. Paul Goode, Father's employer and mentor.[26]

Father, older than her other suitors, had a secure job at Rand McNally. He had promised her a good life, including that most important prize, US citizenship.

Mother must have been pregnant with me during her senior year at Kenwood-Loring School, because the year she graduated was the same year I was born. She told me she had played baseball when she was pregnant, but had been so small that no one had suspected she was carrying a child. This is understandable because when I was born, I weighed only five pounds.

My parents were living in a house in Hyde Park lent to them for the summer by Dr. and Mrs. Merrifield while they were away in their cottage in Colorado when I was born. I was delivered at Lying-In Hospital at the University of Chicago on a sultry July afternoon in 1930.[27]

I was appropriately named after two Chicagoans, Dr. Paul Goode and Anna Merrifield. I was told that had I been a male, I would have been named Paul, but since I was a female, I was named Anna after Mrs. Merrifield, while Pauline became my middle name. Dr. Paul Goode had been a professor of Geography at the University of Chicago and had been Father's employer at Rand McNally where Father helped him produce Goode's School Atlas while working as a topographic draftsman.[28] He had introduced my parents to Dr. Fred Merrifield who was a professor at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and had officiated at my parents' wedding. His wife, Anna, was an English teacher at Kenwood-Loring. In fact, Anna Merrifield later arranged for Mother to attend Kenwood-Loring on a scholarship where she was an English instructor.

As her closest confidante, Mother intimated to me that she had married Father for security and protection despite her many ardent suitors. Father verified her perception, since in his book he wrote that "she was a very attractive-looking girl and she was pursued by several Korean students, so much so that I had no opportunity to get acquainted with her."[29] "The only Korean women found in the East were students from Korea. My wife was such a student."[30] Father, older than her other suitors, had a secure job at Rand McNally. He had promised her a good life, including that most important prize, US citizenship.

Nevertheless, as much as Father had seemed ecstatic over his marriage to Mother, her feelings were hardly the same. I know this because Mother had also confided that when it came down to the day of the wedding, she had married Father quite reluctantly after having heard from his acquaintances that he was a difficult man to get along with. However, she had not

known how to end their engagement. After all, she had allowed him to kiss her as he departed on the train during one of his trips to Dubuque. He might have thought her a 'loose' woman, were she to back out of the marriage. To Mother, as with other women of her cultural background, sex was not for pleasure but something to be endured for the sake of procreation. Of course, we never spoke the word, 'sex,' itself. Such was the concept of marriage and duty for a woman of Mother's generation and culture.

She also had the mistaken belief that their relationship would be a platonic one. She may have felt this to be true, since Father was thirty-four when they married, eight years older than Mother, according to their passport ages. However, when she retired she admitted to me that she was actually younger than the necessary age for retirement.

Before and during the wedding itself, she told me she had cried miserably. She knew her conscience was clear; however, because she had not promised to obey and love him during the wedding vows, choosing to remain silent instead. Years later, she also confided to me that she knew Father had always loved her.

We all paid a heavy price for the fact that Mother had married someone she did not really love, a practice not uncommon among immigrants, and especially ubiquitous among the 'picture brides.' As with many other women, she sought emotional satisfaction by sacrificing her life and living only for her children.

I can describe one poignant example of her sacrifice. Sometime after we had moved to Portland, Oregon, Father had discovered a letter from one of his close friends in whose home we had stayed while he was looking for our house, proposing marriage to Mother. As a result, Father forbid Mother to continue exchanging letters with this man.

I remember seeing her crying over her lost love, but she had given him up willingly for the sake of her children. After all, what man would marry a girl whose Mother had been divorced? She also realized that we would not have been treated the same as the doctor's own two daughters. She had seen this when we were staying in his house before coming to Portland. How different our lives might have been, had she divorced Father and taken us back to Sacramento can only be conjectured. We children always urged her to leave Father, but to no avail. She obviously felt it was better to preserve the family rather than to follow her heart.

Yet it took another five long years before Mother gained her actual citizenship, in December, 1958 at the age of fifty-six — some thirty-two years after her arrival in the United States.

After I was born, with the help of Ms. Merrifield, Mother became a special student so as to not jeopardize her resident alien status as a foreign student. Since this could not go on indefinitely, it was recommended that the only solution was for Father to become naturalized. Then his wife could automatically stay on the basis of her marriage to a US citizen. Fa-

Portland Korea Mother Free to Become Citizen

Mrs. Evelyn Charr, Korean national and Portland mother who has lived in this country since 1926, was free today to apply for U. S. citizenship.

Before adoption of the immigration act of 1952, Orientals could attain permanent resident status only by act of congress in each individual case. Under the McCarran act, the status can be granted by an immigration service special inquiry officer—and nullified only by congressional action.

Louis Hafferman, Portland inquiry officer who suspended the deportation order against Mrs. Charr, said he did so because of her "clean record," her three well-educated children and the service of her naturalized husband in World War I.

HER HUSBAND, Esurk Emsen Charr, a Bonneville power administration engineer, also was born in Korea but was permitted to become a citizen in view of his military record.

Mrs. Charr, who believes she was born in 1908, has worked the last nine years as a seamstress for Evelyn Gibson Gowns.

"She came to work for me as a maid and to serve tea," said Miss Gibson. "But then she asked to sew. Now she has the nicest hands in my sewing room."

CHILD of peasant parents, Mrs. Charr, at the age of 20, got together $60 for steerage passage to the U. S. and enrolled in a Dubuque, Ia., college. Last year, in applying for citizenship, she discovered the student permit issued to her had long since expired and she was subject to deportation.

The petite Korean girl married in 1928 while studying in Chicago to be a nurse. The Charrs now live at 4127 N Commercial avenue. They have three children.

ANNA, 23, is slated to graduate June 14 with a master's degree from Oberlin college in Ohio. She hopes to be a research chemist.

Flora, 19, this year is finishing a two-year course at Portland State college and plans to become a dental technician.

Phillip, 21, is a sophomore and a straight "A" student at the University of Oregon dental school.

All the children are musicians. Anna sings. Flora plays the piano. Phillip plays both violin and piano.

MRS. EVELYN CHARR

ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

"Portland Mother Free to Become Citizen," *The Oregonian* (June 3, 1954)

ther consequently tried for a third time to become naturalized, only to be met with another rejection. He concluded that his wife would just have to be a perpetual student. Although *The Golden Mountain* does not mention the exact circumstances surrounding her rejection for citizenship, his original manuscript reveals that she applied once the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed, only to be rejected on the grounds she was not a 'real Chinese.' Father could only cite this as an example of a real 'puzzle,' masking the real agony this must have been for them.[31] It was not until decades later that she would try again.

While living in Portland during the Korean War, Mother decided to try once again for her citizenship. She had seen other Korean women in Gresham, Oregon, who barely spoke English become citizens, so why not her? Unfortunately, when her status as a foreign student was again discovered by the immigration authorities in Portland, they attempted to send her back to Korea. Evidently once attention is brought to your status, the wheels of justice are inexorably set in motion, just as it had happened previously when Father had asked for a temporary waiver on Mother's school attendance when she was pregnant with Philip.

Naturally, she vehemently refused to return to Korea on the grounds that her family was here and a war was going on in her native land. Because she had also rejected a plea that she go to Canada and then return to the US, as is required in such situations, special legislation was

passed so that the deportation order could again be postponed. In 1954, this incident became headline news. *The Oregonian*, a major Portland paper, declared, "Korea Girl Emigrant Free of Deport Edict" with a picture of Mother sitting at her sewing machine with her employer, Evelyn Gibson, looking over her shoulder.[32] Another article entitled, "Portland Korea Mother Free to Become Citizen" was circulated by the *Portland Journal*.[33]

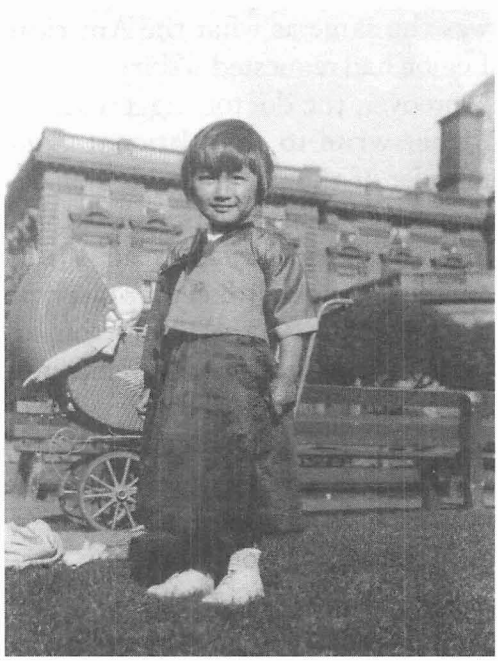
Yet it took another five long years before Mother gained her actual citizenship, in December of 1958 at the age of fifty-six—some thirty-two years after her arrival in the United States. When I calculated how this compared to Father's long wait, I was amazed at yet another coincidence; Father, too, did not receive his naturalization papers until thirty-two years had passed after his arrival in Hawai'i, and eighteen years after being discharged from the US Army! How both my parents had suffered and waited for the prize they both had sought—US citizenship—is a testament to their endurance.

I left my heart in San Francisco

As it was for countless millions of other Americans, The Great Depression of 1932 was tragic for my family in many ways. When my parents were married in Chicago, Father had been a supervisor at Rand McNally. Not only did Father lose his job at Rand McNally and have to move to San Francisco to work for his young nephew, but he had had to exchange the white doctor's coat he had longed for with a barber's smock.

Because Father lost his job during the Great Depression, Mother always advised my husband Andrew not to aspire to too high a position because he could then lose his job as Father had. It may have been for this reason that she encouraged my brother to work for himself as a dentist.

After attending barber school, Father was given the second chair in his nephew's barber shop—a chair that seemed seldom occupied except by Father as he read the daily newspaper. Years later when Father gave me such a beautifully tapered haircut, I wondered why he had lacked customers. It was probably the case that money was so tight that few men had the luxury of having a regular haircut. The few who did come in were



ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Anna Charr, San Francisco (ca. 1933)

naturally seated at the first chair.

Although Mother was attending a music school in San Francisco while Father was attending barber school, she again had to stop while she was pregnant with my brother, Phil. Believing that honesty was the best policy, Father, as a veteran, petitioned for a waiver until she was able to attend school again.

Instead, we received an order of deportation for Mother! Father again appealed for help from the American Legion. At that time Mother was given 42 days to leave the country on November 11, 1932. The American Legion then asked the Commissioner General of Immigration for a sixty day stay.

Happily, the doctor who was sent to check on Mother's condition was a veteran like Father. His recommendation based on her physical condition was the same as what the American Legion had requested; a sixty day stay. Moreover, the doctor suggested that Father write to the National Commander of the American Legion. Father did so, adding letters to all who might help Mother's cause.

The American Legion contacted the press, and all the furor led to articles and pictures in several city newspapers, according to Father.[34] Not only was a sixty-day reprieve given to Mother, but she was granted an indefinite stay on the deportation order (Interestingly enough, this kind of publicity was to be repeated when Mother again applied for citizenship during the Korean War.)

The events surrounding the birth in San Francisco of my sister, Flora,

ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Easurk Emsen with Philip and Anna,
28 Auburn St., San Francisco (ca. 1933)

two years after Phil was born, were also traumatic for Mother. Unfortunately, the welfare doctor and nurse did not arrive at small house we had rented on Auburn Street (really an alley) on time when Mother's labor began. Consequently, she had to deliver my sister all alone while trying to stifle the screams rising from her throat lest the neighbors complain.

Because of our poverty and the anguish she had suffered with Flo's birth, she vowed in her heart never to become pregnant again. This led to constant quarreling between my parents as a strategy she deliberately used to subdue any romantic feelings Father might have had towards her.

To add to the injury Mother must have felt after my sister's and brother's

HELEN LEE LYOU SHON COLLECTION

(*l-r*) Helen Lee, and Philip, Anna and Flora Charr at the Golden Gate Bridge, May 1937

births, Father's choice of names was unfortunate. This is because the "f" sound is non-existent in Korean. Ever after, my sister and brother were called "Pillip" and "Plora" by my poor mother.

Although we were on welfare while we lived in San Francisco, we never lacked for necessities. On Christmas, we each received a small box containing items, such as slippers or pajamas with some gum or candy slipped in them. We did not know that we were poor or that we were recipients of handouts by social workers.

During these early days in San Francisco, I was always excited when a "lady bountiful" appeared with wonderful second-hand clothing with which I could strut my stuff. I can remember certain articles of clothing with great fondness even today. There was a frilly peach-colored pleated organdy dress like Shirley Temple's, my idol. Another was a pair of white sailor pants with buttons that went up the left side, across the waist and down the right side, just like the real thing. It may help explain why to this day, I love sailor clothes.

For our dinner, our mother would buy inexpensive bean cakes from shops in nearby Chinatown. These cakes were cut up and served all week long with the remains of the single pork roast that was the entree for our Sunday meal.

I also remember one sunny day

when Father lifted me high up to a window overlooking the street below to see President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on one of his trips to San Francisco. President Roosevelt was wearing a black cape and was waving his arm to all the crowd above and around his car. Father was a devoted supporter of Roosevelt whom he saw as his personal savior during the depression.

I also recall the festive day when we all went to the Golden Gate Bridge gala opening. We three children were adorned with little black Mexican gaucho hats with white balls dangling down from the brims. These pictures remain in our family album and always bring back fond memories.

. . . the salary Father made at $1,620 per annum was pitifully low. . . . Mother also knitted our sweaters which we hated, since they were not store-bought like those of our classmates.

Other pictures remind me of the trips to the park and sometimes to picnics with other Koreans. At our small house, I liked the *mook* made from crushed acorns that was only served then; it looked like white Jell-O and wiggled deliciously on the paper plates. After adding some soy sauce mixed with cut up scallions, one could wolf down many pieces without suffering any consequences. To this day, it is one of my favorite side dishes when we dine at a local Korean restaurant.

I went to Jane Parker school with children from Chinatown. They were smart as whips, but their non-literate parents hardly ever came to school. This was in sharp contrast to my own mother, who brought our lunches to us and gave our teachers small gifts on holidays. However, her eager participation in our education may have in turn led to deep hostility on the part of my Chinese classmates.

These Chinese girls took their revenge upon me by including my name on a list of misbehaving students whenever one of them was assigned to act as class monitor. I can never forgive them for the agony I faced in trying to explain my tardiness to Mother when I was forced to stay after school as punishment.

However, I too was guilty of a similar cruelty when I caused a sweet Japanese classmate to cry. I had told all our classmates how the Japanese had committed atrocities in Korea and they had teased this girl in turn, as I had secretly hoped. Actually, I had been angry that her mother had provided this girl with Shirley Temple curls like mine. I had taken out my jealousy in such a devious and mean-spirited way that I almost surprised myself.

Notwithstanding such bad memories, my very first crush ever was over a handsome Chinese boy. He would smile widely when I would make a speech before our first grade class. I never knew his name or his age, but I shall always remember his winning smile.

As can be inferred by his several vocations as cartographer and barber, Father was extremely clever with his hands. For a kindergarten program in which I was the master of ceremonies, he covered my shoes with silver paint. How proud I was when I wore them

in front of the large audience of parents. These are among some of the bittersweet memories of my early years in San Francisco.

The Girl of the Golden West

When I had reached the fourth grade, Father was allowed to take a civil service exam, since he was a college graduate and a veteran. He passed the test easily and was assigned to the Soil Conservation Service as a cartographer. Soon we were to leave our small bungalow in San Francisco, and head for the wilds of Yerington, Nevada, a small town some distance east of Reno, "the greatest little city in the world."

The area around Yerington was devoted primarily to crops of alfalfa. Dad's regional office mapped irrigation ditches and offered workshops to the farmers on the best ways to prevent soil erosion. The highlight of those days were the baseball games between "town" and Soil Conservation staff. These games were always held at night under the lights and had a festive air about them.

However, the salary Father made at $1,620 per annum was pitifully low. Mother was forced to negotiate with the local milkman and the iceman, who would turn away clucking at our misfortune. We moved from one rental bungalow to another, always to save money.

I remember how Mother cried when she first saw the wood stove she would have to cook on. We stood around it on winter days as we shivered and dressed for school. That stove was often adorned with underwear and pies that Mother learned to bake while the wood inside the stove heated the house.

ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Winter in Yerrington (ca. 1940)
(*l-r*) Evelyn, Philip, Flora, Anna and a friend

Mother also knitted our sweaters which we hated, since they were not store-bought like those of our classmates. Those were also my cowgirl days. I constantly looked through the Sears catalog, since there were no department stores in our little town of one thousand occupants. One riding outfit I hungered for was decorated with white and black scrolls. Of course, I never was able to order it, but I can remember it to this day.

There was only one movie house, but several saloons for the cowboys who came into town on Saturday nights. I had one red satin blouse that served as my cowboy shirt which I

wore with my white sailor pants. Often there were rodeos with bucking horses and an occasional circus. We could not afford to go, so the barkers would often take pity on us as we tried to peer under the tents to see the bearded ladies and other attractions.

I loved the wide open spaces of the desert after the narrow streets of San Francisco and the ever present moans of the fog horns. Sometimes I would stand erect with arms akimbo in the evening and sing my heart out to the blazing sunset.

The neighbors of the house . . . had taken out a petition against our arrival. Instead, Father was forced to buy a nondescript frame house in a "changing neighborhood."

We three children had a tree apiece, each with its very own swing built by our father. These were mostly cottonwood trees that shed its white snow in waves of abandon. How many children do you know who have their very own trees complete with swings!

During one Easter egg hunt held in Yerington, my brother and I were at the very rear of the swarm of children who descended upon the eggs that could be seen hiding under the leaves of dandelion plants or bushes in the park. However, I found a special egg that entitled me to a real rabbit, while Phil found a chocolate bunny.

I named my real rabbit "Peter Rabbit" and Father built him a three room house complete with dining room, bathroom and front yard. When he escaped by digging under the chicken wire Father had placed around his yard, our neighbors would often bring him back, holding him aloft by his ears. One hot summer day, I came home to find that he had expired and that Father had already buried him. That was the only pet I had ever had other than a stray dog who sometimes wandered by for a handout.

We were chopping down a pine tree for Christmas on December the seventh, 1941, when Pearl Harbor was attacked. Mother told the Japanese couple, owners of the single laundry shop in Yerington who had taken us in their car for this normally joyous occasion, that we could never speak to each other again. However, this did not prevent the racist slurs aimed at us by others in the community.[35]

The one fortunate outcome of this fateful day was that the regional offices of the Soil Conservation Service were eliminated for greater centralization. Father said we were to decide whether to move to Arizona or to Portland. At a family conference, we chose Portland, Oregon in the Pacific Northwest, selecting wetness over aridness to my sorrow.

While Father went ahead to look for a house in Portland, we stayed with a dentist friend in Sacramento, California. From the description of the house he found, we were led to believe we had reached the American dream; a house complete with a mirrored fireplace! I could scarcely wait to see it.

Northwest Passage

When we finally arrived in Portland, however, the highly anticipated

fireplace was missing. I wondered why, but never expressed my disappointment. Years later, Mother told me about what had happened in the interim while we had waited in Sacramento. The neighbors of the house Father had originally purchased had taken out a petition against our arrival. Instead, Father was forced to buy a nondescript frame house in a "changing neighborhood."[36] Only Mother could have asserted that had the neighbors of the first house met her, they would certainly have changed their minds and welcomed us!

Portland was as green and moist as Nevada had been brown and dry. Yet again, what Father was making in the new office was not enough to provide for three children and a wife. Staying with the same federal agency was not the way to earn a decent living. Mother first found a job as a nurse in a doctor's office. Another time, she worked in the outdoor produce section at a nearby grocery store. There, she developed a severe earache. This eventually spread to the bones of the skull, so that she had to arrange for her own mastoidectomy after pleading poverty to the social workers. That period is mostly remembered for the fact that Father cooked the same cabbage soup for us every night she was in the hospital.

Later, Mother worked as a din-

HELEN LEE LYOU SHON COLLECTION

Anna Charr (center) in "Shirley Temple" Curls with Friends Betty and Helen Lee outside Their Father's Dental Office, Walnut Creek (CA) 1942
Note the "Korea for Victory with U.S.A." sign flanked by US and Korean Flags—Ed.

ing room receptionist and finally as a seamstress for Meier & Frank's, a major department store in Portland. Eventually, she was to follow the buyer, Ms. Gibson, to a new and more fashionable location in an old mansion. (Mother once told me that she had been asked to serve tea to Ms. Gibson's customers while wearing a kimono, which she refused. After all, serving food was demeaning in her culture. She had not liked it even when I worked in the college cafeteria at Park College. However, I enjoyed that job, since I could take leftover toast or corn cakes to my dorm for late snacks.)

When a close friend invited me to her sorority tea, she was told by her fellow members not to befriend me.

Mother was more liberated than I ever was, for she refused to turn her paychecks over to Father. In this way she was able to buy those articles she thought were necessary to improve our lives. She bought our living room set, a piano and many other items without Father's prior approval. (In contrast, my checks always went into a joint checking account and were used primarily for our household expenses and later for our children's education.) However, we always waited in fear of Father's reaction when he came home to find her new purchases. Many were the conflicts that arose from her independence, but she never wavered. Because of her determination, she was able in this way to leave a small estate to my brother which he divided later with Flora and me.

During World War II, I remember using coupons to buy sugar and hosiery. Long lines of women stood at the counters of Meier and Frank's to have the privilege of buying silk hosiery. I had a Saturday job at Meier & Frank's as a stock girl in the millinery department and later as a cashier. I saved every penny of it and eventually gave it to my brother for his dental education, since Dad was supporting me through college.

My brother and sister have fonder memories of Portland than I do. They still chuckle over the fact that there was a drape that hung between the kitchen and dining room of our small house. So as to prevent collisions, we developed a communication system consisting of "beeping" sounds. To this day, we still make these sounds when we approach any intersection.

As in Nevada, I again experienced racial discrimination when I reached high school. When a close friend invited me to her sorority tea, she was told by her fellow members not to befriend me. Not surprisingly, I was also rejected as a potential sorority member with her group because of my ethnicity. I did join a minor sorority later, where I went through a nasty initiation procedure during which time I was forced to eat lard and raw liver, my face breaking out afterwards in larger pimples than those I usually carried. I also remember a beach outing by our sorority when another girl and I were asked to take a walk while some boys were being entertained in our rented cabin. What transpired during our absence can only be imagined. It gave me

scant pleasure years later when I realized that the sorority girls who had rejected me suffered in turn for their much vaunted popularity.

Park College: Following in Father's Footsteps

How I ended up attending Park College in 1948, Father's alma mater, was a matter that was not of my own choosing; in reality, I had no choice at all. I had not been an ambitious high school student; my greatest fear was being considered a "brain" by my classmates. In fact, I actually became uncomfortable whenever I received a grade of "A" from my teachers. This happened once in a while despite the fact that I never studied. I cared only for being as popular as the cheerleaders were. In fact, one husky football hero named Kelly took a fancy to me, but I was too shy to encourage him.

For some reason my classmates chose me to be a leader of our choir class. I must have shown some leadership potential, even on occasion scolding my classmates for inadequate class preparation. I loved to sing, but my self-consciousness prevented me from utilizing what talent I did have for solo singing.

The highlight of Portland civic life is the annual Rose Festival. Each high school chooses a princess from which a queen is ultimately picked. I was one of the finalists because one of my friends urged the panel to choose me.

One glorious weekend I was invited to Oregon State for a preview of college life. I was assigned to a handsome Chinese American student named Hawkin whom I again met years later in Chicago. He was the son of a Chinese diplomat from Taiwan. After that memorable weekend, I fully expected to attend Oregon State, but it was not to be.

Although I had fully expected to go to Oregon State along with my friends, I was shocked and dismayed when Father refused to send me based on my poor track record. He was right, of course. I would have indeed simply gone to college to have fun as he had correctly surmised. Actually, I had had no intention of finishing college because I was afraid that no man would want to marry a college graduate. Nevertheless, I felt bereft and felt like I was afloat on a lake of uncertainty; what was I to do with the rest of my life?

As luck would have it, it was Mother who came to my rescue. If I offered to go to Father's alma mater, Park College, she was sure he would send me. Much as I disliked the idea of attending a religious institution like Park, I followed her suggestion. The fact that I was the only child to have left home for college despite our relative poverty caused some resentment in my family, but Mother insisted.

Going to chapel three times a week as well as on Sunday, and having to take three courses in Religion was not awe-inspiring as far as I was concerned.

In retrospect, she always had my best interests at heart. However, I shed many silent tears into my pillow at night after she had chastised me

for the umpteenth time for reminding her of her husband. I always cringed when anyone would say that I looked like Father. I could not help the fact that I looked like him, but she constantly berated me in front of my siblings, insisting that I was as selfish and lazy as he was. I admit that I loved books and preferred reading to helping with the housework. She would come to my bed at night to apologize, but I would never give her the satisfaction of seeing my tears. Unfortunately, my brother and sister retained her perception of me for many years. And I also believe that a similar label was later foisted on my former sister-in-law, Yuni, who was like me in many respects.

. . . he stipulated that we would be living with his mother and that I would be giving up my graduate studies in order to give a greater gift to my parents—their grandchildren.

Mother was right; Father sent me to Park for all four years, so I have her to thank for her acumen and insight. Attending Park also let me escape from her constant barrage of criticism. And, as it turns out, I believe I received a far better education than I would have had I gone to Oregon State. Classes were small and the instruction was good.

I had wanted to become a journalist while I was in high school and had even applied for a job at the Portland Oregonian newspaper. I also had taken classes in Radio and Journalism, and had foolishly waited until my senior year to take Biology. Ms. Hill, the instructor, was such an outstanding teacher that I resolved to major in Biology once I reached college. Even so, I was torn between my courses in Sociology and Biology at Park, so that I had almost as many credit hours in one as I did in the other. My beginning courses in Zoology and Botany had many students and were quite difficult, especially for someone like me who had not learned how to study in high school. Now it was sink or swim. Many of my classmates sank and did not return after Christmas break.

I was assigned to a room with a sturdy looking girl named Charlotte "Char" Ann, who had the very reverse of my name. We were roommates for all four years and still correspond yearly. In fact, we were able to meet at length during a conference held in Sacramento in 1997. While at Park, she would invite me to her home in Kansas every Christmas where she lived with her retired schoolteacher mother; her father having died when she was a young girl. Char was also an excellent driver, and many nights were spent cruising the streets.

Years later, Char even showed up in Portland on several occasions when I was visiting my family. Her life has been much more difficult than mine. She now resides in California where she teaches language.

One of the major drawbacks to life at Park was that it was a Presbyterian college. Going to chapel three times a week as well as on Sunday, and having to take three courses in Religion was not awe-inspiring as far as I was concerned. I could not abide having to memorize and recite back all the miracles of the Bible. I opted

for a grade of "B" rather than spend time on something I felt to be utterly useless.

All Park students belonged to one of five social clubs, so Char and I joined the Lancelot-Elaine Club. Since I was so petite, I was asked to be part of a dance team with two males from our club for the entertainment portion of one of our club's parties. It was a thrill for me to be part of a fancy dance routine like that of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers with two men spinning me around and lifting me high above their heads to the music of "Dancing in the Dark." To this day, I wish I could have had dance lessons and become a ballerina.

Early in college, several young men seemed to have been interested in me, but they were always lured away by the blandishments of more seasoned coquettes than I. One exception was Bud, a much-admired upper classman and a veteran who, although not particularly handsome, gave an aura of manly strength. I almost fainted in surprise after our Biology class when he invited me to the big spring formal in 1951. I was floating on air for weeks, since it was like a dream come true.

It was not until my senior year that I had a relationship with a younger and more handsome student named Don. He hung around with several students of the more "brainy" Chemistry crowd, and he eventually earned a doctorate in that field. It was thanks to Don that I came to attend graduate school. I had asked him what his Biology teacher, Dr. Hamilton, had emphasized in class. Don mentioned that the role of water had been emphasized, so that is what I studied and outlined for my comprehensive exams in Biology during my senior year. Happily, that was the very question that appeared on the exam and I "nailed" it perfectly. This so impressed Dr. Hamilton that he found a graduate assistantship for me at his own alma mater, Oberlin College. Although I had planned to become an Occupational Therapist, Dr. Hamilton insisted that I go on for my master's degree. I am glad that he did so because it changed my whole life.

Dating at Oberlin College: On to Graduate School

To earn my tuition, I was assigned to be a graduate assistant in Zoology. I helped grade lab reports and assisted students during the labs. As it turned out, I also received a good music education at Oberlin while I was studying and teaching Zoology. My dormitory, Graduate House, was full of music students. I attended many recitals of my friends and concerts by the Cleveland Orchestra and Count Basie, for Oberlin was noted for its fine conservatory and excellent faculty. I shared a suite with Nora, a Japanese American graduate piano student from Hawai'i.

During my first summer break, I worked at Sloan-Kettering Hospital in New York City in their histology lab rather than journeying home. I wanted to taste the high life of the 'Big Apple,' and one night got to dance to Harry James' orchestra. I stayed at International House and later sublet

a faculty apartment near Columbia University.

I also found time to do some serious dating. Alfred was a handsome blond pre-medical student who was in an Embryology class with me and asked me out. I learned to drink coffee for that was what our dates consisted of. Al had attended Reed College in Portland and was the idol of his parents. They had purchased a motel to finance his education when he had decided to return to school to become a doctor.

During my first Spring break at Oberlin, I was invited to New York to visit a Korean American from Hawai'i whom I had dated briefly in Portland. He wanted me to marry him, I suspect, partly because his mother believed I would make a gentleman out of him. However, he stipulated that we would be living with his mother and that I would be giving up my graduate studies in order to give a greater gift to my parents—their grandchildren.

It was primarily hearing tales of the 'heroic' deeds Andy had performed during the Korean War that won my admiration and sealed my fate.

Mother warned me about living with his mother, so I subsequently requested a life apart from her, but he was adamant. He had his plans, and was unwilling to consider any other options. Consequently we "broke up" (according to him), even though I had never considered us to be a "couple."

Mother always regretted the advice she had given me, even though she had previously warned me about marrying a Korean man. Instead, she had recommended marrying someone who was Chinese or Jewish, for they were, according to her, "good to their wives." As it turned out, I didn't listen to her after all.

Another Korean American whom I had met in Los Angeles was the youngest son of a famous Korean patriot, Ch'ang-Ho Ahn. I did not know of his father's role in Korea's independence movement until I read Father's book years later. All I knew was that his father's picture had always hung prominently over our living room door, for my father was a great admirer of his father. I remember thinking of the man in the photo as being very handsome and distinguished looking with his moustache.

While Ch'ang-Ho Ahn's son had a deep and melodious voice, his appearance was more like that of his mother. I was sorry that he had missed out on his father's influence. (Ch'ang-Ho Ahn was jailed by the Japanese and later died from the treatment he had received). Because his father had been away from the family for so many years, while his mother begged and struggled here to support their children in the US, he could not really appreciate the work his father was doing. Sad to say, he and his family were among the many casualties in the struggle for Korean independence from Japan.

Andrew: Return of the Native

After having been awarded a master's degree in Zoology at Oberlin,

I found a job in cancer research at the University of Chicago with Dr. Charles B. Huggins. He eventually won the Nobel Prize for his earlier work on the effects of hormones on tumor growth.

I met Andrew (Sung Bom Kim) after finding my second job in the Psychology Department at the University of Chicago. It was Thanksgiving of 1956 and I was twenty-six. It seemed to me that it was now the proper time to settle down and find a serious candidate to marry. There was no talk then of "biological clocks," but that may have been my unconscious motivation. Believing too that a Korean would be the most reliable candidate, I journeyed to the only Korean church in existence in Chicago at that time. Rev. Eun Taik Yi's Korean Methodist Church, at 826 Oakdale (now First Korean United Methodist Church of Chicago) served 70–80 students and a few immigrants.[37] There as fate would have it, I met Peter Kim and his wife, Sung, who were to become my eventual in-laws. They were sitting across the dinner table from me after church service and decided after our conversation to introduce me to a younger brother, Yoon Bom, who was studying at McGill in Montreal on a post-doctoral neurosurgical fellowship. He would be coming to Chicago for Christmas, and since we were both in the science field, they believed we had much in common.

However, their mistake was in sending Andrew, an even younger brother, to pick me up for dinner at their apartment (he had also been at church that Thanksgiving, but I had not met him then). He was a graduate student in Business Administration at the University of Chicago.

ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Andrew Kim, Korea 1949

Andrew was the first Korean to have graduated from the University of Chicago's illustrious School of Business. Peter had sponsored Andy, while Sung had been recommended as a potential mate for Peter by his older brother, Hong Bom, for whom she had worked while in Korea. It seems that Andrew and I were fated to fall in love before Yoon Bom even arrived from Montreal. That Thanksgiving banquet was a crucial event in that it precipitated all the events that followed in our family history.

Had Andrew promised me anything during our courtship, as Father had done with Mother? No, but Sung had predicted a bright future for him.

I also realized he was much more Western in his ideas than his older brother, Yoon Bom. Yoon intended to return to Korea to practice and I was reluctant to do so, much to Mother's regret. After all, he was the doctor she had sought for so long. But it was not to be; to me, a doctor's wife has no life. I wanted to enjoy life and not be a slave to my husband's practice.

What had attracted me to Andrew in the first place? Sung had shown me pictures of Andy, handsome in his tennis outfit at Aurora College where all three had attended undergraduate school. I soon learned he was also an excellent dancer; a most important feature in any suitor for me. He was very romantic and our dates usually consisted of foreign movies at a nearby Hyde Park theater. The Korean War was the final straw that convinced me that my Prince Charming had arrived at last.

. . . he had had to interrogate these North Korean "spies" . . . with the knowledge that they would be buried alive unless they talked!

It was primarily hearing tales of the 'heroic' deeds Andy had performed during the Korean War that won my admiration and sealed my fate. One of the stories Andy told me was how he and a friend had been kidnapped during the early days of the Korean War when the North Koreans first entered Seoul. By cleverly espousing the Communist line, they fooled their captors into believing they, too, were supporters of the cause. They plotted their escape and pretended they were chasing some escapees while they themselves were escaping. Of course, they trembled lest they later run into those very "comrades" that they had deceived. They were sure that their fate would have been twice as harsh as those originally captured.

Because of his fluency in English (he had taken English classes in high school and interpreted while working part-time at a military hotel desk clerk), Andy served as an interpreter for the First Tank Battalion of the First Marine Division during the Korean War. After the retreat from North Korea, Andy joined the 181st Detachment of the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC) attached to the Marines. In the middle of 1952 when he went south to Pusan, he was with the feared "704" or "Chil Kong Sa" which was strictly an army intelligence unit.

In his role as an interpreter for the US Army and Marines, Andy had been privy to the use of a gun and a jeep. Food was scarce because Seoul was under siege and a battle was taking place as the US Marines were re-entering Seoul from Inch'on. While brandishing his Marine-issued gun, Andy had on many occasions demanded that food be loaded into his jeep from an army warehouse so that he could bring sustenance to his family members.

Since Andy had to interpret for the Marines when they caught any front-line 'line-crossers' from North Korea, he had had to interrogate several captives who were being forced to give information. It was uncomfortable for Andy to say the least because he had had to interrogate these North

Korean "spies" after they had been buried in the ground up to their necks with the knowledge that they would be buried alive unless they talked! He also told me about sleeping in pup tents and lying on the cold ground as bullets whizzed overhead during his trips both north and south of the 38th parallel with the Marines. Luckily, Andrew was not among those poor souls in 1950 who originally journeyed north into the area of the Chosin reservoir near the Yalu River in an ill-fated attempt to retrieve all of North Korea during Thanksgiving of 1950, as he had returned to Seoul at that time.[38]

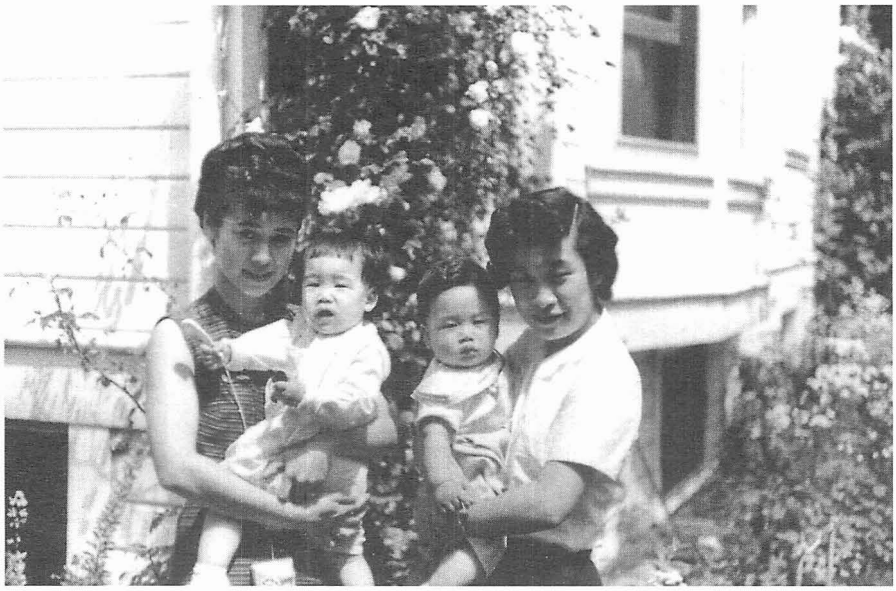
Andy rejoined his Marine group only later in Hamhung as they were retreating south from the hordes of Chinese volunteers who were advancing like human waves upon the UN forces. He says he will never forget the sight of the huge fires along the shoreline as hundreds of weapons and piles of military equipment were being destroyed by the Americans before their retreat by ship.

Other members of Andy's family also experienced tragedy during the Korean War. For instance, anyone educated in the US was a target for the Communists when they entered Seoul in 1950. That meant that Andy's older brother, Hong Bom, having been educated at Cornell University, was a prime candidate for kidnapping and feared for his very life. Often he had to hide in the attic to escape detection. During the War, Andrew's rich uncle was kidnapped by the North Koreans, never to be seen again. Duk Soon, one of Andy's sisters, also lost her husband when he was killed in a motorcycle accident while serving in the ROK (Republic of Korea) army. In spite of this, she succeeded in raising her family by lending money, one of the few things a woman was allowed to do for a living. Duk Soon even helped support Yoon Bom, the neurosurgeon, with medical books and supplies. Her only son now resides in Chicago with his nurse wife and three daughters, while her daughter lives in Seoul near her mother. I met his family for the first time in 1987.

the rich uncle . . . was able to get Andy into a more prestigious high school named Yong San. . . . Andy and other members of his class were the first students to graduate from that particular high school.

In December 1952, Andy left Korea for the US to become a student at Aurora College in Illinois with his brother Peter and Sung. Several of his Marine buddies took up a collection for his trip.

These heroic and horrifying war stories charmed me. Andy and I were married in February of 1958 at the same chapel on the University of Chicago campus where my parents had married. It was a small but lovely wedding with simple sandwiches and punch. My parents had come to Chicago by train carrying my sister's, pink wedding dress. Our guests were primarily other poor graduate students. We borrowed a car to drive to the Loop; our honeymoon consisted of one night at the Palmer House after a dinner at a Chinese restaurant. Then Andy had to return to his classes and I to my job.



ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Sisters Flora Charr Wong and Anna Charr Kim with their Children Allison and Mickey, Portland 1959

It is so true that one marries the whole family when you marry one member of it. What were Andrew's early beginnings? Andrew was the second youngest of a large family of six boys and three girls. They had been wealthy at one time, his father having run a candy factory. When it burned to the ground, however, there was no such thing as insurance and so they were reduced overnight to poverty. His father then turned to peddling door to door a book on the history of Cheju Island which he had written. So both of our fathers had been authors!

When it came time for Andy to enter middle school, he was denied admission because of his family's poverty. Andy thus dropped out for one year and worked instead. Today he counts this rejection a blessing in disguise for a surprising reason. Had he been accepted into this provincial school near his oldest brother's home, he would have received an inferior education and perhaps not come to the United States, especially to a school like the University of Chicago.

When he was in Seoul, the rich uncle who was later kidnapped by the North Koreans was able to get Andy into a more prestigious high school named Yong San. It had been run for Japanese students, but after the war it was turned over to Koreans. Andy and other members of his class were the first students to graduate from that particular high school. Even in the US, Korean high school classmates remain close and participate socially in dances, clubs and other activities. We often go to the annual high school Christmas party during which dancing, games, and money is raised for scholarships.

