

**Wherever You Go, There You Are:  
A Biographical Reconstruction of Korean Immigrants in the United States by Way of  
Germany**

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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

## Research Interest

All Korean guest workers in Germany between the late 1950s and the 1970s had similar working and living conditions arranged by the national treaty of the guest worker program (miners and nurses) or private institutes (only nurses). Legal status, jobs and accommodation, which could be the most difficult elements for international migrants at the beginning of their life in a new country, were taken care of for the Korean guest workers; they only needed to focus on doing their jobs until the initial contracts ended.

The original plan of the guest worker program was to send the workers back to Korea after the end of contract because they were invited only as a guest, as indicated in the terms of the program. However, each individual had a different idea of future. Only one third of guest workers followed the original plan; the other two thirds had a different idea for the next step of their lives. As in the song by the Clash, “Should I stay or should I go<sup>1</sup>?”, half of the guest workers who did not return to Korea decided **to stay** in Germany and the other half determined **to go** to a third country. Those people who chose to go to yet another new land had to go through a period of language and cultural adjustment yet again. In addition, the most difficult situations of migration (i.e. searching for a job and finding a place to live) which had been arranged by the government or private organizations in Germany, now had to be dealt with by each individual.

Many people might have dreamed of leaving for a new place; as an adventure, to have a better life, and to experience a different culture. However, few people would have actually

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<sup>1</sup> “Should I stay or should I go” is in the album Combat Rock by the Clash written by Hoe Strummer and Mick Jones in 1982.

attempted to carry that idea into practice. The Korean guest workers in Germany took a step forward towards having an adventure; the people on the secondary migration path from Korea via Germany to a third country took a further step towards novelty. The pursuit of novelty means on the one hand experiencing freshness, challenge, creation and change; on the other hand, it means having to bear uncertainty, unfamiliarity, and inexperience. This duality could mean that the migration to a third country could present a massive risk or a great chance, or both, to the migrants. These people took the ‘sweet’ of the chance of a better life with the ‘sour’ of all the risks involved in moving to a new land more than once.

In this context, various research questions regarding the third group of guest workers arise: what kind of person leaves for a new land? Who voluntarily undergoes such an experience? These questions attempt to dig deeper than the obvious reasons (e. g. poverty, political, religious reasons for choosing international migration<sup>2</sup>). These research interests encompass a biographical perspective on decision-making patterns before and after the international migrations of those people who have crossed borders several times, and their socialization process. International migration is considered a major life decision which is connected to the

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<sup>2</sup> There are several different terminologies to call people crossing borders to settle in a new place: immigrants, emigrants, and migrants. As the etymology of the words indicates, “immigrant” denotes someone who ‘comes into’ a new land to live, leaving their homeland, whereas “emigrant” describes a person who has left their country of origin for a new country (Naver online dictionary, n.d.a & n.d.b). On the other hand, “migrant” embraces both ‘coming’ and ‘going’ actions. A migrant is a person who crosses a border for a short-term or long-term period, either of her/his own choice or forced by external situations (Harzig, Hoerder, & Gabaccia, 2009: 3). This research uses the term “migrant” in order to focus on both ‘coming’ and ‘going’ actions of Korean guest workers firstly to Germany and then to the US.

individuals' previous decision-making pattern and could change their biographical direction by exposure to a new culture, language, and social values in a new land. Even if the research subjects' multiple international migrations happened in the past, those decisions to migrate could still affect them in the present. For this reason, it is important for this research to focus on the whole life story of those migrants with multiple international migrations and to analyze the meanings of their migrations in a biographical context.

### Research Purpose

A basic tenet of this research is that international migration is not a fragmented life event, but a part of biographical process. This can either totally change a migrant's life or be in line with their previous biographical path. Therefore, the study of biography, the whole life story, is an important contribution to the analysis of the meanings of multiple international migrations to Korean migrants in the US who came by way of Germany.

This research aims to answer the following questions:

First, what kind of person chooses to migrate not once, but twice?

Second, how do Korean migrants adjust to a new land?

Third, do their international migrations change their identity/ biographical structure in a qualitative fashion?

