Assimilation of Korean-Americans in Vancouver, Washington

Dennis Chaseong Park

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Abstract

ASSIMILATION OF KOREAN-AMERICANS 
IN VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON

by Dennis Chaseong Park

This paper is a study in the assimilation of Korean-Americans in Vancouver, Washington. The objectives of the study are to: 1. Evaluate the applicability of the concept of the "melting pot"; 2. Locate the factors that affect this process; and 3. Measure the degree of assimilation in orientation to American life. Generally speaking, one's ethnic loyalty and self-identity affect his lifestyle and choice of reference group.

The data were gathered with the use of a questionnaire with open-ended questions. Informants were asked to state their feelings on many topics such as language fluency, preference for traditional Korean foods, knowledge of Korean history, attitudes towards ethnic exogamy and peer groups. The informants selected for study were personal acquaintances of the researcher and others referred to him. A variety of backgrounds are represented. The study includes data from four first-generation immigrants (born in Korea), four second-generation immigrants (usually born in America), and five third-generation immigrants.

From the study it was found that Korean-Americans are assimilating in many ways, including structurally (occupying statuses in the dominant white society). The extent of their assimilation is directly
related to their generation level and reference groups. The most rapidly assimilating Korean-American would be a third-generation person, socializing very little with other Koreans, and having a Caucasian spouse. The least assimilated would be a first-generation Korean who has had much more involvement with the Korean community, lives with family members, and has had complete ethnic endogamy among his descendants. Among latter generations, Korean-Americans are only able to maintain a symbolic cultural identity. In the fourth and fifth generations, it seems that with the likelihood of intermarriage with Caucasians any semblance of Korean identity will be virtually eradicated.

Data from this study support findings of other researchers in the field of assimilation as a process among differing groups of immigrants, and demonstrate their applicability to Koreans. Social distance between Korean and WASP groups can be overcome by English language fluency, lifestyle compatibility, and high educational attainment.
ASSIMILATION OF KOREAN-AMERICANS IN VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON
by Dennis Chaseong Park

A Thesis in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts in Anthropology

August 1982
Each person whose signature appears below certifies that this thesis is in his opinion adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree Master of Arts.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Koreans have until recently been a minority among minority groups in the United States. Koreans were once virtually invisible Americans. In fact, until 1958, the United States Bureau of the Census listed Koreans not as such, but as Chinese, Japanese, or other Asians.

Partially, this is due to the numerically few Koreans, for even in 1948 it was estimated by the United Korea Committee that there were under 10,000 Koreans living in the mainland United States and Hawaii (W. Kim, 1974:4). Even more recent statistics are just estimates, due to their conflicting and inaccurate figures. Neither the Korean government, the United States Naturalization and Immigration Service, nor the Bureau of the Census agree on the total number. However, the present estimated population of Korean Americans is put at well over 200,000, and possibly as many as 300,000. When the newest Census figures come out it should help to establish more concrete information.

Since the repealing of the discriminatory national quota system in 1965, Asians are now provided with an equal opportunity to immigrate. At this time there are over 20,000 Koreans coming to the United States each year. Included in this amount are first-generation Koreans, wives of American servicemen, and relatives of those who have already emigrated. Among the peoples of Asiatic origin, the Korean residents are the fourth largest and the fastest-growing Asian group in this country.
The seeming invisibility of Koreans is also a product of a basically racist perception of the dominant culture, which has seen Asians at various times as a social, physical, and economic menace. At certain previous peak periods of popular hysteria Asians have been known as the "yellow peril." The history of discrimination by the dominant segment of society has been manifest in the institution of slavery, the Ku Klux Klan, the anti-Chinese movement of the latter 1800's, various legal decisions, relocating of the Japanese during World War II, antipathy regarding Mexican immigration, etc. It may be significant that the last three wars which the United States has fought in have not only been against opposing ideologies but also against people of Asiatic racial differences.

An indication of one obstacle facing Koreans in the United States is that the Emory S. Bogardus racial scores, which compare popular attitudes toward all racial and ethnic groups, have over the last forty years rated Koreans among the very least appreciated. When people think of anything having to do with the word "Korean," they very possibly remember their impressions of a miserable, poverty-ridden, inhospitable country (in geography and climate) inhabited by inscrutable "gooks" and starving orphans. The televised pictures of the Korean War contributed greatly to this view. But along with the lingering memory of this, have come the Pueblo incident, Koreagate, Reverend Sun Myung Moon, and other negative publicity.

Early Korean immigrants not only had the problem of an unreceptive host society, but also of having their immigrant status unrepresented.
This is due to circumstances and schism. Among the reasons of a circumstantial nature are a cultural background of a repressive and exploitative political bureaucratic system operated by a minority of aristocrats at the expense of the subjects, which were in the great majority. Besides being corrupt, the rulers at the time of the initial Korean immigration were also ineffective, and thus the immigrants were unaided, unrepresented, or at times betrayed, by their country's government.

Imperialistic expansionistic ambitions and interference by various Western countries - Russia, China, and Japan especially - were all instrumental in further putting the Korean immigrants in a disadvantageous position.

Another primary source of impediment was the political inclination of the United States. President Theodore Roosevelt was pro-Japanese, and after the Sino-Japanese War he acknowledged Japanese ambitions to control and dominate Korea. This was further endorsed by the Taft-Katzura Secret Agreement and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In this, Japan promised not to interfere with the American domination of the Philippines, in exchange for complete freedom of action in Korea.

Various protests by Korea, including the reminder of the terms of the Korean-American Treaty of 1882 which provided that foreign interference would be mutually prevented, were disregarded or deliberately ignored. Also ignored were the later protests by the Korean population and the Korean immigrant exile groups. The result of all this was the elimination of Korean diplomatic power and the forced annexation by the Japanese government.
Note should also be taken of the work of Christian missionaries who, through their efforts at proselytizing, introduced additional disequilibrium in the already weakened Korean social structure. Promoting their "heterodoxical" belief system undermined the traditional Confucian social structure by preaching that man's loyalty primarily belonged to God. For thousands of years in classical Korean tradition, the established hierarchy of relationships were of the family, clan, village, local government, nobles, ministers, and ultimately the king.

Further involvement of the missionaries was in their advocacy of so-called progressivism. At times this was in the form of encouraging the Japanese occupation, because it would lead to the overthrow of the present intractable government. They also advised and arranged for students' education in Japan, many of whom later returned pro-Japanese. By these things and by aiding in aspects of the dissident movement, the "progressive" missionary contribution served to hinder Korea's development.

Additional negative effects came from influence-peddling with political and financial deals. This manipulation of favoritism and payoffs exploited the people and the land of Korea. An example of some of these practices was American missionary diplomat Horace Allen. He was a professed Christian envoy and dollar diplomat who was responsible for setting up many arrangements which benefited primarily his personal friends and his foreign interests.

Circumstances were certainly less than optimal for the early Korean immigrants. Complications in their native environment, foreign
expansionist intentions, and erosions of aspects of the traditional value systems, were all occurring simultaneously.

This is not the entire picture, however, for the Korean immigrants were not only victims of circumstances beyond their control - they produced some troubles of their own. Internal schisms of policy, power struggles, and factional conflict were all important in prohibiting cohesive and effective coordination of social and political objectives. Koreans have had considerable difficulty in working together.

What Korean societies have in common is that they are primarily based on Korean ethnicity, and that they allegedly work towards some sort of enhancement of lifestyle both in the United States and Korea. General goals are often stated as fellowship, unity, protection of members, developing a sound Korean society, furthering diplomatic ties between the United States and Korea, expanding knowledge of Korean culture, and so on. Many of these values are expressed in the constitution of the Korean Association of Southern California, which is one of the more significant of the Korean organizations that allegedly represent some 80,000 Korean residents of Southern California. Of all societies, religious organizations of some variety of Protestantism are the most prolific. Often these religious organizations have a degree of overlapping in that they are also centers for certain politically ideological movements, besides religious interests.

Besides strife, Korean organizations are hampered by problems such as lack of relevant and concrete goals, lack of involvement of Koreans, inflexible leadership, and at times, corruption. What has been a motivating factor in whatever cohesiveness these organizations
have been able to achieve is due largely to the sense of patriotism in the Korean immigrants. However, subsequent generations of Korean immigrants do not share this patriotism nor do they feel a significant need to support Korean organizations.

In summary, Korean immigrants have been faced with these problems in their assimilation experience in the United States: relatively sparse numbers, a host society with a history of racism and discrimination, recent negative stereotyping, no assistance or representation from their native governments (for the early immigrants), economic turnabouts and erosion of native culture, and poor coordination of organizations that could have helped represent their needs.
CHAPJ.'ER II

Statement of the Problem

The research problem is one of discovering the extent to which successive generations of Korean immigrants to the United States retain their "Koreanness" or become assimilated to the American way of life. Little has been written on this subject as compared with studies on other minorities. This study seeks to gather information not only from published sources but also from interviews with immigrants.

Although the United States has no legislative or formal mechanisms for the enforcement of patterns of racism, Korean-Americans residing in this country are still characterized as being minority members. This status is the result of society's accepting a new value of anti-discrimination towards a racially identifiable minority, while older residuals of racism still exist.

The minority members in this situation are faced with conflicting, confusing, and contradictory social feedback from the dominant group due to their being involved in this transition period. Korean-Americans are caught in the paradox of the effects of discrimination and anti-discrimination. They are people facing a social dilemma, while having additional problems: differing value systems, visible racial differences, traditionally extended families, non-European background language handicap, isolation from the larger society, sometimes poverty, and various other obstacles in the way of their achieving adjustment.
America is a "nation of immigrants." Through the past four centuries it has become the home of migrants from many parts of the world, each group making its own contribution and facing its own problems of coping with life in the New World. This coping process has varied with different groups of migrants and with different generations within each group. Korean immigrants have been attempting to resolve the many obstacles that this adjustment to a new culture entails, and this study seeks to describe and analyze their efforts.
CHAPTER III

Objectives

The main objective of this study is to ascertain the world view of Korean-Americans, especially with regard to their assimilation to American culture. This has to do with a cognitive process essentially, although it has concrete aspects in that it relates to observable phenomena. This primarily cognitive content is derived by abstraction from ethnographic description. Redfield defines world view as that outlook upon life which is characteristic of a people:

"World view" differs from culture, ethos, mode of thought, and national character. It is the picture the members of a society have of the properties and characters upon their stage of action. While "national character" refers to the way these people look to the outsider looking in on them, "world view" refers to the way the world looks to that people looking out. Of all that is connoted by "culture", world view attends especially to the way a man, in a particular society, sees himself in relation to all else. It is the properties of existence as distinguished from and related to the self. It is, in short, a man's idea of the universe. It is that organization of ideas which answers to a man the questions: Where am I? Among what do I move? What are my relations to these things? (Redfield, 1935: 30-36).

The objectives that I believe can be related to this study are three-fold:

1. How do Korean-Americans and their descendants conform to the concept of the "melting pot" in Vancouver, Washington?

2. What factors in their experience may have affected this process either to further it or retard it?
3. What degrees of assimilation may be discerned in their orientation to American life?

Overall, among those who regard themselves as being significantly of Korean ancestry, and are physically identifiable as being of Asian origin, will these individuals be able to assimilate? Or will their accommodation be superficial, with actually a significant preservation of conservative traditions and lifestyle? If ethnic loyalty and identity are core traits in Korean culture, then it would seem that Korean-Americans would be able to retain these traits even in the face of adoption of the American educational system, upward social mobility, and perhaps intermarriage with Caucasians.
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The assimilation of immigrants in America has been a significant factor in the development of the nations. It is a "nation of immigrants." The process of assimilation has been studied by many social scientists whose work will be reviewed here, with special application to Korean immigrants.

The common positive conception of Asians usually entails such traits as: studiousness, conformity, neatness, conscientiousness, material success, and so on. Harry Kitano terms this the "quiet American" stereotype for Americanized Asians (Kitano, 1974: 311). To most Americans, all identifiable Asiatics are in this category. Some Asians have also internalized this view. A prominent Asian senator, Dr. Hayakawa, maintains that discrimination does not exist today for members of his country who have immigrated to America - not in his own experience. However, this optimistic outlook is not well supported by studies on race relations.

Early in the beginning of the twentieth century W.E.B. DuBois said "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line - the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and in the islands of the sea." (DuBois, 1924: 112). This indicates that the relationship between visible physical differences in ethnic groups and consequent racial stereotyping has a direct
bearing on the assimilation process.

Gordon (1964), Simpson and Yinger (1972), Kitano (1969), Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968), and Franklin (1969), have all pointed to the importance of the role of race in determining social distance. In spite of such considerations as religious affiliation, American citizenship, affirmation of WASP middle-class values, fluency in English, residential integration, and education and professional attainments, a person who appears Asian cannot avoid being stereotyped as Asian.

As Gordon Allport put it, visible differences imply real differences, and therefore groups that may look or sound different will seem to be different, often more different than they are (1954: 129-130). Other studies show that the visibility factor is significant in determining the degree of perceived competition, prejudice, and discrimination. It would seem that the consideration of race should be among the most important in determining the likelihood of eventual cultural and structural assimilation.

Robert Ezra Park, in his work on the race problem, has contributed much to our understanding. Writing on the condition of Blacks in the United States, he attributes the Black's lack of assimilation in America, after three hundred years of contact, to their visible racial difference. Asians were also the subject of his writing. He mentions specifically the Japanese, but the same would apply for Koreans, or Chinese, or Filipinos, etc.

As I have said elsewhere, the chief obstacle to the cultural assimilation of races is not their different mental, but rather their divergent physical traits. It is not because of the mentality of the Japanese that they do not so easily assimilate as
Assimilation is generally taken to mean the process in which groups of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds become fused together in a common culture. Complete assimilation entails no survival or separate social structures based on racial or ethnic concepts. Assimilation includes acculturation and integration. This would mean that ethnic and racial origins would not be a criteria for either superordinate or subordinate status in the society.

According to the Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, assimilation is defined as the absorption of one person or group into the cultural tradition of another population or group. Charles Winick in his Dictionary of Anthropology has this to say, "Assimilation in cultural anthropology is the process through which groups that live in a common territory but of heterogeneous background reach a broad-based cultural solidarity that ripens into national unity. It involves a homogeneity of schemes of imagery and goes deeper than merely accepting material traits...Assimilation may be a phase of acculturation" (Winick, 1969: 46)." Robert E. Park in Race and Culture defines assimilation in this way: "Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons or groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of the other persons or groups, and by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park,
From these definitions it is possible to gain a general reference point in the understanding of the criteria involved in Korean-Americans assimilating in the United States.

Since acculturation is related to assimilation, it is appropriate to discuss this. The widely accepted definition of acculturation was produced in 1935 by the Social Science Research Council, under the chairmanship of Robert Redfield: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, 1935: 29).

In addition to visibility having an effect on the process of assimilation, there are other theories having to do with the mutual effects of possible variables. These would include demographic, structural, sociological, cultural, ecological, and psychological aspects.