Our Children

Mickey, our first-born, arrived in September of 1958. He was born at Lying-In Hospital, the same place my mother gave birth to me. I had simply walked directly into the hospital accompanied by Adele, my bridesmaid, from our lab at the university's Psychology Department. Jenny, our daughter, was born two years later in August of 1960. She was the only child who benefited from a mother who was not working after her birth. Two years later in December of 1962, our youngest son, Ben, was born. Because he had missed the cutoff date by one day, he was not allowed to start Kindergarten in a public school when he turned five. As a result he attended a private academy run by Phil Crane, an ex-History professor who eventually became a US Congressman. There he learned German and how to read from McGuffy Readers, winning many awards in the process.

After Ben was born, Andy had suggested it might be nice if I got out of the house by teaching. Since I had no car, I had to take a bus to distant sites to be a substitute teacher. It was a terrible experience because "subs" are treated badly by all students everywhere. I lost much weight under the burden of teaching while raising three small children; so much for "getting out of the house."

I will always remember one assignment I was given; I was sent to the infamous Chicago housing projects where I taught in an apartment that had been converted into a school. The principal consoled me by saying I was participating in history. She showed me how to ring a small school bell if anyone were to try to enter our ground floor "classroom." That way, the teacher at the other end of the hall could come to my rescue. However, I believed that there was scant chance the other teacher could be of any help, since she was located quite some distance away and the flimsy screen door with latch would scarcely keep out any determined intruder for long!

The interviewer confessed that because Andrew was an Asian American, he had doubts that Caucasians would take orders from Andy as an administrator.

The principal also warned me about things being thrown out the windows and suggested that I look up at the balconies overhead before leaving. However, I decided it was far better just to run as fast as I could at the end of the school day, since by the time I could see something coming down, it would have been too late to escape unharmed!

What was so pitiful was that while I stood in the living room of my "classroom," half my students sat around the corner in the kitchen and could not even see me. Nor did they know their own names when I called them out. When it was time to hand out the milk at break, the clamor the children made in wanting to receive the milk of students who were absent was heartwrenching.

After a year of this agony, I took a job at the National Opinion Research Center housed at the University of Chicago editing their reports. It was far easier and more relaxing

compared to my substitute teaching days.

Madison: The '60's

Recently my husband Andrew revealed his defining moment in America; it was his first job interview when he was a graduate student at the University of Chicago. The interviewer from US Steel had looked discouraged and had complained that he had not slept well, the reason being that he knew the interview with Andy would be only a formality. The interviewer confessed that because Andrew was an Asian American, he had doubts that Caucasians would take orders from Andy as an administrator. However, he assured Andy that were he to be hit by a car outside their building, Caucasians would certainly have come to Andy's aid. This offered Andy scant reassurance. Since there was evidently no hope of his being hired for a management position, Andy thanked the recruiter for his candor and left immediately.

. . . she berated me for having such a poor attitude. After all, to her, children were all that should have mattered in my life.

After Andy graduated from the University with an MBA, he worked at Creamery Package in Chicago as an accountant. At this time, the country was undergoing a recession. With a poor job market, Andy was under a lot of pressure.

When Andrew's boss at Creamery Package took another job at Gisholt Machinery in Madison, Wisconsin, he urged Andy to join him there. I especially wanted to escape the pressures of competition with other members of Andy's family and the environment of our segregated neighborhood.

I feared for our children Mickey and Jen who were attending Kozminski, a school that was 99 percent black which, according to Andy, was a privilege for our children to attend. What I wanted to know was how they were going to be prepared to enter Harvard with the type of education they would have received there.

Mickey's teacher, a Japanese American, and I were also worried about some of his classmates. After having received a warning from one of his classmates about money jingling in Mickey's pockets, I discovered that the proceeds from our PTA Book Sales I kept on a shelf in the dining room were missing. With this money, Mickey had evidently wanted to go to the notorious 63rd Street along with his buddies from school.[39] To this day, Mickey denies any complicity in this undertaking (recently our daughter, Jenny, admitted it was she who was coerced by a neighbor boy to take the money for candy, which he did not share).

I did my best under the circumstances by working with our PTA and extolling our school. Much to my surprise, a letter I wrote to the Chicago Tribune about the need for integration at Kozminski School was printed.[40] I received many compliments and learned for the first time that I might have some aptitude for

writing. I also got hate mail that carried curses from several racist readers.

Despite the fact that Andy was fearful of racism in a rural state like Wisconsin, we moved to Madison to join his old boss when Mickey was about to enter second grade and Jen Kindergarten.

I understood too that Andy was reluctant to leave his brother Peter, and his Korean colleagues because he enjoyed socializing with them. In fact, Andy was so busy with them that we seldom saw him except for a quick trip to the grocery each Saturday—our one weekly outing. When I complained to Mother during one of her trips to Chicago that I felt trapped without a car and with three small children, she berated me for having such a poor attitude. After all, to her, children were all that should have mattered in my life.

In Madison, we loved the green frame ranch house we rented because it had two fireplaces and a huge yard with large trees (Could this be because I had been denied a fireplace in our Portland home?). Our neighbors, however, were elderly and were quite cranky with our children, often calling the police when they dared to use the sidewalk in front of their home for their tricycles.

Hoyt, the children's lovely grade school made of red cedar, sat on a wooded hill. It was doubly beautiful to them after having attended Kozminski, the ugly brick and lawnless school on Chicago's south side. Our children loved going to the University of Wisconsin campus to roll down the grassy hills overlooking Lake Mendota. In winter, they also enjoyed sliding down an icy toboggan run with their dad.

My part-time job in Madison was as an editor in the University of Wisconsin's Extension Department working on courses in animal husbandry. During this time, we saw the college students' graffiti on walls and historic student marches down the streets of Madison during the protests over the Vietnam War. It was an exciting period for all of us and a pleasant interlude.

When his company merged, Andy was quick to accept an offer of a federal job in Chicago at a considerable reduction of pay. As it turned out, it was a good decision. However, being very sensitive, Mickey took our return to Chicago after two short years in Madison very hard. Although he vowed to return to Wisconsin for college, he never did.

I became a college professor, teaching Reading and Writing to native-born Americans, and Communication Development to ESL students . . .

Suburbia Redux

Andrew was enticed back to Chicago in 1966 to work for Federal National Mortgage Association ("Fannie Mae"). I had insisted that we live in the suburbs rather than Hyde Park when we returned. Our children needed the wide open spaces we were able to find in a brick bi-level house in Des Plaines near O'Hare Airport, complete with a 2-car garage. Andy

had originally found a small Cape Cod in Evanston with no garage or yard. I could hear the neighbors screaming at their children close by. Although Andy had insisted it would be only a temporary placement, I knew better. He simply did not want to sell any stocks to buy a decent home, although once settled in Evanston, we would be there for life. Knowing Andy's reluctance for change, I had insisted on the larger house in Des Plaines where we lived for over thirty years. (In the summer of 2000 we moved to a lovely townhouse in the nearby suburb of Inverness, so as to remain close to our two sons.)

. . . only Phil received butter . . . while my sister and I could only have margarine. . . . Strangely enough, neither Flo nor I ever questioned such discrimination.

Because it was only a few blocks from our home, I took a part-time job at Borg-Warner's Research Center in its library and Instrumentation Lab. Also with Ben's asthma, I could scarcely have become a regular full-time teacher.

At a nearby high school in Des Plaines, I also began taking extension courses in special education offered through National College of Education because I had heard that those teachers were always in demand. Eventually I became a special education learning disabilities teacher at both the elementary and high school levels.

I had had problems with my principal over a case of sexual abuse which I had discovered, but which she demanded I drop for fear of lawsuits. When I said that any harm this student could inflict on someone in the future would be on her head, I soon found myself on her blacklist. I took a leave of absence. After nine years of special education teaching in the suburbs, I began working in the Registrar's Office as a transcript evaluator at National-Louis University.

I thought that my teaching days were over, but fate again intervened. A private school in Korea wished to set up an English Language School and had contacted National's Language Institute. Knowing I was married to a Korean, I was asked to have Andy translate a brochure about our school into Korean. When Andy later asked what had happened as a result of his efforts, I was encouraged by Jean, the Registrar, to teach English in Korea for National. After all, Andy had suggested that I teach in Korea or Libya even before this opportunity came along, so eager was he that I return to teaching.

Upon submitting my resume' to Carol, the Assistant Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, I was surprised when she insisted that I interview for a position in the Center for Academic Development. I became a college professor, teaching Reading and Writing to native-born Americans, and Communication Development to ESL students who had completed five levels in our Language Institute, with the understanding that I would begin and complete my doctoral studies.

After five long years of attending classes on a part-time basis and

writing a dissertation on a Russian student's second language acquisition, I was awarded a Doctor of Education from National in December 1995.

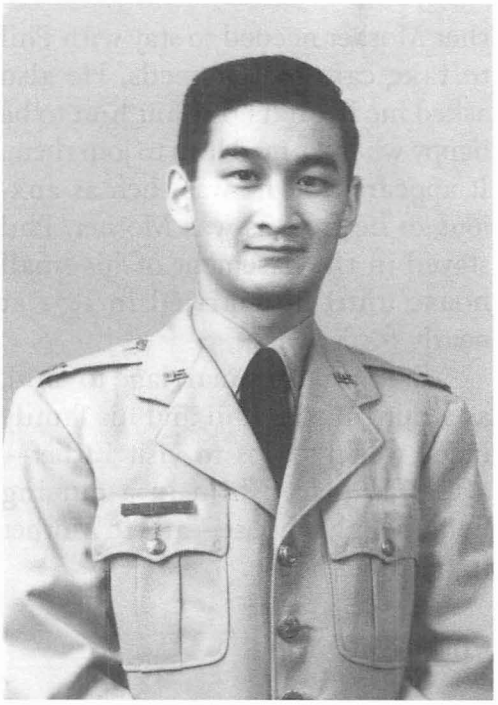
My Siblings

My Brother Philip

Being a boy between two sisters is probably difficult and may be the reason that Phil is such an introvert. For instance, although he is an excellent dentist and has a loyal following of patients, he prefers working alone and has never had a receptionist. When his Korean patients lacked money, they often brought him produce from their farms as payment for their bills. He did not charge his patients much, feeling that he was performing a service. Some of his patients even found him amusing, but we seldom saw this side of him.

During the war, we children picked fruit and vegetables, and he was always the fastest. We would be put on yellow school buses and hauled out to the farms because there was a lack of adult workers to bring in the harvest.

Phil was always a good student, especially in the sciences. Mother encouraged Phil to become a dentist because she thought he might have difficulty working with others. She put him through dental school with her meager wages, while he stayed with our parents during his school years and afterwards. When he returned in 1958 from his military tour of duty as a dentist in Japan, I suggested that Phil move to his own apartment. I was disappointed that he moved back in with my parents after I heard Mother plead that they would not be able to manage without him. Eight years later in 1966, my brother bought a small house for my parents near my sister's after several break-ins at Father's house. However, Father refused to move into it. After all, it was his son's house, not his own, so pride may have been a factor in his decision not to move.



ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Philip Charr, US Army 1954

Mother, however, did move when Father was in the hospital for a prostate operation because she was afraid of losing Phil if she did not. Not losing a son evidently was preferable to losing a husband. Father took her move graciously by explaining to me

that Mother needed to stay with Phil to take care of his needs. He also asked me if I did not want him to be happy when I urged him to join them. It appears that he was then as anxious to be free, as was Mother. Phil stayed in the basement of his small house until he married in 1972 at nearly forty years.

Even after his marriage to Yuni, as a dutiful son, Phil and his family made weekly trips to visit Father—after Flo placed him in a nursing home near her house—and to Mother in his other house.

Phil's Wife, Yuni

The coincidences I have seen in Phil's marriage make me wonder about the influence of family patterns. It seemed like serendipity to me when years later, my sister-in-law, Yuni, revealed her reasons for marrying my brother, just as Mother had done years before.

Like Mother, Yuni was attractive. She had been an actress and flight attendant before she had met my brother. Like Mother, Yuni had also expressed fear of the other Korean men she had met. She said that because he was a dentist and was always indoors, my brother's skin had been white compared to the Korean farmers in Oregon whose faces had darkened under the sun. As a professional man, Phil represented security, and so she had pursued him.

However, there was a significant difference in their ages, just as there had been between my parents. In addition, Yuni had not taken sufficient account of the fact that Phil had lived with Mother for most of his life. Since men were considered more desirable in Mother's culture, she had spoiled him terribly and, according to Yuni, he had expected the same treatment from his wife.

An example of the way Mother had treated Philip when we were children will illustrate my point. I remember that only Phil received butter with his meals from Mother, while my sister and I could only have margarine. I can still see the small green plastic butter container which was kept in a cooler cupboard in our kitchen. Flo, in turn, remembers the cream Mother skimmed off the milk bottles to give to Phil. Strangely enough, neither Flo nor I ever questioned such discrimination. Furthermore, to this day, Flora seems to have maintained this solicitous attitude towards my brother. She also describes herself as being very much like Mother emotionally, often depressed and worrying needlessly over trifles. One could say that she has taken over Mother's role.

Yuni was a good wife in accompanying Phil to see his mother although they sometimes had disagreements. She even allowed Phil to bring Mother into their home when she was no longer able to take care of herself and maintain Phil's second home.

In 1983 Flo found a nursing home for our mother. Phil and Yuni continued their weekly visits to see both parents, while Flo made daily visits to see them. When I visited her during a trip to Portland that year, I asked Mother what she might have

wished had been different in her life. Although I should not have been so surprised, I was saddened when she uttered, "Another son." Mother died one year later in 1984 after a series of strokes at age 86. Father (who died in 1986 at age 92) is buried with her in the Willamette National Cemetery in Portland.

At the end, Yuni lost the struggle to change the pattern of interaction in her own marriage that she had seen between Mother and Father and conceded defeat. When Phil refused further counseling, they were divorced after sixteen years of marriage. He was fortunate, however, that during those years he and Yuni were able to produce two lovely children, Amanda and Gregory in 1974 and 1976 respectively. They share custody of the children now and have separate houses only blocks apart.

Phil is very proud and amazed that Amanda is so outgoing and is now a broadcast journalist working at a local TV station. At this writing, Gregory, who is quiet like his father, is in college studying to become an environmental engineer.

Flo, my Sister

The family turmoil which Phil and Flo were both subjected to for many years after I had escaped to college probably contributed to my sister's early marriage in 1956 to Gordon Wong, a divorced Chinese American who like Andy, had also served in the Korean War. He had a son from his previous marriage. By then Flo had completed two years at a city college. I remember that Gordy was the most faithful of her suitors, sending her pictures from Korea that she was to save for him. Moreover, Flo liked the fact that he was tall and personable, at ease with Americans of every economic strata.

As she had been very attractive and a voluptuous high school beauty queen, Flo had had many suitors, but one by one they had drifted away. Because of Flo's beauty, Mother had even advised me to move far from Portland because I could not possibly compete with my sister to whom men flocked as bees to honey.

Even though I was a scrawny 'bookworm' and uninterested in the dating scene, this was a blow to my ego and self-esteem. Being as stubborn and crusty as I have always been, I could stand scorn, but not pity.

I carried this myth of my unattractiveness, even though I had been surprised years later on a trip back home to find that looking at my sister was like looking into a mirror. By then she was no longer as well filled out as she had been in her youth and had become as slim or even gaunt as I had always been. I am ashamed to admit that I was too lazy to keep up with the piano lessons with our postman that Mother provided us.[41] However, Flo stuck to her lessons and always accompanied me when I sang.

She is a marvelous cook and takes great pride in her creations. Flo is artistic as well, and has passed this trait on to her daughter, Allison.

For many years until her recent retirement, Flo worked as a medical secretary for several urologists who

had studied under my former boss, Dr. Charles Huggins. She is a marvelous cook and takes great pride in her creations. Flo is artistic as well, and has passed this trait on to her daughter, Allison.

Flo and Gordon have one daughter, Allison, who earned a bachelor's degree and became a flight attendant, a lifelong ambition of hers. In fact she worked at Disneyland in California in order to enhance her resume. In 1983 "Al" married a handsome naval officer named Ben from a large Midwestern family of Scandinavian background whom she had met during a flight. They now have two young sons, Matthew and Nicholas, over whom their father, a computer buff, especially seems to take great interest. After some years out of the service, Ben eventually returned to the US Navy to work in the field of computers. He left the Navy and is now an independent consultant.

Andy is especially proud that our oldest son, Mickey, followed in his footsteps by earning an MBA at Chicago in 1982.

Eight years after Allison's birth, Jeff, Flo's son was born. He too is a tall, handsome and personable young man who has been groomed to take over his father's laundry business. He recently married a lovely French girl, Valerie, who was in Portland working as an "au pair." They have a small house which they take great delight in decorating and in which they entertain their guests.

Our Offspring

Mickey

Our first born, Mickey (Min Sun), took his name after a famous mouse. He was a beautiful baby with a broad chest and large eyes; he was the apple of my mother's eye. Good natured, in contrast to his hypersensitive cousin Kwang Wu (not Jeff), born a few months earlier, Mickey would climb into bed at night during our parties and put himself to sleep.

When it came time to enter grade school, I suggested some appropriate American names Min Sun might use. He turned down the name of Michael and Mike or any other name beginning with an "M." Finally in desperation I suggested "Mickey" for the Walt Disney creation, Mickey Mouse. Since he always watched the Mickey Mouse Club on TV, he finally agreed to the name change. Now he will not change his name for all the tea in China, even when his business partners requested it, since the name "Mickey" was too closely associated with small and cute creatures.

Mickey loved sports and tried out for Little League baseball, junior high basketball and even football. He and his friends were smart enough to quit football when they saw that the opposition was getting too large and rough.

Mickey also loved girls, especially tall ones. They would call him "sexy" and he escorted several of his more popular classmates to proms. He even had a long distance romance with a girl from Granite City he had

met at a social function. When he was in fourth grade, a teacher remarked how he loved pushing the girls, just like his classmates did. I was surprised that she found it so unusual that he did not act like her stereotype of an Asian boy. Neighbors often remarked on how polite he was as a cashier at the local Jewel Food Store and I am sure he was very charming.

Although he was accepted by the University of Chicago for undergraduate school, Mickey refused to matriculate. He promised instead to go there for graduate school, but he wanted his fun while he was young. When Andy suggested that we force him to attend Chicago, I demurred by saying it was wrong and he would blame us if he failed his courses.

Mickey joined a fraternity at the University of Illinois in Champaign, majored in Accounting and passed his CPA exam the very first time, much to his father's amazement. Mickey finally did attend the University of Chicago to earn an MBA in Finance and worked briefly as a public accountant. Andy is especially proud that our oldest son, Mickey, followed in his footstep by earning an MBA at Chicago in 1982. Peter and his wife were also attending Chicago; all three had been at Aurora College together. His father often says that Mickey is a second generation Chicago MBA, since Andy was the first Korean to do so.

Mickey later became an investment analyst and met his future wife, Genevieve, at Driehaus Securities Corporation in Chicago. She is a tall and attractive woman of French and Irish descent. Although she had told her older sister, Joan, that she would never marry anyone shorter than herself, love caused her to change her tune.

Mickey and Genevieve have built a lovely home in Columbus, Indiana where he is a partner at Kerr/Marbach & Co. Being the oldest child, Mickey has had the most traditional lifestyle with a marriage, children and home. To me, Mickey is the most practical and down-to-earth of my three children; I can always rely on him for his sweetness and level-headedness.

Jenny

Michelle Jennifer (Mi Ja), our only daughter, always had the best hand/eye coordination of our three children. Unlike her petite mother, Jenny has wide shoulders and a sturdy athletic body. I was sorry there were no Little League baseball teams for girls at that time, even though Jen would carve the race cars for her two brothers' Cub Scout projects.

She finally found an outlet for her physical skills by taking horseback riding lessons. She was so adroit that she earned many ribbons and graduated into horse jumping. At that point, I became fearful and offered her a choice: to continue jumping or to have braces for her teeth. She took the bait and opted for the braces, admitting later that she did so for snob appeal.

In high school Jenny began to play tennis and insisted on attending several excellent tennis camps to hone her skills. While in college, Jen had a sturdy build, but now that she in her

thirties, Jen is very svelte and glamorous. All in all, Jen is a very goal-directed, energetic and highly organized young woman.

Because her father had such high expectations for his children, Jenny decided to attend Vassar in New York, one of the elite seven sister colleges. However, her being at Vassar was difficult for her, since many of her classmates were wealthy, sophisticated and anorexic/bulimic.

Jen graduated the next year with a degree in Art History, and then volunteered for one year at NASA in Virginia. This was a requirement before she could enter the Darden School of Business at the University of Virginia where she was the second of our children to earn an MBA degree.

Ben's proudest accomplishment has been the work he has done to promote Asian American arts and culture . . . through his Foundation for Asian American Independent Media (FAAIM) . . .

After a stint at Wachovia Bank in North Carolina, Jen worked for a firm in a small town in Indiana which was specializing in making hospital beds and caskets. There were few young people there. Although she was now closer to home than when she was in North Carolina, the price she paid in loneliness was not worth the sacrifice. After several years in Albuquerque, New Mexico, as Director of Physician Services at Presbyterian Hospital, Jenny has returned to North Carolina in a similar position. She seems to have found her niche in life.

Ben

Our youngest son, Ben (Bae Sun), is single, having recently broken up with a Korean-Canadian playwright. His frame has filled out now, but he was always thin and frail. He has been the most reticent and deep of our three children, sensitive and vulnerable. Ben often had one close friend in school with whom he had found a kindred spirit.

Because he had missed starting school by one day, his birthday being December the second, and the nursery schools were already filled, Ben was enrolled in a private school when he was five. He excelled in all subjects and was promoted from pre-Kindergarten to second grade. When Mother and I visited the school one day, we were amazed at his assertiveness in chastising a classmate who was making some noise in class and disturbing Ben's concentration. I did not realize at the time that his basic personality of seriousness and drive had already been formed.

We did not want to exert so much pressure on him, so we enrolled him in public school as soon as he was eligible. Unfortunately, the teachers there did not recognize his true abilities until his second grade teacher, who was amazed at his profound questions. Up until that point, I had been advised by his public school teachers to be happy that he was just an 'average' child.

When he was in high school, Ben's goal was to become a band director, so great was his love for music. Both he and his sister had played the

clarinet in the school band. Ben now has two close Korean American friends, Soo Young and William, who are members of a top Asian rock group called "Seam."

He earned an undergraduate degree at the University of Virginia in English and an MBA from Indiana. After graduation, he insisted he only wanted to write, so that after a brief stint in the corporate headquarters of Walgreen's working on pensions and other worker benefits, he left that job to write a music column for *New City*, a Chicago arts weekly.

His grandfather's writing ability has been passed down to Ben; in fact, he looks exactly like my own father. Ben's articles, both on music and Asian American issues have appeared in *The Village Voice*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Reader* and many other newspapers and magazines.

Ben is now an Associate Editor for a monthly arts and music publication called *Illinois Entertainer*. Father mentioned in his book that he wished Park College had had a course in fine arts, for he loved the theater. Two generations later, Ben may be fulfilling Father's wishes, since he is interested in writing a script for a play or film, or a book.

Ben's proudest accomplishment has been the work he has done to promote Asian American arts and culture—cinema, music, poetry, novels and art through his Foundation for Asian American Independent Media (FAAIM), which includes the Chicago Asian American Showcase, now in its sixth year.[42] Several years ago Ben, Seam, and some other Asian rock bands toured the US and Canada—a historic event. The company Ben, William and Soo Young formed first as Fortune4 at the Art Institute of Chicago, has continued through FAAIM. They schedule all the events, pick up the artists at the airport, and provide room and board for them.

Since he is regularly invited to speak on Asian-American issues, Ben is now considering returning to school for a degree in Asian studies. I believe he may have finally found his true calling—a search he has been undergoing these many years.

Reflections

I had always had a free-floating anxiety about our children's future. What if they were unsuccessful in their careers, lost their jobs, or divorced their spouses? Would Andy survive the disappointments? I simply dreaded the unknown future, much as Mother had.

When Jen was a junior at Vassar, she suggested that Andy and I attend a seminar on anorexia being held at a suburban hospital. I believe she was trying to seek help for her unhappiness. While Andy and I did see some horrible examples of anorexia, I also found some surprising relief that night in that I became liberated from all my anxieties.

The therapist leading this group of anorexics and their families insisted that anorexics mistakenly believe that they have the power to disappoint their parents or spouses, but the only power they really have is to control their weights. She empha-

sized, however, that no one ever dies of disappointment! Just hearing that lifted the burden of my children's future off my shoulders forever—it was my defining moment! No matter how disappointed Andy might be in our children, he would not die. I could now go on with my own life!

As I look back and try to analyze our family dynamics and history, I can see patterns of behavior that have resulted from generational and cultural origins. My parents may have had expectations for their lives and their children, but they were not as aggressive at pursuing them as the more recent immigrants from Korea whom I have seen and known.

I believe this reflects a trend among all ethnicities in the US to meld into a real "melting pot" rather than a "salad" of differing individuals.

For example, when I was growing up, my grades were never scrutinized. Mother did say that I should return to Korea someday and do something great for the country. This gave me an indication that she thought I was capable of such things. On the other hand, Father recommended that I become a teacher, a suggestion I studiously avoided as long as possible. I appreciate the fact that such pressure about grades was never applied to me and that I turned to teaching on my own volition much later in life.

My husband, on the other hand, was very concerned with the grades and career choices of our children. I allowed this to happen, since being a second-generation Korean American, I was less prone to be so assertive. I thought it would probably be good to have someone pushing them. After all, he was the breadwinner and I was 'only' the mother, even though I had worked most of the time, taking off time only after Jen's birth.

Actually one of the reasons I had married Andy was because he was so positive and ambitious, unlike the American-born Korean males I had known and described earlier. I admired that quality about him and other first-generation Koreans. However, I could also sense the turmoil his attitude caused our children and often tried to intervene on their behalf.

Andy has often expressed disappointment that his children have not consulted him before making important decisions. After all, Sam, his multimillionaire friend in Korea and former classmate at the University of Chicago, could demand the courses and careers (and probably spouses) his children would have. I would simply retort that Andy's problem was that he was not rich enough and thus did not have similar leverage over his children. I couldn't understand why such control over one's children was so desirable. After all, what if you were wrong in your decisions for them?

It was an uncomfortable position to be in and I'm sure the mixed messages may have confused our children. Was it better to have both parents be first-generation Koreans, both aggressively pushing in the same direction, or was it better like us to have only one pushing? In an effort not to repeat Mother's pattern of overindul-

gence with us, I bent over backward trying to be less involved and laid back in an effort to help our children become more independent. To cut the strings and let your children be free I believed was the greatest gift a mother can give them. Nevertheless, in spite of this, I am still often accused of being too doting towards them.

Having been raised by conservative first-generation Koreans, my siblings and I, second generation Korean Americans, married Asians, believing that such marriages would be more stable. Flo and I are still married to our first spouses, but Phil is not. He would have preferred to stay married, but his wife, unlike Mother, was not as willing to give up her personal happiness for the sake of such "stability."

Our third-generation children, on the other hand, have never been reluctant to date and marry persons of other races. Except for Ben, my children are different from my generation and that of my parents' since their spouses are not Korean (or even Asian). This is partly due to the fact that they have had few opportunities to meet other Koreans as a result of where we lived. Even those they have met are driven to marry professionals that promise greater monetary returns in their marriages than our children were perceived to have offered. I believe this reflects a trend among all ethnicities in the US to meld into a real "melting pot" rather than a "salad" of differing individuals. The recent US Census indicates that more and more people are of mixed ancestry. I think this bodes well for future race relations in that differences between ethnicities and cultures are incorporated into new forms. That is all to the good, for such differences in goals and aspirations can only lead to problems in the future.

The fact that Andy is a first-generation Korean American and I am a second-generation Korean American appears to have made life somewhat more difficult than I had expected. Moreover, being of the same race and religion has not been as helpful as I thought it would; a common cultural background is perhaps more important. However, Andy has adapted and changed as I have changed. It is said that when one partner in a relationship changes, the other must change as well. That willingness to grow by both of us has made all the difference in the world.

Notes:

This memoir is dedicated to my brother, Phil, and my sister, Flo, to whom the task of caring for our elderly parents fell while I was residing elsewhere. Their lives represent the influence and sacrifices they made during those years of close contact with our parents.

1. Easurk Emsen Charr, unpublished manuscript (n.p., n.d.).
2. Easurk Emsem [sic] Charr, *The Golden Mountain* (Boston: Forum, 1961).
3. Easurk Emsen Charr, in Wayne Patterson's (Ed.) *The Golden Mountain: The Autobiography of a Korean Immigrant 1895-1960* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996). All subsequent references are to this edition—*Ed.*
4. Roger Daniels, "Foreword," *The Golden Mountain* (1996), x.
5. Joe Lyou, "Keeping it Real," *KoreAM Journal,* May 1998, 3.
6. Not once did I hear father complain about discrimination in the US, or about the treatment accorded to his people by the Japanese. Of course, he did not experience Japanese rule as had Mother, since he had immigrated some twenty years before she had. He may have wished to protect us from these problems, and I believe that this influenced me in a positive way not to be overly sensitive to racial discrimination as they occurred.
7. Easurk Emsen Charr, *The Golden Mountain* (1996).
8. Wayne Patterson, *The Korean Frontier in America: Immigration to Hawaii, 1896-1910* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988).
9. Ibid.
10. "Big Uncle" is the literal translation of "Kun Samch'on," referring to him as the eldest brother of the household—*Ed.*
11. Depending on the document, Evelyn Charr was born in 1902 (Naturalization Certificate), 1904 (school transcript) or 1906 (Korean Nationals Registration). The correct romanization of Mother's name would be "Roon Hwa". "Nien-wha" is the spelling used in Easurk Charr's book, *The Golden Mountain—Ed.*
12. Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge MA, 1984).
13. Sonia Sunoo, "Yang Nyom Dahl: Genesis." In K. Jo (Ed.) *We Magazine*, 2 (August 1996): 34-37.
14. "Korea Girl Emigrant Free of Deport Edict," *The Oregonian,* 3 June 1954.
15. Kyungsook Gregor, "Women of Korea: Past and Present, and Quo Vadis?" paper presented in Eugene, Oregon (n.p.) (August 1996).
16. The Ewha School for Girls was established in Seoul in 1886 (Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 111.
17. We have no passport stating Mother's status as a student. However, father in his book describes her as one of the few students in the US at the time (*The Golden Mountain*, 229). According to KiBaik Lee, the number of Korean students in the US in 1931 was 493 (*A New History of Korea*, 368). Mother's transcript from Kenwood-Loring describes courses she had transferred from Ewha. My husband, Andrew, went to Ewha in May 2000 to find her academic records, but all of them had been destroyed during the Korean War.
18. Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea.*
19. "Korea Girl Emigrant Free of Deport Edict," *The Oregonian,* 3 June 1954.
20. *The Kayell of The Kenwood-Loring School* (Chicago: The Kenwood-Loring School, 1930), 10: 21.

21. Ibid.
22. Bonnie Jenry and Janet Herriott, "Class of '30" in *The Kayell,* 28.
23. Adele Morel, "Report of Sir Cyril Cavendish to the Board of Directors of Suimforn Museum on the Exploration of an Ancient City Now Kown to Have Been Chicago," in *The Kayell,* 23.
24. Graham Tyler was the very chapel in which I would be joined in marriage to Andrew thirty years later.
25. Actually, Easurk Charr and Evelyn Kim may have been the second Korean marriage; according to an article in the *Chicago Tribune*, a Ms. Dotham Joe traveled from Chemulpo, Korea via San Francisco to marry a Mr. Yeenmyung Chang, president of the Corean club at the club on 2514 Prarie Avenue in 1919 ("Ends Two Years' Trip to Altar: Corean Girl Marries here after Long and Varied Experiences," *Chicago Tribune*, 4 April 1919) (article courtesy of Mel Kang)—*Ed.*
26. One might say that coincidence again played a role in our family history, since our oldest son, Mickey, and his wife, Genevieve, also had their reception at the Quadrangle Club after their wedding ceremony at Bond Chapel on the same campus.
27. Twenty-eight years later, I was given the same number I had as a new baby when I became a new mother, delivering our oldest son, Min Sun (Mickey) and later, Mi Ja (Jenny) and Bae Sun (Ben) there.
28. *Goode's School Atlas* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1922). According to Anna Kim, her father worked on the book directly with Dr. Goode 1925–1926, and in 1926 he was then transferred to Rand McNally to work on the 2nd edition, where he remained until 1931.
29. Easurk Emsen Charr, *The Golden Maountain*, 229.
30. Ibid., 235.
31. Ibid., 210, 277. "To me, the year of 1932 was the most excruciating period of my life, full of heartaches and sad and bad news. I lost two great friends, a loving cousin of mine, [and] almost lost my loving and dear wife" (246).
32. "Korea Girl Emigrant Free of Deport Edict," *The Oregonian,* 3 June 1954, 1.
33. "Portland Korea Mother Free to become Citizen," *Portland Journal,* 3 June 1954.
34. San Francisco News, "US Officials Trying to Deport Co-ed Wife of War Veteran; Two Children Face Suffering;" a similar headline appeared in *The San Francisco Chronicle* (Charr, *The Golden Mountain*, 265-266).
35. According to Anna Kim (email 5 May 2001), the name–calling was started by an ex–boyfriend she had spurned—*Ed.*
36. A euphemism for neighborhoods where the majority of home ownership is shifting from whites to non-whites.
37. For more information about Rev. Yi and the First Korean United Methodist Church founded in 1936, see Sunda Sung Hi Yi Cho and Joseph Choong Sik Yi's multipart series, "Our Mother" (*Korea Times* (Los Angeles), Oct. 1998), "Our Father (First of Two Parts)" (*Korea Times* (Los Angeles), Oct. 1999), "Our Father (Last of Two Parts)" (*Korea Times* (Los Angeles), Nov. 1999), "Our Father (Part 3)" (*Korea Times* (Los Angeles), May 2000).
38. The Chosin, or Changjin reservoir was the site of a "terrible defeat" for the US Marines (Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 280, 286)—*Ed.*
39. 63rd Street was to us the infamous site of typical black urban activities, stores, music, gam-

bling and other unsavory operations.

40. Jean Davidson, "Daughter Wars: Relationship with Mom is Intense and Complex," *Chicago Tribune,* 15 Dec. 1996.
41. Our piano teacher worked as a mail carrier, presumably to earn a living wage.
42. See John Petrakis, "Asian American Showcase: On the Edge Immersion," *Chicago Tribune*, 6 April 2001, 7A.

ANNA CHARR KIM COLLECTION

Anna Charr Kim, Lincoln Park, May 1958

Essays

The Use of Heritage

Ikhwan Choe

I would like to begin with a few words about my topic. The announced title of my talk, "The Use of Heritage" is somewhat misleading. It sounds as if I had a sweeping thesis to advance on the subject of heritage. Well, I don't. When I was asked to provide a topic for my talk, I was still unsure about what I wanted to discuss, or whether I had anything at all useful to say at a gathering of people who are interested in Korean American history. By couching my topic in broad, general terms, I was really casting a wide net in the vague hope of catching some small stray fish of an idea. And indeed it is a tiny fry that I ended up netting. I have decided to share with you a brief personal observation about what place Korean heritage can or should occupy in the lives of young people of Korean descent. Although I am no student of either the history or the sociology of Korean immigrants in this or in any other country, I am an immigrant myself, and I have two daughters who were born and raised in this country. In other words, while I am not an expert, I am a bona fide specimen of the very population that the experts study. You would do well to consider my talk tonight as a continuation of the narrative that was first told in the sugar cane fields of Hawai'i over a hundred years ago.

One day during the 1988 Seoul Olympics, I joined my two daughters to watch the games on television. A boxing match was under way between Korea and the United States. The two athletes seemed evenly matched, and they jabbed and punched each other with equal skill and zest. It was hard to tell which fighter had the upper hand, but in the end, the Korean was declared winner. At that moment, I let out a loud yelling triumph. My daughters turned to look at me, their potato chips held in midair, with an expression of shock and disbelief on their face. In one voice they came down hard on me, "How could you do that, Dad, didn't you see they beat us?" They were scandalized. One daughter was fifteen at the time, and the other, ten—both at an age when it was desperately important to fit in. As far as they could tell, none of their friends had a father who acted in such a crazy manner. That

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was eleven years ago. The girls are young women now, and a similar lapse in their father's behavior today would merely provoke a smile.

It was one of those little scenes of family life which no sooner take place than are forgotten. I am sure neither of my daughters have thought twice about it. But the scene lingers in my mind and I find myself revisiting it from time to time, with amusement, with regret, and with some perplexity. My daughters were, of course, well aware that their father had come from Korea a long time ago, but they had no idea of the bond that still held him to the old country. And I, on my part, knew that the United States was the only country the girls had ever known. But I didn't know, or perhaps did not want to know, just how little the ancestral land meant in their young minds. Although I am politically backward enough to think of myself as something of a Korean nationalist, I have to admit that I spectacularly failed to pass on to my children the particular sentiment and emotion that is always associated with my mind with the word "Choseon" or "Hanguk." The little scene in front of the television set was a vivid reminder of my failure. And it showed how compounded an affair the proverbial generation gap becomes in an immigrant family. The gap is no longer a mere shift in manners, tastes, or even outlooks on life; rather, it involves a radical disjunction in the flow of heritage that links life of the present to the life of the past.

I used the word failure to describe my part in what resulted in the little scene. But—and this is where my perplexity lies—how much did I really want to succeed in that task of transmission? Was I even convinced that I had the unquestioned right to try to succeed? Suppose I was so successful in inculcating a love of Korea in my young daughters that when the boxing match was decided in the Korean fighter's favor, they jumped up with joy and enthusiastically joined me in a noisy celebration. Would the spectacle have warmed my heart with satisfaction? Wouldn't it rather have made me a touch uneasy? Was I prepared to see my daughters grow up identifying themselves entirely with a distant country which was not their home, to the extent that they felt as if they didn't belong to the country which clearly was? I was not? I doubt there are many parents who can unhesitatingly say "yes" to the question. Some people may see in such ambivalence a symptom of assimilation anxiety, to which the first generation immigrant parents are said to be particularly susceptible. Whatever the reason, it was there and I could not escape it. My desire to see my heritage perpetuated in my children had to yield to the wholly separate demands of the life they had to live.

Our heritage is the form in which our past is bequeathed to us. When we talk about the use of heritage, we are really talking about the use of the past.

You have no doubt noticed that I laid out the case in a somewhat contrived manner, as if it were some sort of a zero-sum game. Real life is full of nuances and gray areas, and our preferences are not always a starkly limited

or exclusive as I made them out to seem. Human hearts can be gloriously promiscuous, in such a way that we can rejoice at a Korean athlete's success in one ring and, without missing a beat, applaud the victory of an American athlete in the next. I have merely tried to identify, as honestly and as unequivocally as possible, the proper context in which we ought to be conducting a discussion about the place of Korean heritage in the lives of young Korean Americans.

The first thing to note about the context, it seems to me, is that when we talk about young Korean Americans, we are talking about young Americans, not about young Koreans. Some people may well wonder why we need to complicate the life of a young person with the talk of any heritage other than the American. Why not just let him or her be American and leave it at that? There are, of course, some obvious advantages to be gained from preserving Korean heritage in the family. Immigrant parents and their American-born children are likely to get along better if they share certain Korean values. Knowledge of Korea, as knowledge of any other foreign country, will be useful when you travel, or when you try some day to get into a profession such as diplomacy, international trade, or regional studies. Well and good, but these are purely practical considerations, like learning how to cook, or how to use a computer. Is that all there is to Korean heritage when we talk about its place in the life of a young Korean American? Or is there any other, less obvious but more vital, use to it? Well, I am tempted to end my talk right here, and invite everyone in this room to join in a free discussion. I have no doubt that many interesting, insightful views will emerge. However, since I am supposed to go on speaking for a few more minutes, I will do so, confining myself to just one of the uses of heritage that seems especially important to me, namely, how a person's heritage can deepen her sense of herself, and how it can enrich her life.

As an individual and as a species, we construct the world we inhabit by endlessly telling stories to one another.

Our heritage is the form in which our past is bequeathed to us. When we talk about the use of heritage, we are really talking about the use of the past. I am aware that this is not the most opportune time to bring up the subject of the past and its use. Between the self-indulgent logic of post-modernist thinking on the one hand, and on the other, the tidal force of economic and cultural globalization that threatens to seep away everything in its path, the world around us today appears more than ever to have lost its moorings to the past. In Eric Hobsbawm's words, "The destruction of the past, or rather of the social mechanisms that link one's contemporary experience to that of the earlier generations, is one of the most characteristic and eerie phenomena of the late twentieth century. Most young men and women at the century's end grow up in a sort of permanent present lacking any organic relations to the public past of the times they live in." To ponder one's heritage is to stand

back from the eerie phenomenon of permanent present and to try to recover a sense of one's organic relations to the past.