Any attempt to understand their biographies must include analysis of their socialization process, identity, and biographical structure development. Korean migrants may have a specific biographical context or mechanism which provides the impulse for their multiple international migrations; this can be uncovered by analyzing their socialization process, biographical structure development, and ways of adaptation to new cultures. Analyzing their biographies, moreover, can reveal any influences which might change or reinforce their

biographical patterns. Through biographical analysis, each individual's biographical flow can be understood by reconstructing the meanings of their international migrations.

## CHAPTER 2. HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

### History of Korean Guest Workers in Germany and Their Second Migration

The push-and-pull model is applied to explain migrants' mobility in the context of global economic flow, where the migrant is "pushed" by a country having a weaker economic and "pulled" into another country with a stronger economic dynamic and higher labor requirements (Zimmermann, 1996: 97; Harzig, Hoerder, & Gabaccia, 2009: 62). This model is well suited to explaining the trajectory of those Korean migrants who left for Germany between the late 1950s and the 1970s. Korean guest workers in Germany (Par-Dock in Korean) went to Germany for temporary work, mostly nursing and mining jobs, arranged by religious organizations and the governments of Korea and Germany. Their temporary migrations conformed to the economic situation in which Germany needed labor for an increased number of jobs and Korea needed work chances for people who struggled to find them in Korea. In order to solve their domestic issues regarding labor either in shortage or in superfluity, both governments facilitated political conditions to accommodate the push-and-pull demands in each country.

However, some of the Korean guest workers in Germany did not follow the usual push and pull flow after their contracts were ended. Instead, they followed another flow which pulled them to a different country; the US. When the pull gate was closed by domestic and economic issues in Germany, some Korean guest workers decided upon secondary migration to the US which had a friendlier atmosphere in relation to immigration than Germany at that time. In order to understand the secondary migration path of Korean guest workers, the following section describes the detailed context of push and pull factors affecting migrants between Korea, Germany, and the US. In addition, the push and pull factors are considered in

political, social, and historical contexts intertwined with economic reasons related to the guest workers' international migration.

### *General Background*

After the Second World War, the international situation was politically polarized by the Cold War system; economic activities in many countries were closely focused on rebuilding countries and providing international aid. South Korea was one of the countries most affected by these international issues (i.e. the division of Korean territory into North and South following the Korean War from 1950 to 1953, and involvement in diplomatic issues due to ideology and the country's significant geographical location between the upcoming major world powers). The domestic situation in South Korea between the 1950s and 1970s was serious; the country needed to recover from the devastation of its infrastructure inflicted upon it during the Japanese colonization (1910 to 1945) and the Korean War, and to catch up with other countries in terms of advanced industrialization and modernization. The massive amount of grant-type aid from the US government and religious organizations in more advanced countries were the main resources for the national reconstruction project in the first ten years after independence in 1945. However, international aid rapidly decreased after the US government converted the grant into credit assistance, which directly affected the domestic economy in South Korea. In this already desperate situation, the Korean government also had to deal with population growth; the government could not create as many jobs as were necessary to employ the increased numbers of working age people as push factors shown in figure 2.1.

Germany, on the opposite side of the earth from Korea, was recruiting so-called guest workers from foreign countries in order to overcome a labor shortage caused by an economic boom. Meanwhile, Korea was attempting to find a solution to its high unemployment rate and lack of financial resources for reconstructing the country. These push-and-pull

circumstances between the two countries brought about a specific guest worker program which ran from the late 1950s to the 1970s; about 11,000 nurses and 8,000 miners moved to Germany on temporary contracts. These guest workers should have returned to Korea after the termination of their three- to five-year contracts. As the terminology of guest worker, *Gastarbeiter/Gastarbeiterin* in German presents, they were invited only as a guest who was expected to leave the country after a certain period. This program was organized according to the supply and demand of labor between countries, with little empathy for individuals' demands and how long they wanted to stay in the country.

Nevertheless, approximately 60 % of them were willing either to stay in Germany or to leave for yet another country (Hyon, 1976 as cited in Han, 2003: 45), especially due to the vulnerability of the job market at that time in Korea. Unfortunately, the initial pull factor from the German side was then negated when Germany refused to extend the residence period for migrant workers, and many guest workers attempted to find another country where they would be able to stay longer, with a stable income and legal status. Consequently, the Korean guest workers in Germany could be categorized into three different groups: those who returned to Korea; those who stayed in Germany, enduring the rigorous migration process for a long time; and those who left for other countries such as the US, Canada, and Australia. The most popular country was the United States, as a symbol of the immigrants' dream; this migration path of the third group represented a new phase of global relationships and economics, enabling individuals to achieve adequate living conditions in which to build a stable life for themselves.