Referring again to Robert E. Park, a proposed race relations cycle was supposed to be one that is inevitable and irreversible in its unilinear progression towards assimilation among immigrants. It consists of groups coming into contact, from which comes competition; from the competition, adjustment or accommodation is realized; and in the end there is assimilation. As can be seen, Park realized the influence of race upon assimilation and suggested a sequential possibility that assimilation might follow. At this time, however, it should be noted
that not all sociologists agree with Park in this cycle's complete validity.

Warner and Srole suggest three factors which predict the relative rank and rate of assimilation:

1. It is found that there will be greater subordination, stronger ethnic social systems, and a longer assimilation period, to the extent that there is a greater difference between cultures of the contact groups.

2. With more apparent racial differences there will be more subordination of the immigrants, they will have stronger sub-systems, and will also have more difficulty in assimilation.

3. When both cultural and biological traits are very different, subordination of the immigrants will be great, their sub-system strong, and the assimilation period very long.

These factors were based on a scale which assessed any particular group in regard to its degree of similarity with old American stock. Korean immigrants, according to this scale, would experience a degree of subordination that is rated as great to very great. The ethnic and racial sub-systems would be very strong. Assimilation time would be slow to very slow in duration. In the form of American rank, they would be relegated to that of racial to semicaste (Warner and Srole, 1945: 285-292).

Warner and Srole also point out that economic competition slows assimilation, and that a greater predisposition on the receiving community's part to recognize difference helps assimilation. Korean immigrants, from these indicators, would be hampered by recession, racism,
and a jet travel time measured in hours for returning to their homeland.

Other theoretical contributors suggest these considerations have a bearing on assimilation: a group having a greater dispersion in an area shared with the dominant group will more rapidly assimilate (Schmerhorn 1970); higher income, educational and occupational levels speed up assimilation (Weinstock, 1964); the larger the ratio of the incoming group, the slower the assimilation of that group; a rapid influx causes slower assimilation as well; willingness to change has a positive effect on assimilation and its speed; and subordinate migrants more rapidly assimilate than do subordinate indigenous populations (Lieberson, 1961).

Allport further indicates that intergroup relations are affected by four interrelated factors: 1. The historical nature of contact; 2. A sociocultural setting which includes the demographic, cultural, political, economic, and ecological factors; 3. Individual factors entail personality disposition, out-group prejudice, conformity, approval, and authoritarianism. The situation is the structure which combines the other factors of the historical, sociocultural, and individual, which produces intergroup relations (Allport, 1954). As can be seen, there are many considerations in ascertaining conditions that have an effect on assimilation.

From more of an anthropological orientation there are a number of authors who have contributed in the area of culture change. Among them should be mentioned George Foster, Benjamin Paul, Arensburg and Arensburg, and H.C. Barnett. According to these theorists, there are inter-
nal cultural traits which are factors in either restraining acceptance or promoting it.

Certain prerequisite conditions in the immigrant culture would contribute to acceptance by their hosts: Cultures differ in their willingness to experiment and their general receptiveness to change. Cultures also vary in the amount of freedom allowed individuals in the areas of creativity, experimentation, and inquiry; totalitarian political units and institutionalized authoritarianism have conservative and restrictive effects in suppressing and limiting novelty, especially if it undermines the status quo. Competition varies within a culture in extent and intensity. Another condition affecting change is deprivation, which is defined as the elimination of something people feel they have a right to, such as security, high values on certain cultural elements, and preserving the status quo, as in perpetuative movements. Change in a dominant correlate will precipitate modification of an element of the culture or its field which is interdependent with other traits.

Objectification is also a necessary aspect, since a custom cannot be accepted if it has not been presented in some form. Advocacy is another determining factor. The nature of relationships, which usually refers to friendship or kinship, is another variable; people are more likely to accept a custom if advocated by someone they know than if it is proposed by a total stranger. Of importance also is compatibility; a custom must be able to coexist with the culture. Cost, either the monetary amount of the extent of usage of valuable limited resources, is a chief consideration. How well a proposed trait accomplishes what
it is intended to do is the efficiency factor. If a penalty is very likely, this is a deterrent. If talents and cultural background are relevant and it is possible for an immigrant to learn the proposed custom it is recognized as mastery. Functional repercussions may be involved where there are secondary changes that conflict with the incorporation of the custom. The possible advantage that a custom may contribute to the borrower is also a factor of significance. Any or all of these factors may affect the degree of incorporation, or rejection, by Korean immigrants of traits they are confronted with in their host society.

The more personal psychological aspects are influential, too, in determining assimilation. Human social systems are maintained through observance of prescriptive and proscriptive norms. These are learned cognitions, and are motivated by the expectation of satisfying needs or sets of needs in the physical or psychological areas. Frustration of needs may result in changes in the motives for dimensions of drive, act, goal, and agent. Gratification, if indirect, may follow culturally approved ways, or it may result in cultural or psychological deviation. If it is the latter, and is dealing with internal conflict, it may be recognized as the adoption of defense mechanisms. Direct expressions of forbidden motives takes the form of delinquency and crime. The concept of self is related to the incentives of desiring prestige, maintenance, and protection of the ego, and release of the tensions or anxiety. Socialization and conformity in a culture are accompanied by consequent conflict and frustration. These factors, and the degree of reinforcement are significant in the assimilation process.
The individual in the situation of learning a second culture may have many options and stresses. This can lead to either marginality, as defined by Park, or biculturism. Among minorities, and particularly racial minorities, marginality is often the result of cultural assimilation without corresponding structural assimilation. Gordon, in *Assimilation in American Life* (1964), suggests that acculturation and a Gesellschaft type of intergroup relations often occur among immigrants, but structural assimilation and a Gemeinschaft type of intergroup relations are seldom extensive among them. A person may, for instance, work in one cultural milieu, but live and have his more significant contacts with other members of his basic group; yet in neither world feel completely comfortable.

There are differing conceptions of assimilation of immigrants. The "melting pot" orientation notion was popular for a period of time. This view had Caucasians from various northern European nations fusing together in America. The result of this would produce a new people and a new civilization. Blacks and Asians were not included in the scheme.

Later, with the increasing influx of immigrants from areas other than northern Europe, the "Americanization" movement gained in favor. The "Americanized" viewpoint saw American culture as a finished product of the Anglo-Saxon pattern. Vestiges of foreign heritage were considered alien, and were to be converted to the American way of doing things.

Presently, there is another school of thought, cultural pluralism. This describes immigrants as conforming to norms of behavior in areas necessary to the national well-being, yet maintaining their own cultural
traits in other areas that are not felt to be as essential (Zanden, 1972: 264-267).

In the study of minority assimilation it has been observed that there are seemingly at least "lumps" in the former ideal of the "melting pot" view. Korean-Americans, depending on their language fluency in English, generational sequence, length of time in the United States, and other considerations, are "lumpy" also. Studies by such individuals as Hurh Won Moo (1977), H. Kim (1974), and I. Kim (1981), Sil Dong Kim (1979), Bong Choy (1979), and others, have found that Koreans have many obstacles in attaining not only cultural assimilation but also, and especially, structural assimilation.
CHAPTER V

Methodology

The interviews were structured, but with open-ended questions. Each informant was encouraged to discuss such aspects of his background as residence, occupation, place of birth, important consanguinal and affinal relatives, and significant others in the reference group. To some degree this process resulted in an oral biography. The informants also discussed their feelings on matters as maintaining fluency in the Korean language, their preference for eating traditional Korean types of foods, their present lifestyle, their interrelationships with Caucasians, their attitudes regarding possible ethnic exogamy, their self and group identification, and how they perceived assimilation as important.

In an effort to obtain a representative sample of different generations, I interviewed many informants and have included here data from four first-generation immigrants, four second-generation ones, and five from the third generation. These also represent a variety of backgrounds. My parents, second generation Korean immigrants, had lived in Vancouver since 1960, and I had lived there for more than fifteen years. During these years the Korean immigrant community had developed. For this study I located informants from my previous acquaintances and from referrals in different Korean immigrant networks.

Vancouver, Washington, was chosen as the site for this study for a number of reasons. I knew something of the Korean community, and had
participated in its activities. Vancouver varies from the usual highly urban and densely concentrated setting that has been typically the subject of investigation. Vancouver's Koreans are relatively few in number, with a total of approximately three hundred. Geographically, these people are dispersed. Also, there are a number of Korean-Americans from differing generations, and not only those recently arrived from Korea. Thus Vancouver presents a setting and circumstances that may point to distinctive features in a pattern of assimilation.

A review of the historical experiences that Koreans have encountered since their initial immigration to Hawaii and other parts of the United States, beginning in 1883, is also included.

A copy of the questionnaire employed in these interviews is included in the Appendix, on page 106.
CHAPTER VI

Historical Review of Korean Immigrants to the United States

Korean immigration to the United States is divided into four primary periods:

1. Free immigration period from 1883 to 1900.
2. Official immigration period from 1902 to 1905.
3. Semi-official period extending from 1905 to 1940.
4. Post-Korean War immigration extending to the present.

On September 2, 1883, the first Korean goodwill mission to the United States was headed by Min You-ik. His official title was "Special Envoy Extraordinary" and "Minister Plenipotentiary of Korea" (H. Kim, 1974: 69). Four secretaries from various departments accompanied him. Besides touring the nation, Min You-ik also visited the then-President Chester Arthur in Washington, D.C. Min You-ik was followed by another envoy named Park Chung-yang. Because Korea was then a vassal state of China, it had no official diplomatic ties with any other countries.

Dr. Horace Allen was influential in presenting Korea to President Grover Cleveland in 1888 as an independent country in international affairs. One of the members of this mission, Yu Kil-jun, stayed in America and enrolled in Dummer Academy in Massachusetts to study Western civilization and the American political system. He later returned to Korea and wrote a book entitled What I Saw and Heard in My Visit to the West. This contributed to many Korean intellectuals' developing a
greater awareness of the West, and ultimately to some emigrating to learn
of other nations. Besides the pursuit of intellectual stimulus, there
were other internal factors contributing to the desire or need to live
outside of the then Hermit Kingdom of Korea.

After the unsuccessful political coup led by the leaders of the
Korean Progressive Party in 1884, three political refugees arrived in
San Francisco seeking asylum. They were So Chai-p'il, Park Yong-ho, and
So Kwang-pum. Among these, So Chai-p'il graduated from an American col-
lege and medical school. He was to become one of the most respected
leaders in the Korean-American community. His degree of acculturation
was such that he adopted the Anglo name of Phil Jaisohn in 1896 and even
married an American Caucasian girl.

The second group of Korean students who came to the United States
for further studies were Yun Chi-ho, Ahn Cha'ng-ho, Syngman Rhee, and
Park Yong-man. Yun Chi-ho became president of the Korean Club formed by
Phil Jaisohn in 1896. Ahn Cha'ng-ho was a social reformer among the
Korean immigrants and a patriot. Syngman Rhee, who had served seven
years in prison before coming to the United States, graduated from Har-
vard with an M.A. and later received a Ph.D in political science from
Princeton. Syngman Rhee was to become the first president of South
Korea. Park Yong-man was also active in the patriotic efforts and was
influential in establishing Korean youth military academies in Nebraska,
California, Kansas, and Hawaii.

Korean ginseng merchants first arrived in Hawaii in 1899. There
were five members in this group. Peter Ryce was the first official
immigrant. Before the official immigrants arrived in 1902 in Hawaii,
there were already approximately fifty Koreans living in the United States. This included diplomats, students, and laborers.

In the official immigration period of 1902 to 1905, seven thousand Koreans arrived to work as laborers in the Hawaiian plantations (H. Kim, 1974:77). The Korean people were not adventurous, because the Korean government had adopted a political position in accord with the prevailing status quo, serving traditional norms. These included such values as ancestor worship, absolute deference to authority, and the Confucian ethical principles of filial piety. Novel ideas were not readily accepted if they involved concepts of the equality of men and individual liberty among the common people.

However, there were three primary factors that encouraged Korean immigration to the West at this time. First, the economy of Korea was at this time being monopolized by various foreign interests. The native handicrafts and primitive industries were being forced out of existence. Many people were on the verge of starvation, and as a way to relieve the situation somewhat, the Korean government relaxed its traditionally tight emigration policy. Secondly, Hawaii needed laborers. The annexation of Hawaii by the United States had ended the importation of Chinese coolies. The labor problem was compounded by restive workers on the plantations seeking better pay and working conditions. Third, American Christian missionaries in Korea had portrayed Hawaii as a paradise in the Pacific with good weather and marvelous opportunities. As the western historian Homer Hulbert (1906:150), who was an eyewitness to events in Korea at the turn of the century, indicates, Korea was at its greatest
crisis since the seventh century.

Most of the immigrants tended to come from the northern portions of Korea. Both the Sino and Russian Japanese Wars were fought in the northwestern part of the country. With the usual accompanying results of wars, the people were willing to escape from the death and destruction around them. Northern Koreans were discriminated against by the southern aristocratic class, who controlled much of the government. Therefore, the people in the north were politically less conservative and more receptive to new ideas. One effect of this was that Christianity was more popular in the north, and this in turn resulted in more people being influenced to leave Korea for Hawaii.

The transportation fee to Hawaii was one hundred dollars. In order to procure what were described as being obedient and respectful workers, the pick of all the Orient, the plantation owners paid the fee and arranged that the passage money would be paid back after the Korean immigrants had worked for a while and had some money saved. However, as it turned out, nearly none of the Korean workers ever paid back their loans. They maintained that their wages were too low, living conditions were too poor, and they had been misled in the promises originally made.

Heaven on earth in a tropical paradise, from the laborers experience, consisted of waking up at five every morning six days a week. They had to be on the job at six, work all day in the hot sun, and on some plantations were not even allowed to stand up, converse, or smoke when they were supposed to be working. Anyone who failed to observe the rules was subjected to various forms of abuse, including beatings by the foreman. Work ended at four thirty in the afternoon. This schedule
went on year round; the growing season never varied.

The average pay for a male laborer was between sixty and seventy-five cents per ten-hour day. Women made less and received between fifty and sixty-five cents a day. Living conditions consisted of the bare necessities. Everyone lived together in a large camp. Single men lived in a barracks which consisted of just a large sleep area with no individual arrangements for privacy. Different ethnic groups were segregated to reduce conflicts. Korean and Japanese workers were in particular having problems coexisting, due to recent political developments in their native homeland. Besides at times being involved in altercations, they found amusement in gambling and drinking.

Being isolated in rural environments and lacking contact with the outside world, the immigrants learned little about the mainstream of WASP society. Even when they were beginning to settle in the urban areas, the Korean immigrants tended to be cohesive and stay with their own kind. Consequently, they did not learn much English. In the towns as on the plantations, the immigrants filled the lowest-paying and least desirable jobs. In town they worked as house workers, janitors, dishwashers, busboys, and so on. There was a significant disparity between the overall expectations of the immigrants and the reality they had to face. Due to death, returning to Korea, or emigrating to other locations, by 1910 there were only four thousand Koreans left in Hawaii (H. Kim, 1974: 77).