I hope I don't sound too odd if I say that our relations to the past is a prerequisite for our sense of meaning in life. We all want to live a good life although we don't always agree to what constitutes a good life. Some pursue power or material success, others work for a worthy cause, still others devote themselves to the pleasures of the senses or to the love of God, and so on and so forth. Each of these activities can make life worthwhile and meaningful, as long as it lasts. But power may be lost and businesses can fail, causes can prove futile, the bodily senses dull all too soon, and even gods frequently die on us. Besides, the meaningfulness that comes from each of these pursuits is not really the meaningfulness of life itself, but the meaningfulness we attach to power, wealth, a cause, a pleasure, or a god. Can there be a sense of meaning in life that flows from the bare fact of our being in the world? I believe there is such a sense of meaning. It is a sense of meaning grounded in our sense of the past, and it undergirds the sense of meaning we derive from all other sources.

But before we proceed further, let us briefly examine how a sense of meaning in life is formed. Life is a series of events and experiences. For an experience or an event to become meaningful to us, it has to be narrated first, that is to say, it has to be put into the form of a story. No incident and no experience in isolation has any meaning for us. Many centuries ago in Verona, Italy, a young girl took some sleeping pills. Does her action have any meaning? Little if any, I am afraid. But once it is placed in the context of the story of Romeo and Juliet, the incident becomes fraught with tragic meaning. In fact, it has caused a river of tears to flow over the centuries. That is the power of narrative.

If the story of our life began and ended with our birth and death, we would be living in an isolated cocoon or a bubble, not in time.

We seldom pause to reflect on the role of narrative in our life because narrative is something to ubiquitous and we live surrounded by it. As the air we breathe, the working of narrative seldom rises above the threshold of our attention. But as an individual and as a species, we construct the world we inhabit by endlessly telling stories to one another. That is precisely what we do when we engage in a narrative activity over its entire spectrum, from children's stories to the news account in the daily newspapers, from primitive myths to the sacred narratives of great religions, from the classical epic to the novel we read on the airplane, and from the history of a war to the self-serving memory of a retired politician. All of these narrative forms represent human attempt to make sense of what is going on in the world and in their own heart. I don't think I overstate the case when I say that narrative is one of the most fundamental apparatuses at our disposal not only for the transmission of information but also for the production of

meaning. For our life to become meaningful to us, we have to comprehend it first in a narrative mode.

I am sure you have all had occasion to notice how stories are almost always told in the past tense, in the simplest folktales as well as in the most sophisticated modern novels. The exceptions to this rule are few and far between. "Once upon a time, there was a king and a queen, who were so sorry that they had no children, so sorry that it was beyond expression"—so begins a well-known version of the enchanting tale of "The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood." James Joyce's *Ulysses* opens with these sentence: "Stately, plump Buck Mulligan came from the stairhead, bearing a bowl of lather on which a mirror and razor lay crossed." In both, the past establishes itself at once with a categorical force, and with an absolute air of inevitability. Isn't it intriguing that not only the accounts of historical events of the past but also those of fictional events should always told in the past tense? Even science fiction stories set in the distant future are routinely told in the past tense. It is as if the very possibility of narrative, with the obvious exceptions of dream narrative and film narrative, is premised upon the availability of the past.

Here was a human being who was forced to deny his heritage. Is it still possible for a person in his position to maintain an inner sense of unity?

This has interesting implications in the light of what I said about the sense of meaning in life. If it is true that the meaning of life is born through a narrative activity, and narrative activity only occur under the sign of the past, then the reverse, at least in this case, must also be true. If there is no past, there can be no narrative, and if there is no narrative of life, there cannot be meaning in life. I am afraid this argument might strike some of you as a simplistic, even crude, way to talk about, to say the least, a complex matter. I am sorry I cannot expand more fully on this point this evening, but I would like you to conduct a thought experiment on your own and see if you can reach any other conclusion.

How does a young Korean American set about telling the story of her life? Where does she begin? Does she begin with an account of events on the day of her birth? Is it quite adequate? Shouldn't she, perhaps, begin a little further back in the past? We do not live in our biological time alone. If the story of our life began and ended with our birth and death, we would be living in an isolated cocoon or a bubble, not in time. The real time in which we live extends far beyond the brief span of our life, into the past and into the future. A full narrative of our life must also do so. And that means reaching out and embracing our heritage.

I don't want to be so rash as to assert that a young person of Korean descent is doomed to an impoverished sense of meaning in life unless she embraces her Korean heritage. No, I have no right to sound so dogmatic. But I will venture to say that when she makes the connection to her heritage, her

voice will take on a firmer, deeper resonance as she tells the story of her life.

Perhaps, a counter example will serve better to convey my sense than a further elaboration of the point I have been trying to make. In the early 1960's, I was a graduate student at a large mid-western university. The university had only a handful of students from Korea at the time, and we often got together on weekends and holidays. One day, a Korean student from Japan joined us. He spoke Korean with heavy Japanese accent, but he was very pleased to be speaking the language with us. It was a rare chance for him because there was little contact between Japan and Korea in those days, and private trips between the two countries were far form common. He was thrilled to meet compatriots from the old country, which he said he longed to visit some day.

One evening, foreign students in the graduate dormitory were invited to a function on campus. When my fellow Korean students and I showed up, our friend from Japan was holding forth to a group of Japanese students about international relations or some such important-sounding subject. To this day, I have never heard the Japanese language spoken with such pleasing clarity and elegance. His audience seemed spellbound. However, as he turned his head from one listener to the other in proud survey, he caught sight of us, and he became visibly nervous. He failed to acknowledge our presence. Sweat broke out on his forehead. We were puzzled at first, but soon it dawned on us: he passed as a Japanese among his Japanese friends and he was in panic lest we might inadvertently exposed him. In a flash, we saw what price a person of Korean descent had to pay for full participation in Japanese life, and why some Koreans in Japan were so passionate about defending their Korean identity. We felt sorry for our friend, and quietly moved away. Here was a human being who was forced to deny his heritage. Is it still possible for a person in his position to maintain an inner sense of unity? Does his tight mask allow him to open the mouth to tell the story of his life freely, honestly, and to make coherent sense of his life?

One dishonors Korean heritage if one allows it to degenerate into a quaint badge of one's marginal existence in the larger society.

In America, too, relations between cultures and races are not all as they should be. It will be a long time, if ever, before the irony fades away from the title of Chang-rae Lee's first novel, *Native Speaker,* which is about a native son who cannot, or cannot as yet, feel at home on his native soil. But in spite of it all, in America, it is not only tolerated but expected for a person to remain true to his or her heritage. At least, that is the condition that public America is striving to achieve. Needless to say, Korean American is never in danger of being mistaken for a Mayflower descendant. But it is not the physical impossibility of dissimulation, but the founding philosophical commitment of the United States that requires that a young Korean American stand tall as the person he or she actually is.

The racial and cultural diversity of American society has been a constant source of tensions and conflicts. How cold it be otherwise, given the unfortunate fact that human beings are what they are? But nowhere is the genius of the American system more apparent than its ability to make music out of the cacophony of discords, and to turn its diversity into a source of new strength. The documentary on New York, which was aired on PBS over five nights last week, was a fresh reminder of just how much of what we think of as American culture is really the product of tremendously creative mixing of diverse cultures and races from all corners of the world. Those Jewish, Irish, South and East European immigrants who flooded the island of Manhattan, not to mention the African Americans who came before them, did not make their unique contributions by discarding their old identities and losing themselves in the WASP culture, but by preserving and creatively adjusting their heritage to the conditions of the new world. I believe this pattern will once again repeat itself among Koreans and other Asian Americans.

. . . the love of one's heritage, . . . is not the same thing as a blind acceptance of it.

A talk on the use of heritage, even a short one, would be incomplete without a note of caution on its abuses or misuses. First, it would be a misuse of Korean heritage to use it merely as a refuge from the challenges of the American life, or as an excuse for not fully participating in it. One dishonors Korean heritage if one allows it to degenerate into a quaint badge of one's marginal existence in the larger society. Secondly, the love of one's heritage, just as one's love of any other objects, is not the same thing as a blind acceptance of it. A young Korean American who has embraced her heritage will rightly have a special place for Korea in her heart and view its problems with sympathy and understanding. But it would be a misuse of her heritage if she confuses keeping Korean heritage with being sentimental about Korea. The numbing of critical spirit which stemmed from such an attitude led in the past to the embarrassing sight of overseas Koreans kowtowing before a string of dictators, and again before the victims of the dictators, once the dictators fell and their former victims came to power. It would be an abuse of Korean heritage to use it as camouflage for the shortcomings of Korean society. There is much to criticize in today's Korea—its failure to overcome national division, the distortion of the democratic process, the mindlessness of regional factionalism, its corruption, . . . the list goes on.

I would like to end my remark now with a personal confession, as I began with a personal reminiscence. Whenever I drink a little too much, a compulsion comes over me, and I take out an old LP and listen yet again to the haunting lamentation of the Chongson Arirang. The unaccompanied solo female voice, in its timbre so unmistakably Korean from the first note, takes me to a remote mountain bathed in ancient moonlight, where the loneliness of human existence is at once deepened and assuaged by the eternal

silence of nature. A part of me, lost and forgotten for weeks and months on end, is restored. The disfigured face of contemporary Korea no longer distracts me, and I am once again able to see the fair form of dear, old Korea in all its loveliness. This is my heritage. I am glad I have it even as I live a vast ocean away from Korea. May I suggest that you try the experience sometime, over a glass of wine if you drink, or if you don't, over a cup of green tea.

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Contesting Cultures and Liberating Korean American Identities

Sung Sil Lee Sohng

Setting the Parameters for Dialogue

This essay represents my attempt to contest, criticize and complicate some prevalent understandings of notions such as "culture," "tradition" and "identity," by pointing to the problematic assumptions they embody, and by emphasizing the importance that such contestations have to Korean American feminist perspectives. I examine prevailing attempts to dismiss Korean feminist politics as symptoms of Westernization. First, I point to the ways in which Korean American feminist contestations are responses to problems Korean women confront within their communities, and argue that the issues Korean feminists raise should be an integral part of the debates in Korean American communities. Second, I argue that the charge of Westernization is intimately connected to the contrasting views of Western culture and Korean culture, thereby drawing attention to the problematic nature of these characterizations of culture. I unravel the selective, self-serving, and shifting ways in which certain social changes in gender roles are castigated as symptoms of Westernization, while other changes are regarded as innocuous and consonant with "preserving our culture." My intention is to urge critical attention to the agendas that are served by the deployment of these terms like "Westernization," and "cultural preservation."

In a global period where the shapes and structures of life are changing rapidly all across the world, with attendant dislocations and profound uncertainties, many Korean Americans are experiencing an intensified sense of cultural anxiety and identity crisis. This sense of cultural threat and loss created by rapid social change often results in responses that focus on a unitary representation of Koreaness as a framework for identity politics. I argue that narrowly focused Korean identity politics do a disservice to the nurturing of cultural pride as they seek to render invisible the complex and multiple subjectivity of Korean folks. I suggest in the final section a liberatory perspective for Korean American identities that promotes the eradication of racist, sexist and classist biases, the commitment to cultural diversity, and a concern for interracial political alliance.

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Situating Korean American Feminist Identity

Many feminists from communities of color confront voices that are eager to convert any feminist criticism into a mere symptom of their "lack of respect for their culture," rooted in "Westernization." These voices emanate from family members, from churches, and from disparate community organizations. This tendency to cast feminism as an imitation of "Westernized" political agendas seems commonplace in a number of Korean contexts. For instance, while Korean feminist activism has brought media attention in shaping a new consciousness around gender violence, it has also provoked criticism that portrays feminist activism as privileged Korean women in whiteface, seeking to attack their mother culture on the basis of "Western" values. I shall try to reveal the problematic assumptions that underlie these rhetorical dismissals and argue that many women who embrace feminist politics has their roots much closer to home.

I wish to speak as a Korean American feminist for three important reasons. First, having lived the first quarter century of my life in Korea, and having come of age politically in such contexts, a significant part of my sensibilities and political horizons are indelibly shaped by Korean national and cultural contexts. Second, this essay is an attempt to explicate the ways in which the concerns and analyses of Korean American feminists are rooted in and responsive to the problems women face living in the borderlands of two cultures, and to argue that they are not simple-minded emulations of American (or Western) feminist agendas. Third, I speak "as an insider" in the sense that I am often both familiar with, and affected by, the practices, institutions and policies I criticize. A critical stance does not necessarily render one as an *outsider* to what one criticizes, and that it is often precisely one's status as being *inside* the nation and culture one criticizes that gives one's criticisms motivation and urgency. I and others who engage in feminist politics are also active citizens within our communities, whose political analyses and protests have been crucial to making issues affecting women into matters of public awareness and concern.

. . . Our mothers forget how regularly they have complained in our presence about the hardships and difficulties of being a woman that have marked their lives.

To try to define myself intellectually and politically as a Korean American feminist is an unsettled and unsettling identity. The process of constructing one's identity is always in motion. Fluidity means that our identities are constantly changing as we respond to circumstances in our families and communities, and as we interact with a larger world. Charting an account of oneself, thus enables one to see, with humility, gratitude and pain, how much one has been shaped by one's contexts, to sense the boundaries of one's vision, to see how circumstances can circumscribe as well as inspire, and to become self-aware to some extent of one's perspectives on the world.

Here, I use the phrase "Korean American feminists" as a *political* term, rather than a biological or ethnic one. It is a *sociopolitical* designation for women of Korean descent who embrace feminism, suggesting women with divergent personal histories and social locations, woven together by the political threads of opposition to forms of domination. This definition leads away from an *essentialist* notion of Korean women who share homogeneous histories and cultural values. A point of unity out of this diversity for Korean American feminists is a *common context of struggle.* It is women's oppositional political relation to sexist, racist and imperialist structures that constitute our potential commonality and political alliance.[1]

Traditional Mothers and Feminist Daughters

As Narayan aptly describes, for many of us, women in different parts of the world, our relationships to our mothers resemble our relationships to the motherlands of the culture in which we were raised.[2] Both our mothers and our mother-cultures give us contradictory messages, encouraging their daughters to be confident and self-assertive even as they attempt to instill conformity and silence. Thus, both my mother and many others in the urban, middle-class Korean context in which I was raised saw education as important for daughters, encouraged us to do well at our studies, saw it as prudent that daughters develop competencies necessary to support themselves economically, and saw it as a pride that we gained professional achievements in areas of life that had been closed to the women of my mother's generation. At the same time, they were critical of the effects of the very attributes and competencies they encouraged. They were nervous about us using ideas acquired from books to question social rules and norms of life. They were alarmed at our inclination to see careers as not something merely instrumentally valuable in the event that our marriages failed but as essential elements of fulfilling lives. They were anxious about the fact that our independence and self-assertiveness seemed to be making us into women who lacked the compliance, deference and submissiveness deemed essential in good "Korean" wives.

One thing that separates me from my mother is that we have quite different explanatory accounts of the sufferings . . .

It is not just that mothers and mother-cultures often raised their daughters with contradictory messages, but also that they often seemed unaware of these contradictions. They tended to regard their feminist daughters as symptoms of their failure to raise us with respect for "our" traditions, as daughters who have rejected the lessons they were taught by their mothers and mother-cultures. In seeing us in this mode, our mothers forget how regularly they have complained in our presence about the hardships and difficulties of being a woman that have marked their lives.

Many Korean American women who do not consider themselves femi-

nists know and acknowledge that women face mistreatment and discrimination within their social contexts and cultural institutions. Feminist daughters are not the only ones who see that motherlands are spaces where mothers and mother-cultures relate differently to their daughters than they do to their sons, imposing different demands and expecting different forms of conformity. For instance, many Korean American feminist criticisms of the position and treatment of women within their families or institutions bear some resemblance to criticisms voiced by many non-feminist Korean American women about their life-experiences affected by these institutions. In this respect, many Korean American feminist issues are hardly "foreign imports" or "Americanized agendas" imposed by feminists onto contexts where culturally authentic nonfeminist Korean women would entirely fail to see.

. . . resemblance between the issues addressed by Korean American feminists and those addressed by Western feminists . . . is a result not of simple-minded mimicry . . .

My own awareness of gender inequality predates my explicit acquisition of a feminist politics; I initially learned not from books but from Korean women in general, and my female relatives in particular. Afterall, many women like my mother, whose cultural authenticity and Koreaness are not at issue, commonly acknowledge the mistreatment women are subjected to within their marriages, families, churches and sociopolitical institutions; that is, Korean cultural practices. Such mistreatment have been vividly portrayed in TV dramas and thus openly acknowledged elements of popular cultural awareness. The stories I heard from my mother and my female relatives, as well as popular TV dramas are both undoubtedly part of my "education" while I was growing up in Korea.

I am not suggesting that there is any logical and necessary connection between being "female" and becoming "feminist." An awareness of the gender dynamics within one's family and one's culture does not suffice to make women feminists. One thing that separates me from my mother is that we have quite different *explanatory accounts* of the sufferings that mark the lives of the women we know. My mother's account explains these sufferings such as gender violence by references to the cruel dispositions of particular in-laws, the brutal natures of particular men, seeing them as unfortunate accidents, to be dealt with *personally.* While I acknowledge human propensities for cruelty and evil, my account insists on seeing them as a *systemic* part of the ways in which their family, their culture and changing material and social conditions script gender roles and women's lives; therefore contesting them in more formal, public and political ways. The criticisms voiced by my mother are articulated in more private contexts, while feminist criticisms seek to make these issues matters of *political concern and public debate.*[3] In short, feminist criticisms differ in their *terms of analysis.*

What differentiates my accounts from those of my mother's, has less to do with her "purity" or with my "Americanization" than with certain contin-

gent features of our respective histories that mark the space between our generations. Women like my mother grew up with an awareness that problems such as harassment and mistreatment of daughters-in-law and discrimination were fairly commonplace, but my mother did not come of age in a context where feminist groups were engaged in generating political analyses and public protests about these problems as we did.

Korean American feminists have engaged in many specific issues that continue to be momentous to the lives of Korean American women, including family and work, churches and immigrant women, parenting, domestic violence, the presence of the U.S. military in Korea, interracial marriage, transracial adoption, and immigration policies and welfare practices.[4] Korean American feminists have united with other women of color, confronting White feminist agendas while contemplating the possibilities for creative engagement with the principles of feminism in Korean American contexts.[5] These issues are not a mindless mimicking of Western agendas. Korean American feminism is, therefore, clearly a response to issues specifically confronting many Korean immigrant women living in two cultures.

Western powers depicted indigenous Korean culture as symptoms of the "backwardness" . . . in contrast to the "progressiveness" of American culture.

If there seems to be a considerable resemblance between the issues addressed by Korean American feminists and those addressed by Western feminists, it is a result not of simple-minded mimicry but of the fact that women's inequality and mistreatment are, unfortunately, ubiquitous features of many cultural contexts. White women are no strangers to battery and violence prevalent within their own various forms of marriage and family arrangements. They are no strangers either to the sense of shame that accompanies admitting victimization, or to a multiplicity of material, social and cultural structures that pose serious impediments to women seeking assistance or to their leaving abusive relationships.[6]

Feminist movements in various parts of the world develop when historical and political circumstances encourage public recognition in which many of the norms, institutions and traditions that structure women's personal and social lives, as well as the impact of new developments and social change, are detrimental to women's well-being, and enable political contestations in which the status quo is criticized and alternatives envisioned.

Resisting the Role of "Emissary"

Living in borderlands structured by the Western/non-Western cultural hierarchy, many Korean Americans find themselves embroiled in the struggles between white cultural imperialism and Korean traditionalism. Many of these cultural conflicts involve issues pertaining to women's roles and fe-

male sexuality, rendering an important site of political struggles between the two cultures. In these conflicts, Western powers depicted indigenous Korean culture as symptoms of the "backwardness" of Koreans in contrast to the "progressiveness" of American culture. To resist American arrogance and cultural superiority, Korean elites often responded by constructing "authentic" life stories of Korea where women were treated with more veneration, regard and honor than Western women. Some Americans as well as some Koreans participated in this complex process, often playing their part in these games of cultural one-upmanship, pledging allegiance to their respective national cultures and insisting on their difference from, and cultural superiority to, each other. Discussions of problematic practices affecting women often became hostages to a discursive background of cultural "muscle-flexing" about the relative moral superiority of Western versus Korean culture.

I will focus on the specific limitations of this cultural muscle-flexing with respect to women's agency, activism and agendas. Narayan offers an illuminating perspective on these issues whereby Third World women are often assigned an "emissary role" to convey the country's "cultural riches" to Westerners, with the mission of rescuing Westerners from their negative stereotypes and attitudes toward Third World cultural practices, arguing:

> the demand that they proffer only "positive" pictures of their cultures as a corrective for negative Western stereotypes about Third World positions them in the service of others for whom they serve a useful instrumental function, at the cost of fundamentally distorting their own political agendas with respect to their 'home' contexts.[7]

As feminists, they have an urgent political stake in calling attention to the norms, institutions, and practices within their contexts that are unjust, unfair, and oppressive to many within their societies, including women. This agenda does not seem compatible with focusing only on the riches and achievements of their communities and contexts.

Many mainstream Westerners have sometimes explicit, unreflective assumptions about the superiority of Western culture. I am also aware of the danger that my discussion, for instance, of widespread female fetus abortions in Korea may be heard as nothing more than evidence for the barbarity of Korean culture. But this posture implies that to engage in *any* negative or critical portrayal of Korean cultural practices is to play into the negative perceptions and stereotypes of mainstream American culture. These assumptions that help construct the emissary role in the first place tend to collude with elements of antifeminist politics in Korean American contexts that attempt to portray feminists as "cultural traitors" who lack respect and appreciation for their cultures because they have critical rather than laudatory attitudes with respect to many institutions and practices affecting women. Korean American feminists' failures to occupy the "emissary role" in Ameri-

can contexts can then be represented as "anticommunity" betrayals that collude with negative "Western views" about Korean American contexts.

Honoring one's cultural heritage cannot, and should not, mean endorsing *every element* of its traditions, values and practices. It should not come as a surprise that a great many cultures have had a fairly poor record when it comes to their treatment of not only their women in general, but also large segments of both men and women who constitute the vulnerable and marginal members of their society. Many of our cultures are both rich and flawed in complex and interesting ways. Korean feminists critique those aspects of their culture that are oppressive, unfair, and debilitating to the health and welfare of many of its members, including women. This is at the very heart of being a feminist, at the very heart of our hopes and efforts for positive change. To put Korean feminists in the similar trap of the emissary role is often to impede their feminist analyses and politics, and to fail to recognize the fact that women have good reasons to be disloyal to some aspects of their home cultures and traditions.

Overcoming Binary Identity Politics

In a global period where the shapes and structures of life are changing rapidly all across the world, with attendant dislocations and profound uncertainties, many Korean Americans are experiencing an intensified sense of cultural anxiety and identity crisis. Korean traditionalists attempt to address the shared sense of cultural threat and loss by calling for a restoration of a "traditional way of life," a restoration that is to be accomplished by a unitary representation of "Koreaness." The unitary model of self and identity reinforces static notions of Korean identity in our complex and changing cultural realities.

. . . traditional way of life evokes a nostalgic Korean culture where men and women had their separate but equal domains . . .

Traditionalist appeals for a unitary representation of Koreanness tend to emphasize a vision of a patriarchal family life and society as the only possible structures wherein the crisis in Korean identity can be resolved. The rhetoric of traditional way of life evokes a nostalgic Korean culture where men and women had their separate but equal domains, respected one another, and lived in harmony with the natural world. Setting the boundaries in this way, feminism is reinvented always as a White woman's issue.

Feminist critique is particularly threatening to the Korean traditionalist imagination precisely because it highlights the contradictory realities of what our traditions and cultural practices have so often done to women: the deaths, the brutalities and the more mundane sufferings of women. Koreans, who can speak eloquently about racism and oppose exploitation and dehumanization also deny the value of these same critiques when they are raised within

a discourse of gender. Although critical of White cultural imperialism, Korean traditionalists see no contradiction between that analysis and their support of patriarchal model of family life and social arrangements. The correlation between the structures of racist oppression and patriarchal domination are so obvious that to ignore it requires the closing off of the mind.

A frequent and noticeable peculiarity in the traditionalist unitary framework is the reinscription of an Eurocentric binary structure. Korean-centered critiques trash Eurocentrism for its unitary representation of culture, and its exclusion of Korean ways of knowing—while constructing within these same narratives a unitary utopian representation of Korea, a motherland where all was perfect before white imperialism brought evil and corruption.

Narrowly focusing on Korean identity politics does a disservice to . . . cultural democracy by rendering the . . . multiple identities of Korean people invisible.

At its best, Korean traditionalist thought seeks to revise and redress White, Western biases and offer a grounding in an oppositional worldview that affirms Korean cultural pride. Within the framework of an institutionalized patriarchal theory and practice of Korean traditionalism, however, these positive dimensions are undermined. The critique of White, Western imperialism must be grounded in a perspective that promotes the eradication of White supremacy, the de-centering of the West, redressing of sexist and classist biases, commitment to cultural diversity, and a concern for interracial coalition building. Korean traditionalism fails to offer a complex understanding of Korean identity—one that is not sexist, homophobic, patriarchal, or frozen in distant time and place.

Narrowly focusing on Korean identity politics does a disservice to nurturing cultural democracy by rendering the complex and multiple identities of Korean people invisible. The traditionalist insistence that Korean identity must be "saved" by our refusal to embrace various cultures is not a site of redemption and healing. It is not a movement away from a Eurocentric binary structure; instead, it reinscribes patterns of domination.[8]

In *Race Matters*, Cornel West suggests that it is only when African Americans critically interrogate notions of African American authenticity, closed-ranks mentality and African American cultural conservatism that Blacks can begin to really theorize complex understandings of African American subjectivity.[9] We need to make those critiques like the ones West offers within a framework where we insist on theorizing Korean identity from multiple locations. As Hooks points out, the unitary self is sustained only by "acts of coercive control and repression."[10]

Toward a Liberatory Korean American Identity

The contemporary crisis of Korean identity is best resolved by our collective willingness as Korean Americans to acknowledge that there is no

monolithic "Korean identity." Korean cultural conservation need not negate our diasporic wanderings into worlds beyond traditional Koreaness. Korean American cultural contexts are as pervaded by plurality, dissension and change, as are our American counterparts. Both are often replete with unreflective and self-congratulatory views of their culture and values that disempower and marginalize the interests and concerns of many members of their community, including women.[11] We need to be wary about all ideals of cultural authenticity that portray authenticity as constituted by lack of criticism and lack of change.

We need to move away from a picture of national and cultural contexts with a homogenous space inhabited by authentic insiders who all share a uniform and consistent account of their institutions and values. We need to embrace and accept fluid Korean identities that reflect the real lives of Korean Americans who struggle to create self and identity. Fluidity means that our Korean identities are constantly changing as we respond to circumstances in our families and communities, and as we interact with a larger world.

Political challenges to the status quo, feminist challenges as well as others, are calls for critical reassessments of prevailing understandings of important institutions and practices. The rethinking and revisioning they call for are often difficult and painful, since prevailing pictures of one's cultural traditions, and of important social institutions such as marriage and family, are tied to one's picture of oneself as a social individual.

Visions of one's nation, of one's national history and community, are deeply tied to one's sense of place . . .

Visions of one's nation, of one's national history and community, are deeply tied to one's sense of place, to one's sense of belonging to a larger community, to one's sense of heritage and loyalties. Inherited pictures of gender roles and family and social arrangements are often central elements both to one's sense of self and to one's sense of belonging to a social world. This is often true even when these roles and arrangements are experienced as oppressive and restrictive.

Rethinking these roles, and opening oneself to the process of collectively transforming them, is often likely to be an emotionally painful process. It is not difficult to understand the seductiveness of conservatism and fundamentalism, and the political nostalgia for mythic national and cultural pasts, in a global period where the shapes and structures of life are changing rapidly all across the world, with attendant dislocations and profound uncertainties.

We need to insist that there are many ways to inhabit cultures and traditions critically and creatively.[12] Feminists everywhere should confront the joint tasks of selectively appropriating and selectively rejecting various faces of their complex national, cultural and political legacies, a critical engagement that can alone transform one's inheritances into a culture of one's own.

Notes:

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Second-Generation Korean American Identity: Reinterpreting the Meaning of "Korean-ness"

Sang Ja Ahn

Introduction

The assertion of ethnic identity in the United States is different from the ethnic nationalism and secessionism observed in Europe and the former Soviet Union. Analyzing the ethnic revival in America in the 1960s to 1970s, Will Kymlicka describes it as a "demand for increased recognition and visibility within the mainstream society," not "a repudiation of integration into the mainstream society" or a demand to form distinct self-governing nations alongside the mainstream society.[1] He explains that the coincidence in time of ethnic revival in America, and nationalist movements in Europe and Quebec, does not mean that the same political process is involved. This is because ethnic nationalism is a demand to secede as a separate nation alongside the mainstream society. On the contrary, American ethnic revival is essentially "a matter of self-identity" and "a demand for integration into the mainstream society."[2] Then why do American ethnic groups demand to be integrated, whereas other ethnic groups demand independence as "nations"? My contention is that it has something to do with the nature of American nationalism which is characterized as "universal" and is inclusive in principle.

The resurgence of ethnicity cannot to be understood unless we consider it within a social context and acknowledge the situational and flexible nature of ethnicity. Donald Horowitz contends that in a transitional situation, one can have more than one identity, acquiring the new identity along with the slowly regressing old identity; and one can also have multiple identities "where the several identities are at different levels of generality," such as "nationality" and "race."[3] Horowitz is correct in noting that it is possible for people to identify themselves in more than one way. This way of talking about ethnic identities derives from the way in which we conceptualize identity. Richard Jenkins theoretically solves the problem of dealing with oppositional or incompatible identities by conceptualizing them as "social identity."[4] He insists that ethnicity should be thought of in terms of social identity in general. His theory that all social collectivities are socially constructed helps

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us to consider the complexity of ethnicity, race, nation and other categories.

According to Jenkins, social identity is a practical accomplishment made in social interaction, and an ongoing dialectical processes of internal and external definition. While these two definitions are not always congruent, as Jenkins argues, "internalization" plays a crucial role in identification. The externally imposed boundary can be internalized as positive self-identification. Thus, Jenkins' emphasis is on the significance of external categorization and on the "power and authority" in social relationships rather than the internal identification.[5] In this study, I would like to stress the influential power of the American ideology of political commitment and cultural pluralism, and its bearing on the production of "ethnicity."

In modern society, the state has a massive impact on the life of its members. The nation-state affects not only the legal and political interests of its members, but also their emotions, by providing them with a sense of community. The United States is distinct in this respect both ecologically and ideologically, as a nation of immigrants and as a nation of people bonded by civic commitments.

The "nation" is often theorized into two types: the cultural nation and the civic nation. The United States typically falls into the latter. The cultural nation is founded upon "seemingly objective criteria such as common heritage and language, a distinct area of settlement, religion, customs and history."[6] On the other hand, the civic nation depends on "the individual's free will and subjective commitment to the nation."[7] The civic nation stresses its universalism to its members who might not have cultural commonality, but can still emotionally commit to the "nation." Thus, universalism can be nationalistic and particularistic. In the case of the United States, whose members come from all over the world, universalism comes to mean a tolerance toward human differences, which has culminated in the idea of cultural pluralism. Consequently, cultural pluralism has become an aspect of national ideology; and as Jenkins asserts, "[e]veryday life is fundamentally ideological."[8] For the second-generation Korean Americans, everyday ideology is not only at the level of their family life, but also in the wider American social life.

In asserting their Korean-ness, the second-generation is pursuing definitively American political and identificatory options.

The significance of research on second-generation immigrants is greater than ever because the children of the post-1965 immigrants have become a sizeable presence in schools and are entering the labor market.[9] Researchers have tended to look at economic structures and racism as the external factors which facilitate and impede the assimilation of second-generation immigrants.[10] I, would like to draw more attention to the ideologies of multiculturalism inherent in American national identity as the context within which the new second-generation (re)creates their identity. According to Herbert

Gans, most of the researchers concerned with American immigration are insiders in ethnic background; among the researchers who applied for grants to the Social Science Research Council's Migration Division in 1997, fifty three percent were studying their own ethnic groups.[11] This leads them to overlook the dynamics of ethnicity as an American phenomenon. I will explore the nature of second-generation Korean American ethnicity in the context of contemporary American universalism, emphasizing the inclusive nature of American nationalism as the factor which develops ethnic identity among second-generation Korean Americans, rather than the discrimination which they suffer in American society. In other words, I will be emphasizing the "American" in "Korean American." In asserting their Korean-ness, the second-generations are pursuing definitively American political and identificatory options.

Second-Generation Korean American Identity

The ethnicity with which the Americanized second-generation eventually identifies is likely to be different from that of the first generation. The second-generation apparently retrieves the alleged culture of their ancestry and (re)creates their ethnicity. This ethnicity is both symbolic and political. I intend to examine critically this kind of Korean American ethnicity by reinterpreting the qualitative research undertaken by Myoung-Hye Kim and So-young Zeon.[12]

. . . we are confused about what belongs to us and what belongs to Others . . . boundaries are no longer to secure our sense of "authentic" identity.

In *Korean-American Identity in the Postmodern Condition: Narrative Accounts of the Politics of Identity*, Myoung-Hye Kim shows how Korean Americans described and defined their identity in their own terms.[13] She interviewed Korean American college students (eight male and sixteen female students, ages seventeen to twenty-two) from Amherst College, Mount Holyoke College, Smith College and the University of Massachusetts. She used the term "pastiche" to describe their identity, a term which is originally used to describe the kind of postmodern art which has lost its authenticity and unique style through imitation, and has become "new" through mixing styles, and decontextualizing and recontextualizing the past into the present. She then applied this notion of pastiche to Korean American identity in the postmodern era:

> I take the term pastiche as a descriptive term for a hybridized form of identity, which "appropriates" from more than one culture, questions "authenticity," and brings the past, i.e. the culture of origin, to the present American context. In this sense, postmodern identity is potentially pastiched identity, because we live in the era of global village, world-wide cultural invasions, and ever homogenizing society accelerated by technological ad-

> vances and late capitalism. With a growing intensity, we are confused about what belongs to us and what belongs to Others when traditional cultural boundaries are no longer to secure our sense of "authentic" identity. In this sense, ethnic people's identity is the one that shows the characteristics of pastiched identity par excellence.[14]

Her conclusion is that Korean Americans should assert the sameness and the difference of their ethnicity in order to confront the meta-narratives of mainstream white society.

In *What it means to be Korean American in the Midwest: Eight Korean American College Students tell their Stories*, So-young Zeon surveyed eight undergraduate students, ages twenty to twenty-five enrolled at a large Midwestern university.[15] Zeon analyzed the process of Korean Americans' ethnic identity formation, dealing both with "1.5" and second-generation Korean Americans, from the middle and upper-middle classes, living outside areas with high Korean population concentration.[16] She classified how Korean Americans formed their ethnic identity into four stages: "Ethnic Awareness," "White Identification," "Reinterpretation," (with three substages, categorized as "awakening," "hurt and resentment," and "reconciliation"), and "Incorporation" as a final stage. She concluded:

> These eight students, in sharing their lives, have revealed personal experiences that have been unique to themselves which allowed for some exploring of common cultural awareness of Korean-Americans. These eight students left their "white" communities and were thrown into a totally different world in which they had more choices to make. It is the involvement of negotiating with different choices that brought these students to a point of searching and asking about who they are as a person and as a Korean American. The degree and intensity of seeking is different from individual to individual and their coping mechanisms are also different.[17]

Both Kim's and Zeon's studies elucidate the formation of Korean-American identity, but they both minimize the significant role of American values and ideology, only acknowledging the influence of discrimination and prejudice in American society. Racism and prejudice are omnipresent even though they are now less overt. The Americanized younger generations have not, however, actually experienced the structural pluralism or racism in their social, economic or political life of the kind that in the past caused ethnic confinement or the development of ethnic enclaves. It is not only racism that affects Korean-American identity formation. It is also American society's historical values, and the current trend toward cultural pluralism that encourage the Americanized second-generation to have an "ethnic identity." Min and Kim point out that "new second-generations have advantages in retaining their cultural traditions such as language and culture; firstly because of technological advances in communication, transportation and media; and secondly because of social policies emphasizing cultural pluralism since the 1970s.[18]

Korean American identity is formed and developed in an American context. The social context and the zeitgeist in America configure Korean American ethnic identity. I argue from the premise that:

> . . . [S]ocial identity must be constructed as a proper subject for theorization in such a way as to allow for the inclusion of individual and collective identities within a unified analytical framework. Even the most private of identities is not imaginable as anything other than the product of a socialized consciousness and a social situation. Even the most collective identities must in some sense exist in the awareness of individual actors.[19]

I will now reinterpret the narratives of Korean Americans from secondary sources and bring to light their socialized consciousness in the next section.

Being Korean Americans in America

The students from Zeon's study quoted below expressed their sense of similarity as Korean Americans. Zeon analyzes the process of their identity formation according to her typology. However, while they surely have a certain degree of common feeling or group identity as Korean Americans, that feeling is derived from their experience of living in America.

> [Grace]: I guess like coming to college and being away from my parents I've had a lot of time to myself and just time to think in general . . . now I just want to hang out with the people that are like me or share the same interests and not like try to conform into their ways of doing things and stuff like that I think . . . I think the . . . Korean Americans that I've met here, they can relate to the things that I'm going through, the things that growing up in America as Koreans we can talk about different parts in our lives . . . different things we went through . . . just because our family is Korean you know the way our parents are we can have fun about it, we can joke around and they'd understand what we're talking about actually and I guess there are certain things that we can talk about with them that we can't talk about with non-Koreans.
>
> [Youngcheol]: . . . in high school most of my friends were Caucasian and a lot of times there were things where I felt uncomfortable like when they would come over and like foods or something simple like that and just the way sometimes my parents thought, they didn't understand but it was like calling home when I'm out with my friends and just letting them know when I was coming home, they didn't understand why but I think with my Korean American friends you know I began to get really comfortable because there was a lot of things that was just understood, you didn't have to explain, you felt a lot better because you weren't always at this uneasy state.
>
> [Min]: . . . my talk with [friend] (parentheses in original) made me realize a lot of things, made me realize things that a lot of Korean Americans go through. In fact I'm sure all of them do, go through a period of denial, a period of being ashamed, and I think I was almost at the extreme of that

> because I refused to associate with any other Koreans who weren't Americanized. . . . [20]

Second-generation Korean Americans may deny their Korean-ness, feel more comfortable and have a sense of belonging among Korean Americans and feel different among other Americans. Yet, these are their experiences as ethnic Americans, who must be allowed to be Americans, according to American principles.

However, Korean Americans are racially stereotyped because of their physical appearance, no matter how "American." Hurh's research into Americans' perceptions of Koreans in the United States reveals that the ethnic stereotype of Koreans as "Oriental" and foreign persists, while ethnic images or situational perceptions are more changeable, depending on external conditions.[21] Consequently, Korean Americans, and other Asian Americans, constantly confront the need to prove themselves as American. The followings are quoted from Kim's study.

> [Maggie]: I moved to a new house on campus, my house is like thirty percent Asians [sic]. I noticed myself at lunch and dinner, I'd sit at the Asian table, even though I didn't know anyone there. I didn't know this is "Asian table" or "white table". But it really surprises me because I have been here all my life. I noticed this later that I tended to do that. I just ended up with these tables. If I sit down at the table that's all white, I feel like they wonder why I am not sitting at the Asian table. I think everyone expects me to do that.
>
> [William]: I understand that I can't ever be considered completely American, because of my skin color. There will always be like every single time when I meet a new person, I almost have to prove myself in a sense, because there [they] already built up stereotypes, me being Asian. Every time when I meet a new person, I have to establish identity more so, when white person or European person is already accepted. I seem to prove myself more. [22]

Analyzing these two narratives, Kim argues that even though overt racism has changed its form to "whispered" racism, Korean Americans' experiences of racial prejudice are influential in the formation of their ethnic identity.[23] However, I would argue that their experiences of racism and prejudice in American life also make them assert their existence as Americans, precisely because the American universalistic ideal is supposed to approve ethnic diversity.

Political Ethnicity

As a political strategy, some Korean Americans politically affirm their Asian American identity. Kim insists that Korean Americans should construct a collective voice and a united front as a political strategy at the national level, and assert the diversity within that unity at the ethnic level. She

argues that Korean Americans should change their identity, depending on the political situation. Her conclusion is strategic rather than descriptive. My point is that the very practice of politicizing ethnicity is actually part of the process of becoming American. It is the American-born and American-educated generation which is able to form such a political American identity. Kim interprets the following narratives as reactions to domination and oppression by whites. I interpret them, however, as showing that these particular Korean Americans have learned the American strategy on racial politics.

