

W 6: Gender and Sexuality

- I. Introduction
- II. Domestic violence
- III. Cosmetic Surgery among Asian Am Women
- IV. Koreatown's Hostess Industry
- V. Marriage Dilemmas among Korean Americans
- VI. Sexual Minorities

I: Introduction

How are Korean American women doing?

- Gender war
- Doubly oppressed by patriarchy & sexism in both Korean and American culture
- Interlocking and complicated oppression of racial, sexist, and/or classed

Gender relations among immigrant women, how much change?

- Interplay of women's economic resources (resource theory) and gender norm (gender theory) plus family context
- Men's resistance
- Contested but limited transformation of gender relation

“Patriarchal bargaining”

- New self-expression
- Wives’ challenge to unequal division of domestic work:
 - thru politics of appeal
 - resignation
 - superwoman
- Marital conflict

II: Domestic Violence

Physical assault, injury, psychological aggression, sexual, verbal...

- A major family problem for Korean immigrant women
- Not viewed as a social problem until the mid-80s

Contributing factors:

- Gender inequality/violence
- Rigid gender role socialization or other cultural baggage

Type and Frequency of Violence

- 25% of women in the US reporting at least one incident of DV
(bruise, black eyes, broken bones....)
- KA women, the second largest AA group, experiencing DV; (AA battered women's shelter, LA)
- 30% of KA women, experienced physical assault by their male partners

Watch Mandevilla at www.kafsccla.org/mandevilla
and at www.youtube.com/user/KAFSCLA/videos
Go to www.kafsccla.org

Predictive factors

- Alcohol use by a male partner:
related to the level of stress and the level of
marital satisfaction
- Religious involvement and alcohol use by a male
partner, significant predictors of physical assault

- Life Stress

(occupational/economic, parental, marital, cultural/family, and immigration stress);

- Facing occupational & economic stresses, (due to language barriers, inability to adjust to the majority culture, or discrimination, etc.);
- Stress in child rearing, cultural and marital/family stress

- A lower level of acculturation, associated with more psychological assault
- Uniqueness of Korean cultural features should be considered in social services for immigrants.

Women victim/survivor:

- social & economic obstacles, fear of repeat, lack of support & resources;
loneliness, self-blame, passivity, shame, or denial

III: Medicalization of Racial Features: Cosmetic Surgery among Asian American Women

- White women: liposuction, breast augmentation, or wrinkle removal procedures
 - Double-eyelid surgery, nasal implants, nasal tip refinement procedures
 - Internalized a gender ideology and a racial ideology/racial prejudice
- Correlating their stereotyped genetic physical features (“small, slanted, narrow” eyes and a “flat” nose) with negative behavioral, social, or intellectual characteristics (dullness, passivity, and lack of emotion)

- Cultural and institutional forces;
-a “disciplinary” practice, for normalization (conforming to patriarchal def. of femininity and beauty)
- Acts of mutilation (potent form of self, body, and society alienation) vs. a celebration of the social and individual body (use of their freedom of individual choice)?
- For improving their social status, or to acquire “symbolic capital,” as well as for “aesthetic” purposes;
Getting a date, securing a mate, or getting a better job

Medicalization of racial features

- Ideological racism (medical books: describing Asian features as “abnormal, inadequate, or excess”)
- Legitimated by scientific rationality and technical efficiency
- Little on harmful and risky procedures or psychologically traumatic aspects of the operation
- Medicine and the consumer-oriented society:
reinforcement

IV: Koreatown's Hostess Industry

- Hotbed of sex trafficking (of Korean migrant women by coethnics)?
- Lacking substantive empirical evidence

To examine changes to sexual labor in the context of the ethnic economy

Hostesses

- Providing companionship, flirtation, conversation, singing, dancing, and entertainment to male patrons in drinking settings
(listening to a client's stories, holding his hand, rubbing his thigh, and sometimes sexual acts)
- Historical transformation:
 - From room salons to “doumi” () agencies
- Depending on the Precarious Labor of local US women (on-demand, part-time, & temporary work)

Sex Work

- Inherently oppressive vs. advocating its benefits
- Complex nature of sex work;

Emphasizing the centrality of the labor process in worker experiences (work culture, labor standards, collective action, and emotion work)

- Sexual labor: erotic work, topless dancing, stripping, cocktail waitressing, hostessing, bartending, escorting, & massage services as well as prostitution; situating sexual labor in the macrostructural context of the political economy

The “Girlfriend Labor”

The girlfriend and care labor

- To foster male business relations (in Asian cultures) and create a lively party atmosphere as well as bolster clients’ masculinity

(bodily and affective provisions: care work, flirtation, conversation, entertainment, and light touching)

- Hostesses describe their labor as “bartending” or as a stepping stone to acting:
 - Viewing their labor as requiring special bodily and human capital (premium beauty and intellect) to interact with middle/upper class male customers
- Cf. exotic dancing or stripping as stigmatized and low skilled

Indentured labor in room salons

- Costing \$400-\$3,000 (karaoke time, alcoholic bottle service, refreshments, & food platters)
- Hostesses, earning up to \$500 in addition to a base tip of \$100 in gratuity per customer
- Making \$7000 a month or more
- “Aces” earning up to \$20,000 per month
- Clients, typically Korean immigrant businessmen (trade, manufacturing, & professional services), with a generous corporate entertainment account

Korean Migrant Women

- Migrating to the US on a debt bondage system known as “maiking” (, deposit)
- Hostesses owe employers \$5,000-\$30,000 (broker fees, visa fees, airfare, initial housing, beauty salon fees, obtaining and retaining a student visa, etc.)
- Veteran sex workers plus some non-sex workers
- Working six hour shifts, sharing rooms with other hostesses in one of Koreatown’s luxury apartments; attending class at the English language school

- Middleman labor brokers
- Symbiotic, albeit unequal relationship b/w employers and hostesses
- Some, providing financial assistance to their families back in Korea and achieving their own personal career and educational goals
- Stricter immigration restrictions

Precarious labor in “Doumi” companies

- With the 2008 US recession, room salons couldn't afford the large operating cost
- Unregistered and unlicensed auxiliary hostess sourcing agencies,
supplying freelance hostesses to male patrons upon request in rented rooms at karaoke establishments,
- Working with 20-40 on-demand hostesses,
whom they recruit through mainstream employment websites

- For Korean immigrant businessmen and young Korean and Korean American male professionals and their non-Korean friends
 - Renting a karaoke room for the night at \$150-\$1000,
 - Specifying their preference for language or ethnicity and personally selecting their hostess;
- (K, J, C, V, F, T, M, C, S, R, M and W)

- Hostesses, for a two-hour period for a fee of \$120 (\$40, going to the agency) plus gratuity
- Earning up to several hundred dollars per night
- A contingency-based labor system, creating a situation of income insecurity
- Not out of desperation or poverty but because of unstable employment & gender segmentation in the mainstream labor market

V: Marriage Dilemmas among Korean Americans

KAs' constraints and choices in choosing romantic partners:

- Class and gender complicating their choice and overriding race and ethnicity

- Asian American intermarriage rate, reaching 25% in 1990
- Since 1980s, increase in interethnic marriage & decrease in interracial marriage
- Pan-ethnic ethnogenesis?
- Importance of class in facilitating pan-ethnic marriage among middle-class Asian Americans

Middle-class KAs – coethnic & pan-ethnic preferences

- Question of cultural compatibility & having common values;

Intimacy, empathy, pride...