Between 1904 and 1907 about a thousand Korean immigrants arrived in the mainland United States. An additional 1,033 Korean immigrants
came on May 15, 1905 to work on plantations in the state of Yucatan, Mexico with hopes. These immigrants came hoping to find better financial conditions and lifestyles. On the west coast of the United States there were railway jobs, agricultural work, mining employment, and other openings such as restaurant work and general housework. The pay was better and there was greater diversity of possibilities.

The immigrants landed with very limited financial resources, and many in fact had all of their belongings in just a single suitcase. Almost none of these people were prepared to cope with the demands of the new environment. Most did not speak or understand English. They also had no skills which would enable them to find well-paying positions. Eventually they found work in many areas. In some cases they came to be preferred to other groups of workers due to their willingness to do more work for less pay.

This work ethic and an economic slump aroused antagonism in labor unions in America. Koreans were lumped with the Chinese and Japanese in popular agitation against what was called the "yellow peril." This feeling was most manifest in California. The hostile groups claimed that members of the Oriental race were evil, dirty, and inferior subhumans, who would eventually take over all jobs. It was maintained that the white working class could not fairly compete with the Orientals and their willingness to work long hours for low wages. The concept of the "yellow peril" was based on racism, cultural conflicts, and economic issues.

Koreans, Chinese, Japanese, and later Filipinos were the victims of extensive and intensive prejudice and of discrimination policies. These came in the form of immigration laws, labor regulations, court
decisions, and school boards. More specifically are the examples of the California Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the segregation of education policy against Japanese children by the San Francisco Board of Education in 1906, the 1908 Gentleman's Agreement which prohibited Japanese and Korean immigration, the 1912 court decision on Alien Exclusion, the 1913 Alien Land Act which prohibited noncitizens from purchasing land, the 1924 Alien Exclusion Act, the 1934 Filipino Exclusion Act, and the Japanese Relocation Order in 1942. These significant areas of unfair restriction received no major redress until the 1965 repeal of the quota system based on national origin. This then finally opened the door to all nonwhite immigrants. The 1972 Affirmative Action decision was similarly important in increasing minority employment to the level where it reflected minority proportions of the population.

The semi-official immigration period of 1905 to 1940 reflected the limiting aspect of the laws preventing Asians from coming to the United States. During this period of approximately four decades there were only about 900 immigrants from Korea. In 1948 the total estimated population in the United States and Hawaii was 10,000. (W. Kim, 1974:4).

Since the 1965 repeal of the quota system there has been a significant influx of Koreans. In 1970 there were 70,598 Koreans (Ilsoo Kim, 1981: 132). By 1974 the number was 161,132. Estimates now are that the Korean population is well over 300,000 (T. Kim, personal communication).

A summary of Asian immigration has many young, primarily males, coming to the United States to work in mining, railroad, agricultural,
and steamship companies. These people were recruited because they constituted cheap labor. Uneducated and poor on arrival, they were exploited by an economic system which placed them in the least desirable employment at the lowest wages, and where they had minimal opportunity to rise above a marginal existence. Their reasons for immigration were similar to those of most immigrants, with the push-pull factors of: high population in Korea, density, economic and political instability, and better opportunities in the United States (i.e., educational opportunities, reunion with previously emigrated family and relatives, and perceived economic betterment) (Hurh, 1977: 87). As immigrants, most Koreans have sought better life in America. A 78-year old woman who was about to leave with the earliest wave of the early 1900's Korean emigrant group put it in words that encapsulated the thinking of many like her: "(America) That land of freedom with streets paved of gold!" (Sunoo, 1977: 149).
CHAPTER VII

The History of Vancouver, Washington

The city of Vancouver, Washington, was founded in 1824 by the Hudson's Bay Company as a trading depot. Dr. John McLoughlin was the chief factor at this remote spot along the Columbia River. In 1837 the westward movement began, and many settlers traversed the Oregon Trail to settle in the Northwest. President Fillmore authorized the incorporation of Washington as a territory on March 2, 1853. Vancouver was incorporated in 1857. The 1860's gold rush brought about a further influx of people. By the 1890's lumber was the main industry. During the period of World War II, additional diversity came to the industrial facets of Vancouver with the opening up of the Aluminum Company of America and the Kaiser Company shipyards. Presently, Vancouver includes among its major companies Crown Zellerbach, Boise Cascade, ALCOA, Jantzen Mills and Tektronics. The city has the Port of Vancouver, which handles millions of tons of cargo. It is on three major railway lines, has ten-minute accessibility driving time to the Portland Airport, and is located so that the I-5 freeway and I-205 freeway cut directly through the city (Berger, 1979: 11-19).

Extending from the I-5 Interstate Bridge about two miles west and six miles east, and another six miles in depth north of the Columbia, there is approximately a 15.65-square-mile area that the City of Vancouver encompasses. According to figures given in the 1980 census, there
were 42,834 people living in Vancouver. The total population of Clark County at this time was 192,227. This includes Vancouver's population. Between 1970 and 1980, Clark County increased in population by 49.6 percent, with 75 percent of these being attributable to the immigration of new residents into the area. According to the State of Washington data, Clark County has a total of 2,294 persons of Asian background. Vancouver itself has a total of 603 Asians (State of Washington, 1982:14). By various estimates from Korean community leaders, there are from two to three hundred Koreans (personal communication). Most of these are comprised of post-Korean War immigrants. This total number of Koreans includes those living in the Vancouver area as well as the nearby communities. I think it would be accurate to say that the great majority of the Koreans live, at the most, within a ten-mile radius of each other. Anyone living more than twenty to thirty miles away would probably not find it worth while to participate in community doings to the degree where they would be well-known.

Among the Koreans are two doctors, several dentists, ministers, shop owners, retail workers, restaurant employees, and workers in the industrial plants. Some of these have foreman-type positions, and one has an important executive position. None of the Koreans, to the author's knowledge, has employment in the agricultural area or works or owns a cleaning-type business such as a laundromat or dry cleaners. However, in the summertime, children who are not taking summer classes can find employment as pickers of strawberries, raspberries, beans and some types of tree fruits such as apples.

None of my informants could remember Koreans who might have been in
the Vancouver area prior to 1960. However in Gresham, Oregon, there was a sizeable Korean community even earlier. Since the early sixties, the influx of Koreans into Vancouver has been primarily of first-generation immigrants directly from Korea. This is probably due to the repeal of the quota system in immigration relating to Asians.
Background: Mr. P. was born in 1892 in the village of Mirung, in Kyongsung Province, Korea. He was six years old just as the major upheaval of the Tong Hak revolt was occurring. Mr. P. was the second son of a yangban family, which means that they were of aristocratic Korean lineage. His childhood came during an exceedingly difficult time in the history of Korea. His father, ordinarily a genteel scholar, made his living counterfeiting the Korean King's seal for various illicit business transactions. Those who did not in some way adjust to the hardships of the times either starved or froze to death. During the harsh winters, it was common to see carts going around every morning picking up people who had perished in the streets at night. Mr. P.'s education consisted of learning the Hangul, Chinese characters, and Confucianism, under the strict tutorship of his father. By the time he was twenty-one, he had lived through the Sino-Japanese War, the murder of Queen Min, and the domination of the Japanese in Korea. He decided to leave Korea. In order to secure passage for America, he came to Hawaii as a contracted migrant worker to be employed in the pineapple plantations. Unlike many other Korean laborers, after his contract was up, Mr. P. pursued further educational goals.
Fortunately, he was able to obtain work and residence from an affluent Caucasian family as a houseboy. In this situation he was able to go to school and work at the same time. Every morning he arose at 4:30 a.m. and worked until 8:00. The rest of the day was spent at school, studying Western subjects and developing his English proficiency. When the government opened up the Kalihi Leper Hospital he got a job in the laboratory, differentiating the tuberculoid from the leprosy bacilli.

Social: The first marriage of Mr. P. ended in divorce after having just one son. Thereafter he married a divorced woman with four children. From her he had an additional two sons. Both of his wives were Korean immigrants. Mr. P.’s interests and social life revolved around familiar although transplanted ethnic aspects. He participated actively with the Korean Society in Hawaii, and in later age joined the Korean Presbyterian Church. While Korea remained annexed by Japan, Mr. P. made several trips back to his homeland to attempt to aid the independence movement, at the risk of his life if apprehended. Because of his relatively comfortable income, he was able to help many Korean families in his community. Due to his internalized values, he felt that exposure to Korean culture and traditions was important. Consequently, he sent five of his children to Korea to acquire what he felt was an essential enculturation experience and to develop fluency in their native language. His children returned to Hawaii just before the Second World War commenced. Mr. P.’s second wife died of tuberculosis in Hawaii while the children were in Korea. He did not remarry.

Descendants: All of Mr. P.’s seven children, except two sons, married
second-generation Korean spouses. One son married a German war bride
and the other married a half-Korean and half-Chinese girl in Hawaii.
None of his grandchildren who are thus far married, has married a
Korean. Almost all of the marriages have been with Caucasians, and a
very few with the spouses who have half or less of some Oriental
ancestry. All of Mr. P.'s children finished high school and then atten­
ded some type of vocational training. One son attained a medical
degree. All of the grandchildren are also in possession of at least
high school degrees, many have had some years of college, and a few have
finished college and are now working on further degrees. Occupational­
ly, with the exception of the son who is a doctor, all of the other children
work for the government either in the armed forces, civil service, or in
some other related area. The grandchildren seem to either work in some
civil-service-related area or in the medical field as nurses, respira­
tory therapists, etc. All of the children and grandchildren live on
the mainland. Overall, it appears that there is a tendency for Mr. P.'s
family and descendants to attain at least middle-class lifestyles, with
a strong pattern of somewhat more advanced educational goals than what
is usual in the United States.

Culture and Language: Other than some of his descendants enjoying and
perhaps preferring Korean goods, Mr. P. sees little of the Korean heri­
tage being transmitted. He often stays with one or another of his child­
ren. They seem to be more attentive to his welfare than is typical of
most Caucasian children but their relationships are not like those of
traditional Korean society. No Korean is spoken in the homes of Mr. P.'s
children and grandchildren, and only a few words, such as kimchee are employed and understood by all.

Since he had the benefit of some education, Mr. P. is not only literate in Korean, but is knowledgeable with Korean history and literature. His Korean verbal ability is excellent. He is also able to name many relatives in his family lineage, including famous ancestors. The clan that he belongs to is the Midan, who occupied an area known for being near the point of origin of the founders of the Silla Dynasty.

Mr. P. thinks that his children and grandchildren are all highly Americanized. No Korean holidays or customs are observed. A minor area of problem is that Mr. P. feels that he is not able to readily communicate with his descendants due to his language being heavily accented. He hopes that none of his Americanized descendants will be ever involved in such aspects of American life as: drugs, living together, communes, and other unacceptable behavior. Mr. P. feels that already there is a notable and unfortunate cultural loss. Sometimes he thinks that his children forget that they are even Oriental, not to mention Korean. Somehow while being related to him, his descendants have evolved almost completely into Americans. All that he can say about this is the Korean phrase "aigo cham," which carries the connotation of amazement, sadness, and resignation.

Mr. P. prefers all things in his surroundings to be Korean, whether it be associates, culture, food, and so on. To maintain this identification is very important. He visits with all available relatives frequently, and takes particular pleasure in telling Korean stories to his
grandchildren whenever possible.

Analysis: Mr. P. is in many ways an acculturated individual. He has a degree of English fluency which allows him to communicate even rather abstract notions, and he is able to make known his depth of emotional feelings on a subject if it is of value to him. While Mr. P. laments the American influences he observes in his descendants, I believe that if any one generation has made the most radical alterations in comparison to traditional Korean lifestyle, it has been Mr. P.'s generation. He did not have the intervention of a matchmaker or of his family in choosing his spouses. In his home, the relationships were approximating the roles of American nuclear families more than the traditional Korean arrangements. The fact that he never permanently returned to Korea, even in retirement, is also indicative of where his loyalties were.

Still, Mr. P. must miss his contemporaries age-wise, and also ethnically. It seems that the greater part of his basic reference group has been other Korean immigrants who shared many experiences similar to his. Opportunities for card playing or gambling or activities such as mahjong, are lacking in the Vancouver area. Mr. P.'s children feel he has no interest in being involved with any of the senior citizen groups. Apparently, at least part of the resistance is because he feels he has little in common with those whom he has met so far. Mr. P. spends his time either babysitting, playing checkers, or reading a Korean newspaper which he receives in the mail.

Even among other Korean immigrants, Mr. P. is not always able to
relate easily. He is conscious of the differences between his origin and upbringing and what he feels are the class status of the majority of others who are from the lower farm classes. Among those who have recently immigrated, Mr. P. says that they do not behave entirely like Koreans as he feels they should. They show less respect for elders, there is reduced emphasis on family lineage, and they engage in too much political talk. To some degree, it seems that Mr. P. is an elitist, and conservative.

While Mr. P. recognizes cultural, racial, and experiential differences between himself and the majority in society, he has made some progress towards being assimilated. This has been further carried on by his children and grandchildren. The ideals that he values are those of a different time and way of life. Although he resists letting go of them, still he accepts that they are not likely to be maintained. Through the emphasis on educational attainment, Mr. P.'s descendants are more rapidly becoming Americanized, and in the third generation are experiencing amalgamation. Although Mr. P. would hardly think it sufficient, even his grandchildren have some residual memories of their ancestry. Selected aspects of their traditional culture are likely to be retained. It will be some time before Mr. P.'s descendants are unable to distinguish themselves as Korean-Americans.

Case 2. - Mr. C.

Background: Mr. C. was born in Pyongyang in 1904. He claims that he is a direct descendant of the Wang dynasty that ruled Korea a few centuries
earlier. Stories were told to him by his grandfather of how most of the
heirs of the Wang were killed by the succeeding Yi dynasty. As a re-
sult, their ancestral name was changed from Wang to escape further
identification and possible annihilation. In traditional feudal Korea,
success in life was very dependent on somehow attaining partisan spon-
sorship; in other words, to become somebody you had to know somebody
important. This was most readily accomplished within one's circle of
relatives with whom one had a good relationship. Another disadvantage
is that in being a northerner, instead of having one's connections in
Seoul, he was further impeded from the likelihood of having a good
position, as the majority of desirable appointments were made in the
capital. Mr. C. indicates that he perceived that in Korea he could not
get ahead due to circumstances and residence. Therefore, when the
opportunity came for the possibility of better living conditions and of
possibly achieving some success, Mr. C.'s family emigrated.