> [Teresa]: It is important for Asians to work together, because they all had been put in one group. They all have been treated the same and looked upon as being all like and my assertion is a kind of response to that.
>
> [Susie]: There is not really affinity among Asian-Americans, only for political reasons, we are categorized together, but the only legitimate reason for that would be the area we came from, physical appearance which is more similar than any other minorities. It does not mean we are the same. I don't identify with other Asians, I do only in terms of discrimination factor. In terms of culture, they are just as different as others, even though we might follow a lot of same lines sometimes, like Buddhism, Confucianism, kinship and extended family. I don't identify with other Asians culturally but only politically.[24]

Kim concludes that Asian American identity is a "socially constructed identity which opposes white domination and oppression in America."[25] She overlooks the possibility that these narratives might reflect an American inclination toward cultural pluralism, and historical American values of political participation. Being American means positive political participation. The success of the Civil Rights Movement taught a lesson that minorities must assert their civil rights if they want to live as Americans. Second generation Korean Americans and those immigrants who have received their education in America, have learned this American way of life. Kim sees, in the following narrative of Teresa, the postmodern tendency to challenge the white's meta-narratives. I interpret Teresa's narrative differently, however: she has learned that being "ethnic" can be the same as being "politically active" in America.

> [Teresa]: I guess there are two ways that identity politics is looked at. One way is when you assimilate and you realize that you are somewhat different, and you go through a certain phase, saying "Oh, I am going to start reading some books about Korean culture." [T]hen "Oh, it's nice and now I know" and then go back to where you were. The other way would be identity politics, which works like " 'I am gay,' 'I am woman,' 'I am this' . . . so I am going to join this movement and that movement," because of who you are. People who don't join the movement or become political are then looked upon as being problems, and showing how hegemony has been imposed, like brainwashed in a lot of ways, into them thinking that they don't have to do these things. . . . Like Asians thinking that American [white] culture

> is the best thing in the world. Like false consciousness and to show how much power has been instilled in the ways that we think so that there is no separation between the way we think and we have been taught to think. With the first kind of politics of identity you are doing nothing really. But the second one, you can find your heritage and create social changes, you have definitely to work for changes.[26]

Yen Le Espiritu explains that pan-ethnicity in the United States is the product of political and social processes, and that the creation of cultural bonds or definition follows after this. In response to the Civil Rights Movement, government bureaucracies have lumped diverse minority groups into larger, more general categories—such as African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic and Native Americans—for their administrative convenience in the allocation of economic and political resources. In order to respond to the demands of a number of ethnic minorities, the U.S. government originally had to categorize the minorities in a simpler fashion. According to Le Espiritu, the collective action of members of subgroups within each category to protect and to advance their interests are responses to such policies.[27] The current American zeitgeist is to categorize oneself as a part of a cultural group, and then politicize the group in order to construct a collective voice.

Discussing the racial or pan-ethnic ethnogenesis of the "Asian-American", Nazli Kibria points that the institutionalization of race as a basis of access to government resources and of political mobilization for racial minority groups after the civil rights struggles suggests that "Asian-American" is created for a political agenda.[28] It is not only race or pan-ethnicity that have been politicized; however, Kibria also mentions that, "depending on the circumstances at hand, national identities may be emphasized over pan-ethnic or vice versa."[29]

It makes me angry that Koreans have to change . . . their ways and be more assertive because Koreans are looked upon as passive and non-asserting . . .

The allocation of social resources on the basis of ethnic group identification not only politically motivates individuals to identify with a particular category, but also affects the identity of those who are involved, particularly in a society where this allocation is institutionalized. Following Jenkins' conceptualization of identity as a social construction through internal definition and external definition, "[i]dentification and allocation are mutually and reciprocally entailed in each other; moreover, "collective identifications are institutionalized processes."[30]

Korean Americans, like other Asian minorities, encounter many situations when it is demanded that they should describe themselves as "Asian Americans." Zeon overlooks how national social policy of this kind is reflected in the self-identification of Americans when she reduces the following narrative to an individual process of identity formation.

> [Ook]: Because in different forms that I fill out there's always that Asian American part there, so that's what I term myself so that they can understand.[31]

Nadine, below, states more clearly the importance of being political. Susie points out the difference between the political attitudes of Koreans and Americans, and asserts that Korean Americans should change their attitudes and adopt the "American" way. In their realization of the importance of political participation, they are indebted to their American-ness. Hence the political difference between first and second-generation Korean Americans.

> [Nadine]: I think part of problem is that Koreans separate themselves a lot, they don't . . . involve themselves in community, the same goes to like politics [sic], they don't get involved so there is no one speaking on their behalf. No one says anything, so they just let it go . . . I think people have to be involved. I think the second-generation Korean-Americans need to take different focus from the first generation Korean-Americans, they should be involved in not just Korean community, but also how the Korean community is interwoven in American society, if we are really to be considered Korean-Americans. Part of being a citizen of America is exercising your right as American. If you don't do that then, you know the blame goes more to us than others.
>
> [Susie]: Korean's political apathy has to go back to Korea [sic] [.] [T]hey would be killed for being politically inclined, and politically active. In America, it's so easy to say a lot of things and stay alive, that's what people have done all the time, but in Korea, there is no history of that, you are shut down for just trying to do that. . . . It is hard to apply that in America, but that's the only way I see it happened. And it makes me angry, that Koreans are expected to stand up for those rights which are theirs in the first place. You have to define something that you shouldn't need a definition, because it should be there inherent in [sic] constitution, equal rights etc. It makes me angry that Koreans have to change their culture and their ways and be more assertive because Koreans are looked upon as passive and non-asserting, which in many cases true. But you have to look at the context in which that happens, the context of Korean society and how that is. But that's not applicable in America, in order to gain the rights that they are entitled to have, they have to change their ways, and to be more assertive, so only way it's going to happen is not the way that I want, because I don't want to change Korean's nature, but that's the only way I guess.[32]

In the next quotation, T.J. mentions what he learned about ethnic politics in the United States:

> [T.J.]: If you go up to the politician with hard number and say that I could influence to vote for you if you do this or that . . . that's what it is done in politics, especially in the States. So I think it's the most reasonable way of going about it to bring up the change in Korean community, and the only way to do this is to set up a strong bond in Korean community. . . .[33]

The point Kim makes is that Korean Americans should thus construct a collective voice as a political strategy. She insists that Korean Americans should establish an ethnic community in order to secure their position as Ameri-

cans. She claims that Korean Americans are re-inventing an ethnic identity as a political strategy because they are losing their culture of origin.[34] I, however, argue that such activity is inherently American. Americans are expected to be politically committed to the ideal nation and to change the nation in the direction of an ideal universalistic society. Korean Americans may learn through their experiences of racism and discrimination that the American creed is merely an illusion or ideology, but they also recognize that they can, by becoming "Korean Americans," change their situation and thus become "genuine" Americans.

Symbolic Ethnicity

Another American social context that encourages Korean Americans to retain their ethnic identity is the way in which the American universalistic principle tolerates and values the diversity of its member's national or ethnic origins. In order to celebrate diversity and sustain the national bond, it encourages "symbolic ethnicity," ethnicity which does not threaten the American way of life. "Symbolic Ethnicity" was first theorized in Herbert Gans' article, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America."[35] He points out that when ethnic identity loses its instrumental function in people's lives and ceases to be a cause of economic and political conflict, ethnicity takes on an expressive and abstract form: Ethnic symbols are frequently individual cultural practices which are taken from older ethnic culture. They are "abstracted" from that culture and pulled out of its original moorings, so to speak, to become stand-ins for it. And if a label is useful to describe the third generation's pursuit of identity, I would propose the term "symbolic ethnicity."

> . . . Symbolic ethnicity can be expressed in a myriad of ways, but above all, I suspect, it is characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behavior.[36]

This type of ethnicity can be discerned among the descendants of European immigrants from the early 20th century who have now settled in the white middle class suburbs.

The Korean American second-generation also has such symbolic ethnicity. James tells how he feels about Korean culture in spite of the fact that he does not even speak Korean:

> [James]: I love Korean culture so much, it's not like I don't want to know about it. Some people don't care . . . some Koreans live here and they are like "Oh, Korean culture is disgusting, it's so sexist, and racist, etc." But I love Korean culture. So I think in that respect I can still be

> Korean-American, even though I can't speak Korean and don't know much about Korean culture. I am very proud to be Korean, I like my Korean friends, they help me, they teach me things, they bring me closer to the culture that I never knew, because I lived here all my life. But I also realized how American I am. I really can't help it. My feeling American isn't any less than being Korean. I don't feel bad, but I see the difference. Most of the time, I accept the fact I am American. I have no problem. I can say "Yah, I am American." Having Korean identity means for me that just love for everything that I come from. That doesn't mean just Korea, the country I mean. I come from my parents, its culture, and the friends who have Korean background. That is part of identity what have influenced me, made me so interested in my background. It's more of your attitude toward it than what you can actually do.[37]

On the basis of this narrative, Kim correctly points out that one can consciously maintain an ethnic identity, regardless of one's actual cultural behavior: "being Korean is a conscious assertion of one's self-identity rather than being blindly involved in Korean customs and practices without questioning and linking it to their sense of identity."[38] She describes James' identity as, "a neutral practice of pastiche," which does not cause conflict between his Korean-ness and his American-ness. She also notes:

> Thus, [James's] understanding of Korean culture is rather past-oriented than in the present context. Because he acquires his knowledge of Korean culture through his parents, his notion of Korean culture somehow leaps into the present American cultural context. In this sense, there is a spatial collapse between Korean culture and American culture, especially when Korean culture is brought to American cultural scene as well as temporal disruption between the past and the present within James's field of identity which disorients us from traditional boundaries.[39]

I have reservations about Kim's observation that James's Korean identity comes from the past and disrupted space. James's expression of his Korean-ness sounds to me neither nostalgic nor local. According to Kim's Interviewee Profile, James emigrated to America at the age of one and "[s]ince he grew up in a predominantly white neighborhood, he thinks most like white Americans. But as he met other Koreans in college, he became interested in Korean culture and Korean American identity."[40] It was not until college that James began to appreicate his Korean identity. I see in James an expression of the present context of American society that encourages James to love and be proud of the culture of his ancestry.

Since the 1970s American universities in particular have provided a cosmopolitan environment through the establishment of the courses on ethnic studies and organizations for minority groups. Such a social context surely affects people's identity formation at the individual level. Min and Park, and Kibria also acknowledge such factors in analyzing their empirical research on second-generation Korean Americans.[41] As revealed in Koh's study of the

generational differences, first-generation Korean immigrants show "little" pride in the Korean group, while the 1.5 and second-generations expresses "moderate" to "extreme" pride in their group.[42] Taking pride in one's ethnic culture characterizes the American-educated generation.

The expectation that every American person has a symbolic ethnic identity is institutionalized even in elementary school. Second-generation Korean Americans feel the institutional pressure to maintain their ethnic ancestry. Here are the examples:

> [Anne]: Well just sometimes little kids would make fun of me or sometimes it was different that like teachers would treat me different maybe give me special attention sometimes but I would sometimes feel uncomfortable when it was brought up that I was like, if somebody would say well, we're talking about like different cultures okay now Anne why don't you tell me about . . . then that would separate me from everyone else and I didn't want that at that age.[43]

> [Teresa]: . . . Like in school, I was really angry when they made me teach this new Korean kid geometry, triangle, square, etc I don't know those words in Korean. I felt angry towards him, because I tried to do my best to fit in and to show that I am speaking English. Because we are made feel so uncomfortable, we don't fit in.[44]

Notwithstanding the teacher's positive attitude toward cultural diversity in the classroom, these students felt uncomfortable being differentiated and having imposed upon them what they saw as an incorrect categorization and expectation.

Kim and Zeon observed the ambivalence of their interviewees' identifications, but overlooked the fact that the expectation in American society is that everyone should have an ethnic identity, concurrently with an American identity, in which Korean American ethnic identity is configured. It is obvious that Americans are affected by such institutional attitudes that some people are anxious about and criticized this tendency. Recognizing the institutional pressure on the diversification of Americans, Glazer argues:

> . . . we should not support the creation of sharp differences. . . . That is not the reality of U.S. society, for here all groups are to some variable extent acculturated and assimilated. . . . The society should be open to those who have no interest in a background defined by their decent and have no desire to maintain it or make claims for it; but it should be also be open to those who do take an interest in their background and wish to maintain it and instill it in their children. The public agencies should take a position toward ethnic inheritance that I would describe as benign neutrality.[45]

His view derives from the liberal assumption that sustaining ethnic attachment depends on individual choice and the expectation that ethnic groups are to assimilate to the dominant culture in good time. However, as we have

seen, the availability of the "ethnic option" for all Americans is the ultimate goal of a pluralist society even though it is not the reality for the racial minorities.[46] It is the expectation of American society, based on a universalistic attitude, and the pressures of cultural pluralism, that promote, and sometimes insist on, symbolic ethnicity for all. Inherent in American society is the expectation to have an ethnic identity.

Conclusion

The American national context is particularly unique in that it has been historically conscious of ethnic relations. Bonded by civic principles and believing in their universal nationhood, Americans have historically attempted to improve the social situation and paradigm of the "ideal nation." This is being achieved by immigrants and racial minorities who wish, believe and claimed to be American. The idea of cultural pluralism has culminated as the core idea of universalistic American nationalism.

Having a Korean American ethnic identity is part of being American because being American denotes having a positive political attitude, and having a symbolic ethnicity. Fuchs correctly points to the political relevance of American ethnicity:

> Political principles remained the core of national community. The new immigrants entered a process of ethnic-Americanization through participation in the political system, and, in so doing, established even more clearly the American civic culture as a basis of American unity.[47]

His suggestion is that in such a politically-oriented nation, "the biggest domestic challenge to those who believe in equal rights [lies] in enhancing opportunity for those children born into the underclass."[48]

Ethnicity is not only a political system; the value of ethnic pluralism has come to signify the righteousness of American nationalism. Waters argues how symbolic identity fits American values:

> Having an ethnic identity is something that makes you both special and simultaneously part of a community. It is something that comes to you involuntarily through heredity, and at the same time it is a personal choice. And it allows you to express your individuality in a way that does not make you stand out as in any way different from all kinds of other people. In short, symbolic ethnic identity is the answer to a dilemma that has deep roots in American culture.[49]

For the members of the American national community who believe in American values, it has become a national axiom to be politically and symbolically ethnic, or at least, to advocate ethnic diversity as constituting nationhood. Persistent ethnic adherence of the second-generation, and the politicization of ethnic groups, have their roots in American values and in

American universalistic nationalism. The American discourse of cultural pluralism does not only celebrate the ethnic diversity or symbolic ethnicity, but also imposes social categorization on all Americans, upholding, as it does so, universalism. The quest for a universal modern nation, where ideal ethnic relations are accomplished, is the epitome of present American national identity. It is the "American" part of the identity of second-generation Korean Americans that asserts their ethnicity as Koreans.

Notes:

1. Will Kymlicka, "Ethnicity in the USA," in Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex (Eds), *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), 245.
2. Ibid.
3. Donald L. Horowitz, "Ethnic Identity," in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (Eds.), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975), 118.
4. Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations* (London: SAGE, 1997).
5. Ibid.
6. Peter Alter, *Nationalism* (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), 9.
7. Ibid.
8. Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity,* 160.
9. Roger Waldinger and Joel Perlmann, "Second-generations: Past, Present, Future." in Janet L. Abu-Lughod (Eds.), *Sociology for the Twenty-first Century: Continuities and Cutting Edges* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 240–257.
10. Herbert J. Gans, "Second-generation Decline: Scenarios for the Economic and Ethnic Futures of the Post-1965 American Immigrants," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15, 2 (1992): 173–192; Alejandro Portes, and Rubén G. Rumbaut, "Growing up American: The New Second-generation," *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (2nd Ed.) (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1996), 232–268; Min Zhou, "Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second-generation," *International Migration Review* 3, 4 (1997): 975–1008.
11. Herbert J. Gans, "Toward a Reconciliation of "Assimilation" and "Pluralism": the Interplay of Acculturation and Ethnic Retention," *International Migration Review* 31, 4 (1997): 875–892.
12. Myoung-Hye Kim, *Korean-American Identity in the Postmodern Condition: Narrative Accounts of the Politics of Identity,* (Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1992); So-young Zeon, *What it Means to be Korean American in the Midwest: Eight Korean American College Students tell their stories* (Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1994).
13. Myoung-Hye Kim, *Korean-American Identity in the Postmodern Condition*.
14. Ibid., 175.
15. So-young Zeon, *What it Means to be Korean American in the Midwest*.
16. In the study of post-1965 immigrants, the definition of what it means to be "second-generation" varies because a considerable number of immigrant children are foreign-

born. In academic literature, the definition is given according to the age of the immigration. For instance, among Korean American communities, "1.5 generation" or "Il-chom-O se" is the term which has been used widely in daily life to describe people who immigrated to the United States when they were young, before adolescence or adulthood. Thus they are different from the second-generation who were born in the US, but are also different from the first generation immigrants. Here, the difference between the 1.5 and the second-generation is not stressed because both are educated in the US and because those of the foreign-born samples immigrated at the very early age.

17. So-young Zeon, *What it means to be Korean American in the Midwest*, 159.
18. Pyong Gap Min and Rose Kim, "Formation of Ethnic and Racial Identities: Narratives by Young Asian-American Professionals," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, 4, (2000): 735–760.
19. Richard Jenkins, "Rethinking Ethnicity: Identity, Categorisation and Power", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17, 2 (1994): 219.
20. So-young Zeon, *What it means to be Korean American in the Midwest*, 82, 83, 117.
21. Won MooHurh, "Majority Americans' Perception of Koreans in the United States: Implications of Ethnic Images and Stereotypes," in Ho-Youn Kwon (Ed.), *Korean Americans: Conflict and Harmony* (Chicago: Covenant Publications, 1994), 16.
22. Myoung-Hye Kim, *Korean-American Identity in the Postmodern Condition,* 125, 126.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 152, 153.
25. Ibid., 155.
26. Ibid., 231.
27. Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992) 12–13.
28. Nazli Kibria, "The Construction of 'Asian American': Reflections on Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity among Second-generation Chinese and Korean Americans," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20, 3 (1997): 523–544. Kibria's purpose of this article is to examine the development of Asian-American identities from the angle of intermarriage, not from the angle of politicization. Kibria's study revealed that the second-generation Chinese and Korean Americans' ethnic identity as Chinese or Korean was far more significant than their identity as "Asian-American." In another study on second-generation Chinese and Korean Americans (1999), Kibria concluded that "Asian American" is a externally imposed category so that most of them rejected it as a natural basis of identity.
29. Ibid., 536.
30. Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 169, 133.
31. So-young Zeon, *What it means to be Korean American in the Midwest,* 65.
32. Myoung-Hye Kim, *Korean-American Identity in the Postmodern Condition*, 243, 246–247.
33. Ibid., 245–246.
34. Ibid.
35. Herbert J. Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2, 3 (1979) 1–20.
36. Herbert J. Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity," 9.
37. Myoung-Hye Kim, *Korean-American Identity in the Postmodern Condition,* 187–188.
38. Ibid., 187.

39. Ibid., 189–190.
40. Ibid., 263.
41. Pyong Gap Min and Kyeyoung Park. (1999) "Second-generation Asian Americans' Ethnic Identity," *Amerasia Journal* 25, 1 (1999): ix–xiii; Nazli Kibria, "The Construction of 'Asian American'," 523–544.
42. Tong-He Koh, "Ethnic Identity in First, 1.5, and Second-generation Korean-Americans: An Exploratory Study," in Ho-Youn Kwon (Ed), Korean *Americans: Conflict and Harmony*, (Chicago: Covenant Publications, 1994), 43–54
43. So-young Zeon, *What it means to be Korean American in the Midwest*, 76.
44. Myoung-Hye Kim, *Korean-American Identity in the Postmodern Condition*, 195.
45. Nathan Glazer, *Ethnic Dilemmas*: 1964–1982 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983), 123–124.
46. Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 167.
47. Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethniciy, and the Civic Culture* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1990), 6.
48. Ibid., 493.
49. Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options*, 150.

Koreans in Germany

The Story of Ok-ji Kim

Hae-soon Kim
Transcribed by Young-sam Jo and Translated by Jina Kim

Introduction

This is a continuation of our series on Korean immigrants in Germany, begun in volume 3 with the story of Kwang-Chung Kim, a miner. In addition to miners, many Koreans who migrated to Germany during the 1970s were nurses; the following oral history gives us an idea of the kind of life these nurses have experienced.

Ok-ji Kim was born in October, 1947 on the island of Wando, in Cholla Province. She was the third of six children born to her father Sung-gyu Kim (b. 1919, Kwangju, Cholla Province) and her mother Sun-ja Hwang (b. 1922, Naju, Cholla Province). She lived briefly in Mokp'o, then moved to the city of Kwangju in Cholla Province where she spent her childhood and school years. After graduating from high school, she studied a year in order to become a nurses' aide, and in May of 1972, she left for Germany to work as an aide. She married Yi-ho Park (b. March 1948, Cholla Province) in 1977 and gave birth to a daughter, Se-rok, the following year in June. In 1981 she entered a psychiatric nursing school where she studied for three years. Currently, she works at the Berlin Municipal Psychiatric Hospital.

My Childhood and School Years

During my childhood, I was good friends with a female cousin who was one year older than me. My maternal relatives and children from my father's siblings all lived nearby, so all these cousins were my friends. Ever since I was young, I have compared myself to them. The female cousin who was a year older than me was a very generous person. She also had a good personality so that even though she was a year older, I could do whatever I wanted to around her. In any case, we were very close friends. That cousin's family was rich, so she only wore pretty clothes. When my uncle visited Japan, he would buy and bring back clothes only for his daughters. At that time, it was called "kanda paku," wasn't it? I would tell that cousin that her clothes were pretty and

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would just trade my dirty clothes with hers. I would say it would be for just a day and then the next day I would say I would return her clothes the next day. But I would never return her clothes, ha, ha, ha. Yes, I did that.

My schooling was related to my coming to Germany although it appears accidental. I went to a Catholic middle school and high school, a missionary-run school. Our principal was a nun from Italy. She came to Korea and founded the Salesian Girls' High School. Salesian Girls' schools have been established throughout the world, based on the curriculum developed by St. Donboskos, the founder of Catholic education. They also established a Salesian Girls' high school in Kwangju. Although our family wasn't even Catholic at that time, I attended that school. When I think back, I somehow think that I had the attitude of longing for a prayerful life just like the way nuns appeared whenever I saw them. I think that is why I was able to go to that kind of middle school and high school without much thought.

. . . only the people who could afford to go to college or who had the right family background were able to attend.

Considering my family's financial situation, it is amazing that I attended that school at all since the tuition was considerably more expensive compared to other schools. Before middle school and high school, and after graduating from elementary school, our family was under considerable difficulty. We were under considerably unstable conditions, both financially and psychologically. Even though our family's financial situation was further declining, I still attended that school. I guess my parents did not oppose since I wanted to attend that school.

In addition to the Italian principal, our middle school and high school had a sister's group and a convent. Within that convent, they also trained second-generation acolyte nuns. High school seniors who wanted to enter this convent would become acolyte nuns. Such students would have all their expenses provided for by the school starting in high school. When I learned of this, I might have unconsciously thought that I would also like to go to Europe. At that time, my family could not afford to send me to Europe or to any other place to study.

Just as I graduated from high school, there was a program that had sent the top ten students from the class before me to Bonn, Germany. There was some relationship between Dr. Lee who worked in a medical school hospital in Bonn which allowed ten of them to go there. I was supposed to go next; I was in the second round of students who were supposed to go. But then our plans were cancelled because of the East German (East Berlin incident), spy incident. It happened just when we were receiving training. We were studying German diligently. I was a teenager then, so it was quite traumatic for me. We were even dreaming about Germany and Europe. It must have been 1968 since the class before me had gone to Germany and it was the year I gradu-

ated from high school. I was very disappointed that I could not go to Germany.

As you know, because of the circumstances of Korea at that time, one had to be rich go to Europe or somewhere abroad. Unless it was for a job, it was quite difficult for ordinary people to travel abroad. In addition, only the people who could afford to go to college or who had the right family background were able to attend. Some people went to college just because they had money. Although my family couldn't afford any of this, I couldn't let go of my dreams of living in Germany.

At that time, there was a shortage of nurses in Germany, and hospitals would select either a[n immigrant] nurse or a nurse's aide to work at their hospital. After hearing this news, I attended a nursing assistant academy for a year. I was able to go to Germany because there was a ratio of three nurses' aides to one nurse. I later attended nursing school when I arrived. Once I arrived, I was very distracted. Maybe it was because I was living with feelings of uneasiness and insecurity about life, but I don't think I could afford to think about myself. What's more, those thoughts didn't even come to mind. But when I thought about it after I arrived in Germany, it was definitely an escape. A realistic escape.

There were economic reasons as well as psychological reasons for my wanting to go. I think it is because if I were to have stayed in Korea, Korean society would have always forced me to compare myself to others who are better than me. The people I would first compare myself to would be the people who are closest to me. In my case, it would have been my cousins. My cousins were all well to do. They went to study abroad in the U.S., and they all attended universities in Korea. And if they couldn't get in, they could just pay their way to enter a college. This was happening around me, but my family couldn't afford any of these things. I, myself, had thoughts of wanting to leave Korea. Whenever I talk about that time, I cry (she wipes her tears and temporarily stops her story).

I arrived in Germany with the thought that I would live here for only three years and then return, so I did not think about staying here.

The Beginnings of My Career in a German Hospital

Our contract to work in Germany was for three years. Ahh, . . . when I think about those three years . . . I think I lived very closed-mindedly. First of all, I, myself, had not been awakened or enlightened. I arrived in Germany with the thought that I would live here for only three years and then return, so I did not think about staying here. I faced many conflicts, from language to relationships with colleagues—especially because of my romanticized thoughts of being abroad while I was in Korea differed from what I actually experienced when I came here. Besides, I didn't come here to study but to work.

Because I am quite sensitive, I might have been more sensitive than other people. According to my current memory, when I spoke with other Korean colleagues back then, not many of them seem to have been as sensitive as I was. There was the language barrier, but human relations and personal feelings also were different from what I had imagined. Of course, this varies from person to person. Because I graduated from a nursing school with a concentration in psychiatric nursing and because I have studied psychology and am currently employed to treat psychiatric problems, when I think back on that time period of my life, it doesn't seem that significant.

At the time when I began working at a psychiatric hospital, Korea still had no knowledge of psychiatry. Because of this, it was considerably difficult for me to live here. Also another reason could be the fact that I had not been awakened yet. If I had thought about the ways I could solve my difficult problems, it would have been less difficult, and if I had learned a lot so that I could wisely cope with problems, it would have also been less difficult. In any case, I was frustrated at that time.

. . . We had basically led an isolated existence, and didn't have the opportunity to interact with non-Koreans.

What I would like to say now is that among my colleagues, the more dissatisfied they were with their own lives, the more difficult it was for me to associate or deal with them. We [the Korean nurses] lived under much difficulty because of our ignorance of the language and the German lifestyle which led to [various] misunderstandings. However, if I think about it now, my German colleagues back then were much kinder than my current colleagues. We do not have this problem now because we know German fluently, but back then we could not completely understand German, even though our German colleagues spoke very slowly and clearly. There was always a German-Korean dictionary available, and they would look up those words one by one and kindly teach us what the words meant. I think it was because we were the only [foreigners] at that hospital at that time. Nonetheless, it was tremendously difficult.

In Korea at that time, we had basically led an isolated existence, and didn't have the opportunity to interact with non-Koreans. So coming to Germany proved to be the first time I would live with non-Koreans. Besides we didn't come here as students, but as immigrant workers. [As] employees, [Korean nurses] were in a different position because we were [German nurses'] competitors. We were clueless as to these points. We were in the dark. It was very difficult.

When we arrived, because of the nurse shortage, besides the chief nurses and those who substituted for them, no one received a three-year nursing education. The hospital I was employed at operated this way. There were nurses' assistants, or even worse, people [Germans] without proper training. There were even male nurses or those who merely worked as if they

were assistants. But we found out that it was difficult for us to accept people like that. At least, we came to Germany with a high school education. Moreover, didn't our schooling and family upbringing teach us to always be considerate of others? Because we received this kind of education, it was unbearable when we felt that we could not understand certain aspects of these kinds of colleagues. But I learned many things after I completed my nursing studies, and I realized my many mistakes through working at the hospital. In learning about the German psyche, time also became bearable as it passed by.

What I realized late was that I had lived like a mouse in a cave because I intended to return to Korea after three years. Therefore, I had lost a lot of time. If I had met people who came to Germany before me, those people who were actively involved in Korean Associations and those who frequented these meetings, I would have listened and learned a lot, and I might have done something as well. But because our psychiatric hospital was located in the outskirts, we usually only hung around the people we came to Germany with. During our days off, we would go see concerts or movies together. At times, we would take a group trip. We spent our time like this for almost the entire three years. If I think about it now, I really regret the three years I spent [in that manner].

In the morning we worked at the hospital. Then we would go home in the afternoon to eat lunch. After that, we went to the Göethe Institute to learn German. The hospital had sent us to this language school. At that time, I always carried a dictionary with me whether I was just walking down the street or in the subway, and especially at the hospital. This goes without saying, of course, because I was anxious and because I didn't know anything. I think we, the nurses, learned German faster than students because we were learning the language as we were working at the hospital. Because students read books, they only know how to read and write, inevitably, they have more difficulty with speaking and listening. I think we learned quickly because we were attending a language school and then actually practicing German at the hospital.

In Korean society, isn't it true that men really don't know anything except school and work?

I can't really compare the nursing experience I had in Korea to the experience I had when I first came to work in Germany. I only had a total of one year of schooling and practical training before coming to Germany. In Germany, I was directly sent to a psychiatric hospital. It is difficult to compare because I don't have experience working in Korea, but I think a "humanistic" treatment of patients is possible here. From what I can recall, in Korea, there is no conversation between the patients and the [caretakers]. Also patients with dementia or neurosis were put in the same place, according to my recollection. This indeed is a tragedy.

Meeting My Husband and Married Life

Now I will talk about how I met my husband, Se-rok's father. After my three year contract, I intended to definitely return to Korea. But the senior nurses who had come to Germany earlier told me, "It is more realistic to return to Korea for a short time before deciding to return to Korea permanently." Therefore, during my third year in Germany, I took a vacation and went to Korea. When I came back, I settled permanently in Germany. I found that I couldn't really go to Korea [laughs]. When I thought about it, even if I went back to Korea, because I didn't have work experience there, I wasn't in the position to do anything.

Se-rok's father believes that as long as one is satisfied, then it does not matter whether one is recognized by others or not.

During my trip to Korea, my best friend introduced me to my future husband. We dated and then after two years, my husband was able to come to Germany. Se-rok's father also experienced severe difficulties. He had worked at the Korean Exchange Bank in Korea. This was a secure position, and he was about to be promoted at that time. He was studying English so that he could be transferred to the branch office in England. It was extremely difficult for him because he felt very conflicted over having to decide between transferring to the England office, studying more, or coming to Germany. My in-laws also firmly opposed his going abroad because he was almost 29 years old. Even under these circumstances, he came to Germany and started studying. We filed our marriage license in Korea and had a Catholic wedding ceremony in Germany.

Our newlywed years were considerably difficult. Marriage life was very difficult for me because both of our personalities were not compatible for marriage life, but I think it was more difficult because I came to Germany before him. In Korean society, isn't it true that men really don't know anything except school and work? Because he had led that kind of lifestyle, it was especially difficult [for him] to live with me during the first few years, especially since I had come to Germany four to five years before him. What's more, Se-rok's father has a very independent personality. For a Korean man, he unusually enjoys his independence. That is why he had planned for a long time to go to either Europe or to the United States. Because of this, he had difficulties in Korea. His life was made more difficult by the fact that he felt a sense of oppression from having to rely on me economically since his coming to Germany. Before then, for a long time he was financially independent. In all cases, it was very difficult.

Studying in Germany did not work out for Se-rok's father as we had planned when we actually faced the hard facts. This is the case with most people from Korea. They plan, or are determined, to finish their studies within a certain time period. But in reality, it doesn't necessarily work out. Because Se-rok's father had studied law in Korea, he was planning to

study law here. Se-rok's father learned German at Freie University in Berlin and began studying law, but he had to terminate his studies after only studying four or five years and began studying social education.

When I think about it now, even if he had continued studying law and had become successful, I wonder whether his life would have become as disciplined if he had not studied social education and then psychotherapy. What he learned, he applied it to our family life, in raising our daughter, and in our everyday life as well. As a result, this greatly helped him, and our family life. Our family life improved after he completed social education studies (although we still have numerous problems because of our personality differences). I think he learned a great deal about life. His whole life had been topsy turvy. I think we really learned about life.

He really enjoyed studying [social education]. He would say that it was the first time he really enjoyed studying. But what is regrettable is that Se-rok's father doesn't show or acknowledge to others what he knows, compared to the amount he really knows. I always feel this way about him. I probably feel more strongly about this than what other people might feel because I am closer to him. But this might cause some problems for Se-rok's father. Se-rok's father believes that as long as one is satisfied, then it does not matter whether one is recognized by others or not. However, I, as his wife, am frustrated by this.

Our Daughter

Our daughter Se-rok was born in June and turned nineteen this year. Now the two of us talk often, and she understands everything I say. Therefore, we are able to have fairly good conversations. Se-rok is in Korea now, and she writes to us very frequently. If she doesn't know the Korean word, she inserts German, but she writes the whole letter in Korean. Her spelling is incorrect, but she writes the expressions she knows and writes what she wants to say and sends everything to us. Many things have been resolved now, and I am able to say what I want to say, but when I think about the years when Se-rok was young, my heart aches.

While she was growing up, I didn't have any time to look after her. I had to work full-time, and I had to work in three shifts. Our daughter was born under these circumstances.

As I had mentioned before, during our newlywed years, my husband and I were under considerably difficult conditions. I was almost thirty when I gave birth to her. I got married fairly late, when I was twenty-nine years old, and my husband had to begin his studies then, so it wasn't a normal marriage life. I also got pregnant shortly after getting married, so mentally I was extremely troubled. Because Se-rok's father did not know any German, he was psychologically fearful of studying. In any case, he delved into his books. Although delving into his books would not teach him the language

overnight, he still couldn't help but focus all his energies on studying. While she was growing up, I didn't have any time to look after her. I had to work full-time, and I had to work in three shifts. Our daughter was born under these circumstances.

Because of this, I wasn't able to devote myself to Se-rok mentally or spend much time with her. She had to go to day care since she was two, and before that my husband and I had to take turns looking after her. If I were working the afternoon shift, Se-rok's father would come home at 2 p.m., and would pick up Se-rok and babysit. Se-rok's father also had a very difficult time because he had to study and meet people in the afternoon, but he also had to look after Se-rok entirely by himself in the afternoon.

Her father believes that all emotions should be completely freely exercised. . . . if one is completely free, then one's desires would naturally be fulfilled. . . . However, I do not agree.

Therefore, when I think about our daughter's childhood, my heart truly aches. Last time while talking with Se-rok about this point, I cried, but she said to me, "Mom, you did your best." And then she consoled me by saying, "You do not need to suffer from your guilty conscience." I really wasn't able to do much for Se-rok when she was younger, and her father practically played the role of her mother as well.

Until Se-rok was in the fourth grade, she only had male friends. She only played with boys. Maybe it is because she had spent so much time with her father. All her friends were boys. All of them. She always dressed like a boy, and she even asked to have her hair cut like a boy's. As a mom, when I wanted to dress her up in a pretty dress or let her hair grow out so that I could put ribbons in her hair, she would refuse. So the two of us would argue. Then Se-rok's father would say that I was pressuring her. This would then cause Se-rok's father and I to argue. Se-rok's clothing would become the catalyst for our arguments, ho, ho, ho. I gave up after arguing like this a few more times. We couldn't argue forever. But after the fourth grade, Se-rok started to befriend girls, and from fifth grade, she would play with only female students. Se-rok grew up between her father and mother like this. Her relationship with her father is much more significant.

Marital Conflicts

Se-rok's father and I had heated arguments regarding her education. As Se-rok was growing up and as our husband-wife relationship started changing, our arguments centered around the problem of our daughter's education. My husband and I would continuously argue. It seemed to me, in majority of other parents' cases, fathers would simply concede to whatever the mothers did [about their children]. Of course, there are exceptions. Because I grew up in Korea hearing fathers say, "Listen to your mother. Your mother is correct," I really disliked Se-rok's father interfering in everything from A to Z. Even if what

he had pointed out was correct, it would provoke an allergic reaction in me.

My husband says that even if what I think is correct, if Se-rok says "no" then "there is no need to attempt to persuade her again." On the other hand, I believe that it is important for children to learn how to persevere in whatever they do. I don't like her starting and then quitting and then starting something else and then quitting. If children become disinterested in what they are doing , then we must, what ever it takes, not allow them give up, but we must help them to overcome that moment so that they will learn how to be persistent. This is my preference.

I believe it is important when children start losing their interest, they should only be allowed to take a short break in order that they could continue. I wish to guide children by telling them "Okay, take a short break and restart when you gain interest!" However, Se-rok's father always says, "Okay, if you don't want to continue, then don't." Because he always uses this method, Se-rok gives up in the middle of whatever she might be doing if she becomes bored. We usually argued over these issues. I could see that our daughter was thinking that "Mom, is a mean mother!" but "Dad stands by me," even if she didn't articulate it so. That is why I disliked both of them. That is why I would argue with both of them. We would argue everyday.

Arguing with them started a long time ago, but the real serious arguments began when Se-rok was in the eleventh grade. First, she refused to study and did as she pleased. It was because her father taught her only about freedom. Her father believes that all emotions should be completely freely exercised. That is idealistic. But he believes that if one is completely free, then one's desires would naturally be fulfilled. He believes this applies to everything. However, I do not agree. If one lives too freely then. . . . For example, if a student takes a break from studying for a month or two and then attempts to resume her studies, then it would take equal amount of time to regain her concentration. This is from my experience.

She didn't even have time to sleep because she would either go see plays, go to music concerts, or meet her friends and go to cafes.

In any case, she was going to be a senior and her high school final examinations were approaching. Therefore, she needed to become more focused, but instead she would go to downtown Berlin everyday and would watch every single movie that was considered good. She didn't even have time to sleep because she would either go see plays, go to music concerts, or meet her friends and go to cafes. At times, I didn't like seeing her going around like this, so I would start arguements. Her father, on the other hand, would say "If we always grant her independence, then she will in all cases automatically take care of herself." We really fought over this. When Se-rok was in the eleventh and twelfth grades, my relationship with

her was considerably poor. It was a typical mother-daughter relationship. She even threatened to leave home. She said that she couldn't live with me, and her father was on her side. I really didn't like both of them. I suffered through a very painful period.

By the end of her twelfth grade year, she was questioning and saying things like, "Why do I need a high school diploma? Since I am going go to a music college, I don't need a high school diploma." I was extremely troubled by all this. I would even say, "Please, I beg of you." I would tell her, "I will not know for certain whether you will study music or not until that time comes, but you must, at least, earn or have in your possession a high school diploma. This is so that if you want to start something in the future, you can. If you don't, then, you won't be able to do anything." With this kind of urging, she completed her high school final examinations. It was after these kinds of episodes that a good opportunity for her to go to Korea came up.

Although her father is good to her when she is nearby, he doesn't write letters to her. I write and call her frequently, so now she writes only to me.

When she was young, she attended a Korean language school. Again at that time, she had said that she didn't want to attend any longer. Her father consented, so she didn't go. Se-rok's father did not want to force her. When she was young, she had once told me, "[I'll learn Korean] after graduation, mom! A foreign language is best learned in that country." She said she would learn Korean in Korea. To that extent, she kept her word. Right after her final examinations, she went to Korea.

Although I remembered what she had said then, out of my own self-interest, I did not think this was a good plan. I thought she should make plans for college right after high school graduation and then take a trip abroad or do what ever she wanted to do. I also thought that she should travel for a month or two, at the maximum three months, and only during her summer vacation. I wanted her college plans finalized before she went off to Korea, but she wanted to stay for six months to a year. I reluctantly allowed her to go.

She wrote letters in Korean from Korea. She wrote in one of her letters that she now understands aspects of me that she did not understand before and realizes why her father and mother have conflicts. She only writes to me. Although her father is good to her when she is nearby, he doesn't write letters to her. I write and call her frequently, so now she writes only to me. I took on the responsibility of replying to her letters, so it is inevitable that she writes only to me. Her father, I think, is secretly jealous of this. When a letter arrives from Se-rok, I usually show it to my husband; but on the previous letter, Se-rok had written, "Today's letter is only for you mom." I told Se-rok's father that she had written a letter just for me, but I offered to show it to him. But he declined to read the letter because it was addressed to me.