The migrants in this group confronted a new situation when leaving for the US, which was a different decision from those who returned to Korea or those who remained in Germany. It could be easier for Korean working migrants to return or to stay in a familiar and known environment instead of again being a stranger in a new land. This third group of



people went ahead with a secondary migration, and there were remarkable international conditions making their migration possible.

*Push and Pull Factors in Korea and Germany*

When the US government converted the grant to credit assistance because of domestic economic problems in the US in the late 1950s, the Korean government had to find an alternative way to obtain financial resources. At that time, Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world, with a vulnerable economic structure, and relied heavily on the grant, which came mostly from the US government, for its post-war reconstruction work. The United States Operations Mission [USOM] mediated a vocational education and trainee program between the Korean and German governments (TRC, 2009), by which Korea could earn foreign currency, remitted from Germany by Korean trainees to their families in Korea.

There were two reasons why this mediating activity of the trainee program to Germany by USOM was possible. First, the Federal Republic of Germany experienced a remarkable economic boom due to the European Recovery Program (ERP, or the Marshall Plan) after the Second World War, which created, on the one hand, more jobs and, on the other hand, an escalating labor shortage across whole industries. A lack of nurses became a particularly significant social issue in Germany. The German political and economic system, oriented towards a social market economy, advocated a level of government control to provide universal access to social security and medical benefits, thus increasing the demands upon the system and the resources required (Mattes, 2005 as cited in Na, 2007: 270-272; Na, 2013: 184-185). However, there were insufficient domestic medical staff to deal with the increased social demands. In order to resolve the labor shortage in the medical and industrial areas, the German government signed national treaties with Greece, Spain, Turkey, Portugal and Yugoslavia in the 1960s since the first labor recruitment treaty with Italian government in 1955 had proved

a success (Rist, 1978). Second, the Federal Republic of Germany could justify the importation of guest workers from underdeveloped countries as provision of international aid, and it also solved the labor shortage issue in Germany (Na, 2007), thus serving two ends (see full factors in figure 2.1). This justification was fairly important to Germany in maintaining a positive relationship with the United States.

In this atmosphere, the Korean guest worker program in Germany started to be discussed in the late 1950s, but was then delayed until 1963 due to the military coup in Korea in 1961. Meanwhile, since government intervention had not been initiated, private groups such as Catholic and Protestant church organizations began to send Korean nursing trainees to Germany in the late 1950s. In the 1960s, two physicians, Jong-Soo Lee in Bonn and Su-Kil Lee in Mainz, administered the nursing guest worker program until the government became involved in it. In 1962 the Emigration Act was passed, aiming to control the high rate of unemployment by reducing population numbers through emigration (the ‘push’) and to obtain foreign money by remittances from emigrants (Lee, H. K., 2005). One year later, the national treaty to send Korean miners to Germany was arranged and the second national treaty to send Korean nurses began in 1966 (the ‘pull’) (Garz, 2015). The Korean Overseas Development Corporation established in 1965 took full charge of the guest worker program (Na, 2007).

Figure 2.1. Push and Pull Factors in Korea and Germany



*Push and Pull Factors in Korea, Germany, and the US.*

Korean guest workers encountered at least three dimensions of difficulty in sustaining their migrant life in Germany: social, cultural, and legal. First, the significant societal bias (as the designation *Gastarbeiter*, guest worker showed), was that foreign laborers were considered as visitors and not as members of society: “Foreigners came to work, they were welcome, but they should be present only to work” (Thränhardt, 2002: 350; Garz, 2011). As the number of guest workers increased, the German government worried about losing control of the labor market. Indeed, when the economy declined, the Immigrant Ban was passed in 1972. This forbade any new flow of guest workers into Germany, especially people from countries outside the European Economic Community [EEC] (the EEC included Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany at that time) (Rist, 1978).