He went to Hawaii in 1923. He was sent for by his father, who had
come over in the 1905 immigration wave from Korea. Once in Hawaii, he
did all varieties of common-labor jobs in the sugar and pineapple plan-
tations. His schooling was finished at the now-defunct English Christian
Seminary in Hawaii. While attending high school, he met a second-gene-
ration Chinese girl. They eventually married, although with strong
disapproval from her family for marrying a person of non-sino origin.
For ten years after her marriage she had no contact with her family
because of their feeling so strongly about this situation. Later the
family became reconciled.
A conflict developed between Mr. C. and his father because of the latter's developing a serious habit of excessive drinking. As soon as Mr. C. had saved up enough money he sent for his mother (and father) to come from Pyongyang to Hawaii. His mother had another child in Hawaii, this was a daughter. Due to the continuing economic hardship of the family, the daughter was given up for adoption to a wealthier Korean family. Shortly after this pregnancy Mr. C.'s mother contracted tuberculosis and died. Mr. C. became resentful of his father because of his father's apparent failure to take better care of his wife and also for allowing the daughter to be adopted by another family. Attempts were made by Mr. C. to keep in touch with his sister, but he was eventually told by the adopting family not to come again. His father worked at the Molokai leper settlement for many years and died at the age of eighty-six. The elder Mr. C. and son did not see each other for many years, until just before the father's death.

Descendants: Mr. C. and his wife had four children. The oldest daughter has a masters degree in education, and her husband has a masters degree in sociology. Of this daughter's four children, two have college degrees. Mr. C.'s second daughter has a four-year nursing degree and is married to a Korean doctor. They have six children. The oldest three have finished college, and the younger ones are planning to attend when old enough. Mr. C.'s only son is on his third marriage. He graduated from the University of Hawaii, eventually became a colonel in the United States Air Force, and after twenty uneventful years, he retired. Now he is a highly respected personnel manager in a U. S. Post
Office in Hawaii. The youngest daughter graduated from Oregon State University and is a medical technologist. Only Mr. C.'s second daughter married a Korean. The oldest daughter and youngest daughter both married Japanese. His son is now married to a woman of Chinese origin.

Besides his plantation work, Mr. C. worked on various government jobs as a heavy equipment operator. In addition to this, he also owned and operated several very successful truck farms. These prospered especially during and after World War II. After the war he formed the Oahu Farmer's Co-operative and was president and general manager. This position he held for many years. Real estate was another area of successful investment. After the Korean War he went to Korea and was engaged in the production of textiles. His contemporaries often say he seemingly is a genius in business. Presently he is comfortably retired and lives with his second daughter's family.

Korean Information: Mr. C. is literate in Korean, and has read extensively on Korean history. Korean is his native language, although he speaks English fluently. He keeps up on current affairs somewhat, but says that what happens today and even tomorrow is all reflected in the past. So if you want to understand how and why things are, it is necessary to know the past well. It is also important to know something about one's family, too, so that a person can be inspired to endeavor great things.

Involvement in Community: The spirit of Korean patriotism is strong in Mr. C. Throughout his early years he participated in the Korean Christian School. He was also a staunch supporter for Korean indepen-
dence, and attended many meetings and contributed financially towards this end. Consequently, Mr. C. sees himself as being a defender and advocate of Korean identity.

Within his own family, he did his best to make his children aware of their ethnic origins. He personally taught his children the Korean National Anthem, how to count in Korean, and as much vocabulary as he could impart.

Mr. C. indicates that probably people of their origin prefer to stay together. This is why he prefers other Koreans to be his associates rather than just any Caucasian who has no knowledge of the values and lifestyle that are a part of being Korean. The Korean culture has many positive aspects, according to Mr. C. That Koreans have respect for parents, education, family, and pride in their culture, are only natural, since Korea has been civilized for thousands of years.

Visiting Relatives: Although neither his children nor grandchildren have ever been to Korea, or even deliberately associate much with other Koreans, Mr. C. feels that his descendants still behave in Korean ways. This is in spite of hardly being able to actually speak Korean and living in an American environment. The only customs that still are practiced are eating some of the native foods, emphasizing birthdays, and giving gifts. The male grandchildren are also encouraged by Mr. C. to take Tae Kwando, since it is Korean in its development. Mr. C. says that he has extensive contact with his family, and that about once a month, for whatever reasons, they usually all have a birthday party or some type of family get-together.
Advice: His wishes are that his offspring continue to value education, that the differences between north and south Korean governments could be resolved so that he could at least visit once more his birthplace, and that his family will always remember their ancestral lineage.

Analysis: Mr. C. could be considered by most as being an outstanding success, and the ideal of the virtual rags to riches story. In spite of his accumulation of wealth, Mr. C. continues to live in a world that emphasizes ethnic identity and family attachments. One might suppose that his desire for financial security arose from his lack of such in earlier years. Perhaps the loss of his mother and his sister's adoption were always poignant reminders and motivators to enhance his position in the world. Another aspect is that Mr. C. seemingly always felt that since he came from an illustrious background being descended from royalty, significant accomplishments were to be expected from him.

His eventual reconciliation with his father indicates not only a growing maturity on Mr. C.'s part, but also an acceptance of how life really was in America for the new immigrants scrambling to make a living. In the struggle for survival some lost out, and others did better.

Mr. C. was overall independently employed. He said that he soon realized, while working out in the fields of sugarcane and pineapples, that the road to success was not possible without making investments. As soon as he could, he set out on his own small enterprises, which eventually grew and became successful. World War II was the point where marginal financial existence was finally put behind. The demands for
increased amounts of produce during the war, and afterwards the real estate boom, were the areas in which Mr. C. optimally happened to be involved.

Mr. C.'s efforts at familiarizing his children with Korean culture had, of course, only limited potential in imparting significant amounts of meaningful learning. However, it is indicative of the values that he attached to his native culture. Undoubtedly, his children are more aware of their culture than they would have been if he had been totally disinterested, or discouraging. Something he did succeed in incorporating in his children's lives was a motivation in achieving in education and in their professional lives.

The trend that Mr. C. started in non-Korean marriage has been generally followed by his descendants. None of his grandchildren have married anyone of Korean ancestry, although a number have married Caucasians. Thanks to the start he was able to give his children, Mr. C.'s descendants now have economic standing, educational attainment, and exogamous marital patterns, and these seem certain to ensure their assimilation.

For successful people like Mr. C. who have overcome various obstacles to attain their goals, it is easy to believe that anyone with sufficient ambition could have done the same. This may be an oversimplification of the problem for other immigrants, however, because individual abilities, availability of opportunity and sheer chance all play a part in such success.
Background: Mrs. H. was born in Seoul, Korea, in 1905. She came to Hawaii as a picture bride in 1922. Honolulu was her place of residence for the next fifty years. Since 1972, when she retired, Vancouver has been her home.

Her marriage had been arranged by a female maternal cousin who had come to Hawaii a few years previously. The Korean man she married was eight years her senior and had been living in Hawaii for a number of years. Adhering strictly to her Confucianist upbringing, she remained faithful and obedient to this man.

Since she could not speak English and did not have a formal education, Mrs. H. worked in a laundry operated by her cousin and did other odd jobs to earn income. She managed to save some money over the years and was able to invest in apartments. With the escalation of real estate value in Hawaii, this turned out to be quite profitable. In her later years, Mrs. H. has been able to live securely and comfortably.

Although it was done with her husband’s approval, her investing in the apartments was done on her own initiative. She said that after working a number of years and saving all she could, she realized it would be impossible to ever achieve financial security from work alone. From observing some of her friends who owned businesses, she decided that she must likewise invest. Apartments were chosen because a builder was one of her husband’s friends, and because they had a monthly return in the form of rent. Mrs. H. said that she was sure from the very beginning that the apartments were a good idea because land was so scarce and,
although it was difficult to get started, since then she has done well.

Descendants: Two of her children live in the same area of the city where Mrs. H. lives, so she keeps in frequent contact with them. The oldest daughter lives in Hawaii, however, and manages the apartments that her mother started. All three of the children married second-generation Korean immigrants. Except for her son's divorce from his first wife, things seem to be maritally tranquil.

All of her children and grandchildren have finished high school. Two grandsons are now planning to complete college. Her descendants seem to have inherited her interest in business. Some work in sales, others in management.

For those offspring not yet married, Mrs. H. hopes that they will be able to find good Korean spouses. Considering that there are not many Koreans in the Vancouver area, Mrs. H. says that if they need help in finding someone, she will even go to Korea to look for a suitable mate for them.

Social: Mrs. H. recognizes that old timers like herself are becoming fewer all of the time. One thing she has missed since living in the Northwest is her old friends who are still living in Hawaii. There is one other Korean woman whom Mrs. H. sees about twice a week, and they enjoy talking about their children and grandchildren together.

Food: Korean food is a daily necessity for Mrs. H. Even when she is on trips she says that she packs herself some rice and kimchee in a suitcase. When she does not get to eat Korean food at least a couple
of times per day, Mrs. H. says she begins to feel sick. Some American food like pancakes almost always are too rich for her, and when she eats these she also has to eat some kimchee to keep her stomach from being upset. Besides, she has to have some Korean food around so that when her relatives come around she can make things they can all enjoy together.

Involvement: Mrs. H. says she is not yangban Korean scholar so she would hardly have any comparable learning regarding the history of Korea. What she does know has come from Korean newspapers, magazines, and from what she has experienced. She was one of the main supporters of Syngman Rhee both in Hawaii and when he became president of South Korea. After he gained political office in Korea, she traveled back and forth to Korea many times. Also, she had frequently entertained Korean diplomats and other important people in her home when she was living in Hawaii. She mentioned that her name is on a plaque in one of the main Korean universities because of the financial support and the personal efforts she has made on behalf of the people of Korea.

Mrs. H. says that she can read and write Korean. Regarding spoken Korean, she says that she probably talks too much when she finds someone else who can speak it also. She gets this opportunity at the church which she attends weekly, since there are a number of Koreans recently arrived who also go to these services. Perhaps monthly, she attends meetings with the Korean community. She does not hold office, but does contribute to projects.

Mrs. H. had extensive knowledge of her family, both in Korea and
in the United States. She could name her parents and grandparents on her father's side. Things like this, she says, are more important in Korea; in many areas there are ancestral records kept of all descendants for thousands of years back. She thought that maybe this would be a good idea, and might write to one of her cousins in Korea about checking up on this matter. Then Mrs. H. could tell all of her American family about their more famous relatives.

Since she lives with one of her children, Mrs. H. has contact with her family all of the time. Birthdays, New Year's, weddings—all occasions are big events with everyone getting together. These are celebrated in some of the traditional Korean ways. They always have Korean food, some of the gifts are Korean, and everyone goes by their designated Korean names. It is almost like being in Korea, except that English has to be the dominant language for everyone to understand each other. At these occasions everyone calls Mrs. H. omonee which means grandmother in Korean. After they eat, and everyone is relaxed, sometimes they ask Mrs. H. to tell Korean stories. She says that she either tells them of her life or some very scary Korean ghost stories.

Identity: Mrs. H. feels that it has always been important to her to retain her Korean identification. Of course when she first came to the United States, she was very busy raising children and making a living, but almost none of the Koreans at that time were too busy to attend the patriotic meetings to help support the cause of Korean independence from the Japanese. These experiences, plus an awareness of the uniqueness of Korean cultural aspects, have made her
proud of being Korean.

Baekin, or white people, always ask her if she is Chinese or Japanese. She says that since Koreans are relatively few in number, this is probably the reason. Really though, she thinks that anyone around the different Oriental groups can easily make the distinction. With her language handicapped by a strong accent, she thinks it would be easy for her to be taken for an alien.

In earlier times the pagon held all of the desirable jobs, homes, cars, and seemingly anything worth having. Oriental people have had to work hard, go to school, and save, to have what they now possess. Maybe all people feel less strongly now about the differences between the races, but Mrs. H. says that the ones who she is the most comfortable with are other Koreans. Orientals are, with some exceptions, the most hard-working of any group of people. They have had to be, according to Mrs. H., simply in order to survive.

Mrs. H.'s husband died in the early 1950's and she has not remarried. Since then she has felt a special need for her to try and influence her descendants to remember their heritage. This includes all Korean cultural values, especially a sense of family and the pursuit of education. So Mrs. H. says that keeping in close contact with family members, seeing to it that her descendants marry Koreans, and attending church; all these are very important.

Advice: The keys to success in finding contentment and happiness are having a good family and a good income. Things would have been much different if she had stayed in Korea with its hardships and more
limited opportunities, and had to fit the traditional role of women there.

Analysis: Mrs. H. is an extroverted and active person, especially when one considers her advanced age. Her English fluency is just sufficient to get her meaning across. Because of her interacting to the extent that she has with the Korean community, she has not had to develop greater proficiency. In her business affairs, she usually had her children come along and explain things to her so she could understand.

I do not think that Mrs. H. has had very extensive interaction with the WASP segment of society. This could be partly due to her language limitations and that she lived in Hawaii where there are proportionately fewer Caucasians. Consequently, because of this sheltering effect, I do not think that the differences she feels are due to first-hand experience.

However, Mrs. H. does seem to be somewhat tolerant of people other than her family living their own lives. She expects people to be different who have had different experiences than hers. In general, all Mrs. H. desires of society is for it to allow her to make a living, and to let her live her own life within the circle she feels the most comfortable with.

Case 4. - Ms. Y.

Background: Ms. Y. is nineteen years of age and has been a resident of the United States for a period of four years. In 1977 she
and her immediate family immigrated to the United States from Korea. She has two younger siblings, a sister of fifteen and a brother of eleven. She still lives at home with her family. When she finishes her senior year in high school she plans to go on to college. Her early life is briefly discussed here. Attention is given to her feelings about life in the United States, especially her expectations before departure from Korea and the realities she found here and to which she had to make adjustments.

She was born in Seoul in 1963, but shortly afterwards her family moved to an area in the countryside called Nung-kook. Life was quite happy, if austere materially. The value she placed on family and friends made up for whatever she lacked in financial resources. School was challenging and the athletic aspects pleasantly memorable. Compared especially to American teachers, the teachers she had in Korea were extremely strict. In the latter years of her stay in Korea, her family laid plans to emigrate to the United States. There were a great many things to be done in order to be qualified and ready to go to America. During this time she was full of dreams and plans of what life would be like in the new country. Much seemed unreal. It was not until the airplane taking her and her family left the ground that she realized she was actually leaving Korea. This realization made her sad in a way, but she left Korea with a great deal of hope for her new life in America. This vision of America had been developed from what she had read, heard from others, and seen in the movies.

The initial impact of the realities came immediately after they
had settled in Mt. Vernon, Washington. Her parents had considerable problems in obtaining employment, and this led to financial hardships. Socially there were few Koreans in this area, and this made the family feel isolated. Language, too, was a big problem, and even handling the basic day-to-day communications situations were often not easy. Moreover, it was coping with the changes in life style that was the most difficult. There were so many things in so many areas that the Americans did differently from the ways they were done in Korea. The familiar points around which their lives had been based were all changed. Her friends and relatives were all back in Korea, and she missed them greatly. The transition was most difficult for the older family members. Younger children in the family were able to adjust much more readily to the new environment.

The family then moved to Vancouver, Washington, and here both parents found jobs, and in fact were recently able to buy a house. There are many more Koreans in this area, and everyone in her family feels more comfortable. Ms. Y. feels that she is getting better used to American ways, but she doubts that she will ever really become like those who are born in America and are Caucasians.