Se-rok is learning a great deal

while she is in Korea. She is learning about Korean music and the *han* contained in Korean music. She is studying Korean at the Seoul National University's Language Institute. I think there are courses in traditional Korean music and art. She is studying these now. Even while she was here, Se-rok would listen to Indian music, meditation music, and Korean music. We, my husband and I, listen to a lot of Korean music here in Germany. She must have had an ear for it since we would listen to Young-dong Kim's music and would also listen to P'ansori. Perhaps it is due to this exposure because when she wrote a letter to me from Korea after having listened to Korean music, she said that *han* is deeply seeded in [Korean music]. She learned about the meaning of *han* in college, but she asked why it is so sorrowful. I replied to her that it is related to [Korean] history. She learned a great deal about Korean music and history. In addition, by observing the way Korean people live, she now understands me more. These days, we communicate often by telephone and letters, and as a result, our past conflicts have waned quite a bit. If Se-rok and I were to live under the same roof now, it would be much more comfortable. I think Se-rok's studying in Korea was definitely beneficial.

Nursing in Germany

Now, it has been 26 years since I first started working in Germany. I haven't yet felt threatened by the lack of job security. But presently, whether it is at the level of municipal hospitals or national hospitals, there are not enough funds. As of last year, I was told that ten hospitals in Berlin closed their doors. Our hospital also reduced approximately 200 beds, and we are planning to reduce the number of beds more next year. The prospect for our hospital is not good. We are thinking about closing in two to three years. If this happens, then they will probably find some method of allowing the senior colleagues to negotiate a way to retire early. If they don't offer this, then they will have to relocate everyone to different hospitals or to different cities. I'm not sure what will happen.

In any case, the prognosis of our hospital is unfavorable. At the time when we first arrived in Germany, Korean nurses were regarded as "white gowned angels." When we would walk down the street or wait at the bus stop, cars would stop and people would ask us where we were going and offer us a lift. At that time, we could transfer to whatever hospital we wished to go if we had earned a certificate from a three year nursing school. We had considerable amount of freedom to transfer. Now the good old days have passed.

If the relationship between the doctors or if the chief nurse is not good . . . then the entire nursing staff also treats doctors in that manner.

A few years ago, I contemplated asking for a "special break" next year so that I could go and work in Korea for about a year. Unfortunately, I can't afford to think about this now. If I took such a leave of absence, then

another person would fill my position, especially since there are many people waiting to be hired. I, on my part, will have no guarantee that I will have my position to return to. There are no opportunities to "select" a place of employment. If I were to go wherever I am assigned, then I won't have the privileges of having built up twenty-six years of seniority. I can't start all over again. There are many tremendously stressful wards.

More than the work itself, it is unbearably difficult to work in the wards that have an unpleasant working atmosphere. If the relationship between the doctors or if the chief nurse is not good, and the chief nurse takes an affront to the doctors, then the entire nursing staff also treats doctors in that manner. If the relationship between the nurses and other staff—not only doctors but also physical therapists or social workers—is not good, then the rhythm of the work environment becomes unbalanced. Then we all feel very ill at ease. It seems like this happens very frequently with chief nurses. If a chief nurse is not wise and virtuous, and if this type of person occupies a leadership position, then it becomes considerably difficult for the people working for her. These kinds of problems also arise because of personnel reductions.

There are times, however, . . . that I do feel estranged. I think it is because I am Korean even though I have a German citizenship.

We currently don't have positions available for those who are now graduating from nursing school. The young nurses who most recently started practicing have already been here for five to six years. There are also German nurses who have been employed here for a very long time. The number of foreign nurses has been decreasing since last year. Some wards have more foreign nurses. For example, in my ward, there is another Korean nurse and two German nurses. In other hospitals, those who have not been laid-off due to over staffing are usually the foreigners. Those who have been laid-off are all young German nurses. Although it is not apparent, and they don't explicitly express [their displeasure] since most of the foreign nurses have German citizenship, they are well qualified, and they have extensive working experience, they [German nurses] usually do use other less obvious methods of attack.

In any case, there are certain criteria that goes into creating the lay-off list. Hospitals like ours follow ten criteria. The first criterion is the number of years of continuous employment. Because the list was created according to this criterion, I believe that majority of Koreans were not affected by this list. Until now, I haven't heard of any Koreans getting put on this list. I'm not sure about the people who took breaks from their work. Even among Koreans, there are many people who hardly worked after giving birth. Either these kinds of situations or people who started working part-time few years ago might come under the first criterion if something unexpectedly happened to the hospital. However, people like me who have been working continuously from

the beginning, I believe would not get put on the list.

In any case, if our hospital reaches a point where it completely shuts its doors, because it is a municipal hospital, they will probably transfer us to other adequate places. They will open opportunities for us by directing us to other hospitals. However, if we are unlucky, then we will have to go to East Germany, a place that takes up to four hours to commute. It would be very difficult for us if we have to go there. These days, for example, when nurses are put on this list and recommended to transfer to another place, if someone refuses, then this becomes a basis for dismissal. In any case, they would introduce us to other hospitals for hospitals have their own recruitment policy. For example, they have recommendations. During negotiations, there are instructions as to what the hospital should be doing whether it is awarding us payment or whatever.

I have been employed at numerous hospitals. After graduating from nursing school, I left the hospital which I had been working while attending school. That hospital was a very difficult hospital. After that, I came to the EEG (Electroencephalogram) and EKG (Electrocardiogram) department, where we only diagnose patients. That is why other people all tend to envy those who work there. However, I left that position because I found that it was very tiresome and difficult for me to work with machines.

I worked with a professor at that hospital. When the professor would diagnose the condition, I would have to record everything. I usually recorded the results of the EKG tests. EEG is more difficult; a senior nurse colleague usually recorded the EEG, and only when she was off-duty, would I record it. We worked together like this, but I didn't like that kind of work. After five years, I wanted to take a break. When I told them I wanted to work part-time, they didn't have a part-time position. So I transferred to a psychiatric hospital. The atmosphere of that hospital was excellent. The caretakers were completely devoted to "humanistic" approach to treating patients. I was very satisfied with my work there. Unfortunately, our hospital closed on January 1, 1997. As a result, I had to transfer to another hospital.

Reflections on My Life

Because of my own changes, I am more satisfied with my family life now than before. It will be twenty-six years next May since I've come to Germany. At first, family life was difficult. I did not easily understand the wisdom of life, and when I think about it, I think I made life very difficult for myself. I was mentally and physically very ill, but now I am in the position of curing those illnesses. I learned a lot from working at the hospital and also learned about German people's character. And now that I have attained a fair amount of knowledge, the difficulties of working at the hospital has disappeared.

While living in Germany, I gained a lot more than I had expected.

As you probably know, when you go to Korea, it is crowded, chaotic, and impoverished, yet it is also fun and people are earnest. There are things that one cannot experience here, aren't there? In Germany, we aren't able to feel that our lives are intertwined with others. Having lived here for a long time, I really missed those things. I just wanted to go to Korea. However, when I am alone and think this through, I believe that we have found a "quality life" while living in Germany. Living here, I learned an advanced country's people's way of always thinking in an orderly, cautious, and calm manner.

In addition, I think individualism, as opposed to the "we" or the notion of "community" which Koreans advocate, in some aspects prevents possible complications. Of course there are advantages and disadvantages to both. But whenever there is a problem, Germans draw a definite line, thereby preventing complications. I learned these things. In Korea, don't people live with the mentality that everything is "ours", "you and I are a family", "we're siblings" or "what is yours is mine and what is mine is yours"? It's affectionate and fine, but when a problem arises, then it always becomes complicated. I learned about these things. When I am visiting Korea and I encounter a complicated problem, I rearrange my thoughts and then resolve the problem. I learned this and also learned how to [resolve] emotional problems.

I think I am more influenced by the limitations of my body. . . . I do regret the fact that I wasn't enlightened a little earlier so that I could have grown more as a person.

Aren't there times when one can't control one's feelings of uncertainty? At times, I don't even know how to control my own emotions. I'm not sure whether it is related to hormones as I age or my way of life, but there are times when I am suddenly overtaken by insecurity. At those times, suddenly without my realizing it, I would feel uncontrollably insecure. Now when I feel that kind of uncertainty [overwhelming me], in my own way, I have learned how to control myself. Can I say that these are all results of knowledge gained from my years of work at the psychiatric hospital? Although there are moments when my feelings of insecurity erupt, maybe now I am more successful at trying to control my emotions because I am not like I was before. Moreover, when I first came to Germany, I was influenced by "fickle" people and because of them I was psychologically hurt. However, I also learned how to regulate these situations while living here.

There are times, however, whether it is during my life here in Germany or when I speak with a close colleague, that I do feel estranged. I think it is because I am Korean even though I have a German citizenship. Sometimes I think I am just like them [Germans] because I have lived and worked here for a long time with these German colleagues. It is also because we both speak the same language and perform the same kind of work. Under certain circumstances, however, I have the feeling that when they [Germans] are in the process of mak-

ing some decisions, they act like they are the bosses amongst us. Although this doesn't happen often, I feel considerably estranged when it happens. They are not the people who I have known and worked with for a long time, but rather are the younger nurses who have entered [the hospital] much later than me. When I deal with those colleagues, I think, "Ah, we have lived for a long time." At these times, I sometimes feel estranged.

When I look back on my past, I can't think of anything that I greatly regret. I don't necessarily think I regret living in Germany. Instead, as I had mentioned previously, I think if I had been awakened earlier and learned the methods of attaining wisdom or at least the opportunity to learn from someone, then I probably would be more mature now. This would be my hope.

I am now almost 50 years old, so I definitely feel the limits of my body. In the past, when I would set a goal to accomplish something and if the next day will be my day off, however difficult my work might be, I would have the attitude "I would be able to rest tomorrow" and do everything I wanted to do. These days I can't do that. When I experience these things, I feel the limits of my body. This is the reason why I can't really do anything important for our society now even if I wanted to do so. These days, I am unable to do the things I want not only due to Germany's economic conditions having become strained, but also because I think I am more influenced by the limitations of my body. Therefore, I do regret the fact that I wasn't enlightened a little earlier so that I could have grown more as a person.

I don't think I can concretely point out the things I might have lost as a result of immigrating to Germany. It must mean that living here is somewhat better than living in Korea. As I have told you earlier, when I came to Germany, my family life in Korea was troublesome, and I had to escape from that environment. Comparing myself to my cousin, I felt dissatisfied, and I wanted to escape from the fact that I was lagging behind in the various things I wanted to do. But now when I go to Korea, even though all my cousins have higher education levels and are better off than me financially, I no longer feel envious of them. Instead, I feel depressed when I go to Korea.

. . . I tell her to quit that work so that she could come and visit me here in Germany. I tell her to enjoy her spare time.

My cousin—the one I was closest to—graduated from a pharmacy school. She still operates a pharmacy although because of her age she doesn't work there as much. She still works even though all her children are now adults. When I was in high school and she was a college student, her boyfriend was the president of the Mudung Mountain society. Due to that relationship, we would often go to Mt. Mudung. Because of that hobby, that cousin still goes hiking if she wants to and goes out for fun if she wants to. She isn't always tied to her pharmacy, but she still works there. Of course, when I visit her, she

would close the pharmacy early to meet me. But when I see her confined to her pharmacy, I don't know why but I feel very frustrated. I feel so frustrated that I tell her to quit that work so that she could come and visit me here in Germany. I tell her to enjoy her spare time. I am now in the position to talk like this. Ha, ha, ha.

Notes:

Interviewed by Hae-soon Kim, December 1997.

Community Reports

Pluralistic Accommodation and Ethnic Identity of Korean American Young Adults

Kwang Chung Kim, Young In Song and Ailee Moon

Abstract

Based on identity development theory and segmented assimilation theory, this study surveyed Korean American young adults regarding their ethnic identity. As expected, the majority of Korean American young adults identify themselves as "Korean American." Most of them also hold some additional identities, including "Korean," "Asian American" and/or "American." Their Korean American identity is found related to their past ethnic social ties such as affiliation with Korean ethnic churches, having close Korean friends and having been born in Korea. Data were collected through interviewing 100 Korean American students of the University of California, Los Angeles, 99 Korean American students of the University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana, and 99 Korean young adults in the San Francisco area in 1997.

Introduction

The theory of assimilation has historically been used to analyze adjustment experiences of immigrants and their descendants in the United States. This theory was a useful framework to study the European immigrants who came to the United States at the turn of this century and their descendants. Until the end of World War II, the descendants of these European immigrants were gradually assimilated into the mainstream of American society, and they were further assimilated through their post-war experiences in the 1950s and 1960s.[1] While these immigrants were assimilated into the white

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dominant group, American people have been polarized into two distinct race groups symbolized by suburban whites and inner-city African Americans. The existence of the two distinct native groups has clearly affected the adjustment experience of recent Latin American and Asian immigrants and their descendants.[2] This polarized American racial structure suggests the need for a new theoretical perspective in analyzing the adjustment experiences of the recent immigrants and their descendants.

Asian American communities have grown rapidly during the three decades since the 1965 revision of U.S. immigration law. In this study, we are concerned with children of Korean immigrants who came to the United States during the 1970s and 80s. Since 80 percent of the Korean American population is comprised of immigrants, it is clear that the children of immigrants also constitute a great majority of children in their ethnic communities.[3] Some of the children of immigrants have already reached young adulthood and many are in college. Many more will go to college in the near future.

. . . Young Asian Americans' ethnic identity is expected to be a complex phenomenon which reflects the delicate conditions of imposed *and* self-selected processes.

As children reach college age and become young adults, it is time to examine their life experience in the United States. As Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou observe, their mode of incorporation into American society is the key to establishing the long-term consequences of immigration.[4] However, few studies have been conducted on their adjustment patterns. This study is a step to fill this void. As part of the study on immigrant children's life experiences in the United States, this study focuses on the ethnic identity of Korean American young adults with a theoretical framework supplemented by the two theoretical perspectives: the development theory of minority identity and segmented assimilation theory.

Theoretical Framework

Jean Phinney and Doreen Rosenthal note that ethnic identity is a people's sense of belongingness to one or more ethnic group(s) and the related thinking, perception, feelings and behaviors that result from their sense of ethnic group membership.[5] As this definition implies, ethnic identity is part of a people's sense of themselves based on their perception of ethnic membership. When people firmly establish their ethnic identity, it gives them a perspective on life which influences the way in which they perceive themselves, their daily life and social relations. This theoretical perspective indicates that ethnic identity is likely to be related to the kind of life style, values and norms they would choose and the kind of social networks with which they would daily associate.[6] In this sense, the establishment of ethnic identity is central to their psychological functions and social activities, particularly when the ethnic group chosen is poorly perceived and discriminated against in a society.[7]

Currently, native-born whites have a considerable degree of freedom in choosing their ethnic identity in the United States.[8] As members of the dominant group, they do not have to identify with any ethnic group. If they want, however, they can identify with some of the European ethnic groups in the US to which their parents or grandparents once belonged. But their own choice of ethnic identity does not usually affect numerous dimensions of their life, such as selection of a marriage partner, friends, residence, occupation, etc. In contrast, children of Korean and other Asian immigrants are often identified with and treated on the basis of their physical features and their own life style in the United States. Thus, their ethnic identity is likely to be imposed upon them, at least partially. This imposed facet of ethnic identity will remain an important part of their own self-concept. When their effort to construct their own identity is added, young Asian Americans' ethnic identity is expected to be a complex phenomenon that reflects the delicate conditions of imposed *and* self-selected processes.[9] As a product of self-selection and imposition by others, their ethnic identity is a product of a dynamic process based on people's life cycle stages and their specific socio-cultural situation.

Having an identification with the white dominant group, they generally prefer dominant cultural values to their own ethnic way of life.

The United States has been a highly racially stratified society in which the native whites are the dominant group and members of other race/ethnic groups remain as minority members. In this society, what counts is whites' definition of race/ethnic status of people. Having considerable power and prestige, they define race/ethnic status, and their definition affects many dimensions of the lives of the people in the United States. Some white people tend to exclude members of non-white groups from the white dominant group and assign them to some type of minority group position, a lower position in the race/ethnic hierarchy in the United States.

In this social context, Korean and other Asian American children are often not treated as members of the white dominant group by their white classmates or friends at school or in the neighborhood. One example of differential treatment is when children are derided as "Chink" or "Jap." In this situation, there is a great deal of individual difference among the children's responses. Some would experience mild disturbance, while other children would take it as a great insult or shock. As a whole, children then raise a serious existential question: "Who am I?" or "What am I?"

Under such conditions, family members, the ethnic church, and other ethnic institutions are expected to play a critical role in influencing Korean children to gradually regard themselves as Korean Americans. In this sense, it is important to examine the nature of the children's relationships with their parents, the Korean ethnic churches, close Korean friends and other ethnic ties. When labeled as non-white minority members, children tend to

be more receptive to ethnic influences and gradually come to define themselves as Korean Americans. They then want to learn more about the Korean American way of life and ethnic heritage. This position suggests that when children of Korean immigrants are situated in a position in which they are not defined and treated as members of the white dominant group, active responses of ethnic institutions influence them to regard themselves as Korean Americans. Two factors, the dominant group's definition of Korean Americans' position in the race/ethnic hierarchy combined with the active responses of ethnic institutions to this social situation, explain the children's acceptance of Korean American identity. Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann classify the two factor approach as a constructionist approach.[10]

Children's acceptance of Korean American identity is, however, a complex process which needs to be further explained by other perspectives. As the development theory of minority identity suggests, when children of Korean immigrants are very young, during their preschool period and part of their elementary school period, they are likely to identify themselves as part of the white dominant group.[11] For some children, such an identification would extend to high school. Having an identification with the white dominant group, they generally prefer dominant cultural values to their own ethnic way of life. During this stage, minority children like to think of themselves as part of the dominant group. Their "peculiar" physical and cultural features are a source of shame. Thus, some minority children repress awareness of their distinguishable physical and cultural characteristics and distance themselves from the minority connection. They view ethnic groups according to the dominant group's perspective and they admire and respect members of the dominant group. Through this experience, Korean American children become highly "Americanized" as demonstrated by their use of English as their native tongue.[12] Thus, by the time they reach the stage of searching for their ethnic identity and related meaning, children of Korean immigrants have already been highly Americanized. With such experiences of Americanization, they actively search for an ethnic identity and generally come to accept a Korean American identity.

Most children of Korean and other Asian immigrants are expected to take the white middle class mode of incorporation.

When children are at the stage of searching for their ethnic identity, they tend to take a position which orients them toward the white middle class way of life. Recognizing the polarized nature of American society, Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou offer a new theoretical framework of segmented assimilation for the analysis of the incorporation of children of recent immigrants in the United States.[13] Expecting that immigrants are received in different segments of American society, they offer three specific ways in which children of immigrants are incorporated into American society: white middle class mode, inner-city underclass mode, and ethnic solidarity/resource

mode. The ethnic solidarity/resource mode of adaptation suggests that as adults, children of immigrants remain within the boundaries of their ethnic community. Using ethnic resources and business activities or other ethnic opportunities, they are expected to advance their economic/social position. However, as Hebert Gans contends, the children of current immigrants have little opportunity to choose the ethnic solidarity/resource mode.[14] Thus, the children of current immigrants are heavily incorporated into American society through either the white middle class mode or the inner-city minority mode.

Most children of Korean and other Asian immigrants are expected to take the white middle class mode of incorporation. In other words, it is expected that children of immigrants assimilate to the values and norms of the white middle class which emphasize education, competition, and achievement. This position suggests that children of Korean and other Asian immigrants will take education seriously and strive to achieve strong academic records. These children plan to attend college and with their academic degree, they would like to eventually acquire some professional, technical or managerial type of mainstream occupation. In order to achieve high academic standing, they must understand the American school system, practice certain aspects of the white middle class way of life, and go along with white middle class expectations at school.[15] They are convinced that the white middle class way of life offers them the chance to prepare for their future mobility and incorporation into mainstream American society.

Korean Americans share numerous experiences and interests together with other Asian Americans.

The above discussion illustrates the social context in which children of Korean immigrants develop their individual ethnic identity. For many of these children, their Korean American identity is mostly shaped during their time as high school students. It is, therefore, critical to examine their high school experience. While they search for the meaning of their ethnicity as high school students under the situation as elaborated by the two factor approach, they have already become considerably Americanized as suggested by the development theory of minority identity. Thus, at the time that they develop their ethnic identity, their effort is strongly influenced by their experience of Americanization and their orientation toward the white middle class way of life.

With their experience of Americanization and future orientation, Korean American children are expected to define themselves as Korean Americans, and many are also likely to identify with some other related race/ethnic groups from the United States into their individual ethnic identity. The group with which many Korean American children are expected to easily identify is undoubtedly other Asian Americans. As a subcategory of Asian Americans, Korean American children believe that they share physical features and cultural backgrounds with other Asian Americans. Furthermore, the

dominant group tends to treat Korean American children as part of Asian Americans in general. Under this condition, Korean Americans share numerous experiences and interests together with other Asian Americans. It is also likely that many Korean American children will additionally identify themselves as Americans because of their perception that they are members of American society. In spite of multiple identities, it is expected that those who have more connections with Korean society or with Korean American ethnic ties, such as Korean American churches or friends, will hold a stronger Korean American identity than other identities. As Korean Americans, they will eventually develop a positive view of their ethnic cultural heritage. They need to hold a positive view of their own ethnic identity as a way to keep a positive self image. Thus, the following hypotheses are presented:

They need to hold a positive view of their own ethnic identity as a way to keep a positive self image.

Hypothesis 1: Korean American young adults generally identify themselves as Korean Americans.

Hypothesis 2: The majority of Korean American young adults hold multiple identities, including a Korean American identity.

Hypothesis 3: Specific types of Korean American young adults' ethnic identity vary with their connection to Korea and sociocultural ties to their ethnic group.

Hypothesis 4: The majority of Korean American young adults feel proud of their ethnic way of life.

Method

For this study, two groups of Korean American undergraduate students and a group of Korean American young adults were selected. Korean American college students were selected from two state universities; the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UI). Korean American young adults are recent college graduates (35 years old or younger) who are currently employed as full-time workers in the San Francisco bay area.

Since a list of Korean American students could not be obtained from university authorities, the lists of Korean American undergraduate students at the UI were obtained through informal contact with numerous dormitories, student organizations and other groups on campus. A total of 443 names of Korean American students at the UI were obtained. Based on the list, 99 UI Korean American students were interviewed during a two-month period in February and March 1997. Similarly, 100 UCLA Korean American undergraduate students were selected from various student organizations and groups

or places. Nearly half of the UCLA Korean American students were recruited in cafeterias and libraries. The rest were recruited from the following: beginning and intermediate Korean language classes, the Korean Student Association, and Korean student bible study groups. Altogether, 100 UCLA respondents were interviewed between March and May 1997.

For this study, nearly half of the young adults in the sample were selected from the membership list of the Korean American Professional Society in San Francisco. The rest were selected from the directories of various Korean American occupational groups. Eventually, 99 young adults were interviewed during a five month period between February and June 1997. Therefore, a total of 298 respondents were interviewed for this study using a standardized interview schedule.

Characteristics of Respondents

In the UI sample, female students outnumber male students (56 females and 43 males), while the reverse is true for UCLA students (43 females and 57 males). Young adults are almost evenly divided in gender composition (51 females and 48 males). The age of student respondents ranges between 18 and 22 with few exceptions, and the average age of young Korean adult respondents is 27.9 years old. Except for two married students, all of the student respondents are currently single. On the other hand, one-fourth of the young adults (28) are married, mostly to other Koreans (23). Slightly more than one half of all student respondents (53 UI sample and 54 UCLA students) were born in Korea and raised in the United States—the 1.5 generation. The rest (45 UI and 43 UCLA students), except for three students, were born and grew up in the United States—the second generation. Three students were born elsewhere. A high proportion of the student respondents (34 UI students; 65.4 percent and 22 UCLA students; 41.5 percent) who were born outside the United States came to America in their pre-school ages (one through five years old). Among young adult respondents, a great majority (75) were born in Korea; of these, most (51) came to the United States as school age children, while the rest (24) came as preschoolers.

. . . a major difference between the students of the two universities comes from the racial composition of the area in which they grew up.

As expected, all of the respondents' parents were born and raised in Korea except for a few fathers and mothers. The majority of the parents came to the United States in the 1970s. On the average, fathers of the student respondents are 52 years old and their mothers, 48 years old. The average age of the fathers and mothers of young adults is 59 and 56 years old, respectively. These findings show that parents of Korean American students are generally in the stage of middle adulthood, but some of them are already at retirement age. Most of their parents are long-term residents of the United States.

About 80 percent of the respondents indicate that their fathers were either professional/technical workers or small business owners when the respondents were high school students. Their fathers generally have not changed their occupations since the respondents' high school years. Occupations of the respondents' mothers have been more diverse than the fathers' occupations. However, employed mothers' past and current occupations suggest that they have been overwhelmingly professional/technical workers or small business owners. Since most Korean professional/technical workers and small business owners tend to live in suburban areas of major cities, it is no surprise that the majority of respondents (79 UI students, 61 UCLA students and 50 young adults) grew up in suburban areas. Some respondents (14 UI students, 34 UCLA students and 40 young adults) lived inside major cities, such as Chicago or Los Angeles, and few of them (6 UI students, 5 UCLA students and 8 young adults) lived in rural areas or small towns.

. . . in spite of their absence of positive experiences with Korean school, about 80 percent of all respondents in the study now recommend Korean school for Korean American

As expected, a major difference between the students of the two universities comes from the racial composition of the area in which they grew up. This is demonstrated by the racial composition of their high schools. UI students generally attended high schools where white students constituted the majority (mean=73.1 percent), but in the case of UCLA students, white students on the average, were not the majority of their high school population (mean=42.7 percent). Under this condition, UI students had few Korean students (mean=5.5 percent), Asian students (mean=6.7 percent) or other minority students (mean=14.4 percent) in their high schools. In contrast, UCLA students' high school demographics show that Korean (mean=12.0 percent), Asian (mean=17.6 percent) and African American or Latino students (mean=27.0 percent) constituted the majority in their high school population. The environment in which the young adults attended high school fell was a combination between the above two groups of college students. The proportion of white students in young adults' high schools was on the average 66.2 percent and they had few Koreans (5.7 percent) or other Asian students (10.4 percent). The rest of the students were African American or Hispanic students.

Findings on Ethnic Identity

This study does not directly test the development theory of minority ethnic identity. But some findings of this study reveal an interesting pattern to evaluate the theory. As a whole, half of the respondents (155; 52.0 percent) are found to have attended Korean school, an ethnic voluntary association which is usually held during the weekends to teach Korean American children the Korean language and cultural heritage. More than 80 percent of the

respondents with Korean school experience attended the schools between 5 and 12 years old. When the 155 respondents who attended Korean school are asked to evaluate their experience with the school, 69 or 44.5 percent indicate that they did not like the school experience and one-third (50; 32.5 percent) evaluated their school as "so and so." Only 36 or 23.4 percent of the Korean school attendees report that they liked it. These findings suggest that as elementary school children, a great majority of the respondents with Korean school experience disliked it or felt "so and so." But, in spite of their absence of positive experiences with Korean school, about 80 percent of all respondents in the study now recommend Korean school for Korean American children very strongly (145; 48.7 percent) or to some extent (102; 34.2 percent). Only a small proportion of the respondents do not recommend it (4; 1.3 percent) or are not certain about their position on the issue (47; 15.8 percent).

. . . with the exception of those who came to the United State late, . . . most of the respondents adopt Korean American as their primary ethnic identity.

These seemingly contradictory findings suggest that the respondents go through different development stages. As elementary school children, it is likely that they identified themselves as part of the white dominant group and thought that they were Americans, not Korean Americans. In this stage, attendance of Korean school was a disturbing or annoying experience at best for the respondents. But, they attended the school because of the pressure from their parents. As college students or young adults, however, they become more aware of and care for their ethnic way of life and ethnic heritage. They also want to learn more about Korean heritage, culture, language and society. Thus, most of them come to recommend Korean school for Korean American children.

An orientation toward the white middle class way of life suggests that Korean American young adults accommodate both American and Korean ethnic ways of life. They are, therefore, expected to have adjusted well in both the Korean ethnic community and in American society. This position is demonstrated from the respondents' experience with their own high schools and Korean ethnic churches. High schools are a social institution which represents American society, and likewise, Korean ethnic churches are an important part of the Korean American community. Their adaptability to both institutions is measured by the degree to which they were satisfied with these institutions. The majority of respondents (52 UI students, 61 UCLA students and 53 young adults) were satisfied with their high school experiences. Some of them recalled that their high schools were "so and so" (36 UI students, 29 UCLA students and 31 young adults). Only few respondents (11 UI students, 10 UCLA students and 15 young adults) expressed dissatisfaction with their high schools.

A great majority of the respondents (223; 74.8 percent) are found to have been affiliated with a Korean ethnic church during their high school years.

Additionally, few respondents (7; 2.3 percent) attended both Korean and American churches. Altogether, about three quarters of the respondents (230; 77.1 percent) attended a Korean ethnic church as high school students. The majority of the church affiliates (175; 76.1 percent) attended a Korean ethnic church once a week, and a few respondents (21; 8.1 percent) attended the church two or three times a month on the average. These findings indicate that they attended their churches regularly.

The respondents who attended a Korean ethnic church as high school students generally liked their church experience. The majority of them (136; 59.4 percent) were satisfied with their ethnic church, while some respondents (67; 29.3 percent) evaluated their experience with ethnic church as "so and so." Only a small proportion of them (26; 11.3 percent) disliked it. This observation demonstrates that although it was their parents who initially took the children to the church, most of the church affiliates in the sample eventually liked their ethnic church or felt that the church was acceptable during high school.

For a test of Hypothesis 1, the following question was asked: "Overall, what is your primary identity?" As shown in Table 1, the majority of the respondents (197; 66.4 percent) report "Korean American" as their primary ethnic identity. Proportionally more student respondents (72 UI students, 67 UCLA students) indicated "Korean American" identity as their primary identity than young adults (58). The remaining respondents generally indicated Korean identity as their primary ethnic identity (22 UCLA students, 16 UI students and 25 young adults). Most of the respondents with a Korean identity were born in Korea and came to the United States later as school age children. Under this condition, only a few of the respondents indicated other identities (Asian Americans, Americans or others) as their primary ethnic identity. These findings show that with the exception of those who came to the United State late and thus currently identify primarily as Koreans, most of the respondents adopt "Korean American" as their primary ethnic identity. The findings support Hypothesis 1.

Altogether, 241 or 82.6 percent of the total respondents identify themselves as Korean Americans . . .

For a further test of Hypothesis 1, the respondents' ethnic identity is measured by the following question: "Some people feel a sense of belongingness to or identification with one particular race/ethnic group in the United States, while others feel, with more than one group. What is your sense of belongingness to or identification with the race/ethnic groups stated below?" The respondents are then given the following response categories: "I think of myself as a(n) 'Korean,' 'Korean American,' 'Asian American,' 'American' or 'Other.' " The respondents were then asked to indicate all the categories which are appropriate for their current ethnic identity.

Table 2 shows the response patterns of respondents' ethnic identity. The most frequently reported type of ethnic identity is "Korean American" only

Table 1. Percent of Primary Ethnic Identity by Sample Site

Ethnic Identity	UI Students (n=99) (%)	UCLA Students (n=100) (%)	Young Adults (n=98) (%)	Total (n=297) (%)
1. Korean	16.0	22.0	26.0	21.0
2. Korean American	73.0	68.0	59.0	66.0
3. Asian American	7.0	7.0	4.0	6.0
4. American	4.0	3.0	8.0	5.0
5. Other	0.0	1.0	3.0	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(82; 28 percent). As indicated in Table 2, nearly one-half of young adults (42) and about one-fifth of UI (22) and UCLA (18) students identify themselves only as Korean Americans—a single identity. Slightly more than one-half of the respondents (159; 54.6 percent) include "Korean American" as part of their ethnic identity in addition to other identities ("Korean," "Asian American" and/or "American")—multiple identities. Proportionally more student respondents (63 UI students, 66 UCLA students) identify themselves as being "Korean," "Asian American" and/or "American" than young adults (30). Altogether, 241 or 82.6 percent of the total respondents identify themselves as "Korean American" exclusively or in addition to other identities. These findings empirically support Hypothesis 1.

The above findings presented in Table 2 also support Hypothesis 2. The majority of the respondents (159; 54.6 percent) hold "Korean American" as part of their identity in addition to other identities. Many other respondents hold two or more identities without the "Korean American" identity. The two groups of respondents with multiple identities thus support Hypothesis 2. In a separate analysis of the data for each of the three groups of respondents. Hypothesis 2 is empirically supported by the two student groups, but not by the non-student adult group. As already shown, nearly one-half of young adults identify themselves as "Korean American" only.

Table 2 shows diverse patterns of respondents' ethnic identity. For a better understanding of the diverse patterns, respondents are further classified into three broad types of ethnic identity, as shown in Table 3: (1) Korean/ Korean American, (2) Asian American identity without American identity, and (3) American identity generally with other identities. As already noted, a large number of the respondents in the sample identify themselves exclusively as Korean Americans. Additionally, a small number of respondents identify themselves as Koreans (19) or as both Koreans and Korean Americans (28). As a whole, 129 respondents, or 44 percent of the total, identify

themselves exclusively as Koreans and/or Korean Americans. Table 3 also indicates that when the three groups of respondents are examined separately, more than one-third of student respondents (36 UI students and 39 UCLA students) and slightly more than one-half of young adult respondents (54 young adults) identify themselves as Koreans and/or Korean Americans. For these individuals, their ethnic identity does not go beyond the "Korean" or "Korean American" boundary.

As shown in Table 2, a small proportion of the respondents identify themselves as Koreans, Korean Americans and Asian Americans (36; 12.3 percent). Proportionally more student respondents (14 UI students and 18 UCLA students) identify themselves as Koreans, Korean Americans and Asian Americans than young adults (4). A small number of the respondents identify with the categories "Korean Americans and Asian Americans" (20; 6.8 percent), while few of the respondents identify themselves as Koreans and Asian Ameri-

Table 2. Percent of Ethnic Identity by Sample Site

Ethnic Identity	UI Students (n=99) (%)	UCLA Students (n=100) (%)	Young Adults (n=98) (%)	Total (n=297) (%)
1. Korean, Korean American, Asian American, American	15.3	20.4	3.1	13.0
2. Korean, Korean American, Asian American	14.3	18.4	4.1	12.3
3. Korean, Korean American, American	8.2	2.0	2.1	4.1
4. Korean, Asian American, American	3.1	0.0	0.0	1.0
5. Korean, Korean American	9.2	15.3	4.1	9.6
6. Korean, Asian American	0.0	3.1	1.0	1.4
7. Korean, American	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0
8. Korean	5.1	6.1	8.2	6.5
9. Korean American, Asian American, American	7.1	5.1	0.0	4.1
10. Korean American, Asian American	8.2	5.1	7.2	6.8
11. Korean American, American	2.0	1.0	10.3	4.4
12. Korean American	22.4	18.4	43.3	28.0
13. Asian American, American	2.0	0.0	1.0	1.0
14. Asian American	2.0	2.0	7.2	3.8
15. American	0.0	1.0	8.2	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

cans (4; 1.4 percent) or only Asian Americans (11; 3.8 percent). As a whole, about one-fourth of the respondents (71; 24.2 percent) include "Asian American" identity in their ethnic identity without American identity (24 UI students, 28 UCLA students and 19 young adults), as summarized in Table 3.

About 10 percent of the respondents (38; 13 percent) identify with all of the ethnic categories given: "Korean," "Korean American," "Asian American" and "American." Significantly higher numbers of UI and UCLA students (15 and 20, respectively) identify themselves with all the ethnic categories compared to young adults (3). A large number of the respondents also include "American" as one of their ethnic identities: Koreans, Korean Americans and Americans (12; 4.1 percent); Koreans, Asian Americans and Americans (3; 1.0 percent); Koreans and Americans (3; 1.0 percent); Korean Americans, Asian Americans and Americans (12; 4.1 percent); Korean Americans and Americans (13; 4.4 percent); Asian Americans and Americans (3; 1.0 percent); and exclusively Americans (9; 3.1 percent). In fact, as shown in Table 3, more than 30 percent of all respondents (93; 31.8 percent) identify exclusively as "American" or include American identity in addition to other identities (38 UI student, 31 UCLA students, and 24 young adults).

The respondents' three broad types of ethnic identity are found to be related to the respondents' birth place. Among those who identify themselves as Koreans or Korean Americans, three-fourths (95; 74.8 percent) were born in Korea, and only one-fourth (32; 25.2 percent) were born in the US. In contrast, the majority of those whose identity includes "American" (49; 53.8 percent) were born in the US and the rest were born in Korea (42; 46.2 percent). Similarly, the majority of those whose identity includes "Asian American" without "American" identity (42; 59.8 percent) were born in Korea and the rest were born in the US (29; 40.8 percent). Therefore, the respondents' birth place is significantly associated with the three broad types of ethnic identity (chi-square value=18.8, df=2, $p < .001$).

As Table 4 shows, the respondents (108; 83.7 percent) who currently identify as Koreans or Korean Americans were proportionally more affiliated

Table 3. Percent of Three Broad Types of Ethnic Identity by Sample Site

Ethnic Identity	UI Students (n=99) (%)	UCLA Students (n=100) (%)	Young Adults (n=98) (%)	Total (n=297) (%)
1. Korean, Korean American	36.7	39.8	55.7	44.0
2. Asian American without American identity	24.5	28.6	19.6	24.2
3. American with or without other identity	38.8	31.6	24.6	31.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4. Percent of Church Affiliation as High School Student by Three Broad Types of Ethnic Identity

Ethnic Identity	Korean or Korean American (n=129) (%)	Asian American without American identity (n= 71) (%)	American with or without other identity (n=93) (%)
1. Affiliated	83.8	77.5	68.8
2. Not Affiliated	16.2	22.5	31.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-squared value = 6.9, df = 2, $p < 0.05$

with Korean ethnic church during high school than those who currently identify as Asian Americans without American identity (55; 77.5 percent). In turn, those who include "Asian American" as part of their ethnic identity without "American" identity were proportionally more affiliated with Korean ethnic church as high school students than those whose ethnic identity includes "American" identity (64; 68.8 percent). As a result, the three broad types of ethnic identity are significantly related to the respondents' affiliation with Korean ethnic churches as high school students. In a separate three-group analysis, both UI students and non-student young adults confirm the above relationship. Among UCLA students, however, those whose ethnic identity includes an Asian American identity without an American identity are proportionally more affiliated with Korean ethnic churches as high school students.

Table 5 indicates that whether or not respondents had close Korean friends during high school is also significantly correlated with their current broad type of ethnic identity. Among those who identify as Koreans/Korean Americans, about 70 percent had one (29; 22.5 percent), two (26; 20.2 percent), or three or more (37; 28.7 percent) close Korean friends as high school students. In contrast, the majority of those whose ethnic identity includes American identity (54; 58.1 percent) did not have any close Korean friends. The rest of them had one (21; 22.6 percent), two (10; 10.8 percent) or three or more (8; 8.6 percent) close Korean friends during high school years. The likelihood of having had close Korean friends during high school among those respondents whose current ethnic identity includes Asian American identity without American identity lies in between those from the above two other general types of ethnic identity.

The respondents could have met their close Korean friends at a Korean ethnic church, school or other places. It is very likely that their Korean ethnic churches might have provided them more opportunity to meet their Korean friends than any other place. Among those who were affiliated with Korean ethnic church, two-thirds (151; 66.5 percent) had close Korean friends, but less than one-half of those who did not attend Korean ethnic church (28; 42.6 percent) had close Korean friends. This finding demonstrates an indi-

Table 5. Number of Close Korean Friends as High School Student by Three Broad Types of Ethnic Identity

Ethnic Identity	Korean or Korean American (n=129) (%)	Asian American without American identity (n= 71) (%)	American with or without other identity (n=93) (%)
1. None	28.7	32.4	58.1
2. One	22.4	28.2	22.5
3. Two	20.2	25.4	10.8
4. Three or More	28.7	14.0	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-squared value = 31.5, df = 6, $p < 0.001$

rect role of Korean ethnic church for the development of their current state of ethnic identity through its function as a gathering and socializing place to meet other Korean peers. These analyses of the relationships between respondents' place of birth, church affiliation, and having close Korean friends as high school students empirically support Hypothesis 3.

Finally, Table 6 presents the findings on the respondents' sense of pride regarding their Korean ethnic heritage. Regardless of type of ethnic identity, most respondents strongly agree or agree with the statement, "On the whole, I feel good about my Korean cultural background." Most respondents also strongly agree or agree with the statement, "It is important to teach Korean American children Korean history and culture." Regardless of their broad type of ethnic identity, they also strongly disagree or disagree with

Table 6. Attitude toward Ethnic Heritage by Three Broad Types of Ethnic Identity

Attitude toward Ethnic Heritage	Korean or Korean American (n=129) (%)	Asian American without American identity (n= 71) (%)	American with or without other identity (n=93) (%)
1. "On the whole, I feel good about my Korean cultural background." (often or most always)	82.9	78.6	73.1
2. "It is important to teach Korean American children Korean history and culture." (agree or strongly agree)	96.1	91.5	90.0
3. "It is necessary to give up one's Korean heritage in order to be successful in the United States." (disagree or strongly disagree)	90.6	84.3	90.0

the statement, "It is necessary to give up one's Korean heritage in order to be successful in the United States." These findings demonstrate their positive attitude toward retention of Korean ethnic heritage, confirming Hypothesis 4.