Working- class KAs

- A matter of personal choice
- Socioeconomic concerns overriding sense of ethnic identity
- Lacking opportunities to network with other Korean Americans

VI: Sexual Minorities

KAs' cultural attitude on sexual minorities:

complicated by generational & religious values

- Revealing the KA community's investment in heterosexual in-ethnic marriage
- Homosexuality as incompatible with their Korean ethnicity and culture;

Representing traditional Confucius Korean values such as filial piety, family lineage, & patriarchy

- LGBT KAs, not considered members

Incidents of homophobia:

- The bible points out that homosexuality is a sin.
- In 2000, some KA church members rallied against gay rights, supporting Prop 22 (barred gay marriage)
- In hiring a new youth minister:
promising candidate, who supported LGBT folks and their civil as well as religious issues

(Theologically) Fundamentalist

- Evangelicals and fundamentalists share conservative positions (inerrancy of the bible, Trinity, virgin birth, & active evangelism (The same Old Testament also sanctions polygamy, concubinage, & slavery.)

Confucian influence on Kor immigrant churches

- Its patriarchal family system, social hierarchy, legalism, & mannerism

Resistance to American cultural liberalism

- View American culture as liberal & morally depraved;

Selectively adopting American culture (e.g., materialism)

Clerical training, relationship structure in the church, & collaboration b/w church leaders & community activists

Korean Americans for Civil Rights

- To counter KA ministers' support of the "Sexual Responsibility Act" or Prop 8
- Mostly English speaking

W 7: Work, the Ethnic Economy, and Class Differentiation

- I. Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurship
- II. Garment Industry
 - Nail Salon
 - Liquor Store
 - High Tech Industry
- III. Class Differentiation

I: Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurship

How and why Korean immigrants involve themselves in small business ownership?

Theoretical explanation

(Korean immigrant entrepreneurial success):

- Cultural explanation
- Supply & demand (or opportunity structure)
- Ethnic succession
- Ethnic & class resources

Structural Disadvantage

- Segmented labor market vs. Human capital theory (language/cultural barriers, non-transferable skills and education, etc..)

Facilitating Factors:

- Postindustrial and hourglass economy
- Change in regional economy & retail business trend
- Import-export trade
- Ethnic markets

Labor, Capital, and Business Information

Some characteristics:

- Alternative to low wage employment
- Retail & service businesses, with some manufacturing
- Self employed
- On small scale
- Labor intensive
- Entering deteriorated economic environment
- Non-ethnic enclave economy
- Increasingly transnational

Labor

- Self-imposed super exploitation
- Family/kin and wage (including non-Korean) labor

Capital

- Personal savings & loan
- Rotating Credit Association (*kye*)
- Korean American banks and financial institutions
- South Korean capital

Network or social capital

- Trade tie
- Business know-how
- Ethnic media, business organizations
- Rotating Credit Association (kye)
- Korean American Banks

II: From Garment, Nail Salon, Liquor to High Tech Industry

Nail Salon

Nail Salon - Anjelah Johnson - Comedy Time

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SsWrY77o77o>

Seinfeld Korean nail shop

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mzNwduqNVpM>

- “Body labor”: the provision of body-related services and the management of emotions
- More than 4,000 Korean-owned nail salons, or 90% of the total (in New York)
- Hiring roughly 20,000 women





To explore variation in the performance of body labor

- Utilizing Hochschild (1983)'s work on *emotional labor*
- Thru the theoretical framework of race, gender, & class as “interactive systems” & “interlocking categories of experience”
- Caused by the intersection of the gendered processes of beauty service work with the racialized and class-specific service expectations of diverse customers
- Korean immigrant women, both challenge & reproduce the existing form of inequality

Contours of Body Labor

Uptown nails - high service body Labor

- Involving physical pampering & emotional attentiveness
- Serving mostly middle & upper-class White female customers

Downtown Nails - expressive body labor

- Involving artistry in technical skills & communication of respect & fairness
- Serving mostly working & lower middle class African American & Caribbean female customers
- Focus on the appearance, originality & durability of the nails themselves

Crosstown Nails - routinized body labor

- Involving efficient, competent physical labor & courteous but minimal emotional labor
- Serving mostly lower-middle & middle class racially mixed female customers
- Class prevailing over race
- Viewing the nails instrumentally as a professional asset, rather than a pampered femininity

Liquor Store

Korean Vendors and Powerless Customers in
South Central Los Angeles



291-1551
LOTTERY
BEIGNOR

PRESCRIPTION
WEST - VERN
LIQUOR

VERNON AVE
1700 W. →

Church's
CHICKEN

DONUTS

BLACK



1. Foucault, de Certeau, and Scott

- Foucauldian notion of discipline and culture of surveillance;
prisons, courts, hospitals, barracks, schools, factories, and stores with Panopticon;
Leaving little room for social change, in particular the role of resistance
- De Certeau's notion of everyday activities full of strategies and tactics
- Scott's argument of Malay (adversely affected) peasants' resistance:
passive noncompliance, evasion...

- Merchant-customer interaction as a site of de Certeau's everyday life
- Both merchants and customers are able to contest, manipulate, etc., despite unequal power relations
- By examining the process in which various disputes develop

2. Encounters between Korean merchants and inner city customers

- Stewart's study on communication differences
- Bailey's study on differences in communication/cultural objectives
- Lee: civil nature; importance of several socio-economic variable

De-contextualized, de-politicized analysis

3."Kimbo" Liquor Store

Storeowner

Turtle Boat Head

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PM1THv7b_78

- Store owner's strategy
- Surveillance
- Resistance to Surveillance

At 6:25 pm, February 11, a Latino customer in his late 20's walks into the store.

C: Que paso cabrone?

S: You cabrone. You codo (Does the elbow gesture).

C: Free beer?

S: Feliz Navidad! I give you free beer...You drink all (referring to the two 40 oz beers).

Yeah.

S: Too much drinking mucho problem.

Stomach problem. You need one day

off (points to his belly)...Me (I drink) Bud

Light bottle.

C: (Lifts up his shirt, shows Sam his
belly)

S: You mucho strong.

C: (flexes his arms)

S: Okay amigo.