At school she is particularly aware of being different from the majority of students. The high school she attends is almost all Caucasian in its student enrollment and teaching staff. There are only a few Mexican students and Orientals, some of which are Korean. In her class she is one of only two Orientals, both Korean. She is a friend of this other Korean girl, who has been in the United States just
a little longer than Ms. Y. When she first enrolled she had some difficulty in communicating with others and in understanding her assignments. By studying extra hard every spare minute, she is now among those at the top of her class. Mathematics is the subject she likes best and gets the best grades in; English is probably the class that's hardest. The good thing she finds about mathematics is that it's virtually the same as what she learned in Korea. Thank goodness, there is not such a thing as Korean math and American math!

Social: Socially, Ms. Y. says that she is not well accepted at school even though nearly everyone thinks she is a good student. While once in a while she may go with friends to some of the games, she has never been asked out for a date. The girls who are popular, like the cheerleaders, are envied for their prettiness, nice clothes, and by how many dates they get asked out on. In Korea she was popular with the boys and secretly even went with someone. Maybe, she mused, it is just as well that she is not asked out anyway. Her parents would undoubtedly be concerned with her being alone with some guy, and they would be afraid she would get involved with either drugs or sex. She attributes her lack of dates to her different appearance, language difficulty, and the poorness of her family compared to others. Her mother is aware of her feelings, but tells her that school is meant to develop the mind and is not the place to play around and go to parties. When she attends college she hopes to meet some nice, young, mature, and preferably Korean, men. Her younger siblings will have an easier time relating to others at school than she has had, thanks to their being
more like Americans. They will be able to talk and act just like anyone else.

Ms. Y. sees her Korean girlfriend at least five days a week. There are no Caucasians that Ms. Y. feels she can truly call friends. The reason she gives for this is that she does not feel there is sufficient understanding, trust, and perhaps confidence, on her part. This is not to say that Americans are not friendly, which they seem to be. However, this appearance of friendliness is fairly shallow, because if you get to know them, you find that they are merely acting this way. A good Korean friend is much more loyal and dependable.

Knowledge of Korea: Ms. Y. thinks that her knowledge of current affairs and history of Korea are average for a Korean from Korea. She can read and write Korean and knows some Chinese characters. She knows many stories, poems, songs, sayings and superstitions. Korean is her native language. She knows the names of her grandparents and part of her great-grandparents.

The parents of Ms. Y. attend Korean community meetings and parties several times per month. Ms. Y. usually goes along with them unless she has to study. She has not yet held office or contributed financially.

Ms. Y. thinks that retirement, establishing a business, working toward unification, and living in Korea, would all be desirable. Probably, though, she will not go back until she finishes her education and is assured of some job that pays well even in Korea. She thinks that this would be possible if she worked for some large American corporation that had offices in Korea. Right now, Ms. Y. plans
to do the best she can where she is living. But she can also dream.

The family of Ms. Y. observes just about every custom they had in Korea. Though they have incorporated Thanksgiving and turkey, they still have Korean food and rice to go with it. They attend weddings, birthdays, and funerals of friends in the Korean community. Of course, they cannot participate in events going on in Korea, but if something significant were to happen to close relatives in Korea, the family would return to visit, at least.

Whenever she marries and has a family of her own, Ms. Y. thinks she will emphasize her Korean culture very much with her children. She wants them to respect parents, have appreciation of the family, be good students, and to be determined at being successful. If she is a good model of how a Korean should behave, then she thinks it will come fairly naturally to the children. When her children marry, she hopes that they will all find Korean spouses. She could not feel comfortable being either a mother or a grandmother to descendants who were not pure Korean.

The major difficulty that Ms. Y. has experienced in living in the United States is that of her parents finding well-paying employment. The next greatest problem is to learn how to speak English more fluently. Finally, they have wanted to live somewhere near other Koreans. Having enough money, friends and being able to communicate are qualities worth struggling for.

Analysis: Ms. Y.'s description of her initial feelings after arriving in the United States seems to fit what Won Moo Hurh describes as the
seven critical phases of the immigrant's experience. These phases consist of, first, an excitement phase, which lasts several months. This is characterized by feelings of satisfaction, accomplishment, and relief that the immigrant has made it to the country of his dreams; excitement over reunion with family, friends, and relatives; and fascination with the novel surroundings, especially that pertaining to material affluence and comfort. Disenchantment and exigency are the feelings which follow the excitement phase. The reasons for this development are the realities of the language barriers, unemployment or underemployment, social isolation, and culture shock. At this point there are rather strong desires to return to his native milieu. The exigency phase lasts approximately until the second or third year of residency. Cultural assimilation steadily occurs after the exigency period. However, additional crises may occur when the immigrant feels relative deprivation. This may lead, according to Won, to either resignation or voluntary segregation. Ms. Y. seemed to be generally attempting to deal with her life situation by doing her best to reconcile the differences between the realities of the host society and her previous worldview.

This accommodation is manifest in her accepting her minority status socially in school. Her determination to speak English more fluently is also a form of accommodation. The efforts she puts forth in her school to be a superior student are part of the way she intends to succeed in adapting to American life. This compensation may help to relieve her feelings of exigency. Generally, she seems to be orienting her life towards a greater incorporation of the American lifestyle.
In other ways, Ms. Y. seems to recognize the unlikelihood of ever becoming fully Americanized. She notices the differences in physical appearance between herself and Caucasian students and despairs of ever becoming fully accepted socially.

Case 5. - Mr. K.

Background: Mr. K., a second-generation Korean, was born in 1925 in Honolulu, Hawaii. There is no church that Mr. K. attends, although his wife on Easter and Christmas may go to a local Presbyterian church. Mr. K. has lived in the United States all of his life. He is now in Vancouver, Washington. Prior to this he lived for many years in San Francisco, California. He has finished high school and taken a few classes of college work. He has worked as a merchant seaman, manager of a health club, and civil engineer; but he is now retired. His wife is also a second-generation Korean. There were five children in the family.

Perhaps once a week Mr. K. might run into the only Korean friend he has in Vancouver. The reason they know each other is that this person used to live in San Francisco, and they had a previous acquaintance. Mr. K. thinks there is no difference between Caucasian or Korean friends, except that he might have a little more in common with another Korean. There are few Koreans in Vancouver, and he has never had any who were close neighbors. But, in any race there are good and bad, among Koreans as well as others; so it does not really matter.
All of his life people around him have thought him to be Chinese or Japanese. It does not bother him, and usually he just lets the people think what they want. At times he even tells them he is Hawaiian, since he grew up there. When he was growing up in Hawaii, it did not matter really what he was, so he thinks that this attitude has carried on throughout his life.

Mr. K. thought he might have two books around the home that have something to do with Korea. He did not know what their titles were, and could not remember when they were last read. Probably, it has been many years since the books were even opened. One of them, he thought, was about Korean history, and the only thing that he remembered about this was that Korea was seemingly frequently overrun in wars.

Regarding more current events in Korea, Mr. K. was aware of the Japanese occupation of Korea and of the Korean War. He recalled that his parents were active in the Korean independence movements and they attended many meetings. Other than this, Mr. K. did not know anything else, outside of what may have appeared in the newspaper or was heard on the radio.

Mr. K.'s wife has participated in the Korean community quite extensively, but he has been too busy working, he says, to be involved. Several years ago he and his wife took a trip to Korea for a week, their only visit. There are no long-term goals that he has for Korea. However if there were kisaeng in Vancouver he would probably be interested.
Three of his children are civil service employees in San Francisco. One works in the community, another works as a clerk for city hall, and the third is an engineer with the city maintenance department. One son is a supervisor for a respiratory therapy department, and the youngest daughter is a receptionist for an insurance company.

Since Mr. K. has been living in Vancouver for the last two years, he has only seen his children twice. This is because of the children vacationing from California, or trips that he and his wife may have taken to San Francisco. He still calls every year to his brothers and sisters who live in various cities along the west coast from Seattle to San Diego. So his is not really a close-knit family.

Almost every day Mr. K. has at least one Korean meal, usually supper. Mr. K. has always been a pretty good cook, so since he makes what he likes, it turns out that Korean food is often eaten. When his children lived closer, they used to come over to enjoy the Korean food he made and also to take home kimchee. Mr. K. says this would all be much harder if it were not for a Korean store in Vancouver, but he would probably find some way to do it anyway.

Except for having kalbi or mandu on special occasions like New Year's Day, Mr. K. did not think he observed any Korean customs. He does expect his children, even though they are grown up, to listen respectfully when he has advice for them. Of course they may not follow it.

While he can understand most of what is said in Korean, he is not really able to converse at any great length. He has been able, however,
to teach his children many phrases and common words. The pleasure of hearing Korean spoken is one of the reasons he enjoys the company of other Koreans. His children have always called him abojee, which means "father" in Korean.

Mr. K. has a black belt in Judo, but has never taken any Tae Kwando. He thinks that from what he has seen it looks pretty effective, but would take a long time to master. One of his grandchildren is presently taken Tae Kwando, and he has been encouraged in it by Mr. K.

Mr. K. says that his children have married either Chinese, Caucasians, or mixtures of these. He would have preferred them to find Korean spouses, but it did not turn out this way. With this present pattern, it is not likely that any of his grandchildren will be marrying Koreans, either. Lack of interest, language, and exposure are the reasons that Mr. K. feels account for this situation. When his children were young he tried to emphasize their Korean background, but apparently not hard enough.

Mr. K. feels that he has never been overtly discriminated against, at least in the places where he's lived so far. He has had to be like everyone else, whether yellow, white or black in trying to make a living.

At his age, Mr. K. does not foresee many changes in his lifestyle nor much more interest in Korea. If he has the money he may someday take another trip to Korea. He would still like to see the area where his father had lived and maybe even add his name to the genealogical
records, if they are still kept.

**Analysis:** Mr. K. has significantly reduced abilities in aspects relating to Korean culture as compared with a person of the first generation. He has limited verbal skills in Korean, and much less background information on Korean culture. His knowledge of his ancestor's accomplishments, names, etc., were also limited.

Although Mr. K. speaks of the Korean culture in positive terms, his overall lifestyle, I believe, suggests how he is more Americanized than he may realize. With this in mind, it is not surprising that his children are not more familiar with their background of ethnic identity. The area of Korean food and its preparation is, however, something that is still important to Mr. K.

The fact that Mr. K. does not plan to really accomplish more in the area of developing a greater Korean awareness seems to indicate that he is quite satisfied with the level he is at presently. He is willing to perhaps advise and chide about the importance of being Korean, but probably does not find real immersion, including involvement in the Korean community, apparently that meaningful. I think that Mr. K. merely has some sentimental feelings for Korea.

**Case 6. - Mr. W.**

Mr. W. is a second-generation Korean born in Honolulu, Hawaii. While a student at the University of Hawaii he went to Korea for a year as a teacher, with the sponsorship of his Methodist church. Following graduation seven years ago he moved to Vancouver, Washington. He is now thirty-three, as is his first-generation Korean wife. They
have two children. Mr. W. works for the Evergreen School District as a teacher in the junior high school.

There are two other Korean couples that Mr. W. and his wife are close friends with. At least every other week they do something with one or another of the families. Mr. W. has a number of Caucasian friends, also, but his Korean friends are the ones he enjoys being with the most. He feels more relaxed and has more in common with the Koreans.

Mr. W. and his wife have visited Korea four times since they married in 1973. When they have gone over they have taken their children with them. Besides stopping over in Hawaii to see his parents, they have made it a point to see his wife's parents in Seoul. They do not have specific plans for their next trip to Korea, but will most likely go within another year or two.

Since his wife is active in the Korean community, Mr. W. attends many of the meetings and social events. Mr. W. has verbal capacity in Korean which he rates at the partial level, enough for him to understand most of what is going on at these Korean events. If there is something he does not understand, his wife, who is very fluent in both English and her native Korean, can explain it to him. Mr. W. and his wife have made it an objective to speak Korean when at home so the children will have bilingual capabilities. Mr. W.'s mother almost never spoke anything but Korean, and this is where he learned most of what he knows.

Mr. W. says that he is only somewhat aware of the history of Korea. He knew the major dynasties, wars, and some of the more famous people.
In current affairs, he does not keep up since he never learned to read Korean well. But he does take special note whenever there is something in the paper or on the television regarding developments in Korea. From his background Mr. W. knew some Korean stories, songs and superstitions.

**Culture:** Some of the traditional customs and celebrations are observed in his immediate family. His wife always sees to it that they have the appropriate types of Korean dishes that go along with the observance of such customs. Also, she has a number of Korean dresses from which she might make a selection at times of celebrations. The children, too, have outfits to wear for the occasions. At these times, only the most formal forms of address are used, and everyone is extra polite.

Mr. W.'s family in Hawaii placed much emphasis on being Korean. They also linked good behavior and good grades with being a good Korean son. He does not know if they deliberately attempted to do this, or if it was just how they thought, but it did encourage him to have a great deal of positive regard for being Korean. In fact, he says that sometimes he is so immersed with his upbringing and present home life that he has to make a conscious adjustment when dealing with Caucasians. When he has to make this effort he sometimes feels a little confusion, but otherwise does not have any problems.

Mr. W. feels that his perspective and values are probably more in tune with the Korean culture than the American. However, he does like cars, boats, ice cream and other American things.

People think of him as just being Asian. He doubts that most
people really care exactly which Asian group a person may identify with in origin. The saying "All Orientals look alike" sums it up in Mr. W.'s opinion. Though he has to accommodate to this somewhat stereotyped view held by most people around him, he has not ever been overtly discriminated against.

Mr. W. thinks that Koreans are a determined, stubborn and proud people, who cannot be conquered by any country. Eventually, the people will consolidate and reject that which is oppressing them. The sense of family continuity is very significant to them, as is the emphasis on education. Another positive attribute that Koreans have is that they want to get ahead, and so are willing to work hard towards this goal. If Koreans would argue less and cooperate more they could undoubtedly accomplish a great deal more.

Descendants: Mr. W. hopes that his children will continue to have some of the interest that he has had in maintaining Korean culture. He thinks that he will probably try to influence them to choose a Korean spouse. They already know a lot from what Mr. W. and his wife have imparted to them. With the exposure to the language and the culture that Mr. W. intends, he thinks that his children will be Korean in their heritage.

Mr. W. indicates no special problems he has experienced in the United States, so he has no special advice for immigrants. However, Mr. W. does hope that those of Korean descent will not let their descendants miss out on what can be gained from respecting their heritage.
Analysis: Mr. W. has not only a great deal of interest in his Korean culture, but seemingly also quite a lot of knowledge. The only area that was scanty was his not knowing more about his family's clans and accomplishments. This could be accounted for by a feeling of modesty and that he did not want to be seen as bragging, so he might have minimized this.

His choice in a spouse has undoubtedly made it more fulfilling to take part in the Korean community, finding Korean friends, taking trips to Korea, and raising their children with an enhanced view of Korean culture. Since he indicates that she explains areas he may not understand in communication, it is also likely that she in other areas serves to reinforce the culture that his parents brought him up to appreciate.