Second, Korean guest workers culturally struggled with discrimination and the language barrier and with being, especially for nurses, allocated unprofessional tasks at work (Hong, 2009: 191). This could be related to a European characteristic in which European countries unconsciously resist accepting ‘alien’ cultures into the mainstream, while America sets a premium on melting all cultures into one (Zimmermann, 1996). The cultural difficulty in trying to assimilate into the majority society could be amplified for a guest worker from a Confucian and non-Christian culture with only a short period to acclimatize. Furthermore, job requirements which immigrants saw as unprofessional intensified their dissatisfaction with life in Germany; the vocational tasks in German hospitals and nursing homes were seen as tasks fit for a nurse’s aide by Korean nurses, who, in Korea, were highly regarded as well-educated professionals, having a college degree. In contrast to nurses, miners recognized their vocational tasks as blue-collar work, but were not satisfied with their mining jobs either. A significant proportion of Korean miners (i.e. up to 24 % of college graduates and 50% of high-school graduates in the first guest worker group between 1963 and 1966 (Chun, 1988 as

cited in TRC 2009: 181)) were overqualified for mining jobs and longed to change their life. In this context, the oil shock of 1973 changed the dynamic of the guest worker program in Germany. Germany suffered an economic downturn, which resulted in a different migration cycle of labor demand and supply demand (Zimmermann, 1996). In 1974, the unemployment rate increased to 4.2% (TRC, 2009), and migrant workers were forced to leave Germany after, and in some cases even before the termination of their contracts (see push factors in Germany in figure 2.2).

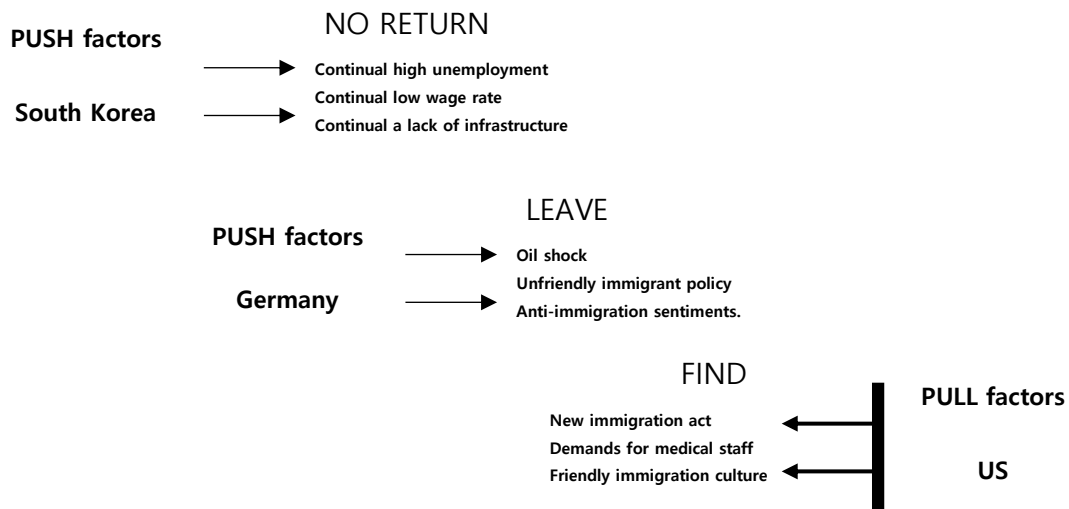
Lastly, legal circumstances changed. Since the Immigrant Ban in 1972 and the compulsory return order after the oil shock by Germany, the first group, which wanted to remain in Germany, actively protested the return order and the sanctions on labor and obtained residence rights in 1978. The second group decided simply to return to Korea. Meanwhile, the third group of guest workers departed for other countries. At that time, the Korean job market was still ailing, and wages were considerably lower than those in more advanced countries: push factors in Korea indicated in figure 2.2.

While the economic, cultural, and legal situation worsened in Germany, US immigration policy changed to provide more favorable circumstances (the pull) to guest workers as shown in figure 2.2. The immigration gate to the US before 1965 was selectively opened to those who were mostly from European countries. Immigration policy before this time was based on quotas according to individuals' original nationality, which prioritized people from Europe over those, for instance, from Asia and Africa. However, the immigration reform in 1965 broke the discrimination against individual's national origin which made it possible for many more Asians immigrate to the US. The Immigration Act of 1965 consequently caused a 577% increase in the American Asian population whilst the general population increase in the US was only 34% between the 1960s and the 1980s (Takaki, 1998: 5). Especially, more Korean immigrants (33,237) entered the US than immigrants from China (304,073) and Japan

(71,205) between 1966 and 1981 (US immigration and Naturalization Services, 1966-1977, 1977-1981 as cited in Kim, 1987); some Korean guest workers joined this immigration flow into the US.