At 2:37 pm, February 18, “Rock”,

another regular customer, African

American man in his late 40’s appears...

C: How much is that shit?

S: 50 cents.

C: No. Put it back. Get me those
chips...and give me a Taaka Sam.

S: Big one?

C: (Gives my dad an annoyed look) You
know I can’t afford that.

S: When you gonna pay credit?

C: When I get the money.

S: Where's your wife?

C: I don't go over \$10. Give some time.

S: You pray for Jesus Christ.

C: I do. My kids go to church every

Sunday.

S: What a shame. You no pay credit
almost one month.

S: I lost my job. Sam I got 5 more
children. 6 more children. (starts to list
the age of his children that are not at the
store).

At 6: 05 pm, March 1, a customer who has given Sam many problems in the past has come into the store. He is a Black man in his 50's. He buys a can of malt liquor but does not leave. He stands there staring at Sam. Sam tells him to leave but he does not.

C: Don't yell at me!!

S: Please go!!!

C: Don't fuck with me!!!

D: Hey man, just get out of here. Just
leave.

C: Don't mess with me cuz I'll take any
one of you out!!

Class Interest vs. Civil Rights

Disputes in the absence of visible communication differences

Store owner's main strategies:

- Confrontation and coercion
- Employment of masculinity
- “Knowing” his customers
- “Going native”
- Spatial practices
- Temporary time-out

- Reflecting his diverse interactions with his customers,
from civil to violent interactions and boycotts
- Differentiating the working poor from the unemployed poor
("tough" customers, due to unemployment, substance use, poverty),
along with lack of legal authority or other resources

- Powerless customers reciprocate, contest, manipulate, or playing games
- Overall dynamics are set by capitalist contradictions
- Race/ethnicity, not class interest or civil rights issues is constructed via violent encounters

Menace II Society - Liquor Store Robbery:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nz2p5nk-X-E>

High Tech Industry

Signaling the broad transformation of the role of KAs in the US economy: From ethnic to transnational

- 70s-80s:

Entry-level assembly workers plus a small group of engineers & scientists;

English-speaking KAs as supervisor;

Close to 18% of the total workforce of nearly 130,000

Insourcing of foreign engineers & scientists

- Via the Immigration act of 1990 and its expansion of the H-1B visa program for non-immigrant specialty workers

With the “dot-com” bubble burst in the late 90s;

- Increasing number of engineers & scientists pursuing MBAs and law degrees

Increasing demand for KA engineers & scientists

- By South Korean government agencies & corporations, back to South Korea or to work in US subsidiaries of South Korean companies;
e.g., Hynix Semiconductor (largest manufacturer of computer memory chips), Samsung, & LG, created a dominant presence within the US, with billions of dollars of direct investment in Silicon Valley
- As researcher, manager, & executive
- By American high tech companies, investing in & creating joint ventures with South Korean companies

KA Entrepreneurs

- From the 1990s, as global leaders in their industry segment:

K. Philip Hwang, TeleVideo, visible computer Co.

Steve Kim (Xylan Corporations)

Chong Moon Lee (Diamond Multimedia)

- The American operations of Korean transnational companies, overshadowing their ethnic counterpart;
An important source of career mobility for K & KA high tech professionals

III: Class Differentiation/Polarization

- KAs, who could not realize the Korean American dream
- 1/3 of the KA population
- Nature of relationship b/w petty bourgeoisie (professionals & small businessowners) and working class: exploitation and/or domination
- Mostly working in the ethnic economy
- Lacking class consciousness, shadowed by the Korean immigrant ideology; in search of *anjong* (stability, security, or establishment)

Korean and Latino immigrant workers from LA's Koreatown

Moving in a blended or mixed labor market:

- Formal employment/labor market: mobility, better pay, fringe benefits (health care and paid vacations);
Informal labor market: “immigrant work” as static, exploitative, or by illegal arrangement
- Immigrant workers, having agency over the terms of their work;
participating in the informal sector, despite access to the formal sector, because of the potential benefits of informal employment

Latino workers: flexible benefits

- Informal arrangements within formal employment
(paid partly in cash, partly by check)

Korean workers: flexible barriers

- The benefits of legal status, not material, but rather psychological and emotional
(feeling more freedom or free from guilt/shame)

W 8: Family Issues and Education

- I. Viewing Familial Relations thru an Americanized Lens
- II. Family Support
- III. Educational Practices: High Achievers
- IV. Urban Schools: High School Dropouts
- V. Disenfranchised Biological Citizenship

I: Viewing Familial Relations thru an Americanized Lens

Korean and Vietnamese immigrant families

- Being new American ethnic groups, different in terms of immigration history and economic status
- Denigration of traditional ethnic parenting practices;
Glorification of ethnic practices of filial obligation
- Narrow and ethnocentric images of the Family, as ideological template,

shaping the desires, disappointments, and subjective realities of these ethnic minorities

The Family ideology: “The Normal American Family” (loving, harmonious, egalitarian, and normal)

as an interpretive framework

- The images of White middle-class heterosexual family (breadwinning husband, homemaker wife, and children)
- Ignoring diversity within family types
- Selectively by-passing the social problem (child abuse, divorce...)
- Denigrating the styles and beliefs of racial-ethnic, immigrant, gay-lesbian, and single-parent families

- The Family ideal, containing notions about the appropriate values, norms, and beliefs regarding familial relations:

Emphasis on individualism, self-sufficiency, egalitarianism, expressiveness, and self-development;

Emphasizing sensitivity, open honest communication, flexibility, and forgiveness

- Contemporary American family ideals, stressing democratic rather than authoritarian relations, individual autonomy, psychological well-being, and emotional responsiveness

(or family affection, intimacy, and sentimentality
(e.g., TV families: emotionally nurturing and supportive, understanding, and forgiving))

Asian American Families

- Distant, overly strict, uncaring, and not normal; deficient and dysfunctional
- Stressing duty, responsibility, obedience, and a commitment to the family collective
- Subtly constructing Asian family patterns of interaction as “deviant,” despite the image of Asians as a “model minority.”