Mr. W. seems to have been able to make a type of adjustment where externally he is able to function well in American society, and has an awareness of American material culture. However, it seems that his personal life and values remain quite oriented toward the culture of his forefathers.

Case 7. - Mrs. E.

Background: Mrs. E. is a thirty-nine-year-old Korean who was born in Hawaii, where she lived until she graduated from high school. She is the oldest of four siblings and the only girl. After high school she married a Caucasian sailor, whom she divorced a year later. Presently she is remarried, to an Air Force officer (also a Caucasian). She has
three children, ranging in age from twelve to twenty. The oldest, a
daughter, married an heir to the founder of the Rand Corporation.

After working many years in the insurance business, Mrs. E. decided to go back to school and now has a registered nurse certificate. She is thinking about studying for a degree in law, but for now is quite busy working full time as a nurse and looking after her family. Vancouver has been her home for the last two years.

Mrs. E. says that in her early years her family was on an insecure basis. Her parents, who were second-generation Koreans, had some marital difficulties arising from personality and financial facets. This is why she left home so early to get married. If she had followed her parents' advice and gone to college first, she probably would have become a professional even sooner than she did.

Korean Contacts: Mrs. E. has one half-Korean friend whom she sees perhaps once a week. They share some Korean recipes and hold similar outlooks. Neither Mrs. E. nor her parents could read or write any Korean, though they could speak the language. From them she learned the Korean names for many traditional foods, a few phrases, and the numbers up to one hundred. Mrs. E. feels her comprehension of verbal Korean is on the partial level, much better than that of her half-Korean friend. She knows no other Korean in Vancouver as friend.

Mrs. E. knows nothing about Korean history. Her grandparents had worked on a sugar plantation in Hawaii and later owned a small store there. The only Korean relative she was able to name was her maternal grandmother.

Family Contact: Mrs. E. writes or calls her parents in California on
major holidays. Her brothers sometimes write to her. She saw her parents last summer while on vacation in California. Neither she nor her family observe any traditional Korean holidays or customs. The only thing that they do if they are together is that on New Year's they might make mandu, a Korean stuffed dumpling in soup stock. Even this is done on the regular American New Year, and not on the lunar New Year.

Culture and Language: Mrs. E. has never worked with any Korean organization or the Korean community. She has no long-term goals pertaining to Korea. She makes no attempt to keep informed on Korean current affairs and is not interested in Tae Kwando.

Because Mrs. E. knows so little about Korean culture, language, and customs, it is difficult for her to make her children aware of their Korean background or to identify with Korea. Her boys are somewhat interested in martial arts. Most likely they will marry Caucasians when they are old enough, and Mrs. E. would not be opposed to such a choice. It has pleased Mrs. E. that her married daughter has asked her how to prepare Korean foods.

Mrs. E. thinks there is nothing particularly difficult in her experience as a third-generation Korean. Like everyone else, she says, she is working hard at trying to put ends together financially and see that her children get a good start.

Advice: In the way of advice Mrs. E. suggested only that people should try to find happiness and peace of mind in whatever way they can. Education helps, but it may not be for everyone. A happy person is a
successful person, by Mrs. E.'s definition.

While she is mildly interested in her Korean background to some extent, it has little influence on the way she lives.

Analysis: Mrs. E. does not play down her background of being Korean, but it had little to do with her daily life. Her Korean language skills, historical and current Korean knowledge and community participation levels were all low or nonexistent. The only area of Korean culture where she had some practical knowledge was with the preparation of Korean food.

Mrs. E. does not seemingly experience any confusion about her identity. She indicates that being born of Korean stock is in itself not very significant. Her priorities are not ethnically oriented, but rather have to do with coping with marriage, children and making a living. These are also the areas of her personal satisfactions.

Case 8. - Mrs. Y.

Background: Mrs. Y. is a second-generation Korean who was born in San Antonio, Texas, in 1941. She has lived all her life in the western part of the United States. Vancouver, Washington, has been her residence for the last fourteen years. The level of schooling that she has completed is that of high school. Previous to her marriage she worked as a waitress. However, for the last twenty years she has been a housewife and mother. There are four children, ranging from twenty to ten years of age. Her husband works as a foreman in one of the paper-producing mills. Although she used to be a regular churchgoer, for a
number of years she has not attended any of the services or functions of the Presbyterian church she had gone to previously.

Contacts and Friends: There are three other Koreans that Mrs. Y. knows of in the Vancouver area. They are more like acquaintances than friends. Maybe once a month she might see them while on some other business, and visit a little while; but she has never invited them to her house. The doctor who has taken care of her family since she has been in Vancouver is Korean, and she has had no other physicians.

Food: Mrs. Y.'s husband is Korean and Chinese, so he enjoys eating Korean food. They met while he was in the Air Force, stationed in San Antonio, Texas. He had lived, before entering the military, in Hawaii. Mrs. Y.'s parents were pleased that she was able to find a spouse who was at least partly Korean. Probably they have Korean food three times a week. Mrs. Y. thinks that most of the time they eat either Mexican or American food. Korean food would be served more often but the children complain of its being too hot for them. Her children definitely prefer American types of food over Korean dishes.

Mrs. Y. has never been to Korea, although she thinks it would be interesting to go sightseeing among some of the old ruins and other tourist attractions. She has never yet had a Korean costume, though she might try to get one if she went to Korea. She did not know from which part of Korea her family had come, nor what relatives might live there.

History and Current Knowledge: She knew very little about Korea's past or present, nor was she interested in learning more. Mrs. Y. cannot
read or write Korean and understands only a few phrases and words.

Family Contact: The relatives that Mrs. Y. has consist of just one brother and a sister, who live in the southwest. Her parents have been deceased a number of years, and she never knew her grandparents. In Hawaii she has some cousins. She writes to her sister about once a month and to her brother once a year, on Christmas or something similar to that occasion. She has met her cousins in Hawaii twice, on visits a long time ago. Her in-laws are not seen any more frequently.

Mrs. Y. has never been involved with Korean community affairs. She thinks that her parents might have been. She has no long-term goals pertaining to Korea.

Customs and Values: Mrs. Y. does not observe any traditional Korean holidays or celebrations and does not know of any real Korean customs. She recalled that her parents had emphasized respect towards older people and how important education can be, but these were only the few values that she thought they had tried to transmit to her.

Identity: When she was young and living in Texas she did not know any other Koreans her age. Her parents knew a few older Koreans, but did not see them frequently. Her friends consisted of Mexicans and Caucasian children her own age. When she was old enough to go out on dates it was with these people. It was mostly out of curiosity that she went out with the person who became her husband. If she had not run into him when she did, she does not think that she would have tried to find a Korean husband.

As a youngster she was teased by other kids for being different in
appearance from them. In her young teens people sometimes asked her if she was Indian. She assumes that most people think of her as being Chinese or Japanese. If asked, she does not mind informing them of her Korean descent. Since she speaks Spanish, she is often accepted by Mexicans as a friend. Caucasians, too, are among her friends. She feels most comfortable with Mexicans, since she feels she looks more like them and knows them well.

Descendants: Mrs. Y. sees nothing wrong with being Korean, and she thinks that her children have been raised to think this way. She says the emphasis should be placed on just being a good person, and a Korean can do this as well as anyone. She foresees her children marrying non-Koreans. This is almost to be expected, since they have more choices among Caucasians than among the few Koreans their age. In fact, she would not want one of her daughters to marry a first-generation Korean because he'd probably be too demanding if he had not learned American ways very well.

Advice: Mrs. Y. feels that there has been nothing in her experience to make life seem particularly difficult, or worthy of comment. It is a good idea for people to know something about their background and ethnic roots, she thinks. At least know who and what you are, and where you came from.

Awareness: Mrs. Y. thought that she might read some more about Korea and maybe make more definite plans toward visiting some time in the near future. She thinks her husband would favor this if not too much money was involved. This, she says, would be an interesting change,
since it is usually her husband who is trying to get her to do more Korean-related things.

**Analysis** Mrs. Y. does not seem to think that maintaining much of the Korean culture is that important to her. She does think it is a consideration in pleasing her husband and is something that perhaps her children should be acquainted with. Other than Korean food now and then, Mrs. Y. is quite content to live in an essentially American or Mexican lifestyle.

Case 9. - Mr. B.

**Background** Mr. B. is a thirty-year-old, third-generation Korean who has resided in Vancouver, Washington for seven years. All of his early life was spent in Gresham, Oregon, from birth through high school. This is only about thirty miles from where he lives today. His college work was done at Harvard University on a scholarship as a business major, and he graduated at the top of his class.

After graduation he returned to the Pacific Northwest and is presently managing an insurance firm in Portland, Oregon. His wife is a Caucasian and they have two children, ages six and four. He and his wife are Methodists.

Mr. B. is the oldest of four siblings; he has two sisters and a brother. His sisters attended the University of Oregon on scholarships and his brother, the youngest, is still attending this school, also on a scholarship.

Mr. B. humorously attributes his family's scholastic motivation
to the fact that they had no desire to work on their parents' farm near Gresham. Even studying was preferable to the often tedious and hard work of the farm. Mr. B's parents had encouraged all the children and had made sacrifices to see that the children had better opportunities. The children were all impressed. Whenever Mr. B. was studying early in the morning or late at night, he would reflect on what his parents were probably doing at these hours, and it made him want to work harder at his studies.

His parents were both from Hawaii, where they had grown up on farms. It was easy for them to adapt to this same line of work when they came to Gresham to be part of the Korean community there. Five years ago his father died of a heart attack. His mother still lives in Gresham and continues to be fairly active within the church and her circle of friends. Neither of his parents were really interested in efforts made by the Korean community to promote Korean independence from Japan, but they supported the cause because their parents had felt strongly about this goal. Mr. B. says that his mother refrained from purchasing products made in Japan because of what his grandparents used to tell her.

Social: Mr. B. sees perhaps two Korean friends per month. These friends, whom he has known since childhood, lived on nearby farms. He sees relatives perhaps weekly, at which times he likes to have homemade Korean food. This is especially likely at his mother's house. At the lunar New Year, the Korean community where he grew up is likely to have some sort of celebration, and with his mother and friends he
attends nearly every year. He goes to weddings and funerals in
the Korean community if they are for someone he knows. On the holi-
days and birthdays he sees at least some of his relatives a hundred
times. Mr. B. was able to name half of his grandparents, since they
had lived with his family for a while.

History and Current Knowledge: The only familiarity Mr. B. has with
the history of Korea is what he has heard from either his parents or
from old timers, and that was minimal. Neither is he conversant with
current affairs in Korea. He cannot read or write Korean. He knows
a few Korean expressions, mostly swear words. He is familiar with
Arirang as a Korean song. He knows a few Korean ghost stories. He
has not taken any Tae Kwando, although he took karate for a little
while when he was younger.

While he is quite active in such areas as the Kiwanis, United
Fund, and his church, he seldom participates in Korean community af-
fairs. Neither has he held office or contributed financially. His
interest in Korea is restricted to maybe a visit someday but nothing
more.

Descendants: Mr. B. thinks it would be wonderful if his children
could in some way find Korean spouses, especially if these spouses had
been raised along traditional Korean lines. This would be desirable
because when he gets old, he would be made to feel welcome at his
children's home. Marriage of this kind might be happier, since Koreans
place more emphasis on maintaining family togetherness. Of course, he
has been no example of this, but he says now that if he were to do
things over, being older and wiser, he would rather have married a Korean girl. The actual likelihood of his descendants maintaining either a Korean racial or cultural identity is hardly foreseeable. Even now, he thinks that if given a choice between kalbi or pizza, he would take pizza. He attempts to instill some awareness of Korean values to his children when possible.

Advice: Mr. B. thought the advice he would give anyone in the United States would be to go to school, try to get a good job in an interesting area, and try to make good financial investments. This he thinks would apply to anyone, whether Korean or not. From what he has experienced, pursuit of money is a priority for everyone.

Identity: Mr. B. says that he is quite aware of being of Korean descent, although in lifestyle he is an American-Korean. Someday he might have the time to do more with the Korean community but right now he is too busy with his business. After some reflection, he thought that perhaps it would be a good idea for him and his children to learn more about their background. If there were some books, he might become more familiar with aspects relating to Korea.

Analysis: Mr. B. could be seen as the product of traditional Korean values in the areas of promoting education and a work ethic. The fact that he has returned to the area where he grew up, maintains ties with the Korean community, and sees his family frequently, indicates that he has much of his Korean identity.

Mr. B. is also quite involved with aspects of American acculturation which include participation in American clubs, churches, and
even in his choice of spouse. It is not easy to say where his major-
ity of loyalties lie, but it is interesting that he wished he'd mar-
rried a Korean spouse. Of course, it could be that he is reacting to
the American stereotype of Asian women as being docile, good home-
makers, and so on.

At present I believe that Mr. B. has made some adjustment to the
demands of assimilation, and yet retains a significant degree of
ethnic loyalty. He has some indication of cultural marginality also.

Case 10. - Mrs. D.

Background: Mrs. D. is a twenty-six year old graduate from Walla
Walla college. Due to her academic abilities and support from her
family she has taken post graduate work at the University of Califor-
nia at Berkeley and the University of Washington. Mrs. D. is present-
ly working on a Ph.D. in psychology.

Both of Mrs. D.'s parents are in medical work. Her mother is a
college graduate and a registered nurse. Her father is an outstand-
ingsly successful doctor. They are second-generation Koreans from
Hawaii. Mrs. D. has lived in the Vancouver vicinity for about twenty
years. Prior to this she and her parents and five siblings lived in
the southwest.

Identity: In spite of a background that has emphasized the positive
aspects of her Korean heritage, Mrs. D. has virtually entirely accep-
ted a Caucasian lifestyle. Her husband is a Caucasian. The foods they
prefer are American. Also, their aspirations and values are along
American lines.
Mrs. D. indicates no interest in any of the areas that might pertain to her Korean background. As a child she was exposed to some Korean history and folk tales from her father, but she has decided that these are irrelevant to her present life. She seriously doubts that she will attempt to expose her children to these. In fact, she says she can hardly remember them, even if she wanted to pass along these undoubtedly romanticized stories. In the areas of current Korean affairs, Korean history, literacy in Korean, and spoken Korean, Mrs. D. indicates little or no knowledge. Any goals having to do with Korea or even the Korean community are quite absurd, according to Mrs. D.

Social: Birthdays and holidays are times when the family used to get together, but now Mrs. D. says there is not as much of this type of visiting. Regarding her grandparents, Mrs. D. has had very little contact, and could name only one grandparent. Other than her immediate family, Mrs. D. hardly knows her relatives. The area of emphasis regarding socializing is either her husband or friends. Orientals should be extroverted, and one should not continually associate with the same group one has grown up with until everyone gets tired of doing the same things and seeing the same people, Mrs. D. advocates. Compatibility, not responsibility, should be the criteria for those with whom one spends his or her time.