Not only immigration policy, but immigration-friendly atmospheres were an important factor in the change of the guest workers' migration path. As the US had been known as a country of immigrants (at that time and until not long ago), it had a more diverse population and more experience in dealing with migration issues than Germany. Once the Korean migrants achieved a legal status such as a working visa, they were able to extend and/or to get permanent residency status/US citizenship as long as they had a sponsorship, mostly by vocation. They were immigrants in the US, not guests as they were treated in Germany. In this circumstance, migrants saw more advantages in settling in the US with its forward-looking culture of encouraging the immigration of medical staff. Nurses had better employment benefits than in South Korea (Mejia, 1978) and jobs were more professional than in Germany. Contrarily, most miners started working in the US in jobs just as blue-collar as they had been in Germany, due to a lack of such universally recognized vocational skills as nurses had. Nevertheless, they transferred themselves to better work places and/or opened their own businesses after achieving legal status through their initial work. The third group was therefore able to deal with migration difficulties by gaining legal status and jobs in more flexible situations in the US (see figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2. Push and Pull Factors in Korea, Germany, and the US



## Biography and Socialization

### *Biography*

The question ‘Who am I? /who are we?’ is inevitably asked by researchers in attempting to understand human development. The questions of how an individual has lived and how that individual defines her- or himself do not admit of simple answers because they entail the processes of an individual’s life development with various experiences, spatial changes, and temporal changes. Understanding human development requires both broad and detailed information regarding that individual and her/his own understanding of life. In addition, any substantive analysis of the individual requires the personal information gathered during interview to include information relating to the life development process. The study of biography in human development can be a useful way of gathering voluminous data on an individual’s life and to analyze that individual’s ongoing experiences which are the foundation upon which rests the formulation of self-definition and identity.

Dilthey indicates that analysis of biography is of use in attempting to understand life in a historical context in *Geisteswissenschaften*, social science or humanities (Dilthey, 1895 as cited in Habermas, 2011; Kohli, 1981 as cited in Domecka et al., 2012). He perceives a human being as a historical being who can be analyzed through interrelationship and historical context, accumulating meaningful experiences which can be understood by others (Tuttle, 1969: 11-12). Fritz Schütze (2007), who developed the biographical research and narrative interview method defines biography as a “narrative gestalt” including an order of ongoing life experiences influencing the formation of an individual’s identity. Many researchers (e.g. Giele, 1998; Chamberlayne, Bornat & Wengraf, 2000; Heinz & Krüger, 2001) explain biography as a complex of social structure and agency, social history and personality, and inner experiences and external influences on individuals. The above perspectives on biography indicate that an individual’s biography presents not only a private and personal life history, but also embeds historical events, social environments, cultural influences, and social values.

These internal and external components of biography, furthermore, are enacted in a sequential process, living a life through the past to the present and to the future. Pillmer (1992) says that biography encompasses the temporal sequence of past experiences which influence the individual’s present and future life direction, presents a picture of a self-consistent in space and time, and contains the individual’s communicative activities with others. Biography is not simply a here-and-now life story because the narrator’s biography both reflects the past and manifests a present being (i.e. a personal perception of the narrator’s life, social status, situation etc.) of the narrator. In addition, the narrator’s future decisions and behaviors can be inferred through her or his biography due to the continuity of self which was built in the past and continues to be built in the present of the narrator. In other words, to understand a biography is to know a living being and her/his processes of negotiating their life within social and historical contexts.

To discuss biography in depth, there are two significant concepts which aid the analysis of biography: first, finding authenticity not truth; second, self-continuity. Firstly, the study of biography is concerned rather with what a narrator presents as having happened instead of finding out what actually happened. Biography, as the above definitions show, entails social structure and agency; these two axes of biography are interdependent on each other. Historical events could be included in biographical story telling; however, biography does not guarantee the delivery of accuracy and objectivity with regard to history and reality as told by the narrator. Instead, biography contains memories of original incidents, events, and life episodes refracted through the individual's unique way of interpreting information. Schütze (2007) presents these characteristics of biography as encompassing two contradictory assumptions: that biography is a mirror reflecting the history and reality of a narrator's life; and that biography can be reconstructed and reframed according to the narrator's wishes.