- Relied on positive images of the close family ties;
Maintaining ethnic values of filial obligation
 - Plans for parental care;
 - To live near their parents
 - not to abandon their parents in retirement or nursing homes

In Korean and Vietnamese culture

- The role prescriptions, family obligations, hierarchical relations, lack of emotional expressiveness, and collectivist values
- Emphasizing strong parental control and parental responsibility for children's failings:
parental strictness as warmth and concern
- Emphasis on family interests over individual desires and needs, for family stability and harmony
- Expected to display respect, deference, and obedience to elders

Parental Relations

- Wishes for parents who were less strict and giving more freedom;
 - More liberal, more open-minded, more Americanized, and less traditional;
 - Were emotionally closer, more communicative, more expressive, and more affectionate
- Different cultural definitions of love:
 - in US culture: a definition of love, emphasizing emotional expression and close talk;
 - In K/V cultures, emphasis on instrumental help and support

II: Family Support

Attitude and Beliefs among 2nd gen KA re. Family Support

(filial expectations and support for aging immigrant parents)

Challenges for aging Korean immigrants and their adult children:

- Korean immigrants' lack of retirement savings and eldercare plans, reduced access to Social Security, employer pensions, and private savings

(Self-employed persons: lacking employer-based retirement accounts and/or pensions, or tax-deferred savings for retirement savings)

- Cultural expectations such as filial piety

- Motivated by feelings of gratitude and a strong sense of responsibility toward their parent(s)
- Adult children, preparing themselves for future support of their parents' finances, health care and long-term care needs
- The intersection of gender, culture, and class inform attitudes and beliefs regarding aging and family support among KAs.

- The family life course concept of *linked lives*
- *Reciprocity*:

Obligation and duty, appreciation for their parents' sacrifice, cultural expectation

-The notion of filial piety, “*hyo*” (孝 ; 孝):
responsibility, respect, sacrifice, and family harmony:

- Adult children care for their aging parents because they have been cared for as children.

- Changing filial practices:
 - Daughters, taking care of their own parents as well as in-laws;
 - Fewer Koreans, practicing co-residence with aging parents/in-laws

- Filial obligation and support to aging parents, varying, influenced by structural and economic factors:
 - Differences in birth order and gender
 - Considering practical factors (adult children's financial resources, the needs of parents, and proximity of residence, compatibility, impact on relationships with spouse/partner and children)

“Repay”

- Future financial and housing assistance
- Despite tensions with parents at different stages of their life
- Even with significant “losses” in language and culture comparative to their elders
- Only half (their parents), having retirement savings other than Social Security;
- Less than 3%, with long-term care insurance

Adult daughters care (work) more.

- Sons' responses, revolving around duty, concerning about their spouses' opinions
- Daughters, discussing in detail their aging parents' current and future needs and anticipated challenges (their parents' health and emotional and mental well-being)
- Giving up their own job(s)/career(s)
- Sacrificing their own financial stability

III: Educational Practices: High Achievers

- To examine career choice among KA college students at a prestigious university
- Reflecting the “cultural model” of their immigrant parent;

How KA family & community emphasize the students’ educational performance & career choice

Academic performance of minority students

- Biological
- Cultural
- Structural explanation
- Ogbu's cultural model approach:
subordinate or caste-like minority groups (w/
strong oppositional identity) vs. voluntary
immigrants

Cultural model of success

- Money & prestige
- Prestige with the academic achievement
- Academic success to be the essence of being Korean
- Parental discipline and Confucius educational wisdom
- Level of parents' devotion to their children's education, reflected in naming after IVY league

At the community level:

- all kinds of educational services;
(private educational institutes)
- ethnic media
(Inclusion of educational background in the
advertisements in KA newspapers,
real estate advertisement)

Career choice

- Many majoring in chemistry, biological sciences, & natural resources
- Narrowly defined definition of prestigious careers: Medicine, law, business, engineering, etc.

Cost

- Their cultural model, sometimes working against KA students' general welfare;

Frustration, guilt, psychological burden, or mental health problems

- Parents, proud or ashamed of their children
- Estranged parent-children relationship or socially delinquent behavior

IV: High School Dropouts

What about KA youths with low socioeconomic backgrounds, limited coethnic network support, & poor urban schools?

- Along class lines
(parents, worked for coethnic entrepreneurs;
40%, in single-parent households; 90%, had to work)
- Resisted associating with and benefitting from more socially mobile Korean Americans
- To adopt an oppositional cultural frames of reference and to drop out of high school

Children of the post-1965 immigrants

- Experiencing racial barriers, economic restructuring & the ascendance of the service economy
- Bilingual and bicultural students, performing better than monolingual, monocultural ones
- Segmented assimilation;
Accommodation without assimilation;
Selective assimilation

Limited access to social capital

- Not because of inability, but because of meaninglessness
- Parents, stressed academic excellence, without providing appropriate social & economic support
- Dropping-out as a form of adaptation & resistance to the limited social & economic opportunities

School context: ineffective learning environments

- Limited access to guidance counselors, teachers, & other community members
- Uncaring teachers and/or counselors
- Classroom, lacking academic rigor, discipline & organization
- Anger & frustration based on mistrust & disrespect

Becoming the “other” Korean

- Racial & economic isolation, leading to fear & hatred for White
- Distinguishing themselves from the more “wealthy,” more educated or studious KAs

W 9: Religion and Political Participation

- I. 2nd generation Korean American (SGKAs)
Evangelicals: Campus Ministries
- II. Shifting boundaries within SGKA Churches
- III. Intergeneration Transmission of Religion and Culture
- IV. Korean American Politics
- V. Guest Lectures

I: 2nd generation KA (SGKAs) Evangelicals: Campus Ministries

- The prevalence of racialization (pan-Asian congregations)
 - Ethnicization for ethnic religious group formation; stressing cultural distinctiveness as the primary source of continuing ethnic religious group boundaries
- K. Chong: participating in ethnic churches, reinforcing a distinct Korean ethnic identity for SGKAs
(primordial ethnic retention argument)

SGKA

- SGKA/AA evangelicals' religious services:
modeled after mainstream evangelical services, not their
parents' churches
- SGKAs, placing their Christian identity above their ethnic
identity
- Turning to separate ethnic campus ministries,
in lieu of pan-ethnic, multiracial, or white mainstream
campus ministries

1. Search for community and changes in ethnic density and diversity
2. Homophily and ethnic and racial categorization
(cf. white evangelical org.: focus on personal piety and offering a more individualistic form of Christianity)
 - the experience of growing up and having intergenerational and intercultural conflicts with the 1st generation
3. Desire for majority status and marginalization
 - More opportunities for power and leadership

II: Shifting boundaries within SGKA Churches

22 2nd generation Kor Am churches in LA

- All of the religious services as well as informal conversations, in English
- Not affiliated with immigrant congregations
- To transform their churches into multiracial congregations

The hybrid third space, existing in a state of tension

- Ethnic church and cultural preservation
- Religious universalism vs. ethnic particularism
- Multiracial congregations, very rare, due to racism and/or cultural preservation

Mono-Ethnic Churches

- For a distinct “Korean American” spirituality
(passion, fervency, urgency, unison prayer (*tongsong kido*)
- Deliverance and blessing;
 - For spiritual breakthrough, physical well-being, & material provisions
 - Prayer, a holistic exercise (body, emotions, mind, & spirit), partly due to the influence of Shamanism
- Comfort, belonging, and security
- Korean ethnicity and culture, embraced and celebrated;
“Koreanized” food, language, ethnic locations, & values

Pan-Ethnic, Asian American Churches

- Evangelicals: emphasizing lifestyle, value systems, & social networks
(cf. Mainline ministers: focusing on their racialized experience)
- The subjects of race and racism, hardly addressed within the churches

Multiracial Churches

- Multiculturalism is a given reality in American society.
- Mostly embracing the color-blind approach:
 - Emphasizing a shared Christian identity to form the basis of community
 - Deemphasizing the significance of ethnic & racial differences
 - Attracting a more diverse membership
- Others, becoming a racially diverse congregation;
 - Preaching a sermon on the subject of racism and racial reconciliation

- Through music
- To intentionally diversify the ethnic make-up of the church leadership
- In addition to the Christian identity, shared class and generational experiences
- Matters of communication, food, and marriage, as points of conflict and misunderstanding

- Mainline denominations, attracting 2nd generation KAs with the hope of developing multiracial churches

(God desires to use Korean Americans as agents of racial reconciliation and unity among believers.)