Conclusion

While the white dominant group generally perceives and treats Korean American children as part of a larger group of Asian Americans, the parents of Korean American children, ethnic churches and other ethnic institutions have played important roles in shaping the development of their ethnic identity as Korean Americans. This framework's validity has been demonstrated by the observation that most of the respondents in this study choose a Korean American identity as their primary ethnic identity. However, even for those who were born in Korea and came to the US as school age children, it is our contention that the children's experience of Americanization and their future orientation also facilitates an inclination to include some other race/ethnic groups as part of their ethnic identity—multiple identities. This contention has been supported by the great majority of the respondents who indicate that they hold an Asian American identity and/or American identity along with their Korean American identity.

Those who were born in Korea and came to the US in their school ages are significantly more likely to hold Korean and/or Korean American identity exclusively. . . .

This study of multiple identities has empirically demonstrated the diversity of young Korean Americans' current state of ethnic identity. This study also demonstrates the advantage of the multiple identity approach, differentiating among those who identify themselves as Korean Americans. With their acceptance of Korean American identity as their primary identity, they are found to be highly differentiated in terms of various types of multiple identities.

The multiple identities of children of Korean immigrants are different from many whites' recognition of multiple ancestry in their ethnic identity. When a white person states that he or she is a Scott-German-French American, the person recognizes the multiple sources of his or her ancestry, but it refers to a single identity category.[16] In contrast, multiple identities of Korean American young adults indicate an assortment of different ethnic identities in their own ethnic identity. Conceptually, "Korean American" is a subcategory of "Asian American." But in their daily life, Korean Americans are likely to treat Koreans and Asian Americans as two different ethnic categories. When the respondents state that they are Korean Americans, they would think of themselves as those who associate with other Korean Americans and share a common ethnic way of life with other Korean Americans. But when they say that they are also Asian Americans, they are likely to mean their association with Chinese, Japanese,

Vietnamese or other Asian Americans rather than with Korean Americans. In a similar way, "Asian American" is a subcategory of "American." But socially and psychologically, when the respondents talk about Americans, they usually mean whites and other Americans rather than Asian Americans. In this sense, the two groups are likely to be treated as separate racial categories.

Our data do not allow us to test the direct influence of the respondents' family on the development of their current ethnic identity. However, the data show a considerable amount of evidence that the nature of the respondents' connection with Korean society and Korean American ethnic ties, including kinship, the same ethnic peer groups, and ethnic churches and community, has greatly influenced the respondents' current state of ethnic identity. Those who were born in Korea and came to the US in their school ages are significantly more likely to hold Korean and/or Korean American identity exclusively in comparison with other respondents. Strong evidence of ethnic influence on the development of their current ethnic identity comes from their affiliation with Korean ethnic church as high school students. The study findings suggest that their experience of Korean ethnic church affiliation is associated with respondents' likelihood of holding exclusive Korean American identity, as opposed to holding other types of ethnic identity. Their experience of having close Korean friends as high school students has also increased the likelihood of holding Korean/Korean American identity, rather than other broad types of ethnic identity.

What the respondents demonstrate with their multiple identities is a tendency to adopt a pluralistic way of life. This . . . does not necessarily exclude the American identity.

The current state of the respondents' multiple identities raises two interesting issues: (1) the meaning that the respondents attach to some of their multiple identities and (2) the conditions under which the respondents are likely to adopt some of their multiple identities. For those respondents who identify exclusively as Koreans and/or Korean Americans, their identity boundary is mostly limited to the world of Koreans or Korean Americans. Their commitment to their identity is, therefore, expected to be strong as members of a racially distinct group. They are likely to be highly interested in the affairs of Korean Americans, but relatively less so in the affairs of other people in the US. When the respondents' identity includes Asian Americans without American identity, most of them hold both Korean/Korean American and Asian American identities. Since Asian Americans are treated as an important minority group in the US, Korean Americans share numerous experiences and interests together with other Asian Americans. Their identification with Asian Americans would, therefore, stimulate them to be highly conscious of minority-related issues. Therefore, they are likely to hold a strong Korean/Korean American identity along with a strong sense of minority consciousness.

The respondents whose identity includes Americans would hold a different sense of ethnic identity. Their identification with Americans suggests that they perceive themselves as members of the American society or even as part of the white dominant group. When their ethnic identity extends to the whole American society, it is possible that their commitment to Korean or Korean American identity and minority-related issues might be weaker than their counterparts.

The respondents' response to an open-ended question suggests that they are more conscious of some of their multiple identities under a certain social condition. When the respondents are with other Asian American students on the campus or at workplace, they are more conscious of their Asian American status. When they are with white Americans, however, the respondents would be strongly conscious of their Korean American identity or Asian American identity or sometimes feel a strong identification with white Americans, depending on the social context of their contact with white Americans. The social context of interpersonal relations is thus found to be an important factor which activates a certain type of ethnic identity. In this respect, an interesting pattern is observed. Some respondents indicate that they become aware of their American identity, when they visit Korea. People in Korea perceive, expect, and treat the respondents as Americans. Such perceptions and treatment make them conscious of their American identity.

Another condition in which multiple ethnic identities are noticed by respondents is when certain social and political issues have ethnic implications or are sensitively related to some of the respondents' own multiple identities. For example, when a bilingual issue is intensively debated as a political issue, the respondents are likely to be more aware of their Asian American identity and related minority consciousness through their observation of the position taken by the majority of affected minority groups. Most respondents also indicate that the 1992 Los Angeles racial disturbance significantly raised their awareness of their Korean American identity. Political attempts to curtail immigration to the US in recent years also sensitize their awareness of common interests as Asian Americans or children of Asian immigrants.

Finally, the finding that most of the respondents identify themselves as Koreans and/or Korean Americans suggests that they have not been assimilated into the American way of life. If they were fully assimilated into the American society and American way of life, most of them would have chosen American identity as their major or only ethnic identity. This is not generally the case for most of the respondents. Furthermore, most of those who identify themselves as American also include Korean American identity or other identities along with their American identity. What the respondents demonstrate with their multiple identities is a tendency to adopt a pluralistic way of life. This pluralistic way of life does not necessarily exclude the American identity. Rather, it suggests that they are likely to accommodate the

assimilation of both ways of life in the development of their current ethnic identity.

Notes:

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5. Jean S. Phinney and Doreen A. Rosenthal, "Ethnic Identity in Adolescence: Process, Context and Outcome," in G. Adams, T.T. Gulotta and R. Montemayor (Eds.) *Adolescence Identity Formation* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992), 145–172.
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9. Joane Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture," *Social Problems* 41 (1994): 152–176.
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11. Jean S. Phinney, "Stages of Ethnic Identity Development in Minority Group Adolescents," *Journal of Early Adolescence* 9 (1989): 34–49.
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14. Herbert Gans, "Second-generation Decline: Scenarios for the Economic and Ethnic Futures of the Post-1965 American Immigrants," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 15 (1992): 1173–192.
15. Min Zhou and Carl L. Bankston, *Growing Up American* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998).
16. Richard D. Alba, *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America.*


Don't be MISSING in History
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Culture and Ethnicity in Parenting: Korean American Parenting Styles and Adolescent Problem Behavior

Eunai Shrake

Abstract

This study examined the overall pattern of perceived parenting styles of Korean American immigrant parents and their effects on adolescent problem behavior. Analyses of survey data from 218 Korean American adolescents indicated that Korean American adolescents perceived their parents as "authoritarian yet warm" and that this parenting style had an adverse effect on adolescents' internalizing problems but not on externalizing problems. These findings result partly as a function of the Korean American culture and ethnic context. Since these findings differ from European American cultural norms, the results suggest that we need to consider the implications of culture as well as the ethnic experience in understanding the dynamics of parent-child relationships in Asian American immigrant families. They also suggest that culturally sensitive indices for Asian American parenting research are necessary.

Introduction

In spite of the general consensus about the relationship between parenting practice and adolescent development, little research has examined cultural variation in the effect of parenting styles on adolescent problems. Also, despite recent reports of increasing rates of depression, suicide, and juvenile delinquency among Asian American adolescents, much of the existing research on Asian American adolescents has focused mainly on academic performance, thus ignoring other aspects of adolescent development such as psychological and behavioral problems.[1]

The present study addresses this important yet neglected area of adolescent development by focusing on the relationships between perceived parenting styles and problem behaviors among Korean American adolescents. More specifically, this study first attempts to identify overall patterns of Korean American parenting styles, then to examine the potential differences in the effect of parenting styles on adolescent problems as a function of Korean American culture.

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Potential for Problems among Korean American Adolescents

Traditionally, researchers have attributed the problems besetting adolescents in our society to inadequate parenting, socioeconomic status, low self-esteem or peer pressure. Of all the factors considered to affect adolescent problems, many empirical studies have emphasized in one way or another poor parenting practice (i.e., authoritarian or permissive control, parental hostility and poor supervision) as the most consistent and powerful predictor of adolescent problems ranging from psychological distress to juvenile delinquency.[2] In other words, the previous parenting literature clearly demonstrates that there is a greater probability that the adolescent will become involved in problem behaviors if he/she experiences inadequate parenting in the areas of parental control, parental warmth and parental monitoring.

In Korean immigrant families, where intergenerational culture conflict exists between first generation parents and second generation adolescent children, an even greater potential for problems in parent-adolescent relationships may exist. For example, Korean American parents who generally adhere to the traditional Korean culture that guarantees great parental authority tend to exert strict control over their children, while second generation adolescents who quickly adopt American values of autonomy and freedom often challenge parental authority. In this context, it is very plausible that adolescents perceive their parents as too controlling. Also plausible is that first generation parents who are overwhelmed by the cultural difference may become over-acquiescent to adolescents' needs for autonomy and thus become too permissive. Therefore, the acculturation difference between parents and adolescents in the Korean immigrant family may forecast adolescents' negative perceptions of their parents which in turn may generate greater potential for adolescent problems.

Korean American adolescents may find themselves in the worst possible situation for their psychosocial development.

In fact, authoritarian control is the most widely criticized problem in Korean American parenting. Several studies suggest that the highly strict, authoritarian parenting style of Korean Americans is detrimental to adolescent psychosocial maturity because it may impede the adolescents' need for independence and autonomy.[3] However, a more problematic style of Korean American parenting has been identified by Young Pai, et al..[4] In their national survey of Korean American adolescents, they found that slightly less than half of the sample (44 percent) perceived their parents as both authoritarian and permissive, vacillating between the two extremes in exercising parental control. Sometimes parents were very rigid and strict with their children, while at other times they were too permissive, displaying little guidance for their children's activities. Considering previous research indicating that adolescent problems are positively associated with parental over-control as well as parental failure to exercise control, this interesting combination of

authoritarian and permissive parenting styles implies that Korean American adolescents may find themselves in the worst possible situation for their psychosocial development.[5]

Another problem with Korean American parenting styles arises when parental control and warmth dimensions are combined. According to Sandra Pettengill and R.P. Rohner, in contrast to Korean adolescents in Korea who perceived their parents as warm despite their perception of high parental control, Korean American adolescents, similar to their American counterparts, perceived strict parental control in association with parental hostility.[6] This finding implies a particular effect of the acculturation process on the adolescents' perception of their parents. As Korean American adolescents become more acculturated, they may begin to interpret their parents' strictness as overall rejection. Considering Rohner's contention that parental rejection may induce disturbances in adolescent development, this finding may indicate a likely source for the developmental problems of Korean American adolescents.

The authoritative scale assesses the degree to which the parent encourages independent behavior, sets reasonable and well-defined rules, and communicates with children.

In addition, despite frequent reports of strong concern for their children, it has been noted that Korean American parents do not focus on providing proper supervision.[7] This lack of parental monitoring may result from lengthy absences of both parents due to their long work hours to support the family and also from a language gap between parents and adolescents.[8] The parental absence and language barriers that are rather typical in the immigrant family context, may present serious implications for problems in Korean American parenting, since parental monitoring involves not only parents' knowledge of the child's activities and friends but also actual supervision of, and communication with, the child.[9]

Given the emphasis on the negative effect of poor parenting practice on adolescent problems, the literature on the Korean American parenting styles underscores potential problems of adolescent development and also points to the need for more in-depth study of parenting practice and its effect on adolescent problems in this population.

Method

Sample

The subjects for this study consisted of 218 Korean American adolescents who attended high schools in the Los Angeles area. The sample included 94 males (43.1 percent) and 124 females (56.9 percent). Subjects ranged in age from 13 to 18 with a mean of 15.8 years (SD=1.66). Slightly more than half (51.8 percent) of the subjects were born in Korea and 46.3 percent were born in the United States. However, of the subjects who were born outside of the United

States, approximately 40 percent came before the age of six while only 13.7 percent came after the age of twelve. Thus, nearly three quarters (73 percent) of the sample belonged to the second generation and only 27 percent fit Won Moo Hurh's description of the 1.5 generation.[10] Sixty-four percent of the fathers and 50 percent of the mothers of the subjects were college graduates.

Measures

This study employs the written survey method for both dependent variables (problem behaviors) and independent variables (parenting styles). The *Youth Self-Report Inventory* (YSR) was used to measure adolescent problems.[11] A parenting style measure was constructed by utilizing the *Parental Authority Questionnaire*, the *Child Report of Parental Behavior Inventory*, and the *Parental Monitoring Scale*.[12]

The YSR is a 112-item instrument that contains subscales to identify core syndromes of adolescent problems: withdrawn, anxious/depressed, somatic complaints, aggressive behavior, and delinquent behavior.[13] Thomas Achenbach designated the first three syndromes as "internalizing" problems, and the remaining two syndromes as "externalizing" problems. Therefore, the internalizing problems were measured by the total of scores in the withdrawn, anxious/depressed, and somatic complaints scales while externalizing problems were comprised of sum scores of items in the aggressive and delinquent behavior scales. The YSR problem scales have been found to be internally consistent, with the alpha coefficients ranging from .72 to .89 in this sample.

Boys reported more frequent externalizing problems while girls tended to experience more internalizing problems.

Perception of parental control was measured by the *Parental Authority Questionnaire* (PAQ).[14] The PAQ is a 30-item instrument developed as a standardized measure of D. Baumrind's parental control prototypes: authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting styles.[15] The measure consists of 10 authoritarian, 10 authoritative, and 10 permissive parenting statements, which are marked on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "almost never" (1) to "almost always" (5). The authoritarian scale measures the extent to which the parent emphasizes firm limits and controls while providing few reasons or explanations and minimal tolerance for verbal give-and-take. The authoritative scale assesses the degree to which the parent encourages independent behavior, sets reasonable and well-defined rules, and communicates with children. Finally, the permissive scale measures the extent to which the parent allows children extreme autonomy and freedom. It should be noted that the items on the PAQ were reworded in the present tense so that they could be easily read and understood by adolescents. One item in each subscale was deleted due to the complexity of its wording for early adolescents. The alpha

coefficients of all three scales for the present sample ranged from .84 to .89.

Since the PAQ covered the parental control dimension, the 14 items selected from CRPBI for the present study addressed the parental warmth and hostility dimension.[16] For example, a question like "My parents almost always speak to me with a warm and friendly voice" assesses the respondent's perception of parental warmth, while a question such as "My parents act as though I'm in the way" assesses the respondent's perception of parental hostility. Each item in the original inventory is answered on a three-point scale ranging from 1 to 3. Following the PAQ format, this measure was reformatted to a five-point scale. For the present sample, Cronbach's alpha was .90 for the parental warmth scale and .87 for the parental hostility scale.

The parental monitoring scale is designed to measure parents' attempts to monitor children as well as their actual monitoring practice.[17] The attempted monitoring scale is composed of eight items which ask respondents to assess on a three-point scale how much their parents *try* to know about such issues as "Who your friends are," and "Where you are most afternoons after school." The actual monitoring scale repeated the eight items of the attempted monitoring scale but asked respondents to rate how much their parents *really* know about their activities. Total item scores for each scale were calculated to assess levels of attempted monitoring and actual monitoring. For the present sample, a reliability analysis yielded Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .79 for attempted monitoring and .84 for actual monitoring.

Respondents also rated their parents higher on parental warmth than on parental hostility.

Results

Overall Patterns

Table 1 provides descriptive information about the overall patterns of perceived parenting styles and adolescent problem behaviors. Descriptive analysis of the data suggested that Korean American adolescents experience slightly more internalizing problems than externalizing problems. Out of a possible maximum score of 96, the mean score of the internalizing problems scale was 50.15, while the mean of the externalizing problem scale was 47.66 out of a possible 93. The most frequent internalizing problem reported by adolescents was withdrawn syndrome, whereas the most frequent externalizing problem was aggressive behavior. Boys reported more frequent externalizing problems while girls tended to experience more internalizing problems.

Findings on overall patterns of parenting styles indicated that Korean American adolescents in the present sample perceived their parents as primarily authoritarian in exercising parental control, though the perception of

Table 1. Means, Range and Standard Deviations for Measures

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Range
1. Parental Control			
Authoritarian	28.18	6.97	9 - 45
Authoritative	27.47	6.41	9 - 45
Permissive	22.16	5.58	9 - 45
2. Parental Warmth			
Warmth	22.20	5.89	7 - 35
Hostility	15.19	5.43	7 - 35
3. Monitoring			
Actual	16.42	3.86	8 - 24
Attempted	19.00	3.24	8 - 24
4. Problem Behavior			
Internalizing	50.15	11.55	32 - 96
Externalizing	47.66	11.40	31 - 93

authoritative parenting style was also relatively high. Out of a possible maximum score of 45, the mean on the authoritarian scale was 28.18, while that on the authoritative scale was 27.47. In addition, on a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, about 56 percent of all respondents rated their parents as 3 or higher on the authoritarian scale items and approximately 49 percent of them rated their parents as 3 or higher on the authoritative scale items. Respondents reported their parents as lowest on permissive style, with its mean being 22.16. Only 25 percent of all respondents rated their parents as 3 or higher on the permissive parenting scale items.

Respondents also rated their parents higher on parental warmth than on parental hostility. Out of a possible maximum score of 35, the mean on the parental warmth scale was 22.20, whereas the mean on the parental hostility scale was 15.18. On a 5-point scale, 65 percent of the respondents rated their parents as 3 or higher on the warmth scale items while only 19 percent did so on the hostility scale items. Concerning parental monitoring practice, adolescents reported their parents higher on attempted monitoring (19.00) than on actual monitoring (16.42).

No gender difference was found on parental control variables and parental warmth or hostility variables. However, significant gender differences were evidenced on both actual and attempted monitoring scales. Girls per-

ceived their parents higher on both attempted (t=-2.18, df=214, p<.03) and actual monitoring (t=-2.02, df=215, p<.04) than boys.

The perception of high parental monitoring by girls may reflect the effect of traditional Korean beliefs about gender difference on parental behavior. In other words, a strict gender differentiation rooted in the Korean culture that restricts girls' activities may still affect Korean American parenting, resulting in stricter supervision over girls than boys. At any rate, girls' perception of high parental monitoring may be an important factor in explaining less frequent externalizing problems in girls than in boys, which was shown earlier.

The finding that Korean American parents are perceived as primarily authoritarian, yet also authoritative, contradicts Pai, et al.'s finding of an authoritarian/permissive parenting style in which Korean American parents vacillate between the two extremes of parental control.[18] The contradiction may be due to the demographic difference in the samples. Compared to Pai, et al.'s sample, which contained mainly first and 1.5 generation Korean American adolescents, the sample in the present investigation involved mostly second generation Korean American adolescents. In other words, the adolescents and their parents' length of residence in the United States in this study sample is longer than in Pai et al.'s sample, which is an indication of a higher acculturation level of their parents that may have influenced their parenting practices.

However, the most interesting finding is that many Korean American adolescents in the present sample perceived their parents as warm despite their perceptions of high authoritarian control. This finding of an "authoritarian yet warm" parenting style is intriguing since most previous researchers have argued that adolescents tend to perceive authoritarian control in association with parental hostility and rejection.[19] This result also contradicts Pettengill and Rohner's finding that Korean American adolescents, unlike Korean adolescents in Korea, tend to associate authoritarian control with parental hostility.[20] The contradiction should be viewed in relation to the regional difference in samples. Compared to Pettengill and Rohner's sample, which was recruited from areas of Connecticut where the general assimilation level of Asian American adolescents is relatively high, the sample in this study was drawn from the Los Angeles area where biculturalism among Asian American adolescents is high. It may also reflect transnational cultural influences which have become more predominant since the time of Pai, et al.'s study in the 1980's. Korean American adolescents have been exposed to more Korean culture through the Internet, cable TV, karaoke, and Korean video rentals. There have also been increased opportunities to travel to Korea. This increased cultural exposure may have enabled adolescents to sense a certain degree of shared cultural values with their parents, which in turn may have helped them interpret their parents' parenting behaviors in a more positive *tone*. Thus, this

. . . Adolescents who perceived their parents as more authoritarian or more hostile were more likely to experience internalizing problems.

perception of an "authoritarian yet warm" parenting style seems to demonstrate the bicultural context of Korean American adolescents in which adolescents tend to understand their parents' culture where strict parental control is often accompanied by great parental care and sacrifice.

Parenting Styles and Problem Behavior

Apart from the initial goal of identifying overall patterns of perceived parenting styles among Korean American adolescents, the main purpose of this study is to identify particular effects of parenting styles on adolescent problem behaviors. In order to achieve this purpose, separate regressions were carried out for externalizing problems and for internalizing problems.

In selecting predictor variables, five parenting composites (authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, parental hostility, actual monitoring) were selected. Parental warmth and attempted monitoring scales, which were highly correlated with parental hostility and actual monitoring respectively, were deleted from the predictor variables to avoid the problem of multicollinearity. In addition, for the internalizing problems, the permissive parenting scale was also deleted from the predictor variables due to the lack of empirical evidence of this variable in its relationship with internalizing problems. Selected demographic variables such as gender, length of residence, and parents' education level, were controlled for in each regression. Parents' education level, which was the sole indicator of adolescents' socioeconomic status in this study, was computed by averaging father's education and mother's education. In addition, a length of residence variable was created by subtracting adolescents' age when they came to the United States from their present age.

In conducting the regression analyses, a hierarchical approach using blockwise entry was used. The demographic variables grouped in the first block were forced to enter first. Then, the parenting variables grouped in the second block were entered, using the stepwise method. Table 2 presents the regression results for the internalizing problems and Table 3 for the externalizing problems.

Internalizing Problems

As presented in Table 2, when the internalizing problems were regressed on demographic and parenting variables, the two parenting variables (authoritarian parenting and parental hostility) showed significant effects on the outcome variable. As expected, when the directions of the effects were examined, both authoritarian parenting (beta=.1875, p=.015) and parental hostility (beta=.2722, p=.001) had significant positive effects on the outcome variable, indicating that adolescents who perceived their parents as more authoritarian or more hostile were more likely to experience internalizing problems. In contrast, authoritative parenting showed a weak negative effect

Table 2. Summary of Multiple Regression of Internalizing Problems on Demographic and Parenting Style Variables

Step /Variable	Beta	T	Sig. T	R-squared
1. Demographic Variables				
Gender	0.119	1.651	0.100	
Parents' Education	-0.047	-0.645	0.519	
Length of Residence in U.S.	-0.007	-0.101	0.920	0.017
2. Parenting Variables				
Hostility	0.272	3.521	0.001	0.131
Authoritarian	0.118	2.448	0.015	0.161

R-squared total = 0.161, Adjusted R-squared = 0.140, F = 6.379 ($p < 0.0001$)

on the outcome variable but it was not statistically significant. None of the demographic variables were found to have a significant effect on the internalizing problems.

The results are consistent with previous parenting literature which has demonstrated the harmful effect of authoritarian parenting and parental hostility on adolescent psychological development.[21] However, the finding that authoritative parenting was not a predictor of internalizing problems is surprising since this result contradicts previous research findings which demonstrated a strong inverse relationship between authoritative parenting style and adolescents' psychological problems.[22]

Externalizing Problems

Table 3 presents the results of a regression analysis on externalizing problems. Of the five parenting variables, parental hostility had the most significant independent effect (beta=.2563, p=.002) on the outcome variable, indicating that adolescents who perceived their parents as more hostile were more likely to engage in externalizing problems. In addition, actual monitoring also showed a moderately significant inverse effect on the outcome variable (beta=-.1593, p=.051). This inverse relationship indicates that actual monitoring had a positive implication in preventing adolescents' externalizing problems. In other words, after controlling for the effect of demographic variables, externalizing problems were strongly predicted by high ratings on parental hostility and moderately predicted by low ratings on actual monitoring. Interestingly, however, none of the parental control variables (authoritarian, authoritative, permissive) were found to have a significant effect on externalizing problems.

The finding that authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were unrelated to externalizing problems was surprising since this contradicts the previous research findings that indicated high correlations of authoritarian parenting and parental permissiveness with deviant behaviors of adolescents.[23] However, this set of findings seems to support the contention of previous researchers that parental hostility and monitoring dimensions are better predictors of adolescent problem behaviors than the parental control dimension of parenting style.[24]

Among the demographic variables, gender (beta=-.1787, p=.014) was a significant predictor of the outcome variable, with the minus sign indicating that girls had less externalizing problems than boys. In addition, length of residence in the United States (beta=.1556, p=.034) showed a significant positive effect on the outcome variable, demonstrating that a longer stay in the States increased adolescents' likelihood of having more externalizing problems. However, as with internalizing problems, parents' education level did not show any effect on the outcome variable.

It may not be surprising that girls had less frequent externalizing problems since researchers noted that the observed gender difference in problem behavior patterns may be universal across culture.[25] However, the finding that adolescents who stayed in the United States longer (mostly second generation) had more externalizing problems is an interesting result. This finding may be explained by looking at the relationship between length of residence in the United States and the assimilation level of adolescents. Adolescents with an extended length of residence in the United States may have become more Americanized, losing traditional Asian traits of being cautious in the expression of feelings and of social introversion, while acquiring more

Table 3. Summary of Multiple Regression of Externalizing Problems on Demographic and Parenting Style Variables

Step /Variable	Beta	T	Sig. T	R-squared
1. Demographic Variables				
Gender	-0.178	-2.480	0.014	
Parents' Education	0.053	0.747	0.456	
Length of Residence in U.S.	0.156	2.144	0.034	0.070
2. Parenting Variables				
Hostility	0.256	3.203	0.001	0.177
Authoritarian	-0.169	-1.958	0.051	0.196

R-squared total = 0.196, Adjusted R-squared = 0.171, F = 7.862 ($p < 0.0001$)

aggressive styles of behavior. This in turn may increase the probability of "acting out" and thus involvement in externalizing problems.

Another interesting finding is that although many studies on adolescent problems have shown parents' education levels to be closely linked to the socio-economic status of adolescents, and thus a strong predictor of adolescent problems, it was not the case in this study. This finding may reflect the immigrant context of Korean Americans in which education level does not automatically transfer into socio-economic status. More often than not, language difficulty and other cultural differences force many highly educated Korean American immigrants into small business or manual jobs, causing a mismatch between education level and socio-economic status. Consequently, as shown in this finding, parents' education level may not be a reliable indicator of Korean American adolescents' socio-economic status.

Discussion

Overall Patterns of Perceived Parenting Styles

My finding that the authoritarian parenting style was the most predominant parenting style perceived by Korean American adolescents is consistent with previous research on Korean American parenting styles.[26] Interestingly, however, adolescents in this sample also perceived their parents as authoritative in exercising parental control.

The perceptions of a primarily authoritarian yet also authoritative parenting style may be an indication of a dual system of cultural values of Korean American parents that is reflected in their parenting practice. For example, Lee's study of Korean American childrearing practices illustrates that Korean American parents vacillate between traditional Korean values and modern American values in their parenting practice.[27] They persist in Korean values in the areas of emotional independence training, types of punishment, and differential gender roles, while they undergo changes in the areas of training in physical independence, types of rewards, and handling aggression. Strom, Park, and Daniels' study also suggests that Korean American parents are making some practical shifts from traditional Korean values but still hold traditional Korean values such as the hierarchical family relations.[28] In this sense, Korean American parents adopting American values may have allowed a certain amount of autonomy and freedom in their adolescent children. At the same time, however, still holding traditional beliefs of hierarchical relationship, they may have demanded respect for parental authority and obedience from their children. Thus, it is likely that this dual system of cultural values in Korean

Being aware of this parental sacrifice . . . Korean American adolescents may have perceived strict authoritarian control without negative implications of parental hostility.

American parenting may have generated the perceptions of primarily authoritarian yet also authoritative parenting by the adolescents in the sample.

However, the most striking discovery was that Korean American adolescents perceived their parents as warm despite their perceptions of high authoritarian control. The finding of an "authoritarian yet warm" parenting style is an interesting combination of parental control and parental warmth dimensions which contradicts the conventional belief that the perception of authoritarian parenting is associated with the perception of parental hostility and rejection.

Rohner and Pettengill speculated that this contrast may be due to different values in American and Korean cultures.[29] In other words, different cultural values would provide different criteria to interpret the adolescent-parent relationship, which in turn generates different perceptions of parental behavior by adolescent children. For example, American adolescents, who value autonomy and individualism, may interpret strict parental control as parental rejection of their individuality and their ability to do things on their own. In contrast, Korean American adolescents who still show deference to parental authority and interdependence may translate authoritarian control attempts by parents into parental care or desire to help them become good and successful.

. . . Parental control in terms of authoritativeness and permissiveness is a rather unfamiliar concept in Korean culture.

Another factor that may have affected adolescents' perceptions of authoritarian yet warm parenting style would be the survival strategy of Korean American parents in American society, which is reflected in parental behaviors. Specifically, Korean American parents often exercise strict parental control to prevent their children from getting into trouble, while they exert great expectations and sacrifice in order to ensure their children's future socio-economic success which was difficult to achieve for themselves. Being aware of this parental sacrifice and expectations, Korean American adolescents may have perceived strict authoritarian control without negative implications of parental hostility.

In this context, the finding of an "authoritarian yet warm" parenting style perceived by Korean American adolescents seems to be a product of Korean cultural values combined with the survival strategy of Korean American families in American society. This parenting style may be common in other Asian American parents who share similar cultural beliefs and strategies for ethnic survival that place great care and expectations for their children by way of parental sacrifice. The question of how this parenting style affects adolescent personalities and behaviors will be discussed in the following sections.

Effects of Parenting Styles on Problem Behavior

The predictive relationships between perceived parenting styles and adolescent problem behaviors observed in the present study both corroborate and contradict those presented in the previous research. For example, the findings that authoritarian parenting was positively related to internalizing problems whereas parental monitoring was inversely related to externalizing problems are consistent with the previous research findings. In addition, the adverse effects of parental hostility on both internalizing and externalizing problems also corroborate previous parenting research.

However, the finding that neither authoritative nor permissive parenting style had any effect on adolescents' problem behaviors contradicts previous research findings. Specifically, the benefits of authoritative parenting observed in the previous studies of European American youth did not hold true for Korean American adolescents in this study. Furthermore, unlike previous research findings, authoritarian parenting was related only to internalizing problems but not to externalizing problems.[30]

The findings that the beneficial effect of authoritative parenting and the harmful effect of permissive parenting were not apparent in this population should be understood in the specific Korean American cultural/ethniccultural/ecological context.[31] In fact, parental control in terms of authoritativeness and permissiveness is a rather unfamiliar concept in Korean culture, and thus adolescents' perceptions of authoritative or permissive parenting may be a reflection of other aspects of parental behavior than the parental control aspect. For example, some first generation parents, due to the lack of English proficiency and unfamiliarity with American social system, partially depend on their adolescent children for interpretation to run family businesses or to gather social information. This specific ecological context of Korean American families, by which parents strive to adapt to economic and cultural constraints in the host society by partially depending on adolescent children, confers a certain degree of power on adolescents. The partial dependence of parents on adolescent children may have been incorporated into the adolescents' perceptions of parental authority and control, thus diluted control. In other words, adolescents may have misinterpreted their power sharing with parents as parental authoritativeness or permissiveness, resulting in a dilution of authoritative and permissive parenting styles.

. . . One must consider the cultural context in which parenting behavior is interpreted and responded to by adolescents.

In addition, the anomalous effect of authoritarian parenting again demonstrates the role of culture and ethnicity in the effect of parenting styles on children's behaviors. More specifically, children with different cultural outlooks may interpret and respond to parental behavior differently than majority group members. In other words, a different cultural/ethnic context may

result in not only different perceptions of parental behavior, but also different emotional and behavioral responses to it. For example, Korean American adolescents may perceive the strict control attempts of their parents with a profound appreciation of parental sacrifice and good intentions. This combined perception of authoritarian control with parental sacrifice, on the one hand may have diluted the negative impact of authoritarian parenting style on adolescents' externalizing problems. On the other hand, overly strict parental control combined with excessive pressure to succeed may have imposed a psychological burden on adolescents, producing an adverse effect on internalizing problems.

In this sense, the concept of parental control as it is presently understood may be invalid for Korean Americans. In other words, to understand how parenting styles influence adolescent development among immigrant minority groups, one must consider the cultural context in which parenting behavior is interpreted and responded to by adolescents. Accordingly, this finding suggests the need for culturally and ecologically sensitive models for adequate research of the dynamics of parent-adolescent relationships among Asian American immigrants.

Conclusion

My findings indicate that parenting style and its effect on adolescent development may vary within different cultural/ethnic contexts. In other words, future studies on parent-child relationships in immigrant families should consider the impact of culture and immigration experiences on these relationships. In this context, the standard concept of parenting style (such as that of Baumrind's) may not be adequate for understanding the parenting practices of Asian American parents. Therefore, a new conceptualization of parenting styles that can accommodate the cultural context of parental socialization among Asian Americans may be necessary. In addition, this study may help parents, teachers and youth counselors to understand the culture-specific characteristics of parent-child relationships of immigrant minority groups such as Korean Americans.

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28. Strom et al., "Childrearing Dilemmas of Korean Immigrants."
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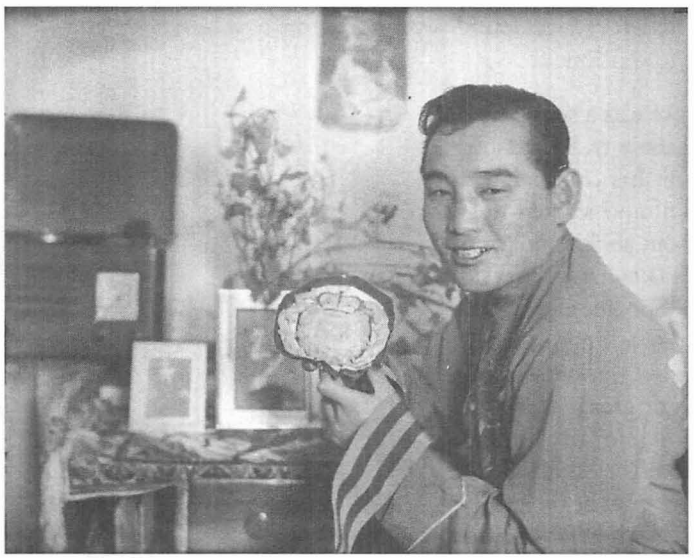
31. I use the term "ecological" following John Ogbu's cultural/ecological perspective of adolescent development. The term refers the economic and cultural adaptational context in which minority groups try to devise survival strategies to adjust to (and are influenced by) the larger (macro) socio-economic cultural system.

"Fighting Spirit II"
Korean American Boxers



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Umio Gen with Title Belt, December 1935

Joseph R. Svinth

Introduction

Koreans have participated in American-style gloved boxing since the mid-1920s. Before World War II, Korean amateur boxers earned berths on Imperial Japanese squads participating in the Far Eastern Championship Games and the Berlin Olympics, and during the 1930s Teiken Jo and Umio Gen boxed professionally in the United States. Ranked sixth in the world during 1934–1935, Jo was by far the most successful prewar Korean boxer.[1]

Following World War II, the Koreans wasted no time returning to professional boxing, and in 1948, Hawai'i's Ted Yamachika described a match between the Nisei Robert "Ripper" Takeshita and the Korean lightweight champion Chung Bok Soo in the following terms.

JOSEPH R. SVINTH holds an M.A. in history from the University of Washington. He works as an independent researcher on the history of sport and is an editor of several volumes of the *Electronic Journal of Martial Arts and Sciences* (*http://ejmas.com*).

> The bout, scheduled for eight rounds, was stopped in the seventh. . . when Chung Bok Soo, suffering a cut inside of his left eye, was found unable to continue . . .
>
> The fight was a sensational one all the way. Soo rushed out from his corner like a mad bull and started slugging it out at close quarters with Takeshita. For six rounds Soo fought at this fast pace, taking a terrific beating but without yielding an inch of ground. Though the aggressor all the way, Soo, nevertheless, fought a losing battle as he took three or four punches before landing one of his own.[2]

PAUL LOU COLLECTION

Phil "Wildcat" Kim (n.d.)

The fighting style Chung used was the "piston style" so beloved by former Imperial Japanese fighters. This method of wading in, both fists flying, thrilled the crowds and remains popular in Asia to the present, but is not good for the fighters' health.[3] Thus the most notorious Korean fighter in the United States today is probably Kim Duk Koo, who died as the result injuries sustained during a nationally televised fight with Ray Mancini in November 1982.[4]

Korean Americans have also boxed. Like Kim Duk Koo, several have come to sad ends. Phil "Wildcat" Kim, for example, was shot to death in a Los Angeles parking garage in 1958, evidently for failing to make good on gambling debts.[5] However most were successful. Pete Jhun, for example, became a respected trainer in Honolulu. To serve as exemplars of Korean American fighters, three successful individuals—two men and a woman—will be described in detail. They are Honolulu's Walter Cho, San Francisco's Richie Shinn, and Kirkland, Washington's Kim Messer.

Walter Cho

Walter Cho was born at Ewa, Oahu, on August 26, 1911. The son of Chai Yun Lee and Ai In Yoon, he was the fifth of six sons, and also had two sisters.

In 1928 Cho and his brother Harry took up boxing at the Cosmopolitan Athletic Club.[6] His first professional fight took place in Honolulu on October 12, 1929. His opponent was an experienced flyweight named Malicio Diotay, and in the words of the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, "Cho did not take more than a minute to learn that this veteran of the ring possessed a wicked wallop," and the Filipino won by knockout in the second round.[7] In those days, Cho told Jim Easterwood in May 1973, "We used to fight for $5 for three rounds . . . We'd wrap our hands 12 or 15 times around with black friction tape, take the tape off and soak it in water. Then we'd put them back on—it was like plaster of Paris."[8]

Cho's second fight took place on November 30, 1929. The opponent was an experienced fighter named Tadato "K.O." Kuratsu. "Cho forced the fighting, while Kuratsu was off," reported the Star-Bulletin, and as a result won the decision. Sportswriter Leslie Nakashima added that Cho's victory was owed mostly to the overconfidence of his opponent—Kuratsu had the skills but waited until the fourth round to show them, and then, failing to knock Cho out, lost the fight.[9] Cho's brother Harry boxed on the same card, earning a draw with Jack Fomain.[10] According to the papers,

HONOLULU STAR-BULLETIN

"Phamous Phanns" Walter Cho
April 18, 1932

Fomain had "been in training for nearly three months."[11]

Although Cho had no fights in December 1929, in January 1930 the Advertiser's William Peet still rated him the eighth best featherweight (118–126 pounds) in Hawai'i.[12] As Cho had a 1-1-1 record, this suggests a bit of hyperbole on Peet's part. Still, living up to Peet's expectations, Cho won his next four fights.

Then came a win at Lihue, Kauai, on March 15, 1930, by foul. The opponent was the Kauai fighter "Kid" Bentura Lucaylucay, and in the third, said the *Honolulu Advertiser*:[13]

> Bentura had rushed the Korean boy and dropped him with a wicked left cross and as he followed it up with a right and a left, these blows landed on Cho while he was on his knees. The foul came at the end of the third round as the bell rang, while Cho was on the mat. Referee [Johnny] Ferreiro sent Bentura to his corner and awarded the bout to Cho.

In front of 1,500 Kauai boxing fans on April 12, Cho lost a rematch with Lucaylucay. "Cho had only one chance to win," said the *Advertiser*:[14]

> That was in the first round when a stiff right to the button sent the Filipino to the mat, but Bentura came back and evened matters before the end of the round. The sturdy Kauai boy out-pointed Cho in the second, third, fourth, and sixth, but lost the fifth by a slight margin.