Bruner (1991), in his deliberation on "referentiality" in biography<sup>3</sup>, reflects that "truth" in biography lies more in the auditor's belief in the narrative than the narrator's sticking to verifiable fact. His concept of biography can be linked to the term, authenticity meaning factual and narrators' own (Winter, 2002). Narrators tell the life stories which they want to tell, which they believe that it is true and meaningful, and/or which they think that a listener wants to listen. These features of storytelling present an important consideration of how an individual symbolically incorporates the social world into the meaning-making process of their own life (see Bertaux & Kohli, 1984: 215). This is more than mere fact finding. Objective data can amplify the authenticity of biographical narration, but finding objective data in itself cannot be the main purpose of studying biography. In other words, biography does not need to find

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<sup>3</sup> "Narrative truth is judged by its verisimilitude (the quality of seeming to be true or real) rather than its verifiability (Bruner, 1991:13)."



what is objectively “true” in terms of human development and history, but can still contribute towards the understanding of an individual’s unique way of dealing with their life in the historical context.

The second element of biography is self-continuity. Continuity means both the sequence of chronological time and successive biographical structure. From birth to death, an individual necessarily experiences life as the continual passage of time. Time cannot be delayed or stopped, but marches on. In this temporal continuity, the individual chronologically develops biography. Biography, therefore, contains the traces of both personal time and the social era in which the protagonist of the biography has lived. Bruner (1991) insists that biographical narrative is diachronic, meaning that biographical episodes do not stand alone, but are parts of narrative that develops through time.

The other aspect of continuity is as a pattern of biography. One’s life story includes numerous experiences with many different changes in biographical context. Despite various life experiences and changes, a protagonist can be seen to follow a consistent pattern in their decision-making and actions. Schütze (2007) relates that biographical narration might seem pliable and without order, but it is in fact driven by rules governing the choice of topics and the ways in which a narrator relates them. Such rules are connected to one’s past experience and also influence current and future life matters (Bamberg, 2011). Bluck and Habermas (2000: 122) describe these rules as a “life story schema”: “an invisible hand” which guides the choice of narrative subjects and story lines to describe lifetime memories and experiences. Such a “life story schema” is developed through the individual’s biographical history. Ricoeur (1979, 2002) explains that plot is the narrative structure which controls story-telling through life events; the chosen events and the stories that are told influence the development of a sequential plot. Growing up, individual has gradually formulated habits, lifestyle, problem-solving skills, life strategies, etc. Such things are adjusted in response to the temporal or

spatial environment in which the individual finds themselves. However, an individual has developed a consistency of self including identity and a biographical structure which are very difficult to change once established.

Bluck and Liao (2013) define this structure as “retrospective self-continuity” (p. 9). Retrospective self-continuity means that a narrator has a distinct biographical pattern as concerns the recall of biographical memories and interaction with oneself, others, and external situations, independent of time and space (Bluck & Liao, 2013). This is mostly developed during adolescence, in which an individual works toward the formulation of identity, and it is established in adulthood (Bluck & Habermas, 2000).

In summary, a biography is the life story of the narrator. The narrator accumulates life experience and attempts to find her/his own way of understanding this. The necessity of living in time means that a person experiences life in a social and historical context; they develop through this chronological continuity a biographical structure – retrospective self-continuity which ironically is beyond time. Narrators build individual and unique biographical structures; such structures encompass authenticity in the historical and personal depictions of the narrator’s lived reality.

### *Biography, Self, and Society*

The meaningful order of one’s own life history has at its center the unfolding of one’s own biographical identity in relationship to the overall gestalt of concatenated and coexisting life historical process (Schütze, 2007: 9).

Biography represents a knot of everyday life. Like a tangled skein, all kinds of life matters are involved in a narrator’s biography, but only certain narrative topics are recollected and related by that narrator. Rules, a life story schema, lead narratives are formulated in various ways; self and society are two of the most significant axes in the creation of a biography.

Society, metaphorically speaking, is a container which holds the individual's biography. Society may not change the essence of an individual (i.e. the inherent personality), but can influence the formation of biographical attributes, just as water takes on different shapes according to its form of container. Here, society means the entire external social world, including neighbors, group, community, culture, etc. with which the individual interacts outside of her/himself. In other words, social structure, composed of the physical and cultural location of the individual. An individual living in a social structure is both component and creator. The external world provides boundaries for individual's decisions and behaviors; at the same time, an individual's choices can change the social structure. Each individual both lives in social and historical reality and also influences that reality; this is called "socio-biographical reality" (Schütze, 2007: 22).