III: Intergeneration Transmission of Religion and Culture

- 2/3 of 1.5 & 2nd generation KA adults, continuing to participate in a Protestant congregation
- Korean Protestant immigrants failed to transmit their cultural traditions through religion.
- Korean English-language congregations, mostly eliminated Korean cultural components from worship services and other socio-cultural activities
- Dissociation b/w Kor Protestantism and Kor secular culture
- 2nd generation KA Protestants, embraced the white American evangelical subculture

- US sanctioned religious pluralism.
- Herberg: (White ethnic groups), effectively used religion as an ethnic marker, while their language and other ethnic customs hardly survived.
- Buddhist, Hindu, and other non-Christian immigrant groups, employing their religion to represent their ethnic culture & ethnic identity, because of their differences from mainstream Americans.

- Korean version of Protestantism, almost eliminated elements of Korean folk culture (holidays, food, dress, music and dance...)
- Having difficulty in accommodating some hierarchical Confucian values and customs (“as un-Christian”)

Intergenerational Transmission of culture through Religion

- Heavily evangelical;

Depending on the theological orientation of the pastor;

Influenced by the evangelical movement on college campuses via parachurch organizations

(Campus Crusade for Christ, InterVarsity Christian Fellowship and the Navigators)

- Dissociating their worship and religious rituals from Korean culture & ethnic traditions

- English ministry:
- Mostly started in the 90s;

favoring 1.5 generation Korean pastors

- Financially dependent on immigrant congregations, but independent in worship services and other socio-cultural activities;
- (K immigrant congregations, traditional hymns accompanied by piano and organ; trying to communicate with God through the medium of the pastors' sermons)

- English ministry, contemporary gospel songs
(by PASSION, Calvary Church, and the vineyard Christian Fellowship)
projected through overhead speakers, accompanied by
guitar, drum, base, & keyboard;
-informal style of worship
-emphasizing each member's spiritual connection with God;
worship as the personal encounter with and celebration of
God

- Half the pastors: never used a Korean word or ever mentioned Korea;
20%, never referred to the Korean community, except food
- Despite criticism of K immigrant churches' overemphasis on K culture,
positive views of Korean Protestantism
“fervent, church-centered, and strongly committed to Christian life”

- One extra meeting for bible study, prayer, discipleship, or social activities in addition to the Sunday main service
- 2 or more extra meetings per week;
- “small-group meetings”
- “Biblical patriarchy” despite more gender-egalitarian

W 10: The Los Angeles Civil Unrest and Korean American Community

Interplay of Race, Class, Citizenship, and Culture

- I. Theoretical Background
- II. The 1992 Los Angeles Civil Unrest

I: Theoretical Background

I). Explanations of Intergroup Hostility

1. Cultural-Psychological:

- Prejudice theory (Jo)
- Scapegoating/frustration aggression theory
- Cultural differences and language barriers (Stewart, Bailey)

2. Materialist and Structural:

- Middleman Minority (Blalock, Bonacich, Bonacich and Modell, Loewen, Light and Bonacich, Zenner, Min...):

concentrated in trading and usually distributing merchandise produced by members of the dominant group to minority customers;

triadic causal relationships between a middleman group's ethnic solidarity, the middleman economic/commercial role, & host hostility

- Resource Competition/Political Economy
(Bonacich, Oliver/Johnson/Farrell, Freer):
demographic analysis;
intergroup competition for scarce resources such
as jobs, housing, and access to educational and
health institutions

- Black Nationalism (H. Lee, C. Kim):
self-determination and (often economic)
institutional development, promoting internal
solidarity/ cooperation and sometimes violence
(boycotts or riots)

II). Innovative Works on Race and Class

1. Social Construction of Race

(Dominguez, Goldberg, Hall, Omi, Roediger, Saxton, Williams, Winant):

race as historically constituted, socially constructed, and politically engaged;

not a fixed thing but a dynamic and contentious process

- Role of white racism in creating exclusionary public sphere: Massey and Denton, Palumbo-Liu, Rogin

2. Complex Intersection of race, ethnicity, nation, class, gender/sexuality, and culture in the construction of social identities and hierarchies; (Almaguer, Anthias, Balibar, Crenshaw, Collins, Frankenberg, Gregory, Sacks, Stoler)
- Social Construction of Tension Development

DOWN WITH
THE SIMPSON-
RIVINO ACT!

ALL ALCO
ILL EGAL!





The 1992 Los Angeles Civil Unrest

On April 30, 1992 the announcement of the
acquittals of
the several Los Angeles police officers in connection
with the videotaped beating of Rodney Glen King
sparked tremendous anger in the inner city and
brought
about the worst civil unrest in American history.

1. Several days of rioting resulted in “58 dead, 2,400 injured, 11,700 arrested, and \$717 million in damages.”
2. Half of all the arrestees were Latinos, while one in three were Black residents
3. At least 2,300 Korean-owned businesses suffered a partial or total loss of their properties with damage estimated to exceed \$350 million, or nearly 50 percent of the total damage for the city of Los Angeles.

- Pol-Eco & Soc Context of the LA Civil Unrest

I. Anger against state coercion/aggression

1. Police violence
2. Processes of Impoverishment & Neglect
 - A. Eco Restructuring
 - B. Increasing Authoritarianism

II. Complexity of contemporary racial dynamics

- Contestation of current racial politics
- Multiracial affair
- Antagonism b/w racial minorities

III. Class factors in conflicts

- Increasing income inequality, '69-'89
- Racial (Income) Inequality
- Inner City Urban Poverty
- Petite bourgeoisie store keeper & urban poor;
Latinos as both victims and victimizers

II: Black/Korean Tension

A range of intergroup conflicts
(altercations, boycotts, burning, etc..)

- In South Los Angeles, on March 18, 1991, a Black teenager, Latasha Harlins, was shot & killed by a Korean grocer, Soon Ja Du, in a dispute over \$1.79 bottle of orange juice
- Superior Court Judge, Joyce Karlin fined Du \$500, put her on probation (+ 400 hrs community service).