Back in Honolulu, Cho won six more fights between April 18 and July 5, 1930, when he fought a six-round main event against Speedy Reyes. The venue for the latter fight was the American Legion arena in Hilo. At the end of the first, Cho knocked Reyes down, but during the second round Reyes replied by knocking Cho down twice. As a result the fight was judged a draw.[15]

On August 1, Cho fought Conrad Sanico in Honolulu. In the words of the *Star-Bulletin*, "Cho, pitted against a hard hitter as well as a clever boxer, fought the best scrap he has offered in a local ring."[16]

> After taking some severe wallops to the body during the first few rounds, Cho outlasted his opponent and handed out such punishment during the last few rounds that there was nothing for Sanico's seconds to do but toss the towel into the ring.
>
> Much credit must be given to Sanico for his exhibition of gameness. Although badly beaten, with hardly a chance of even scoring with a haymaker, Sanico kept coming up after the knockdowns and gamely tried to fight back. He was down twice in that final round. The fight was stopped after two minutes and 42 seconds in the sixth.[17]

Since the fight had been a crowd-pleaser, on September 1 matchmaker Stanley McKenzie rewarded Sanico with a rematch with Cho. This raised some eyebrows because Cho

and Sanico had the same manager, the Korean American Mark K. Choo.[18] Ironically, this ended up being the second-best fight on the card. Furthermore, said the Star-Bulletin, Sanico, "while given a draw, claims the honor of [being] the first boxer to drop Cho."[19]

> In the middle of the second round Sanico shot a right from his shoulder and landed on Cho's button [chin]. Cho dropped fast but his great condition held him in good stead and at the count of nine he got up.
>
> Before the round ended, Cho was again knocked down for a count of four. It was a half push and knees that got Cho.
>
> The first round went to Cho who outboxed Sanico. Cho also took the fourth and fifth round by cleverly boxing Sanico.[20]

On October 24, 1930, Cho had a six-round fight with Gus Sproat at the Honolulu Stadium. It was ruled a draw. "Cho closed Sproat's left eye in the fifth and then cut his right eye in the sixth," William Peet wrote the following day in the Honolulu *Advertiser*. "How the judges ever ruled it a draw is beyond us."[21] The *Star-Bulletin* thought that Sproat's best round had been the fourth, when he staggered Cho with a right to the jaw, but concluded that Cho evened things during the fifth and sixth.[22]

During the winter of 1930–1931, Cho did not box but instead served as trainer for a Korean basketball team that played in a YMCA league.[23] He also played goalie for a Korean soccer team and served as assistant scoutmaster for Boy Scout Troop 19, the Flying Eagles. Most of the scouts were Korean, too, as names mentioned in the papers included George Cho, Joseph Kim, Paul Kim, Richard Kim, Adam Lee, Hark Soo Lee, Kenneth Lee, and We Sun Lim.[24]

On January 15, 1931, Cho got a job working for the *Star-Bulletin* in its distribution department. The paper would remain his employer for the next forty years.

On February 7, 1931, Don Watson of the *Star-Bulletin* rated Cho the fifth best featherweight in Hawai'i. Nevertheless, probably due to his new job, Cho did not have another fight until the Fourth of July 1931, when he fought Pedro "Kid Aiea" Maltis in Honolulu. "Cho came up off the floor to win," said Watson, "dropping Aiea for the count with a hard right to the jaw just 42 seconds after the third round started."[25]

> Cho took the first round and the second was fairly even. The third was hardly started when Aiea dropped Cho with a hard right to the jaw, but Cho bounced up without taking a count. Cho then ripped into his opponent and the two stood toe to toe and slugged, Cho finally slipping over the sleep producer.
>
> The winner does not look quite as rugged as he used to, but showed that he can still take them on the chin and also that he has not lost his kayo wallop.[26]

Cho continued devoting after work hours to training, and on September 8 he "made short work of [José "Kid Nero" Nere] in the six round main preliminary, stopping the Filipino boy after one minute and 15 seconds in the first round. Cho looked like a million and Nero hardly laid a glove on him."[27]

Unfortunately Cho's fight eleven days later was not so easy. The opponent was José "Little Moro" Bagtong, and, "when it comes to butting with his head," said the *Star-Bulletin*, "this chap, Little Moro, takes some kind of a prize."[28]

> He cut both of Cho's eyes by butting and it looked as though he was doing his best to repeat during the balance of the fight. Cho proved too tough for the Filipino, however, and threw more gloves into the latter's face than he had seen since leaving the Philippines. It must be handed to Moro that he is a tough youngster. Lots of the boys would have gone down for the count under less than Moro took.[29]

The next opponent was Rosendo "Rough Dumagilis" Guelas, and their fight took place December 18, 1931. Cho won the first four rounds on points. Then in the fifth, Guelas knocked Cho down three times, and he remained strong in the sixth. As a result the judges called the fight a draw.[30]

Due to work interfering with training, Cho quit fighting for the next fourteen months. However, he remained physically active and on April 18, 1932, the *Star-Bulletin* described Cho as a "Boy Scout, boxer, and popular goal defender of the Koreans' soccer team."[31] Cho also continued to enjoy basketball, and served as athletic trainer for the *Star-Bulletin* basketball team. (As a registered professional fighter, by AAU rules he was ineligible to play for an amateur team. This was not a problem in soccer, however, as the AAU did not control soccer. Thus several professional fighters played soccer in Hawai'i during the 1930s.)[32]

On February 17, 1933 Cho returned to the ring for a match with Telesforo "Kid Schofield" Daguio. Cho won by knockout in the first. Said the *Star-Bulletin* afterward: "The first was hardly started when Cho staggered the Filipino with a right to the jaw. He was faster than Schofield and got away after landing his rights before Schofield could counter."[33]

> Cho landed one right to the body that drew a warning for being low. He then switched his attacks to the head and a hard right to the jaw sent Schofield staggering back to the ropes. Cho was on top of his man with a shower of lefts and rights to the head, a final right to the jaw sending Schofield between the second and bottom ropes, where he remained on the floor while being counted out. The bell sounded to end the [first] round just after the count of 10.[34]

On March 24 Cho beat Henry Callejo. "Cho won the decision without question," said the *Star-Bulletin*,

PAUL LOU COLLECTION

Walter Cho (*third from left*) with Billy Boggs, Anson Rego and "Tiny" Tommy Muroda (Japan, 1933)

"but could not put the Filipino boy down."[35] On June 16, he also fought a draw with the Manila fighter Dionicio "Young Dumagilis" Quianio. Cho was expected to win easily, and only about 400 people attended the fight. The result, however, was closer than anyone expected, and "[h]ad it not been for a knockdown in the fourth round," said Don Watson in the *Star-Bulletin*, "Cho would probably have taken the nod over Dumagilis, but there were no protests when the affair was called a draw."[36]

Following the fight Cho took some time off to let an injury to his right wrist heal. As a result he did not fight Midget Wolgast during his 1933 tour of Hawai'i, or even the popular local fighter Johnny Yasui.[37] However, by May 1933 he felt healthy enough to play second base for "The Koreans" in the local Reach League.[38]

During August 1933 Joe Dunn took over the boxing gym on Vineyard Street, and its former manager Jim Sato (real name: James I. Fukuoka) decided to organize a trip to Japan, where he hoped to make some money.[39] Honolulu businessman K. Oki, who was simultaneously sending his Asahi baseball team to Japan, provided the funding. The fighters who went to Tokyo were Billy Boggs, Anson Rego, Walter Cho, and "Tiny" Tommy Muroda, and their manager was Katsu Kudo.[40]

"Cho has a job and has been given three months' leave to take to a trip to his homeland," explained the *Star-Bulletin* in September 1933. "After Japan he plans to go to Korea,

where his parents were born. Korean boxers are very popular in Japan."[41]

The boxers sailed for Japan aboard *Tatsuta Maru*. "The boys are going with the idea of vacationing," manager Kudo told the *Star-Bulletin*. "If we happen to make some money, it will be considered lucky."[42]

On October 17 Cho participated in a double main event in Tokyo. His opponent was Koichi Takeda, and Cho won in six.[43] "In Japan there isn't any fire regulation," Cho wrote Don Watson in Honolulu, "and standing room is sold for one yen. There were about 2,000 persons standing in the back and in the aisles. They don't have inspectors in the dressing rooms. No adhesive tape is allowed on the hands. The only place you can use tape is on the wrists. Since there is no boxing commission, fights are put on by different clubs and there is no limit to the number of rounds. Last night they had 56 rounds of boxing."[44]

Cho's official career record stands at 31 fights. He won 20 (9 by knockout, one by foul), drew 6, and lost 5 (one by knockout).

On October 24 Cho defeated Fukuo Matsuoka during a six-round semi-final match in Tokyo.[45] "I started the first round feeling my opponent out and had a slight edge," Cho wrote Watson. "I rallied in the second and put Matsuoka down for a nine count with a right to the solar plexus. . . . I dropped Matsuoka again in the third for no count. In the fourth round I landed another right to the solar plexus and he tried to claim a foul. The referee said it was a clean blow, however, and Matsuoka had to continue. I coasted through the last two rounds and got the decision."[46]

A week later Cho had a rematch with Takeda. "After the fight was over," Cho wrote Watson, "the referee raised my hand, giving me the decision. After I had my street clothes on and was sitting in the dressing room one of the boys came in and told me that the announcer, just before the second main event, announced that my fight with Takata was a draw. I guess one of the judges changed his mind after the fight. Fight judges here take an awful risk, because if the verdict is not to the fans' liking they give the judges a beating."[47]

On November 16 Cho fought Fighting Yaba. Although details are not available, the result was Cho winning in eight.[48]

Cho returned to Hawai'i in December 1933. Upon disembarking the SS *President Taft*, he weighed 133 pounds, about ten more than when he left. "It's the weather," he told Percy Koizumi, "and in that weather you eat."[49]

During the winter of 1934 Cho played goalie for a Korean soccer team, and in the spring he played first base for the *Star-Bulletin* baseball team. And on July 3, 1934 he was ready for a fight with Herminigildo "Young Gildo" Baguio. The fight took place at the Kahului Fairgrounds on Maui, and as both fighters were popular there was a capacity crowd.[50] Although Cho lost, the *Star-Bulletin* reported that the "scrap was one of the closest ever seen on Maui and the throng went away highly pleased with

the affair."[51]

"It was a treat to talk to Walter Cho, pro boxer, after he came back from Maui," said Watson. "Instead of offering alibis, Cho had nothing but praise for the ability of his opponent. He said there was no question about it, that Gildo defeated him during the last part of the fight and deserved to get the decision."[52]

In September 1934, the Territorial Boxing Commission rated Cho the best class two featherweight in the Islands, behind Young Gildo and ahead of Johnny Yasui.[53] The rating may have been a bit generous, however, as on October 12 he lost a decision to Joe Velasco. The reason, Cho said, was that a recent promotion at work meant less time for training. So, as work was more important than boxing, he announced that his last fight would be a rematch with Young Gildo.

The bout took place on Maui on November 1, 1934. It was a neat exhibition, said Don Watson, "closely contested all the way, but there was no question about which should get the decision. Gildo outspeeded Cho, landing more blows, although the wallops Cho landed were more effective."[54]

Cho's official career record stands at 31 fights. He won 20 (9 by knockout, one by foul), drew 6, and lost 5 (one by knockout).[55]

Following retirement from the ring, Cho remained active with Scout Troop 19, coached commercial league softball teams, and took up golf and bowling. On July 27, 1940, he married Helen Yang, formerly of Sacramento, and the couple had their first child, son Walter Jr., in 1941. In 1947 they had a second son, Jeffry. In 1947 Cho went to California for five weeks to study newspaper techniques on the Mainland. While there, he also visited Boy Scout organizations. In August 1956 the whole Cho family went to the Mainland to visit Mrs. Cho's family and to tour the western United States, and in November 1969 the Cho family went to Korea, a visit Cho commemorated by golfing in the snow. Meanwhile, Cho was promoted to mailroom foreman and made a member of the paper's credit union credit committee.

But boxing remained in his blood. From 1935 to 1938 he coached amateur boxing at Palama Settlement and Aiea Plantation, and in 1938 he became a boxing referee. He was paid for professional fights but did amateur fights free, and he was proud of attending every major Honolulu fight from 1935 to 1973 except one in 1960 when he was sick. Obviously this was not always as referee or judge, but typically it was, and he always took his official duties seriously. "The referee has great responsibility in the ring," Cho told Andrew Mitsukado in October 1969. "He must see to it that the fans get their money's worth of fighting and at the same time he must protect the boxers from serious or fatal injury. . . Sometimes the fans do not agree with his judgment and decision, but that should not deter him from act-

But boxing remained in his blood. From 1935 to 1938 he coached amateur boxing, and in 1938 he became a boxing referee.

ing as his judgment dictates."[56]

Thus he was picked to be the referee in Hawai'i's first world championship bout (David Kui Kong Young versus Manuel Ortiz, May 30, 1947), plus three other world championship fights (Ortiz vs. Dado Marino, 1949; Marino vs. Terry Allen, 1950; Marino vs. Allen, 1951). He was also a referee and judge at the US Golden Gloves tournament of champions held in Minneapolis in March 1972. Finally, from June 1977 to June 1981 he was a member of the Hawai'i State Boxing Commission.

Walter Cho died in October 1985.

Richie Shinn

Richard Anthony Shinn was born on June 25, 1920. His father operated a restaurant, The Star Lunch, at 605 Jackson Street in San Francisco. The restaurant is still operating today and is still the same size, with 13 red stools along one counter.[57]

His mother, Sun Shinn, was born in P'yeongyang and came to the US in 1916. She intended to study, but instead, she said, "I got married and after that it was one thing after another." So as a result she didn't get her US high school diploma until 1956, when she was age 63.

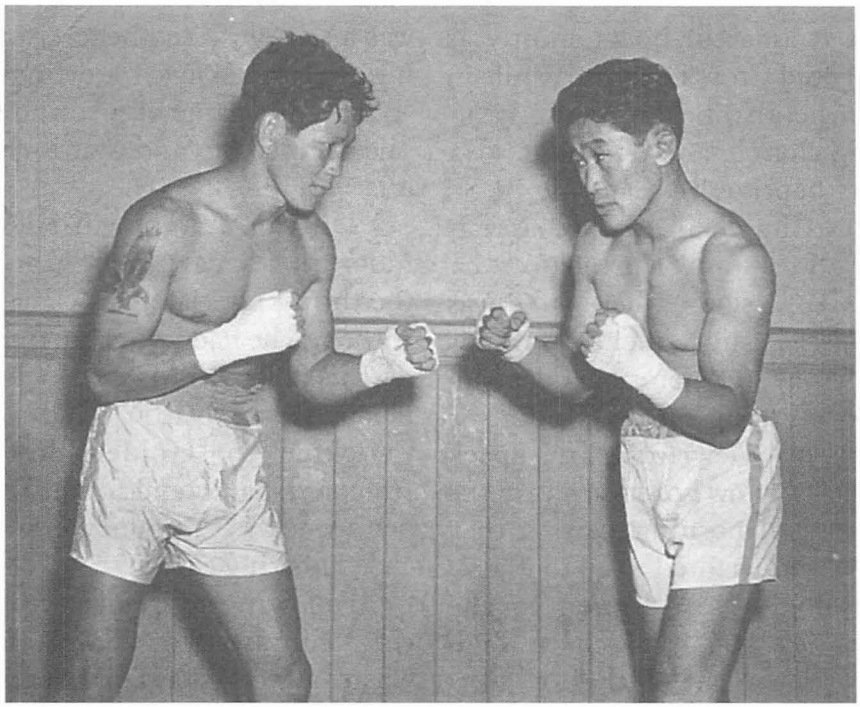
In school, Shinn participated in sports and his older brother Peter—he had three brothers and two sisters—entered the San Francisco Golden Gloves competition in the spring of 1938. So starting in the fall of 1938, Richie also took up boxing at night.

The gym at which he was trained was Johnny Ortega's. A former Pacific Coast bantamweight champion, Ortega had opened the Atlas Garage on Green Street following retirement. Having some extra room on his mezzanine floor, he added a boxing ring in 1937 and started training amateurs. Ortega's pupils in 1938 included Lou Tacalino, a Commerce High School football player and a friend of Shinn's who talked Shinn into also taking lessons. Richie found he enjoyed boxing, so after six months training decided to enter the San Francisco Golden Gloves in 1939.

He didn't tell his father, though. "I figured if my father was told that I entered I could tell him they made a mistake, that it should be Peter's name and not mine." The elder Shinn still found out but instead of complaining simply went to the tournament to watch.

PAUL LOU COLLECTION

"Very Best Wishes to my Friend, Paul Lou" (June 17, 1946)



PAUL LOU COLLECTION

Yasu Yasutake vs. Richie Shinn (n.d.)

His son knocked out his first opponent, and was on his way back to the dressing room when he saw his father. "Instead of scolding him as Richie thought he would do," Eddie Muller wrote in the San Francisco *Examiner*, "the elder Shinn embraced his son and fairly shouted, 'I knew you'd go do it.' "

"He told me that I could keep on fighting if I did the same thing," added Shinn. His mother meanwhile fed him *kimch'i* to make him strong.

In 1940, Shinn was the Pacific Coast Golden Gloves champion, and he made it to the National semi-finals before losing to the eventual champion, Paul Matsumoto. Shinn's brother Paul also boxed in the Pacific Coast Golden Gloves.

After returning home from the Nationals in Boston, Richard Shinn turned professional. He then fought throughout California under the management of "Papa" Joey Fox, whose other fighters included Ray Lunny and Paul Cavagnaro.

On December 5, 1941, Shinn was drafted into the US Army, and following basic training, he was made a cook. However, upon arrival at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, he was assigned there as a close-combat instructor. PFC Shinn had at least two professional bouts in Indianapolis during his time at Fort Harrison. One was against Eddie Brownell and the other was against Alonzo "Tiger" Wills. Transferred to an ordnance depot in England in 1943, Shinn then

fought 25 amateur bouts, mostly as part of Red Cross benefits. While in Britain he also began regularly attending church, and on July 15, 1944 he was baptized a Catholic in St. Joseph's Church in Tewkesbury. It wasn't a foxhole conversion, either, as he was subsequently famous (or notorious, depending on one's point of view) for waking up fellow boxers at 5:30 in the morning to ask if they wanted to go to Mass.

In 1940, Shinn was the Pacific Coast Golden Gloves champion, and he made it to the National semi-finals before losing to the eventual champion.

Assigned to the 506th Parachute Regiment of the 101st Airborne Division, Shinn fought in the Battle of the Bulge and spent Christmas 1944 at Bastogne. He recalled his gifts as boxes of ammunition, and his platoon's holiday meal as K-rations and four bottles of wine. On January 13, 1945, he was wounded in the hand. Besides a Presidential Unit Citation, his personal decorations also included a Purple Heart.

Shinn separated from the service on September 21, 1945, and his first postwar fight was in San Francisco on November 12, 1945. The opponent was Shamus MacRay of Los Angeles.

By the summer of 1946, Shinn was claiming a professional record of 34 wins, one loss, and two draws, and was fighting out of Honolulu. While there, he took the time to woo and wed Violet Cho, the niece of the aforementioned Hawaiian boxing official Walter Cho. The marriage took place on July 12, 1946. The presiding priest was Father Daniel McClellan, who was a self-professed believer of boxing as a cure for juvenile delinquency. "Boxing is a game of give and take," said McClellan, "and that is the way it is with life."

During a fight with Frankie Moore in February 1947, Shinn broke the third knuckle of his right hand. Although he had two more fights after this (a loss to Maxie Docusen in Honolulu on July 6, 1948 and a loss by knockout to "Golden Boy" Art Aragon in San Francisco on September 20, 1948), the injury effectively ended his ring career.

Following retirement from the ring, Shinn settled in San Francisco, where he worked as a mail carrier in the Sunset district. "There's nothing like walking to keep a guy in condition," he subsequently told reporter Eddie Muller. He and Violet had nine children, so he also moonlighted to ensure that the children would receive a good education. He retired from the US Postal Service in 1978 and following a long fight with Alzheimer's, died on December 3, 1994.

Kim Messer

In 1969, a Korean girl around three years old was found wandering in a train station in Jaech'on, Republic of Korea. No one claimed her, so she subsequently spent the next two years living in an orphanage run by Holt International Child Services in Jaech'on, about four hours from Seoul.

At the orphanage, the girl was called Baek Kee-Soon. Baek means "White," and referred to the orphanage director, Jane White. As for the

KIM MESSER COLLECTION

Kim Messer following her World Title Win with Jaech'on Caregivers
Ms. Kim and Ms. Jane White (Korea, August 5, 2000)

girl, her only memory of that period is a recurring dream of a long dirt road and a high fence.[58]

In 1971, John and Marlys Sanford of Casper, Wyoming adopted this girl as their only child. She arrived in the United States with a single dress in a bag and speaking only a few words of English.

A few months later, the Sanfords moved to Silverton, Oregon, where the girl was enrolled in elementary school under her new legal name of Kimberly Sue Sanford. Her birthday was listed as the date she was found in the train station.

As a youth, Kim Sanford took ballet lessons for eight years and played piano for five. In high school she was a gymnast and a cheerleader. She also played volleyball, softball, and tennis. "I've always been a borderline tomboy," she said.[59]

After graduating from high school in 1984, she enrolled at Chemekata Community College in Salem, Oregon. While there, she joined a taekwondo class and in the process met her future husband and manager, Mark Messer. As she explained it:

> It wasn't love at first sight or anything like that, but I was at the gym just as much as he was. We were kindred spirits. He didn't want to go out with girls at the school, but he finally gave in.[60]

The couple was married in her parents' backyard in 1989.

During the years preceding their marriage, the couple competed in regional taekwondo tournaments, eventually amassing several hundred trophies. "We got to a level where we were looking for something a little

more challenging," she said, "and he got involved in boxing. Of course, being me, I wanted to do that, too. Back then boxing was not receptive to it. It was like girls can be here, but only as ring card girls."[61]

So she took up kickboxing instead. The trainer was Joe Fay, who had trained alongside the former world kickboxing champion Maurice Smith in Seattle. "My manager proposed the idea of fighting Naoko Kumagai, the reigning world champion, in Japan," Messer said.

> He told me told me that even if I didn't win but put up a good fight that the Japanese promoters would have me back and that it was a good opportunity for exposure and to establish a reputation. My husband and my trainer knew that no woman would or could hit me as hard as they did and so weren't really concerned about my safety.[62]

Besides, "I just wanted to fight in the Tokyo Dome, which is like oooooohh, a big deal if you're into Eurasian style kickboxing."[63]

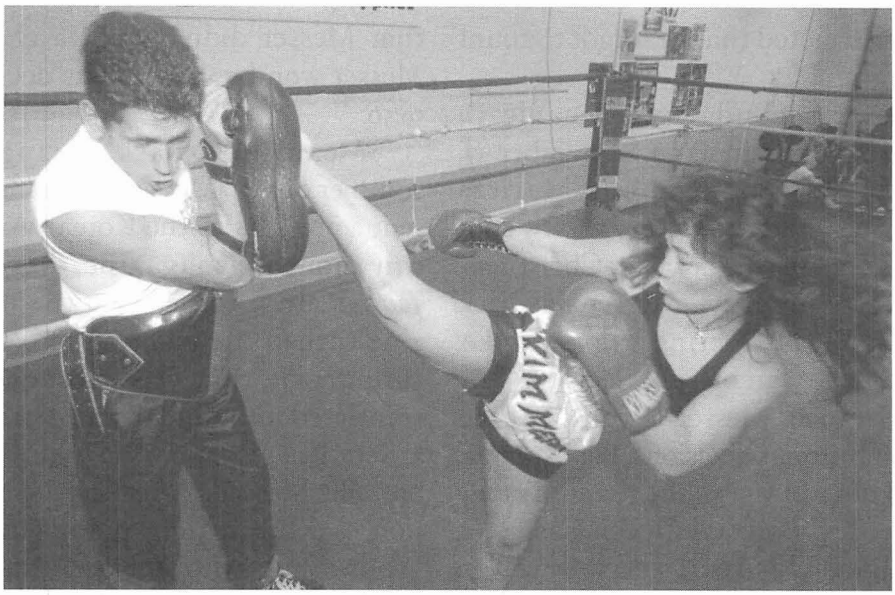
Messer fought Kumagai in Tokyo on July 18, 1992, and unsurprisingly, she lost.

> I was paid virtually nothing, but it was a pivotal moment in our lives and even though I didn't win, I did well and actually managed to kick her in the head. Since we all knew that Kumagai was one of (if not the best) female kickboxers at the time, then we figured that meant I must be world class material if I could deal that well with her on my first time out. And once we knew I had the potential to attain a world title, we packed our things and moved to Seattle to train alongside Maurice Smith at AMC Kickboxing and chase our dreams.[64]

During this time, Messer became known as "Fireball." "My nickname came from my style of ring fighting," she recalled, "a 'ball of energy', 'seemingly relentless energy', 'non–stop action'. My old manager actually started it and it's stuck ever since."[65] And it was accurate, too, as during the next six years Messer won three world kickboxing championships. Her first was in the light atom-weight division on July 18, 1994. The opponent was Lisa Smith, and their fight was held at the Civic Auditorium in Santa Cruz, California.

In 1995, she fought four times. On March 13 and May 13, she successfully defended her title against Yvonne Trevino and Angelica Bodanova, but on August 26, she lost a decision to Toni Taylor. Then on November 11, she came back by knocking out Sugar Miyuki in the first round.

In 1996, Messer had a world kickboxing championship fight with Lisa Houghton in Ireland and a full contact world championship fight with Cheryl Robertson in San Juan, Puerto Rico. She won both. Unfortunately, the pay was awful. The promoter in Puerto Rico, for example, gave her a worthless check, while another promoter boasted in front of her that he was taking his third trip to Hawai'i that year with money he'd



Kim Messer Practicing Her Kick (November 26, 1996)

earned from her fights. Therefore she decided to try professional boxing instead. As she told Dee Williams, "I've got three world titles, plenty of air [television] time, lots of people know me. I should get paid enough so that I don't just break even after time off from work and taxes!"[66]

Boxing is "not a profession you would choose for your child, especially a daughter," John Sanford told the *Seattle Times*' Danny O'Neil in August 2000.[67] His wife meanwhile won't watch her daughter fight live, and only reluctantly on videotape. The reason is that she doesn't like to see people hitting her daughter.[68]

But Messer was nothing if not determined, and her first professional boxing match took place in Karlsruhe, Germany on June 10, 1995. The opponent was a hometown favorite named Regina Halmich, and unsurprisingly, the decision went to the German.[69]

Her second fight was against Theresa Arnold. It too was a loss. "She was just too darn big," said Messer, who stands 4'11" and weighs about 108 pounds.[70] Following this loss, her husband took over her management, and since then she has won ten straight fights and a world boxing championship.

Messer's first victory was at Balley's Casino in Las Vegas on June 26, 1998. The opponent was Brenda Wasilewski, and Messer won by technical knockout in the first. "It was really a KO," said Messer. "I hit her with a right hand to the body, a left hook to the head and then an overhand right to the temple that literally knocked her half-way out of the ring and they had to drag her back in to revive her. The referee was so shocked

and distracted that he forgot to count her out."[71]

Her second victory came in Biloxi, Mississippi, on September 17, 1998. The opponent was Maritza Marquez, and the victory was by split decision. On the day after Christmas, 1998 (Boxing Day), Messer was back in Las Vegas, fighting Valory Troike. Again she won by split decision.

In 1999, Messer began winning by unanimous decisions. For example, on February 27, she beat Tracey Stevens at Emerald Queen Casino in Tacoma. On April 30, she was in Bossier City, Louisiana, beating Lisa Houghton in six. And two weeks after that, she defeated reigning junior flyweight Jill Matthews in Pikesville, Maryland. Although it was a non-title fight, it still moved her up in the standings.

On June 11, 1999, Messer returned to the Horseshoe Casino in Bossier City for a fight with Maribel Ocasio-Soto of Puerto Rico. Ocasio-Soto failed to answer the bell for the fifth, thus giving Messer a win by technical knockout.

Messer had her first shot at a title on December 3, 1999. The opponent was Delia Gonzalez of Chamberino, New Mexico, and the fight took place in Temecula, California. Unfortunately the pair butted heads, resulting in an eye injury to Gonzalez that resulted in the fight being called a technical draw in the third.

Messer continued winning in 2000. For example, in Kenner, Louisiana, on February 11, 2000, Yvonne Caples' manager told journalist Sue Fox that the fight was a mismatch, that Messer didn't stand a chance. Messer won by unanimous decision, 58:56.[72]

Meanwhile, back during the summer of 1999 Messer's husband had sent a press kit to the Korean American monthly magazine, *KoreAM Journal*. In October 1999 the magazine turned the material into a feature article that was subsequently translated into Korean and carried in a Seoul newspaper.[73] This in turn brought Messer's career to the attention of Korean fight promoter Shin Woon-Chul, who decided that she would be worth promoting in Seoul. As a result, on August 5, 2000, Messer participated in Korea's first-ever women's boxing match. A world title bout in the junior flyweight division, her opponent was Takano Yumi of Japan. Messer won the fight, and the Korean press went wild.

She fought her first title defense on November 19, 2000. The opponent was Michelle Sutcliffe, and Messer won a unanimous ten-round decision.

As of this writing, Messer's career record is 10 wins, 2 losses, and 1 draw. Yet, despite the sponsorships and product endorsements that followed the championship, Messer has continued working as a waitress at Daniel's Broiler in Bellevue, Washington. "Women's boxing is still an relatively unknown profession," she explains, "battling for recognition and respect."[74]

Recognizing that her immediate financial future relied more on Korean than American fans, Messer enrolled in Korean language classes. "This is a whole new world," Messer

told Greg Johns of Bellevue's *Eastside Journal* in September 2000.[75] For, as she told Urbanasian.com, "Most of us have dreams and most of us let them pass by and we don't go after those dreams. I feel very fortunate that I've had the support for one and taking on [sic] the challenge to chase my dreams."[76] Nevertheless, she remained rooted in America. "Our future plans include opening a boxing/fitness gym for all ages and interest levels," she said. "An international facility where people can live and train for fights and a place for Olympic hopefuls to develop. Whatever the goal—personal fitness, amateur competition or professional dreams—our gym will be the place."[77]

Conclusion

Of the handful of known Korean American fighters, Cho, Shinn, and Messer are among the most personally and financially successful.

Due to their upbringing and training, Cho and Shinn really should be considered Hawaiian fighters rather than Korean fighters. Likewise, Messer is better considered a post-modern female fighter rather than an ethnic fighter.[78] Answering the question why so few Korean Americans have become boxers is beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, one possible explanation is suggested by noting that all three boxers described began boxing (or in Messer's case, doing taekwondo) somewhat surreptitiously. What is the significance of this? Well, as Ralph Wiley put it in *Serenity: A Boxing Memoir*, "Have you ever wondered at the miracle of a cauliflower ear or a nose warped in three directions? . . . Can you imagine the look on your mother's face while all this was happening?"[79] Clearly many Korean Americans can, and so turn out for other sports.

Notes:

The assistance of Patrick Baptiste, Helen Cho, Pete Jhun, Hank Kaplan, John Ochs, Paul Lou, Michael D. Machado, Rod Masuoka, Kim Messer, Curtis Narimatsu, Helen Shinn Pil, Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Japanese American National Museum, King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, Korean American Historical Society, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, and University Libraries of Notre Dame is gratefully acknowledged.

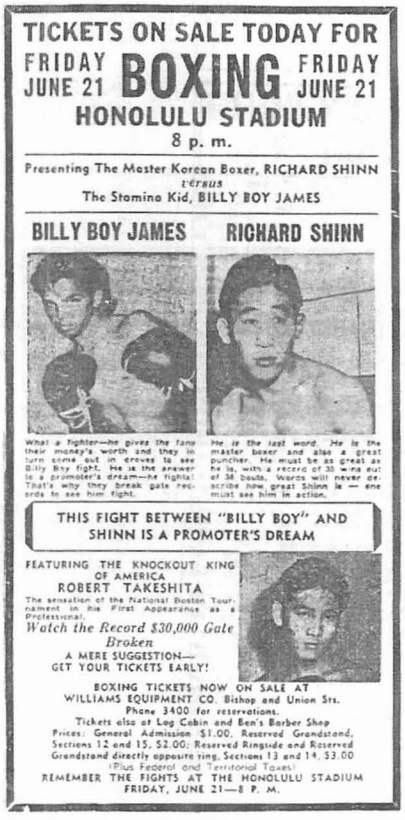
1. Joseph R. Svinth, " 'Fighting Spirit': Korean Boxers in the United States, 1926-1945," *Occasional Papers,* 4 (1998–1999): 111–132. See also Joseph R. Svinth, "Squared Rings and *Kimchee*: Pre-1950 Korean Boxers," *KoreAM Journal*, Oct. 1999, 31. The article appears online at (http://www.koreamjournal.com/october1999/han_stories.shtml).
2. *The Ring*, July 1948, 38. See also Joseph R. Svinth, "Robert 'Ripper' Takeshita," *Journal of Combative Sport* (http://ejmas.com/jcs/jcsart_svinth3_1199.htm).
3. Joseph R. Svinth, "The Exemplar of the Piston Attack: The Imperial Japanese Boxer Tsuneo Horiguchi," *Journal of Combative Sport,* (http://ejmas.com/jcs/jcsart_svinth1_0200.htm).
4. A detailed description of this ring fatality appears in Ralph Wiley, *Serenity: A Boxing*

Memoir (New York: Henry Holt, 1989), 113–149.

5. Letter from Joe Lyou dated June 2, 1999.
6. Cho scrapbook. Although Harry soon gave up prizefighting for baseball, youngest brother Philip also did some amateur boxing during the 1930s.
7. *Star-Bulletin*, 14 Oct. 1929.
8. Cho scrapbook; *Star-Bulletin,* 22 May 1973, D-3.
9. Cho scrapbook.
10. *Star-Bulletin*, 2 Dec. 1929.
11. Cho scrapbook.
12. *Advertiser*, January 1930
13. *Advertiser*, 17 Mar. 1930.
14. *Advertiser*, 13 Apr. 1930.
15. *Advertiser*, 7 July 1930.
16. *Star-Bulletin*, 2 Aug. 1930.
17. Ibid.
18. Cho scrapbook.
19. *Star-Bulletin,* 2 Sep. 1930.
20. Ibid.
21. *Advertiser*, 25 Oct. 1930.
22. *Star-Bulletin*, 25 Oct. 1930.
23. Cho scrapbook.
24. Cho scrapbook. Troop 19 was founded in 1919, and according to its 1932 annual report, it had 18 members. Basketball was a favorite troop activity, but scouts also hiked and practiced first aid, fire-by-friction, and knot-tying. For a photograph, see Samuel S.O. Lee (ed.) *Their Footsteps: a Pictorial History of Koreans in Hawai'i since 1903* (Honolulu: Committee on the 90th Anniversary Celebration of Korean Immigration to Hawai'i, 1993), 185.
25. *Star-Bulletin*, 6 July 1931.
26. Ibid.
27. *Star-Bulletin*, 9 Sep. 1931.
28. *Star-Bulletin*, 2 Sep. 1931.
29. Ibid.
30. *Star-Bulletin*, 19 Dec. 1931.
31. *Star-Bulletin*, 18 Apr. 1932.
32. Cho scrapbook.
33. *Star-Bulletin*, 18 Feb. 1933.
34. Ibid.
35. *Star-Bulletin*, 25 Mar. 1933.
36. *Star-Bulletin*, 17 June 1933.
37. Cho scrapbook.
38. *Star-Bulletin,* 24 May 1933.

39. Cho scrapbook.
40. *Star-Bulletin*, 16 Sep. 1933.
41. Cho scrapbook.
42. Cho scrapbook.
43. *Japan Times*, 18 Oct. 1933, 4.
44. Cho scrapbook.
45. *Japan Times,* 24 Oct. 1933, 4.
46. Cho scrapbook.
47. Ibid.
48. *Japan Times*, 16 Nov. 1933, 4; Cho scrapbook.
49. Cho scrapbook.
50. *Star-Bulletin*, 5 July 1934.
51. Cho scrapbook.
52. Ibid.
53. *Star-Bulletin*, 4 Sep. 1934, 2.
54. *Star-Bulletin*, 2 Nov. 1934.
55. In July 1946, Alex Soares reported in the *Star-Bulletin* that Cho had a career record of 50 fights, with only five losses (*Cho scrapbook*). While Cho undoubtedly won several fights during bootleg days, there are enough other errors in the article to make Soares' accounting doubtful.
56. *Star-Bulletin*, 12 Oct. 1969.
57. This section is based almost entirely on Xeroxed clippings of unidentified articles and publications provided by Shinn's sister, Helen Pil, and therefore is not annotated in the traditional style.
58. Greg Johns, "The Fight of Her Life: Bellevue waitress, struggling athlete suddenly a heroine in her native Korea," *Eastside Journal* (16 Sep. 2000) (http://www.eastsidejournal.com/sited/retr_story.pl/29219).
59. "Kim Messer in the Spotlight," *Urbanasian.com* (1999–2001) (http://www.urbanasian.com/spot20b.html).
60. Ibid., 2 (http://www.urbanasian.com/spot20a.html).
61. Ibid.
62. Kim Messer, personal communication, 27 May 2001.
63. Dee Williams, "Interview with Kim Messer" in Dee Williams (Ed.) *Women's Boxing Page* (8 Jul. 1999) (http://www.geocities.com/Colosseum/Field/6251/kmesintv.htm).
64. Kim Messer, personal communication, 27 May 2001.
65. Kim Messer, personal communication, 1 June 2001.
66. Dee Williams, "Interview with Kim Messer" in Dee Williams (Ed.), *Women's Boxing Page*, 8 Jul. 1999 (http://www.geocities.com/Colosseum/Field/6251/kmesintv.htm).
67. Danny O'Neil, "Boxer's Quest Takes Her Back to Korea," *Seattle Times,* 5 Aug., 2000 (http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/news/sports/html98/messo5_20000805.htm).
68. Ibid.

69. "Behind the Scenes in Karlsruhe," in Dee Williams (Ed.), *Women's Boxing Page,* 10 Oct. 1999 (http://www.geocities.com/Colosseum/Field/6251/kmesint2.htm).
70. "Kim Messer," in Dee Williams (Ed.) *Women's Boxing Page,* 19 Jan. 2001 (http://www.geocities.com/Colosseum/Field/6251/kmesser.htm).
71. Kim Messer, personal communication, 27 May 2001.
72. Sue Fox, "Kim Messer vs. Yvonne Caples," *Women Boxing Archive Network* (11 Feb. 2000) (http://www.womenboxing.com/fight021100__messer_vs_caples.htm).
73. Jay Yim, " 'Fireball' Heats Up the Ring," *KoreAm Journal*, Oct. 1999, 24–25, reprinted at (http://www.koreamjournal.com/october1999/sports.shtml).
74. Kim Messer, personal communication, 27 May 2001.
75. Greg Johns, "The Fight of Her Life: Bellevue Waitress, Struggling Athlete Suddenly a Heroine in Her Native Korea," *Eastside Journal* Online, 16 Sep. 2000 (http://www.eastsidejournal.com/sited/retr_story.pl/29219).
76. "Kim Messer in the Spotlight," *Urbanasian.com* (http://www.urbanasian.com/spot20a.html).
77. Kim Messer, personal communication, 27 May 2001.
78. For an introduction to female boxing, see Jennifer Hargreaves, "Bruising Peg to Boxerobics: Gendered Boxing—Images and Meanings," in David Chandler, John Gill, Tania Guha and Gilane Tawadros (Eds.), *Boxer: An Anthology of Writings on Boxing and Visual Culture* (London: MIT Press, 1996), 120-131.
79. Ralph Wiley, *Serenity*, 228.



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Reviews

Bringing Voice to Stories Untold

Still Life with Rice: A Young American Woman Discovers the Life and Legacy of Her Korean Grandmother
Helie Lee
New York: Touchstone Books, 1997
(ISBN 0-684-82711-5; 320 pp)

Grace J. Yoo

Fifty years have passed since the Korean War. The Korean War ended in 1953 with 4 million killed and 11 million families separated by war. No Korean family was untouched by this war.

During the Korean War my father lost two brothers. When the subject would come up in my family, it was always in a matter-of-fact way—just another aspect of the family history, two uncles I never knew. . . . Yet because of this incredible loss, it was said that my grandfather was in so much grief that he passed away shortly.

Like many American-born Korean, I grew up not completely understanding the intensity of oppression, loss, war and poverty that has been part of many older Korean immigrants' biographies until I came across a novel entitled, *Still Life with Rice.*

Author Helie Lee writes her grandmother's biography in her grandmother's voice. She writes about her grandmother's incredible experiences under the Japanese (who colonized Korea from 1910 through the end of the second world war) and her escape to China, her losses during the Korean War and her eventual immigration to the U.S.