Identity: Mrs. D. feels that while she may look Oriental, she expects to be treated no differently from any one else. If people perceive her in a stereotyped way, then it is to their loss that they have not taken
the time to get to know her better. Mrs. D. says she is Korean in background only; other than this, she is a regular American.

Social: Socially, Mrs. D. indicates that all of her and her husband's friends are Caucasians. It is not that she would not like an Oriental for a friend, but it has just worked out this way, probably because there are so few Orientals. In fact, Mrs. D. can never remember having an Oriental for a friend. Of course, in dating this situation continues. Mrs. D. says that the Oriental males she has occasionally observed have been nothing at all of the caliber in status or looks of what she would have considered going out with. Most dressed ineptly, were shy and just not "with it." Whoever would marry an Oriental must do so because their choices were limited, in Mrs. D.'s opinion.

The reasons Mrs. D. attributes to her having little to do with Korean culture result from external and internal factors. Practically speaking, there is nothing to be gained from identifying with Koreans. Most people do not care what you are or where you are from; rather what counts is money or what you can do for them. Certainly, one is not going to gain status with most people by informing them that one is from a little poor country.

On the internal side, Mrs. D. says that she could not find many Korean values that correspond with American ways of doing things. Americans, to her, seem to have little respect for their parents. So many families are split by divorce that family strength seems unimportant. Also, Americans seem not to be interested in really working towards long-term goals such as education or financial planning.
Regarding Korean customs, Mrs. D. indicates that here, too, there are few reasons to celebrate. In the United States there are other reasons for having celebrations that are just as good as that of Korean origin. In order to have a festive time one does not have to do things in Korean ways. There is no reason why people cannot enjoy turkey, roasts, and pies, instead of having kalbi, mandu and kimchee. Those Koreans who insist on having only Korean things all the time are just being deliberately obstinate, according to Mrs. D. What’s more, she thinks that most Koreans in this country have adapted so extensively that most emphasis on Koreanness is merely emphasizing superficialities.

**Analysis:** Mrs. D. is seemingly a highly acculturated person. She not only has no interest or contact with Korean culture, but she appears to reject it.

Still, Mrs. D. seems to be fulfilling her family expectations of her in that she is pursuing her education. This would be highly valued in Korean culture. While she seems to indicate that Korean values are irrelevant, she seems critical of some aspects of American life. These would seem to suggest that there is some ambivalence in the pros and cons of exactly which lifestyle Mrs. D. really wants to follow. This could be an indication of some degree of marginality.

Mrs. D. is, however, reportedly socializing and succeeding in the Caucasian world. Of course this is all that she has ever apparently known outside her immediate family contacts. She has also internalized Caucasian standards for appearance, judging by her poor opinion
of Asian males. It seems likely that if Mrs. D.'s descendants are also socialized in a high socioeconomic strata and have the possibility for passing as Caucasians, that they will not be held back by their mother from doing this.

Case 11. - Mr. A.

Background: Mr. A. is a twenty-five-year-old third-generation Korean and is unmarried. He was born in Lawrence, Kansas, but most of his life has been lived in the west. His only time abroad was spent in England for two years. Vancouver, Washington, has been his family's place of residence for the past fifteen years. He has no specific religious inclinations. While attending Harvard's medical school, where he is in his third year of study, he still returns whenever possible to see his family. He attended elementary and high school in Vancouver. He was a national merit scholar at his high school.

Both of his parents earned Master's degrees, his father in chemistry and his mother in education. They had met while in graduate school in Kansas. Four years ago his mother died of aplastic anemia. A year later his father remarried, a cousin of his wife's side of the family, a medical doctor now working in the research development area of Crown Zellerback. The only sibling that Mr. A. has is also attending Harvard, taking pre-med courses.

Culture: While at home, Mr. A. enjoys Korean food and some traditional customs like observing New Year's. When not at home, he reports that other than eating kimchee occasionally, he makes little effort to
maintain Korean aspects. When he was twelve years old, he and his
family visited Korea. The impression of Korea he remembers is that it
was quite primitive; and he has had no desire to return. Once while
in the eighth grade he did a class report on Korean admiral Yi
Shushin, but otherwise has made no effort in studying Korean history.
His current affairs knowledge consists of what is portrayed on the
television or in the newspapers, and he does not speak or read Korean.

Of his grandparents, Mr. A. could name only one. To his knowl-
dedge there have not been any really famous people in his family's
background. He did not know which clan his family's surname was
connected with, nor where his grandparents had emigrated from in Korea.
He cited his parent's position on the nature of Koreans not only being
very independently minded, but also seemingly quite quarrelsome; all
this added to the fact that he was too busy studying to be involved
anyway. He had never taken Tae Kwan do. If his life was threatened he
would find it much more convenient to rely on well-known names in self-
defense like Colt and Smith and Wesson to deter the assailant.

Identity: While feeling that there are many positive aspects about
Korean culture, Mr. A. feels that little of it has any real bearing
on his present lifestyle. He thought that Korean views on education
and family were significant, and that Koreans were hard-working people.
People usually think of him as being Chinese or Japanese. Since he
speaks without an accent, they realize that he must be American-born.
How well he becomes acquainted with people often depends on how much
they accept him as an individual. At least initially, he suspects
that they probably expect him to be studious, quiet, polite, and all the stereotypically Oriental behaviors. In fact, he admits that these qualities do describe him in large part, but that there is more to him. In this respect there is some discrimination, but Mr. A. could not think of any other areas. In his identification, Mr. A. feels that he knows he has fewer problems than most people he is aware of, because he knows that he is pure Korean in ancestry. His perception and accomplishments reflect his heritage and upbringing. A person from such an environment should be able to accomplish much wherever he goes, according to Mr. A.

Social: Socially, Mr. A. has not ever really been well acquainted with any other Korean peers. He suspects that there would be a greater possibility of sharing similar values with someone who has had experiences like his. On the other hand, he thinks that Koreans tend to be rather aloof and confide in those they already know. If he had the opportunity to meet a Korean girl he was attracted to, he thinks that, with all other aspects being equal, she would probably be a more understanding wife. His circle of friends have always consisted of Caucasians. Mr. A. feels that this pattern would not change when he marries.

Descendants: Mr. A. indicates that it is only of minor importance to maintain his Korean ethnic identification. He would not try to persuade his children, if he has any, to marry Koreans. This pattern of marrying non-Koreans will probably become increasingly common.

The areas of major problems that might relate to being Korean are
adjusting to Korean family expectations though an American and finding most of one's contacts outside the Korean community. When he is at home and around his family members, Mr. A. says he has to make a conscious effort to adjust to the ways familiar to their Korean culture.

Advice: Mr. A. thought that the most helpful idea he could suggest was that people should not reject their cultural background, but to build on it instead. Every group of people has ideas that are worth considering and even implementing. Koreans can benefit from some of the aspects of American life, and American could benefit from some Korean ways. The question to him is not which is better, but what is the most pragmatic thing to do on any occasion.

Analysis: Mr. A. seems to be a synthesizer of Korean and American cultures. It would seem that he is not admitting to himself that Korean ways are being replaced by American ways. Yet, it seems that he still suspects this is happening by his foreseeing that his descendants will most likely not be very Korean.

Since Mr. A. has had limited contact with the Korean culture and is headed towards a high level of socioeconomic status in his medical career, it seems unlikely that he will in this area experience any significant reason for having further interest in things that have to do with what he perceived as a primitive country. Also, Mr. A. is seemingly feeling little in the way of discrimination or marginality, so he must have an extensive regard for being accepted completely by his Caucasian peers.
Case 12. - Mr. C.

Background: Mr. C. is twenty-two years of age and is a third-generation Korean. He is a graduate of the University of Oregon in the physical sciences area. His long-term aspiration is to be accepted into dental school, and he thinks that he has a good chance of this happening this coming year.

His father is a second-generation Korean, and his mother is a Korean picture bride from Korea. Mr. C.'s father operates a large nursery. Mr. C. and his siblings have often assisted their parents in the work involved with running the nursery. His brother is nineteen and his sister is sixteen. At his family's home his maternal grandmother resides with them. Mr. C. says that he actually is a second-and-a-half-generation Korean-American.

Language: While he does not have any reading or writing level skills in Korean, he is able to understand a great deal. This is due to his mother being fluent in Korean, his having lived in the Korean community all of his life, and his grandmother's speaking only Korean while living with the family for many years.

Mr. C.'s father has been the president of the local Korean society for many terms. At times Mr. C. has had the opportunity to meet members of the Korean diplomatic embassy. He attributes his knowledge of current affairs to being motivated by actual contact with some of the important people from Korea. He seems to have a significant level of this knowledge.

Regarding Korean history, Mr. C. was notably more sketchy in his
extent of information. He was able to think of two significant historical figures, which were Admiral Yi Soon-shin and Queen Min. He also was aware of the conditions in Korea during the latest Japanese occupation, which lasted for years. Of this he was proud to say that his family had truly been extensively involved in the patriotic efforts towards gaining Korean independence. Mr. C. indicates that his grandmother has often told him personal stories of the atrocities committed by the Japanese.

Mr. C. knows the Republic of Korea's national anthem in both Korean and English. Arirang, he says, is the only other song he knows. He said that he has often heard Korean ghost stories involving magical foxes and tigers, and the return of spirits of ancestors. His father often jokingly tells Mr. C. and his siblings that even when he has died he will come and check up on them to see that they are properly maintaining the family name.

When he finishes school Mr. C. says that he intends to stay in the same area where he lives now. He plans to do as his father has done in working in the Korean community. It will be very nice to live among friends and relatives. If they all have similar professions, Mr. C. says that he and his brother and sister all want offices in the same building. It might be the start of the Korean version of the Mayo clinic.

Social: Almost all functions in the Korean community are attended by Mr. C. and his family. These include weddings, funerals and holiday celebrations. All of these include large meals with kalbi (Korean barbecue), soup, rice and of course kimchee. Seemingly, Mr. C. says,
any time Koreans get together they eat and argue. Since when he is not in school he is at home with his family, Mr. C. is in on just about anything going on with the family. For his parents' birthdays, Mr. C. says that he always comes back in time to celebrate with them.

No Tae Kwando has been taken by Mr. C. He does indicate having wrestled in high school and he has taken some Karate. When he was young there were no instructors in Tae Kwando in the area or he would probably have taken this. Now the community does have a few instructors and many of the children are taking it regularly.

Mr. C. feels that while he is aware of the original contributions of Korean culture, most Americans are unaware of them. The average American cannot distinguish among various Orientals and may even think of them all as being slant-eyed, yellow skinned, fanatical and "gooks." Even some of Mr. C.'s friends ask him why he does not drive an automobile manufactured in the Orient, because they are not sufficiently informed to make a distinction between various Oriental groups.

While it has been easier to get to know male Caucasians, there are stronger reservations with females of this group. Mostly these originate on the part of the Caucasians. Mr. C. feels it is because they do not want to closely associate with a group of people they've either had to defeat in war or assist in various ways. Probably socially Caucasians are more outgoing, but Mr. C. feels that he could count more on his Korean friends if he ever really needed any help. At this time he is dating a Korean girl to whom he was introduced through friends of the family. He indicates that there is much to be
said of the advice of the older people when it comes to finding someone whom you would be comfortable in living with all of your life.

Culture: Mr. C. thinks that the Korean cultural emphasis on education is very important toward achieving a better lifestyle. Respect for parents is of course important. After all, Mr. C. mentions, other than one's family, what else can you rely on or be able to look back to except accomplishments of past generations and be encouraged. The Korean attributes of stubbornness and individualism have contributed towards the survival of the Korean people in spite of invasions and hardships. All of these factors (plus, Mr. C. states, he has never seen a Korean who did not aspire to higher than his present level) motivates Koreans to work harder to get ahead.

Identity: In the matter of Korean identifications Mr. C. feels that with the erosion of emphasis in this area by others of his generation that it will continue to be an even greater responsibility for those who work in the Korean community. Consequently, he places significant emphasis on promoting this identification. When he has children, whom he hopes will be pure Korean, he plans to give them sufficient exposure to develop an interest in the language, culture and marriage partners. In this way, and also through continuing his contact with family and Korean friends, Mr. C. plans to maintain his awareness of his Korean heritage.

Advice: Regarding advice, Mr. C. was not sure what he would tell someone else was the best way to do things. He would encourage them to not give up everything they have always believed in just to adjust to
the American way of life. The Korean culture has many positive things that should be cherished and passed on. Optimally, Americans could benefit from all the immigrant people's perspectives who comprise this country. Who knows, Mr. C. says, there may even come to be a King Songjuk day in recognitions of the attempts of all scholars, both Korean and American.

Analysis: Mr. C. is seemingly quite involved with his Korean culture. The statement that he makes where he indicates that "... actually he is only a second-and-a-half-generation..." is significant because he is apparently attempting to minimize as much as possible the influence of the American way.

His socialization from his mother and her mother who had both lived in Korea has probably contributed to his close identification with Korean culture. How much they have managed to influence him is difficult to say, but when the interest he displays in the Korean community is added to the background he's been exposed to, it is possible to think that he could have the outlook of a person who is first-and-three-quarters-generation.

Case 13. - Ms. G.

Background: Ms. G. is a third-generation Korean who has just recently turned twenty-one. She has lived all her life in Vancouver, Washington. She attended Catlin Gabel High School, possibly the most prestigious preparatory school in either Vancouver or Portland. She traveled with her family over most of the western portion of the United
States and Canada, and has visited Hawaii frequently. Many of her relatives live there. Her religious background is Protestant, though she says she does not have much interest in religion. She has five siblings, mostly younger than she. Presently she is attending the University of Oregon and is a psychology major.

Friends: Ms. G. has no close Korean friends. She had never even met any Koreans outside of her family until she lived in the dormitory at college. No young Korean males have yet impressed her enough to be taken seriously by her. Her close friends have been only Caucasians. One thing that does stick in her mind about Koreans she has met is that they are very forthright in speaking their minds.

Korean Information: Ms. G. says she has no interest in current events in Korea or in Korean history. What little she does know about Korean history she has heard from her father. Neither does she understand Korean or know any of the folklore. The only song she has ever heard was Arirang, and even this was very vague to her. It has only been once or twice that she has ever heard it sung or played.

Food: Her mother makes Korean food perhaps twice a week at home, and Ms. G. likes it. However she does not like to cook and is not likely to prepare Korean food even if she gets married.

Customs: Ms. G. could only think of a few customs that she knows of and might practice. None were important, nor in daily use. They may be reserved for an older relative. Actually many Korean customs are very quaint and unrealistic to her, such as bowing down to someone until her head touched the floor.
No Tae Kwan-do has ever been taken by Ms. G. Her younger siblings, including her youngest sister, have all taken various forms of martial arts for many years, and are pretty good at them. Ms. G. has a .357 pistol which she received from her family and would use if her life were endangered.