Both communities' efforts at reducing the tension
(B/K Alliance)

1. Community education/cultural exchange program
2. Crime prevention seminars
3. Joint ventures & economic development
4. Mediation
5. Religious activities

On an individual level:

1. Extending credit & food coupons, cashing checks, & selling money orders
2. Employing Blacks
3. Attending funerals, weddings, birthdays, & other social events
4. Throwing block parties & sharing Korean food & exchanging food or gifts with customers
5. Donating money or food/drink to community org.

Race and Culture

The Instigating role of Whiteness:

The African American-Korean American discourse
as a triadic relation, not a dyad;
beginning with their respective relationships to
whites
(e.g., the court's sentencing of Du for shooting
Harlins)

Unraveling “Culture”

In conflict, the role of culture emerges in 4 different Ways:

1. Koreans' approach toward business
2. Blacks & Koreans' perceptions of each other's cultures
3. The impact of the dominant society's discourse on B & K relations
4. The social construction of race by K & B, mediated by the dominant cultural discourse

Question of Cultural Inequality

Racial & Cultural Discourses

- Blacks, attributing problems to racist exploitation & discrimination
- Koreans, to business practices & communication
- The White establishment, reflecting the bias of capitalism (property owners over customers)
- A White-Asian-Black racial hierarchy
(thru white media, judiciary, & educational institutions)

- New racial discourse: race as culture
- Problems of power & social conflicts
in conceptualizing culture
- Cultural differentiation, producing a politics of
meaning
(cultural richness vs. question of citizenship)

Race and Class

Question of exploitation

- Much “agenda switching” similar to code switching
- The role of “class” obscured by “race/ethnicity” or “culture”

Question of domination/surveillance

- If “race” has much to do with the rise of English colonialism and slavery-induced American capitalist development, then “race” is closely related to “class.”

- In the LA Riot/Rebellion,
under the broad category of urban poor,
B & L banded together to fight against the system
- The rise of petty bourgeoisie as a persistent force in
modern economies;
contradictorily possessing both capital & labor
- Targeting more or less the K immigrant merchants
as the symbol of property & exploitation,
in addition to gaps in socio-economic indicators

I: (Post-Unrest) Korean Immigrant Merchants

- Represented nearly half of those who suffered property damage
- Average financial loss: fr \$2,000 to \$1,750,000
- Only 35% of K business owners, insured, but with policies, limited or no coverage
- 75%, not recovered one year later
- 15% of KA college students, dropped out of school
- Majority victims with financial loss or physical injury, suffered anxiety, distress and PTSD

- Neither conservatives nor liberals supported KA efforts
- The unrest made KAs aware of institutional racism, social and economic injustice, and the fallacy of the American dream of meritocracy and hard work;

Victimized and used as scapegoats for larger societal failures;

Lacked political clout to appeal to the public

- Political empowerment, as an urgent and immediate goal
- Seeking to build interracial coalitions
(KAs' instrumental role in the formations of MCC & APANLA)
- Development of partisan and ideology-based politics:
republicans (conservatives) vs. democrats (liberals)

Latino-Korean Encounter

- Latinos and Koreans, related to each other in multifaceted settings;
“hidden conflict” over (low wage, unreasonable hours, no lunch breaks, insults from their supervisors)
- Koreans, referring to Latinos: Spanish, Hispanic, Latino, Mexican, *Maekjak*, *jjanggu*, *amigo*, & *hermano*
- Latinos, referring to Koreans: chino, coreano, or *anglinangali* people

- Articulation of race and ethnicity in the context of both ideology and practice;
K's new ideology and practice towards their customers

1. New Hiring Practices

Change in the ethnic makeup of employees:

- From predominantly (39%) Latino to (52%) African American employees
- Trying to change some other business practices

2. 4 different constructions of race and ethnicity in regard to Blacks and Latinos:

- More positive views toward Latinos than Blacks
- More positive views toward Blacks than Latinos
- Overall Disappointment with both B & L
- Perceptions of B & L in a similar class position

II: The Unrest and African Americans

- Rebellion against racism and capitalism

Racism: police brutality (King beating) and criminal justice system (the controversial probation verdict for Korean grocer who killed black teenager);

History of anti-Black racism by Whites and the central significance of Black/Korean tension

- Some, laid off after the unrest
- Others felt affinity toward Korean shopkeepers



Empty lot: Now nothing stands where the burning shop, Norton Trak Auto Store, once did

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2136927/Los-Angeles-race-riots-Pictures-LA-changed-20-years.html#ixzz47YVciiWn>



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III: The Unrest and Latin American Immigrants (in South Central)

- “*los quemazones*”
- Demographic revolution
- Socioeconomic indicator, worse than African Americans
- Lacking political representation;
(Blacks held one third of jobs in the county government
with 10% of the LA county population;
3 out of 15 city council members)

In Compton

- Latinos made up 70% of the population;
yet lacked access to municipal jobs and leadership
positions or staffing positions in the school
system;
problems of (predominantly Black) police brutality

- Some defended Korean stores with their Korean employers
- Economic, psychological, and emotional damages:
Insurance premium, went up or hard to obtain after the unrest;
Some lost jobs;
Others killed on the street, reminded of the civil war back home.
- Racialized by the media and the state: “Latinos as bad looters”

Interpretation

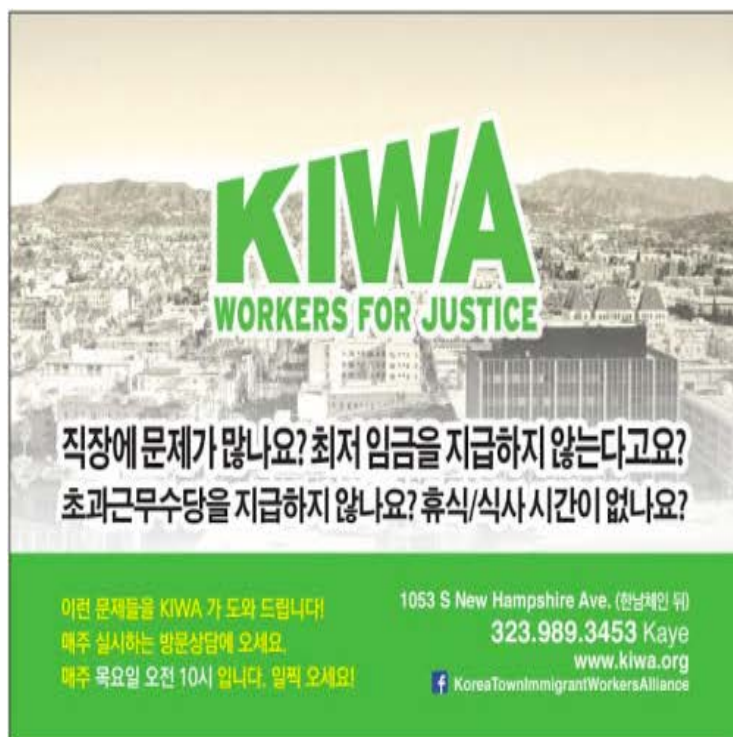
- Black rage against Asians and Latinos as well as Whites
- Identifying its causes in racism, capitalism and the negative impact of economic restructuring
- Aspects of anti-immigrant spectacle
- First started with Black and White tension and turned against all races against Koreans and against Latinos