In the first chapter Lee describes coming to terms with her roots. She seems like any other Korean American trying to acculturate and assimilate. She is preoccupied with fitting in; knowing her cultural roots is the least of her concerns. "My light-eyed friends were my role models, people I emulated. I copied their dress, manners, and Valley girl speech in order to lose myself," Lee recalls.[1]

Her Koreanness, however, is echoed backed to her by her mother and grandmother. In a poignant moment, Lee asks why her parents came to America if they didn't want their children to be American. Her mother re-

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GRACE J. YOO, Ph.D. is an assistant professor of Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University. She is a sociologist and is currently doing research on older Korean immigrants and their memories of the Korean War.

plies, "Your father and me give up everything, our home, our life, to bring you kids to America. Here, there is no Cold War, no hunger, no losses."[2] This starts Lee's journey.

After college, Lee goes to work for a music company that promotes Beatlemania and Marilyn Monroe impersonations in Las Vegas, and realizes that there has to be more to life. She quits her job and gets hired as a translator for the *New York Times* during the 1988 Seoul Olympics. Her Korean is horrible and she has to arrive in Korea early to learn the language She takes Korean language courses and later teaches English at the Korean Herald. She feels disconnected when she meets other Korean women whose concerns don't mirror hers, but that of her grandmother and mother—of complete family devotion and sacrifice. "Taxi-drivers and door sweepers were giving me lectures on my lack of patriotism toward the homeland. And I said if I didn't have a respect for my culture I wouldn't come back to reestablish connections with my homeland," Lee writes.[3] Tired of Korea, she tosses a coin onto a world map and it lands on China.

The human toll of the war is incredible and difficult to fathom. . . . The Korean War started in 1950 and ended in 1953, yet it still continues.

She travels through China, ending up in a region north of North Korea, where she runs into people who had fled Korea during the colonial period. "Korean people are amazing," she concludes. "Wherever we go in the world we can set up our own communities and nurture the culture."[4] While in China, Lee becomes homesick. At a mom-and-pop restaurant, she befriends a Korean-Chinese woman who welcomes her as a fellow family member. This woman reminds her that Koreans are family because of a shared history of oppression and suffering. And Koreans are resilient, she demonstrates; despite repeated attempts to destroy the culture, language and people, Koreans still survive.

Coming home to Los Angeles, Lee shares her travels with her grandmother, Hongyong. She is shocked to realize that her own grandmother had lived in China and that her two uncles were born there. She decides to document her grandmothers' life story. Lee supplements her grandmother's memory by reading through old history books and archival material, and interviewing her mother and father. Lee's story illustrates the history of many older Korean women who have lived through Japanese colonization, the Korean War and even migration to United States, and yet through these many changes exhibit strength, and resilience. What makes her grandmother's story unique is that it is written.

Grandmother Hongyong speaks with clarity and fluidity. Born in 1912, she is raised to believe that a woman's role is to serve as an obedient daughter and eventual dutiful wife. Because of the colonization by Japan, her grandmother flees to China with her husband and her young child. While in China she works as a restaurateur, opium smuggler and practitioner of the healing art of *Chiryo*.[5] The most compelling part of the book is the section on grand-

mother Hongyoung's experiences during the Korean War. She and her family are living on the North side of the 38th parallel. They decide to flee to the south, but making the trip is treacherous. Before she is able to flee, she is sent to jail for a being a South Korean sympathizer. While there she prays that they will not execute or torture her. Her hope is to see her children again.

While reading the saga of grandmother Hongyong during the war, I cried endlessly. She is incapable of locating her son. She sees the dead everywhere. There is panic in the streets. There is hunger and disease. At one point, grandmother Hongyong is so hungry and weary in trying to flee North Korea that she tells her children to abandon the newborn baby. Her oldest daughter, Dukwah, defies her mother and carries her baby sister to South Korea. The human toll of the war is incredible and difficult to fathom. "I watched an unknown pilot drop a bomb from high in the sky. If only all these pilots could see our faces and hear our cries, they would stop the killing. It seemed so simple, but they never did."[6]

For those expecting happy endings, this book has some. There is no closure for grandmother Hongyong, however. After 41 years of attempting to locate her son, a letter arrives from a granddaughter. The granddaughter writes that her son is indeed living in North Korea and that she is the daughter. "It is June 4, 1991. I receive a letter from Pyongyang. He is alive! My Yongwoon is alive! The letter was written by the hand of his twenty-eight year old daughter. My God, he had children. All these years he was living behind the lines, and I had never known for sure."[7]

> "Every morning and every night before I go to bed, I pray I will hold my son in my tired arms . . . I pray a lot . . . hoping, aching, for the political gate that separates my son from me to fling open. And when it does, I will run in laughing and crying and singing out his name."[8]

Grandmother Hongyong has been unable to travel to North Korea to see her son, whom she has not seen for over 46 years. She is neither a government representative nor a business official, and North Korean politics, the way it is, does not allow a mother, who is only a civilian, to enter North Korea. This is how the book ends. There is no closure, but this is reality.

The Korean War started in 1950 and ended in 1953, yet it still continues. The summit between North and South Koreas held in June 2000 gives hope for many Koreans around the world. Having been in print since 1996, Lee's book has raised our consciousness about the extent to which war-torn Korean families still exist. In 1998, Lee was able to courageously bring her family out of North Korea. However, the reality for many is that for thousands of Korean families, the division of the Korean peninsula has meant separation of loved ones. The greatest contribution of this book is that it gives Korean Americans and non-Koreans alike an understanding of the pains associated with war and a country divided.

Notes:

1. Helie Lee, *Still Life with Rice: A Young American Woman Discovers the Life and Legacy of Her Korean Grandmother* (New York: Touchstone, 1997), 12.
2. Ibid., 13.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 25.
5. Accupressure.
6. Ibid., 225.
7. Ibid., 317.
8. Ibid., 320.

A Portrait of the Pioneer Korean Immigrants to Hawai'i

The Ilse: First-Generation Korean Immigrants in Hawai'i, 1903–1973
Wayne Patterson
Honolulu: Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawai'i Press, 2000
(ISBN 0-82482-241-2; 275 pp)

Lili M. Kim

Students of Korean immigration to the United States owe a great debt to historian Wayne Patterson. Trained as a Korean historian, Patterson has written two indispensable books for anyone attempting to understand how the legacy of Korean immigration to Hawai'i and the continental United States began. His first book, *The Korean Frontier in America: Immigration to Hawai'i, 1896–1910* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988), meticulously traces both the public events and deals behind the scenes that made the first major Korean immigration to Hawai'i a reality in 1903. His second book, *The Ilse: First-Generation Korean Immigrants in Hawai'i, 1903–1973*, "picks up the story where the earlier book ends, covers a longer period of time, and employs not only political and diplomatic history but also a great deal of social history."[1] The new employment of social history is, indeed, a welcome change. While prominent U.S. officials like Horace Allen (the American minister to Korea) and David Deshler (an American businessman turned recruiter for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association) appear as the major actors and architects of Korean immigration in his first book, in *The Ilse*, Korean immigrants legitimately emerge as agents of their own lives—ordinary people fully weighing options and making decisions for themselves under unordinary circumstances. This study, Patterson hopes, "will help correct the imbalance that exists in the study of East Asian immigration to the United States and fill a gap in the literature of the peopling of America."[2]

Covering seventy years of history, *The Ilse* consists of twelve more or less chronological thematic chapters. The first chapter, "Prologue—The Arrival of the First Immigrants," begins by recounting the highlights of the events leading up to the arrival of the first group of Koreans in Hawai'i in 1903 and some of their distinctive characteristics as immigrants. Well versed in Korean history, he is mindful of "push" factors in Korea that "pushed" Koreans into considering emigration in the first place. Patterson tells us that deteriorating conditions in the late Choseon dynasty (1392–1910) provided plenty of

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reasons to leave: famine, starvation, banditry, inflation, rebellion, war, cholera epidemics, counterfeit coins, oppressive taxes, corruption, maladministration, and poverty.[3] Still, as he prudently asserts, these reasons by themselves cannot fully explain why Koreans left for Hawai'i. After all, China and Russia were viable options for a place to make a new start. Furthermore, many more chose not to leave Korea at all. Positive images of Hawai'i in Korea certainly contributed to alluring would-be plantation laborers. But the most salient reason Koreans opted to immigrate to Hawai'i, according to Patterson, was their Christian faith. Because of their belief in Christianity, "they were no longer suspicious of, or unfamiliar with, Americans and American customs and were less concerned about fulfilling the dictates of Confucian tradition."[4]

Like all immigrants who arrived in Hawai'i before them, the pioneer Korean immigrants had high hopes of becoming rich quickly. But as Patterson aptly puts it, "life in Hawai'i was no picnic."[5] Their urban background ill-prepared Koreans for their new life on the plantations, and they proved to be mediocre workers at best. Also, coming from a racially homogeneous society in Korea, Koreans were in for a culture shock upon arriving in Hawai'i. Not only did they find native Hawaiians among themselves, but they also encountered laborers of other racial and ethnic origins. For example, one Korean woman revealed her first impression of her Puerto Rican neighbors on the plantation: "Those Puerto Ricans were the happiest people I had ever seen. . . . They were directly opposite from my cabin, and I could not help watching them sing and dance day and night all the time when they were not working. And that was the first time I had ever seen men and women swinging around in each other's arms. That looked awfully strange to me, of course, as my folks back home had never done such things. . . not even husband and wife together."[6]

. . . to construe the experience of the pioneer Korean Americans solely as a story of success . . . misses the many hardships Koreans faced for the first time in their lives.

Although the pioneer Korean immigrants arrived in Hawai'i ill-prepared for Hawaii's multiracial society and the back-breaking plantation work, they still receive a high mark for their ability to adapt. In fact, in Patterson's judgement, Koreans achieved an "unprecedented" rate of "rapid adjustment and mobility" in Hawai'i.[7] While it is not clear how he defines "rapid adjustment and mobility," or "acculturation," a term he uses elsewhere, in assessing the lives of the Korean immigrants, his supporting evidence for Koreans' unprecedented upward mobility points to economic successes, educational achievements, adoption of American values by the second-generation children, and the subsequent generational conflict that ensued.[8]

One of the reasons Patterson believes that the Koreans were a fast-adjusting bunch was the rate at which they abandoned plantation work and migrated to the cities. Unlike the Japanese who struck often for higher

wages and better working conditions, Koreans regarded plantation work as a short-term employment and kept their eyes toward the cities. After the mass exodus to the city, Koreans demonstrated their entrepreneurial spirit by opening up sewing and shoe-repair shops that provided them "financial rewards in excess of anything that could be earned on the plantations."[9]

In addition to their entrepreneurial ventures to climb the economic ladder, Koreans turned to education as a way to improve their financial future. Koreans' strong belief in education, Patterson tells us, came from both their "Confucian culture in Korea that had prized education and placed scholars at the top of the occupational and social hierarchy" and the formation of their new Christian churches which "laid a solid educational foundation."[10] Their strong belief in education and excellent performance in school, he surmises, led to high professionalization of the second-generation Koreans.

But the evidence for his "upward mobility" thesis sometimes conflicts. For example, Patterson states at one point that the second-generation Koreans "stayed in school longer than any ethnic group, including Chinese, Japanese, and Caucasians."[11] But then he later says, "Korean children started school early—ranking third behind the Chinese and other Caucasians and *tended to stay in school longer—second only to the Chinese*," which directly contradicts his earlier statement.[12] Similarly, in emphasizing the high number of second-generation Korean professionals, he writes, "Second-generation Koreans recorded one of the highest rates of professionalization."[13] But we are not told what kinds of professional jobs the second-generation Koreans held in their climb up the economic ladder, and have to settle for a speculation that "there was every reason to expect that such stellar performance would continue in college and the professional world."[14]

"Given the high outmarriage rates of Koreans, one would perhaps expect high divorce rates, since outmarriages more often end in divorce than inmarriages."

Even if we accept that Koreans indeed achieved economic mobility in Hawai'i faster than any other Asian immigrant group, to construe the experience of the pioneer Korean Americans solely as a story of success marked by rapid upward mobility misses the many hardships Koreans faced as immigrants and racism that they had to contend with for the first time in their lives. Patterson does caution us against quickly labeling the pioneer Korean immigrants a "model minority," not by considering the experience of Korean immigrants in the context of racism, but rather by reiterating the views of the contemporary sociologists who found Koreans to suffer from high incidences of what they termed "social disorganization."[15] Under the rubric of social disorganization are such unworthy things as divorce, outmarriage, mental illness, suicide, juvenile delinquency, and crime. As related by Patterson, the studies conducted by the sociologists at the University of Hawai'i, led by the renowned sociologist Andrew Lind, found that Koreans frequently en-

gaged in all of the indicators of social disorganization: Koreans married outside their ethnicity and had a high divorce rate; they made headlines with crimes; they suffered from mental illness with a high suicide rate; and their children were often in trouble.

It is highly contestable to include outmarriage or inter-racial/ethnic marriage as a part of "social disorganization" and in the same category as juvenile delinquency and crime. Patterson, anticipating possible protests, writes in a footnote, "While sociologists who studied this phenomenon in the 1930s declared outmarriage a negative indicator, readers of this work viewing it from the perspective of many decades later may well wish to question whether outmarriage, per se, is a valid indicator of social disorganization."[16] Having suggested this, however, Patterson himself does not eliminate outmarriage from the discussion of social disorganization and embraces the categories set by Lind and his colleagues. In fact, in his discussion of the sociologists' finding, Professor Patterson attributes Koreans' high rate of divorce to the high number of Koreans who married non-Koreans: "Given the high outmarriage rates of Koreans, one would perhaps expect high divorce rates, since outmarriages more often end in divorce than inmarriages."[17] In addition, he uncritically recites the remarks of a researcher who clearly mistakes an unsubstantiated generalization for an explanation: "Impressionistically, we might speculate that Koreans are popularly regarded as hot-tempered, and hence likely to have marriages full of tumult and friction."[18]

. . . from the student journals and papers . . . we have a much better understanding of why the second generation rejected some of the traditional Korean values. . . .

Still, what accounts for this seemingly contradictory picture of the Korean immigrants, one that encompasses record rates of economic, educational, and professional success on one hand and high social delinquency rates on the other? Professor Patterson offers three explanations: "few language schools, the small size of the Korean group, and urban residence."[19] He argues that Koreans due to their small number were not able to develop a sufficient ethnic community that would help instill their traditional values in their children and insulate them from these kinds of social disorganization, and their preference for urban residence only precipitated the course of the second generation's delinquency resulting from generational conflict. "Because of their more rapid rate of acculturation," Patterson writes, "the Koreans escaped from the old standards before gaining control of the new standards and thus experienced more severe social dislocations."[20] This brings up an inevitable question: does fast acculturation always come with the price of severe social dislocation for any given immigrant group? Considering this social cost, which is not at all insignificant, could the pioneer Korean immigrants' experience still be considered a case of impressive upward mobility?

One of the most interesting chapters in *The Ilse* is Chapter 6, "The

Picture-Bride System." The picture bride practice provided the solution for the lack of suitable marriage partners for the Korean bachelors in Hawai'i. Upon exchanging pictures through a go-between, if both parties agreed, the bride-to-be made her one-way trip to Hawai'i where she was met by the prospective husband and was married at the immigration station. Here, Professor Patterson's descriptive and detailed accounts are particularly fascinating. To appear wealthy, the men often took pictures in front of someone else's car, in borrowed suits, or in front of their employer's house. Some men, to conceal their old age would send pictures from twenty or more years ago. The accounts of the first meetings Professor Patterson cite here convey the grave disappointment of the picture brides which was neither small nor insignificant. Picture brides, despite their feeling of deception and despair, could not go back to Korea. They simply did not have that kind of money. Usually they made the best of the situations. (Professor Patterson found only one account of a pregnant picture bride who returned to Korea after six months). The most important legacy of the picture brides, as Professor Patterson points out, was that they made it possible for Korean immigrants to start a family, thereby ensuring the continuation of future generations of Korean Americans.

Ostensibly a book about the first generation, second-generation Koreans also receive a considerable amount of attention in *The Ilse*. It is their records of educational and professional achievements—as well as their delinquencies—that support Patterson's argument of Korean upward mobility and disorganization. This, in one sense, is understandable because it accurately reflects the primacy of their children among the concerns of the first generation; after all the pioneer Korean immigrants came to Hawai'i with the hope of providing a better life for their children. Again told from a second-generation Korean's perspective we understand that "[w]ith hard work, great sacrifice, and ultimate joy, my parents attained the dreams for the good life in their adopted land as well as a college education for each of their children."[21]

Patterson paints a rich and vivid portrait of the lives of the pioneer Korean immigrants, full of intimate details.

Even so, in the chapter on intergenerational conflict (Chapter 9), the perspective from which the conflict is told is overwhelmingly from that of the second generation. Clearly not everything the first generation tried to pass down to, and instill in, the second generation was met with enthusiasm. But because the most of the rich primary sources used in this chapter come from the student journals and papers of the University of Hawai'i, we have a much better understanding of why the second generation rejected some of the traditional Korean values, causing much headache to their parents, than how the first generation Koreans felt about the Americanization of their children.

Other topics include the continued influence of Christianity in Hawai'i (Chapter 4, "Methodist Mission Work); the second generation's openness to

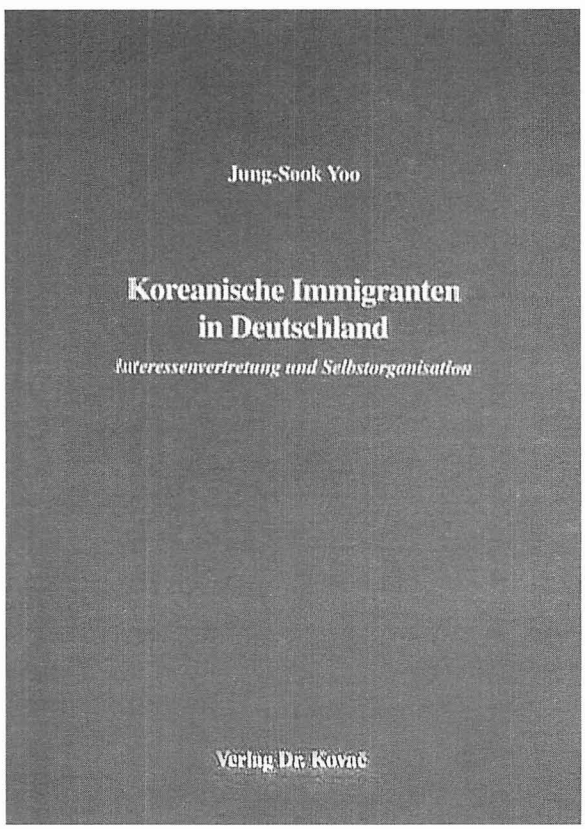
interracial dating and marriage, treated separately from the chapter on intergenerational conflict (Chapter 10, "Race Relations"); the Japanese government's perspective of the Korean independence movement in Hawai'i—a curious inclusion given that Professor Patterson purposely chooses not to deal with the Korean nationalist movement in depth in the book (Chapter 7, "*Futei Senjin*: Japan and "Rebellious Koreans"); and Korean efforts to repeal their enemy alien status during World War II (Chapter 11, "The Pacific War and Wartime Restrictions). The Epilogue, "The Postwar Years," covers the years following the liberation of Korea in 1945 and ends with the seventieth anniversary of Korean immigration to Hawai'i in 1973.

Taken together, *The Ilse* uncovers much about the experiences of the pioneer Korean immigrants. Utilizing an impressive array of primary sources, Patterson paints a rich and vivid portrait of the lives of the pioneer Korean immigrants, full of intimate details. But there is a great longing for historical context of the materials he presents. What was happening in Hawai'i and the continental United States during the span of the seventy years that Patterson covers that might have directly affected the lives of the Korean immigrants? For example, Patterson tells us that the Great Depression threw Korean immigrants "into an economic tailspin" and their economic gain was "put on hold temporarily by the Depression."[22] How would this statement be assessed in the context of how the rest of the residents of Hawai'i were affected? Historian Judy Yung, in her study of the Chinese American women in San Francisco, tells us, for example, that the Chinese were actually affected less by the economic woes of the Great Depression than the rest of the San Francisco community because of their ethnically isolated economy embedded in Chinatown which afforded them a measure of protection.[23] Was the same true of the Koreans in Hawai'i? Did the fact that they were in Hawai'i, relatively independent of the economy of the continental states help or hurt them during the Depression? What about during World War II? The Japanese and Japanese Americans, unlike their counterparts in the continental United States, were not interned. Did this lead to a more congenial atmosphere for Koreans to repeal their enemy alien status and fight for Korean liberation?

Notwithstanding these lingering questions, Professor Patterson has done a great service to advance the field of Korean American history with his latest book. *The Ilse* is an important and timely book that fills many gaps in our knowledge of what the lives of the pioneer Korean immigrants were like and opens up the stage for further inquiries. It is a must read for anyone interested in Korean American history.

Notes:

1. Wayne Patterson, *The Ilse: First-Generation Korean Immigrants in Hawai'i, 1903–1973* (Honolulu: Center for Korean Studies, U. Hawai'i Press, 2000) ix.
2. Ibid., ix.
3. Ibid., 8.
4. Ibid., 9.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 12 (as cited).
7. Ibid., 36.
8. Ibid., 33.
9. Ibid., 79.
10. Ibid., 121 and 67.
11. Ibid., 33.
12. Ibid., 121 (italics added—*Ed*).
13. Ibid., 33.
14. Ibid., 122.
15. Contemporary—from the 1930s—*Ed*.
16. Ibid., 124 and 20n.
17. Ibid., 222.
18. Ibid., 222 (as cited).
19. Ibid..
20. Ibid., 123.
21. Ibid., 223.
22. Ibid., 96 and 223.
23. Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 180–209.


Jung-Sook Yoo
Koreanische Immigranten in Deutschland
Interessenvertretung und Selbstorganisation
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The Korean Immigrant Experience in Germany

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Rüdiger Frank

People living in foreign countries tend to organize themselves, more or less closely, and for different reasons. Such reasons might include the preservation of their cultural identity, economic cooperation and mutual support or the formation of political circles and pursuit of political goals. Various factors determine whether such organizations are large or small, close or loose, cooperative or competitive. Certainly, the reason why an organization's members came to live in a foreign country plays a big role in this. Furthermore, the degree of cultural difference between the host country and the place of origin also determines the extent to which expatriates feel the need to maintain their cultural identity and convey it to their children. Last but not least, living and working conditions contribute to the need to form formal or informal business alliances. The forms of such organizations may vary, from educational institutions to religious groups, political parties or businesses.

Everybody who comes close to Koreans soon realizes the importance of groups in their society. This goes much further than the usual ties of a family, which are especially emphasized by the neo-Confucian tradition. Common regional backgrounds matter and are a well-publicized problem when it comes to politics. Usually, belonging to a group means transferring a certain portion of one's own identity to the collective, but without completely losing the much cited group individualism. Koreans are used to belonging to a variety of groups without forgetting their individual goals. It requires a lot of skill and effort to manage this membership personally and to cooperate or compete with other groups. So it is understandable that in a new environment, where no Korean groups exist, Koreans often try to form new entities based on what they are used to—namely, regional, family and religious backgrounds.

The relationship between these groups has not always been character-

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ized as "friendly." Under the term *t'ang jaeng,* we know of the bloody fight for power among different *yangban* groups during the Choseon dynasty, and similar conflicts happen in the present, too, even though blood is shed only metaphorically now.[1]

This leads to quite a number of questions, if one wants to analyze the community of Koreans in Germany: Why did they come? Which groups exist, and on what basis are they built? How is their relationship with each other, with the home and the host countries? Are there parallels to expatriate organizations in other countries and do those groups even resemble the group structures of their home country? If they exist for a while, which changes occur, and how do they develop compared with similar groups? Is the Korean community in Germany a smaller Korea outside the peninsula, or does it resemble only a part of the original? Or is it even a new part of the Korean society, and not a complete or partial copy? Or is it a mirror of a society, that has ceased to exist in Korea, but is still conserved in an isolated environment?[2]

The relationship between politically different groups has been strongly overshadowed by the Cold War in general and the conflict between the two Koreas.

Those are only some questions that come to mind when we think of a Korean community abroad. Jung-Sook Yoo's book is the result of nearly a decade of work in this field. Answers to the questions mentioned above and many more are provided. Usually, extensive fieldwork is presented in the form of processed knowledge, i.e., authors draw their own conclusions, considering or omitting information according to their preferences or theoretical framework used. This has positive effects, as readers are supplied with results, without the need of too much input on their behalf. On the other hand, readers in this case would be exposed to the author, with a limited possibility to make their own interpretation or critical assessment of the presented conclusions. So, it is one of the strengths of Yoo's book that the raw material or large amounts of it are presented as well as the author's personal judgment.

To illustrate this, we shall look at the contents and structure of the book. After a short analysis of Korea's social history, priority is given to the living conditions, preferences and overall situation of those individuals who decided to leave South Korea and go to Germany. Mainly, they can be divided into six groups: nurses, miners, political exiles, adoptees, students and business people. Social data on profession, income, religion, marriage etc. are presented. After this brief and comprehensive overview of individual aspects of the migration of South Koreans to West Germany, the groups formed by those migrants are named, described and analyzed. This is by far the largest part of the book (pp. 52–134). The organizations are divided into semi-official organizations, evangelical church communities, cultural and educational organizations, women's organizations, political organizations (all purely Ko-

rean) and German-Korean organizations. In the last chapter, the role of the Korean organizations in the German political system is examined.

The theoretical framework for the study is migration theory. The activities of Korean organizations and the living situation of individual Koreans are integrated into a broader framework of foreigners in Germany. Nevertheless, the focus is more clearly on Koreans. This is mainly because, with the exception of one study on Turkish migrants, the author states that she could not find other comparable analysis of the approximately five million foreign migrants living in Germany (as of 1991), i.e. 6.5 percent of the overall population.

The methodology applied for the study was interviewing individuals about their personal situations and the organizations they represented. The 65 interviews were conducted between November 1993 and May 1995. Most of the interviewees were first generation Koreans, but second generation Koreans (*ise*), Korean adoptees and also some Germans were interviewed as well. The information given on the various organizations and individuals (chapters 2 and 3) is presented in a form of extensive quotations with comments and analysis by the author. As already stated above, the complete and detailed individual interviews presented in the appendix (111 pages, about 50 interviews) are a particularly valuable aspect of this work.

Yoo has managed to do the impossible—to stay . . . away from the factional strife and position herself as a neutral and reliable researcher.

As the reader will learn from the individual destinies and the dynamics of the organizational development, the Koreans in Germany were and are confronted with various sorts of conflicts. They encounter personal conflicts, such as men vs. women; parents vs. children; rich vs. poor; and lower educated vs. higher educated. At the Ideological level, they face conflicts encompassing pro-government vs. pro-democracy; pro-government vs. open to North Korea; and cooperation with embassy/consulate general vs. opposition

We must note that "pro-government" meant pro-Park Chung-Hee in most cases, since most first generation interviewees emigrated to Germany during the 1970s, when President Park was in power. The relationship between politically different groups has been strongly overshadowed by the Cold War in general and the conflict between the two Koreas. Of symbolic character was the 1967 incident, in which seventeen allegedly communist intellectuals living in Germany were kidnapped by the KCIA and brought to South Korea, with serious diplomatic consequences.

Those who had the chance to personally experience the often fierce fighting, for whatever reason, between antagonistic groups of Koreans can imagine how the above mentioned political conflicts multiplied the "usual" tensions arising from power struggle. In this respect, it is remarkable that Yoo was able to collect all this information.

The interviewees' answers are often very frank and open, even though, understandably, many things are left unspoken. A German would not have been able to do this task with the same success, and even for a Korean insider it must have been a particularly difficult piece of work. Obviously, Yoo has managed to do the impossible—to stay at arms length away from the factional strife and position herself as a neutral and reliable researcher. That sounds easy for a Westerner, but again, is nearly unbelievable if one knows the background of her research field, and she deserves high respect.

In roughly 500 densely printed pages, so much information is offered that it calls for another volume. Limiting this study to only one volume also limits a more thorough analysis. Furthermore, due to limited resources, not all relevant organizations are covered; the author has selected those which she considered to be representative. This adds a subjective element to an otherwise very objective study. In addition, the number of 65 interviews is huge, but still too small to be considered statistically representative. That should, however, not be seen as an omission by the author, but as a call for further research. The book, limited though in its scope, presents much more material for further analysis, than any other study until now.

Yoo's book is the result of extensive, diligent and sensitive work and will serve as a solid foundation for further analysis, in spite its limitations. The intention of the book is to analyze the situation of Korean migrants in Germany En passant, and it informs about a wide range of other issues. It was not written solely with the intention to completely uncover the "secrets of the inner dynamics of Korean society itself," and it does not. But it provides clues and stepstones to come closer to the solution. The volume *Koreanische Immigranten in Deutschland* is an absolute must for anyone with an interest in the relationship between Germany and Korea and in Korean migrants abroad and can serve as a tool in obtaining a better understanding of the secrets of the inner dynamics of Korean society itself.

Notes:

1. Factional struggles among political groups—*Ed.*
2. See Valeri Sergeivich Khan, "Paradigm and Problems of Nationalist Movements: a Socio-Philosophical Analysis," *Occasional Papers* 2, (Seattle: Korean American Historical Society, 1996): 82–85.—*Ed.*

Don't be Missing in History!

Call for Papers

Korean American Historical Society
Occasional Papers, Vol. 6, 2002

Korean American Historical Society invites and encourages submissions pertaining to overseas Koreans which reflect the diversity of the Korean emigrant experience, as well as new approaches to this subject in the humanities and social sciences, including (but not limited to) anthropology, economics, ethnic studies, history, immigrant studies, literature, political science, psychology and sociology.

Manuscripts should be original and not draw significantly from any previously published works. They also should not be submitted simultaneously to any other publication. All articles will be refereed to at least one outside scholar in the appropriate field.

The standard length for articles is 3,000 words for community reports, essays and review articles; research studies are 8,000 words or more. Manuscripts should be typewritten; double-spaced, with margins of at least one inch; and must be fully documented to facilitate fact-checking, with endnotes and a bibliography (see *The Chicago Manual of Style*). Tables should be submitted separately, preferably as spreadsheets. Photographs and images should include date and place where possible, and name and address of source.

Submissions should be accompanied by a separate title page indicating the author's full name, mailing address, telephone (and fascimilie) number, and affiliation. Please include a brief vitae as well. Electronic submissions (Rich Text Format (".rtf")) via email or 3.5-inch floppy disk are preferred, and required if the work is accepted. Contributors should keep copies of works submitted.

Manuscripts must be received by **November 1, 2001** to be considered. Korean American Historical Society will consider all manuscripts submitted, but assumes no responsibility for returning submissions unless accompanied by appropriate postage. Korean American Historical Society reserves the right to edit for space.

About
Korean American Historical Society

Founded in 1985, Korean American Historical Society (KAHS) is a nonprofit organization dedicated to enriching the collective memory of Korean Americans through collecting, maintaining and transmitting the heritage and achievements of Koreans living in the United States and abroad. Goals of KAHS include:

1. Annually publish *Occasional Papers*, a scholarly journal of oral histories, community research, book reviews, critical essays and reports. This journal is intended to present information and material for primary researchers as well as general readers.
2. Conduct and archive oral history interviews on the history of Korean expatriates in general, and Korean Americans in particular.
3. Maintain a library of books, photographs and materials pertinent to the mission of KAHS.
4. Organize and conduct seminars, symposia and other necessary activities.
5. Encourage the development of Korean American studies as an academic discipline.
6. Coordinate activities with other Korean community organizations for historical purposes.

Community educational efforts and heritage events supported by KAHS have included:

1984–85, KAHS organized a panel discussion on teaching Korean language to Korean children born in the US, and initiated the Korean American Research Project, a program to collect oral histories of Korean Americans in Washington state for a book length pictorial essay.

1986–94, KAHS organized and sponsored Yoojin Chung's P'ansori concert commemorating the 100th Anniversary of Korean immigration to the US along with a screening of the film, "Seop'yeonjae" (1993). Publication of *Occasional Papers* lapsed during this period due to the departure of the editor to Korea following the death of his wife.

1995–96, KAHS advised the University of Washington's Burke Museum regarding three Korean displays for its "Pacific Voices" exhibit. KAHS also organized and sponsored a booksigning for Robert Hyung-chan Kim's book, *Tosan Ahn Ch'ang-ho: A Profile of a Prophetic Patriot*, with Susan Ahn Cuddy as a guest speaker (1996). KAHS also conducted a survey of Korean Identity Development Society's (KIDS) Korean culture camp participants, and sponsored its first student intern.

1997–98, KAHS co-sponsored the Seattle Asian American Film Festival, provided staff support to help edit *The Deepest Love of My People: writings and memories of Chang Hei Lee*, a memorial to a local community leader. Staff and volunteers completed advising the University of Washington's Burke Museum regarding the Korean displays for its "Pacific Voices" program, advised regarding its Korean American exhibit, advised the Northwest Folklife Festival's "With One Broad Voice" program, and The Shoreline Historical Museum regarding its "Fresh Voices of the Community: Korean American Youth" exhibit. KAHS received a collection of 284 books and periodicals from Arthur L. Gardner, author of *The Koreans in Hawaii: An Annotated Bibliography*

(Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, 1970) Hawaii Series No. 2.

1998–99, staff and volunteers advised The Wing Luke Asian Museum regarding its "Golden Roots" Korean American exhibit, and participated in Seattle Asian Art Museum's community advisory committee for "A Visit to Grandfather's House" exhibit, which opened in October 1999. In September 1998, KAHS launched its internet web site. In January 1999, KAHS held a forum with Korean American investigative journalist KW Lee and author Daisy Chun Rhodes, which was supported by Korean American Professionals Society (KAPS). KAHS received its first grant from the Overseas Koreans Foundation. Staff gave presentations on Korea and Korean American history at Roosevelt High School in March, and at Korean Community Counselling Center's first annual Summer Youth Program in July. In November 1999 KAHS held a reception for volume 4 at the University of Washington, which featured Dr. Sue Sohng and Dr. Ickhwan Choe as speakers.

2000–01, KAHS participated in the community advisory committee for Northwest Folklife's production of "*Han Madang*, Korean American Communities in the Pacific Northwest." Forthcoming issues will include articles based on Northwest Folklife's three-part speaker series on Korean identity and culture. In June 2000, a second grant from the Overseas Koreans Foundation was received. In May 2001, KAHS received the Irwin D. Stoll book collection.

Occasional Papers

Volume 1, 1985 was published under the title, *The Journal of Korean American Historical Society* (LCCN 86658565, 70pp), and was a bilingual issue that featured the oral history of Joseph Hong (one of the first Korean American Alaskans), a panel discussion on teaching Korean to children growing up in the United States, and a critical essay regarding how the media portrays Asian Americans as the "model minority." Following the departure of the editor to an overseas teaching position, publication lapsed.

Volume 2, 1996 was published under the name *Occasional Papers* (ISSN 1088-1964, 120pp), and marked the reemergence of Korean American Historical Society. This volume included a five-interview oral history of the Sung-Hark Kang family (one of the oldest Korean American families in Washington state), a University of Washington study of students of Korean heritage, papers from the William Carlson Smith and Songmoo Kho collections, and a report on the third annual Korean American Leadership Conference, in addition to other articles.

Volume 3, 1997 (120pp) featured the oral histories of Korean Americans during World War II, a story of a Korean miner in Germany, and a history of Go playing in Seattle and the influence of Korean American players. An essay on Korean Americans in race relations by Elaine Kim, a report by Kun Hong Park and a letter by Soon Hyun were also included. Book reviews by Edward Chang and S.E. Solberg, followed by a review of Chris Chan Lee's feature film, "Yellow," rounded out the issue.

Volume 4, 1998-99 (200pp) features the oral history of Susan Ahn Cuddy, daughter of Ch'ang-Ho Ahn. A special section on Adopted Koreans follows, including reports on an adoptive family support group, young adult adoptees, and two essays by parents. We introduce Korean Boxers during the 1930s, the immigrant experience in Australia during the 1970s and 80s, and explore Korean community organizations influencing U.S. policy in the 90s. In addition to other reviews, pioneer and oral historian Sonia Sunoo reviews the story of Dora Yum Kim.

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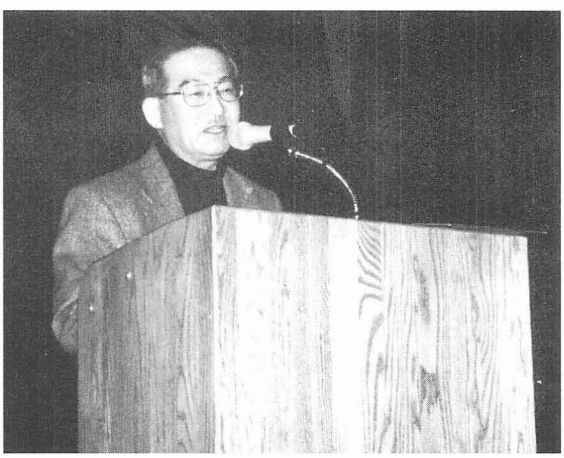

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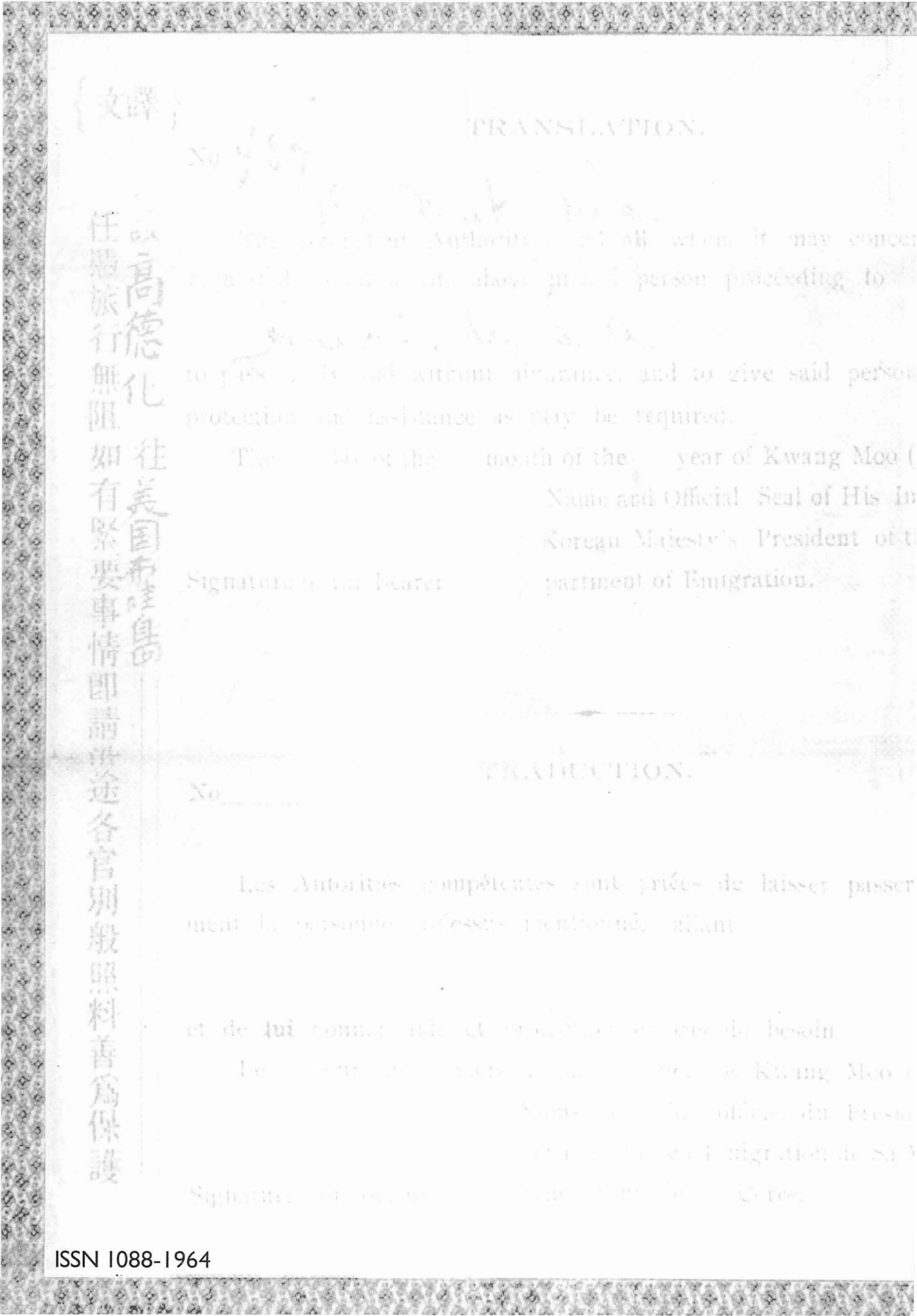

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