Interest in Korea/Koreans: Ms. G. has never participated in the Korean community. The only long-term goal she has pertaining to Korea is perhaps a short visit someday. Her reason for visiting Korea is merely one of curiosity to see if it is like what she has heard from various older relatives. If it were a choice of going to Korea or to Europe, Ms. G. says she would find it more interesting to see Europe. At least they speak English there, and she could practice some of the Italian and Spanish she has learned in school.

Identity: Although she was often the only Oriental in her grade and her family the only Oriental family in the area she lived, Ms. G. says that she has never felt any confusion about being Korean in descent. She continues to see herself as being Korean in racial and cultural background, but living in the United States like any other American. She is an American with Oriental features.

She is not sure whether people accept her on the basis of a stereotype or not. There is a stereotype she knows about Oriental women being quiet, agreeable, obedient, or bringing slippers for her husband. However she does not think that this applies to her attitudes or lifestyle. Those who know her well, such as her boyfriend, are not expecting anything like this from her. She is usually an out-
going person, but when things do not go right for her and anger her, she says that she lets people know what she thinks. Probably the stereotype does not fit Koreans who can be rather hot-tempered at times. Ms. G. also says that even her family respects her for her stubbornness and occasional violent outbursts.

Values: The aspects of Korean culture which her family has emphasized have been education, getting a good profession, and being a good daughter. Ms. G. thinks these are positive attributes that will always be incorporated into her life. If she has children she hopes that they will learn some of these traits.

Descendants: If she does not marry a Korean, which is very likely, Ms. G. thinks that it will be difficult to encourage her children to be something like Koreans. However there are some positive Korean cultural aspects that she hopes that the children will be aware of. Her grandchildren also will not likely be Korean, for all the reasons of intermarriage, limited exposure, little interest, and no familiarity with the language.

Advice: Ms. G. thought that the advice she would give would be to encourage people of diverse backgrounds to use the best and most applicable of their cultures to help them succeed in America. Every culture has things that are useful, so people should use what they know. On the other hand, they should not be resistant to learning new and different things in the United States. If everyone were willing to learn new ways, Ms. G. thinks that he or she would be better adjusted and that life would be better, because of the enrichment of ideas.
and diversity of options available.

**Analysis:** Ms. G. seems to have accepted many American values. In her identity she sees herself as an American. She does seem to indicate that furthermore, she is liberated from certain areas of drudgery that even many American females experience. Ms. G. is planning to enjoy the most favorable aspects of American life.

How Ms. G. seems to see herself is quite different from what the stereotype is for Asian women in particular. It is also in opposition from what many third-generation Korean-American males are thinking a Korean wife would be like. There is the possibility that this may be just rhetoric that she has picked up from her teachers or peers.

As Ms. G. indicates, Koreans are known for being outspoken. Ms. G. seems to have this trait also. Another aspect of Koreans in regard to their behavior is that there is a common tendency towards temperamentalness. Ms. G. is also following her family's advice in that she is seeking to get an education that will enable her to have a good profession. She is seemingly being a good daughter by Korean standards by seeing her family frequently.

I believe that in spite of what she may say to the contrary, she is more traditional than she realizes. However, with lack of Korean peer socialization it is not likely that Ms. G.'s descendants will have additional Korean influence. Ms. G. is an example of a partially assimilated person attempting to accomplish certain American goals from a Korean background and value system.
CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

All of the Korean informants in this study demonstrated that they have made adjustments in one way or another to life in America. The general similarities that were found included: development of English fluency, incorporation of American eating habits, extensive use of the material and technical features like observance of American holidays, acknowledgment of their diminishing knowledge and practice of the Korean culture, and at least the awareness of the possibility of marrying Caucasians. General differences can be accounted for in these areas: differing socioeconomic levels, personality variables, extent of socializing with other Koreans, influence of the family, length of time in the United States, and generation level. Everyone had assimilated to some degree.

The case studies that seem to support the "melting pot" concept of assimilation most strongly are numbers 1, 7, 9, 10 and 11. These individuals have experienced higher socioeconomic mobility. For reasons of either choice or circumstance they have not had extensive socializing with other Koreans. Their attitudes toward Korean culture tend to be apathetic, indifferent or resistant. Caucasians are both the reference group and the area where most contact has taken place. The descendants of this group are seen as also following this pattern of significant assimilation. Most of the studies represent third-
generation Korean-Americans.

The informants who were the most conservative regarding their Korean cultural background are those in case studies 3, 4, 6 and 12. Their experiences in socializing, holding other Koreans as their reference group and marrying Korean-American spouses, have served to reinforce their ethnic identity. Their attitudes towards Korean cultural traits and interacting with other Koreans are both very positive. These informants are strongly pro-Korean. They have either lived in Korea or visited there a number of times. Here in the United States they have further invested time and energy in the Korean community, Korean-related causes, and the preservation of Korean language and culture in their own homes. Descendants of this group will probably tend to retain more of these values than will descendants of the other groups. Only one of these was from the third generation; two were from the second generation; and one was from the first generation.

Occupying an intermediate position were the remaining informants, case studies numbered 2, 5 and 13. They had a positive sentiment regarding what they knew of Korean culture and would encourage others, including their descendants, to retain this background. However, they seemed to indicate that they placed a greater priority on the material aspects of American life than on their membership with an ethnic group. They anticipated that in the long run their descendants would affiliate with Caucasians. The Korean culture these people were attempting to maintain a balance with was in struggle between what they had been brought up with and the need to cope with everyday life.
in America. This group could be said to be resigned to assimilating.

Of the informants interviewed, it seems that the most culturally conservative person would be Mrs. H., number 3. She has made many visits to her native country, Korea, eats mostly Korean foods, is most comfortable speaking Korean rather than English, feels that she has roots in Korea, and has descendants who are at this time following her ideals and marrying within their own ethnic group. In almost all areas Mrs. H. is following a cultural pattern that would be consistent with Korean values.

The opposite of Mrs. H. is another female, Mrs. D., number 10. Mrs. D. has seemingly rejected most areas of Korean-related culture. She finds it irrelevant. Her reference group and spouse are Caucasian. According to Mrs. D.'s present feelings, her descendants will be raised with "more relevant" criteria than what she was exposed to in her upbringing. Mrs. D. has chosen to live and identify with Caucasians. She seems to be a person who has assimilated extensively.

Differences in assimilation have tended to be related to generational factors. Most resistant to Americanization were the first generation, who deplore the loss of "Koreanness." The second generation were accepting American culture traits readily, and intermarriage with Caucasians has contributed significantly to this erosion. By the third generation there was limited knowledge of Korean culture, minimal information on Korean history, loss of speaking ability of the Korean language, neolocal marital family residence patterns, intermarriage with Caucasians, and almost exclusive socializing with WASP lifestyle
and peers. Thus the difference in generation level following entry into America seem to be the most significant factor in the assimilation of Korean-Americans.

Within each generation the receptiveness to assimilating varies. As can be seen even in the third generation, there were some informants who were more culturally conservative and others who were very much oriented toward American culture.

The world view of most Koreans in Vancouver holds assimilation as inevitable but not necessarily a problem or obstacle. It did not seem as if any of the informants were actively pursuing assimilation as a goal. Rather most were reacting to circumstances, coping with life as they happened to find themselves. All of the informants held positive values and sentiments towards their Korean background, regardless of whether they thought the American way of life was better. In spite of time, events and circumstance leading them on towards a transition, the informants seemed generally reluctant to part with their past.

That they can and do assimilate indicates that the informants had disregarded or abandoned the stereotypes Koreans traditionally hold of Caucasians, whom they call "Baekin." They depict baekin as being immoral, lazy, undependable, impolite, gangly, unclean and putrid in odor; in other words, uncivilized barbarians. Traditionally oriented Koreans consider that present-day Caucasian advances in technology do not lessen the fact that until just a few hundred years ago they lived a most primitive existence. Koreans who asso-
ciate with pagins, or even marry them, not only hear a rehearsal of the negative qualities of these people, but are also told they are lowering themselves. Particularly the descendants of such an unfortunate union are thought to suffer because of the resulting loss of superior Korean culture. All of those who are not Korean or Chinese are thought to be quite inferior. The hierarchy of marriage preference would be something like Korean first, then Chinese, a mixture of Caucasian and either of the two preceding groups, full Caucasian, Japanese, Filipino and lastly Blacks.

Besides revising their traditional world view regarding assimilation, Korean-American experience other factors that have accelerated the process. Vancouver is a relatively young and rapidly growing city with housing tracts that open up to accommodate newcomers. If some of these residents happen to be Asian, they are noticeable, but less so than if this area was a long-established neighborhood. The Korean community is fairly dispersed; there is no ghetto-like concentration of Koreans in any area. Assimilation proceeds more rapidly under these conditions of lessened concentration and visibility.

The limited number of Koreans, especially in the earlier part of the last two decades in Vancouver, seems to have limited the extent of social networks among Koreans. Many of the informants reported that they have not had the opportunity to know other Koreans of their age group well enough to really consider them friends. Consequently, this has had an affect on the choosing of reference groups among Koreans.
Upward social mobility and high educational attainment have further contributed towards the assimilation of Koreans in Vancouver, as noted by Weinstock in his studies of Koreans elsewhere. Each succeeding generation of Korean Americans seems to add to the effect. The third generation in this study were either attending college or had finished college. This group also was the most likely to intermarry with Caucasians and generally assimilate structurally.

Areas for further study that are suggested by this study might be: whether subsequent generations of Korean-Americans retain any awareness of their cultural background; the rate of assimilation of the post-1965 immigrants and their second and third generations; the relationship of socioeconomic status of the parents to the likelihood of outgroup marriages by their children; and a comparison of a study conducted in a different setting but with similar geographical and circumstantial conditions, to assess the reliability of the results that were found here in Vancouver. Also, a larger sample would serve to more clearly ascertain what are the differences in the Korean-Americans of all generational levels between individual factors and overall patterns in assimilation.
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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRES
Korean-American Questionaire

I. General information:

1. How many Korean friends seen weekly?

2. How often during the week is Korean food prepared?

3. How many visits to Korea?
   a. How long in duration have visits been?
   b. How soon to return to Korea?

4. How many major books have been read pertaining to Korea?

5. What knowledge of current affairs in Korea?
   a. Newspapers.
   b. Periodicals.
   c. Journals.
   d. Letters.
   e. Other.
   f. Self assess: minimal, some, average, significant, extensive.

6. What knowledge of Korean History?
   a. Major dynasties?
   b. Works of art?
   c. Literature?
   d. Notable persons?
   e. Archaeological accomplishments?
   f. Major wars?
   g. Self assess: minimal, some, average, significant, extensive.

7. What degree of literacy in Korean?
   a. Reading?
   b. Writing?

8. What degree of familiarity with the following:
   a. Poems?
   b. Stories?
   c. Songs?
   d. Sayings?
   e. Superstitions?

9. What degree of comprehension of spoken Korean?
   a. Complete?
   b. Partial?
   c. Minimal?
   d. Expressions?
10. What knowledge of family lineage?
   a. Grandparents?
   b. Great grandparents, etc.?
   c. Famous ancestors?
   d. Clans?

11. What number of times during the year have relatives been extensively seen?
   a. Holidays?
   b. Birthdays?
   c. Live with parents?
   d. Write/call?
   e. Other?

12. What number of times in year have participated in Korean community affairs or organizations?
   a. Hold or have held office?
   b. Contribute financially?

13. What are your long term goals pertaining to Korea?
   a. Retirement in Korea?
   b. Establish a business, home, or farm in Korea?
   c. Acquire numerous kisan?
   d. Work towards unification of the country?
   e. Other?

14. What traditional holidays or celebrations are observed?
   a. Lunar New Year?
   b. Seasonal holidays?
   c. Weddings?
   d. Funerals?
   e. Other?

15. What number of years have you taken Tae Kwando?

16. What nationality or ethnic origin is spouse?
II. Attitudes pertaining to being of Korean descent:

1. Self identification?
   a. What makes you feel this way?
   b. Do you feel some degree of confusion about identity?

2. How do others see you?
   a. Korean-American?
   b. American with oriental features?
   c. Alien?

3. Accepted usually as an individual or on a stereotype?

4. Have you ever felt discriminated against because of your race?
   a. Employment?
   b. Socially?
   c. Accommodations?
   d. Other?

5. Which do you prefer as friends, Koreans or Caucasians?
   a. Similar values?
   b. Friendliness?
   d. Proximity?

6. Have you ever seriously dated a Korean?
   a. Opportunity?
   b. Inclination?

7. What Korean cultural aspects do you value highly?
   a. Respect for parents?
   b. Education?
   c. Family continuity?
   d. Individualism?
   e. Other?
   f. All?

8. Do you think that in a neutral environment, given equal opportunities and abilities that a person of Korean descent of Caucasian descent will be able to achieve more?
   a. What would contribute towards this possibility?
   b. Is this true in the United States?

9. How important is it to you to maintain your Korean identification?
   a. Self assess: minimal, some, average, significant, extensive.

10. What aspects of your present lifestyle relates to being Korean?

11. What specific Korean customs do you practice?
12. Do you, or would you, encourage your descendants to remember their background of Korean identification positively?

13. How likely is it that your descendants will be Korean?
   a. Intermarriage?
   b. Exposure?
   c. Interest?
   d. Language?

14. What areas have been your major difficulties?

15. From your experiences in the United States, what advice would you want to give?

16. Do you have plans to further your awareness of being Korean?
III. Demographic information:

1. Age?
2. Birthplace?
3. Years lived in the United States?
4. Generational sequence?
5. Education?
6. Residence?
7. Occupation?
8. Religions?
9. Marital status?
10. Sex?
11. Number of children?
12. Ethnic origins/s?
13. Number of years lived in Vancouver, Washington?
14. Have you lived in any other country other than Korea or the United States, if so, how long?
APPENDIX II

KOREAN TERMS
Korean Terms

Abojee -- Father.

Aigo cham -- An expression employed in situations of surprise, sadness and resignation.

Arirang -- A Korean folk song. This is sometimes sung in situations having to do with the intake of intoxicating beverages.

Baekin -- A term employed to designate any person who has Caucasian features. This would include the entire spectrum of the English, Scandinavians, Jews, Iranians and even most Mexicans.

Hangul -- Korean alphabet.

Kalbi -- Korean barbecue of marinated meat. It is rather like what is known as teriyaki by Americans, except with more seasonings.

Kimchee -- A relish that can be either cucumbers, turnips, or cabbage, preserved by blanching, salting and seasoning. The seasonings are noted for their spiciness and odor.

Kisaeng -- A woman who has been trained to be accomplished in music, dancing, and entertainment for paying customers. This institution has been part of Korean culture for many hundreds of years. This is similar to the geisha.

Mandu -- A type of dumpling often served in broth or fried and served like the Chinese won ton. It is usually reserved for special occasions like New Year's.

Ominee -- Mother.
Yangban -- This term comes from feudal times and means "true bone."

It refers to a person who can be identified by his background, manners, education, and status as belonging to the Korean aristocracy. Sometimes this term is used disparagingly to indicate someone who seems to assume a superior air.