- Blacks did burning and looting;
Some Latinos joined the looting, but out of poverty.
- Latino participation in burning and looting: passive, late, and opportunistic looting
- Other Latinos participated with the same motivation as Blacks: protesting racist and class treatment of Latinos and Blacks by White society

Cross-Racial class formation:

- Active organizing to deal with immigrant & labor/class issues
- Involving Latinos and Koreans;
Latinos and Blacks
- Multiracial, labor-led movement

A Just Economy for All/KIWA



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**PROBLEMAS EN EL TRABAJO?
LE PAGAN MENOS DEL MINIMO?**

NO LE PAGAN SU TIEMPO EXTRA Y DOBLE? NO TOMA TIEMPO DE DESCANSO O ALMUERZO?

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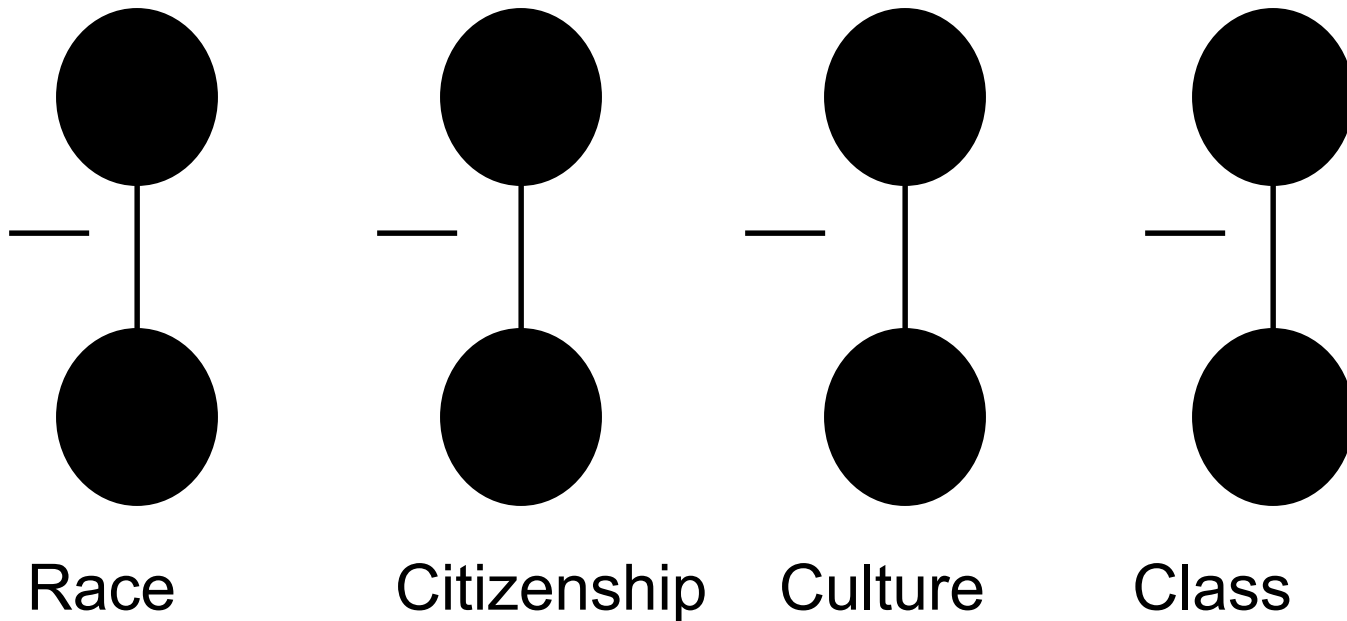
Wage Theft is a Crime/KIWA



Immigrants' Justice/KIWA



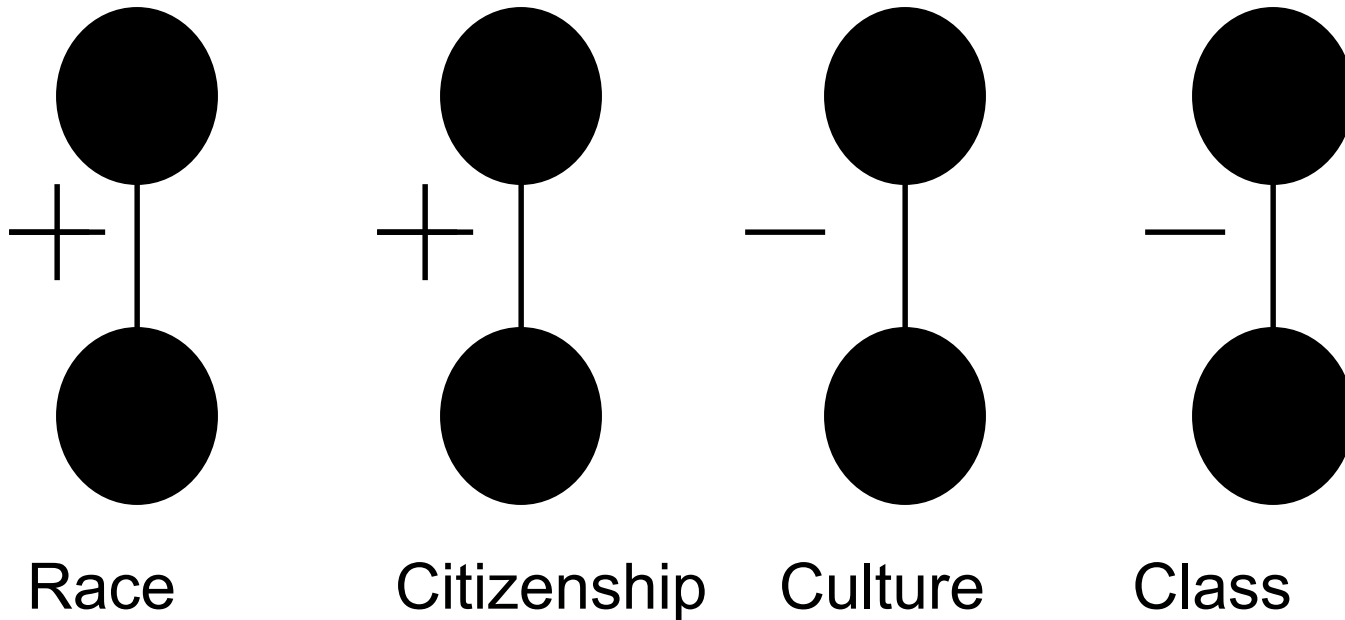
Korean-Black Relations



Four Degree of Separation:

Ethnic Tension

Korean-Latino Relations



Two Degree of Separation and

Two Degree of Convergence:

Respectful Caution

Figure 9.1: Racial Cartography

X: Centuries present within
U.S. since 1776

Y: Household income above
taxable minimum

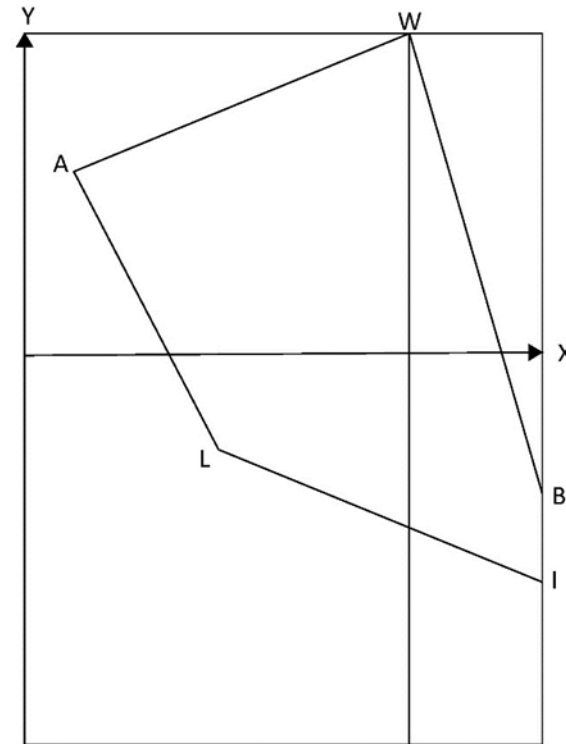
W: White

A: Asian American

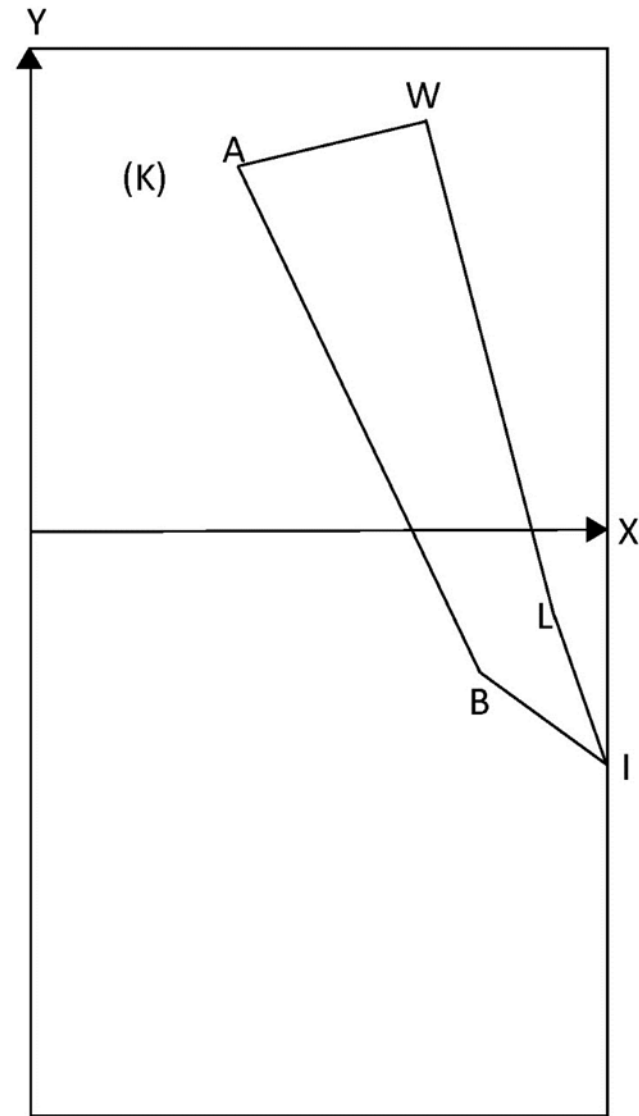
L: Latino

B: Black

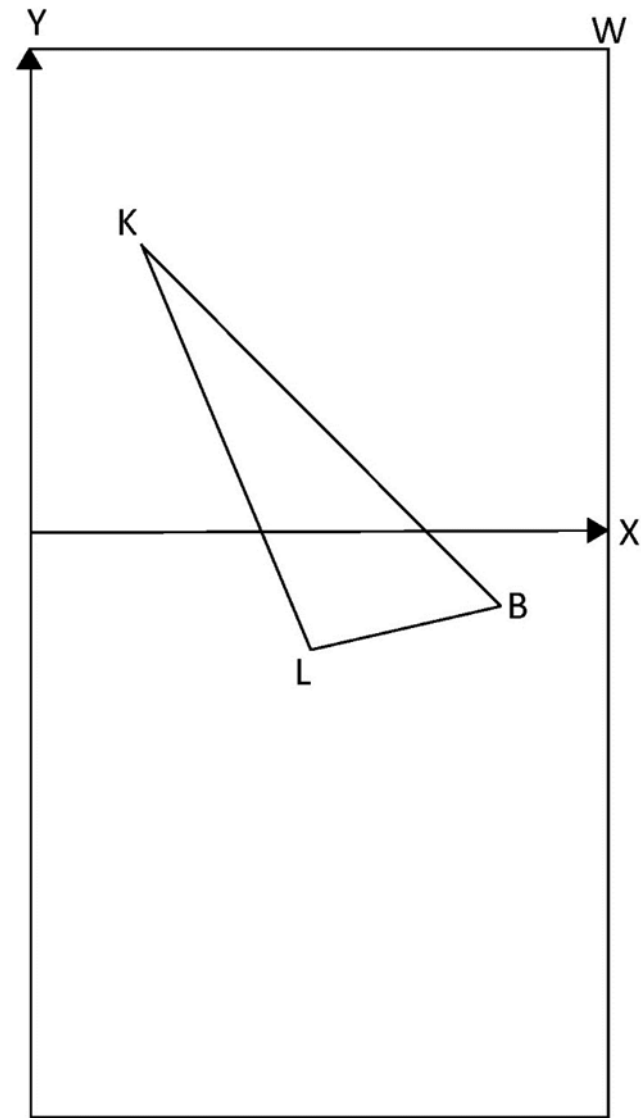
I: American Indian



**Figure 9.2: Racial
Cartography in Los
Angeles**



**Figure 9.3: Racial
Cartography in South
Central**



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