How does an individual in this socio-biographical reality develop her/his own particular biography? Betts and her colleges (2007) focus on biographical identity. They explain that biographical identity is inextricable from individual reality and needs to be analyzed in a narrative context which might include her/his social and personal identity. In addition, biographical identity is based on two important elements: firstly, an individual attempt to identify that which differentiates her/himself from others; secondly, s/he tries to build a sense of belonging in certain groups (Betts et al., 2007). A similar concept to biographical identity is narrative identity (Crites, 1986; Bruner, 1990; Kirkman, 2002); this explains self and society through the medium of narratives. Such a concept of identity, as explored via biographical study, connotes that fragmented life stories, memories, and events can be glued together to shapes one's biographical /narrative identity.

### *Biography and Analysis*

What a narrator says does not always correspond with their intrinsic meaning. A narrative includes not only the overt desire of the narrator to relate their life experiences, but also incorporates their subconscious desire to convince their audiences of the importance of their experiences and perhaps also the desire, as social animal, to be liked and respected. Meaning consists not only of direct statement, but from consideration of the formative interactive process of communication with others; our actions and meanings are inextricably bound up with our social interactions, whether or not we are consciously aware of this (symbolic interactionism perspective) (see Blumer, 1986: 5). Narrative is delivered by means of language, which is both symbolic and the system of communication (Merriam-Webster's online dictionary, n.d.); therefore, this takes on the character of 'embodied talk', as Bamberg (2011) explains. He says that embodied talk cannot be revealed by simply categorizing content and narrative subjects, but needs to be approached through multi-dimensional analysis of the narrative. Namely, narratives may not simply be what is overtly expressed, but involve additional layers of meaning to which a listener/ researcher needs to be sensitive.

Bruner (1991) explains that a hermeneutic approach can be applied in order to attempt an analysis of narrative. Meaning is uncovered only through rigorous analysis of the subject's individual preferences and their communicative processes. In addition, analyzing meanings of narratives involves not merely finding the narrator's subjective perspectives or their intentions in sharing their stories, but the patterns and structures which leads to a cohesive biographical story throughout the narration (Apitzsch & Inowlocki, 2000). In order to find biographical structure, qualitative approaches, in particular hermeneutic and reconstructive methods can be applied. These methods focus on finding hidden meaning structure from

disordered narrative topics by understanding (*Verstehen*<sup>4</sup>) a case's narrative structure, linguistic pattern, and social rules. Such methods include objective hermeneutics by Ulrich Oevermann and biographical analysis by Fritz Schütze. These methods can provide a way to continue to have critical thinking in the attempt to understand a narrator's biography.

### *Biography and Socialization*

Social interaction occurs in everyday life to most human beings. Here, "actions" (*Handeln* in German) include the motivation and intention of the actor (Shin, 2005: 87-88); these are distinguished from 'behavior', which encompasses the broad concept of all human and animal behavior; action without intention; conditioned reflex. Intention which is an integral part of action must also be interpreted by others in a social context; such intention can, however, be misinterpreted. Actions performed by human beings do not exist in a void; they cannot be interpreted in isolation; they require the context of a specific schema based on shared meaning in a social and historical context to be understood. In other words, both actions and the actors' intentions must be interpreted as part of a complex of structural/external influences, by means of a reconstruction of that complex (Oevermann et al., 1987: 347).

The concept of 'life practice' (*Lebenspraxis* in German), as developed by Ulrich Oevermann, the German sociologist, may provide a perspective on the comprehension of human action and its meaning in the context of socialization. In order to explain the concept of 'life practice,' Oevermann compares subjects of natural science and of human life. The actions of subjects in natural science can be predicted according to natural law; matters, for

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<sup>4</sup> Dilthey describes that analyzing human beings needs to be considered in *Verstehen* (understanding) concept because culture does not follow nature law as other species do, but needs to be understood in social rules (Tuttle, 1969).

subjects in natural science, can exist only in the here and now. Human beings, on the other hand, must deal with not only life matters in the present (reality/ *Wirklichkeit* in German), but are inevitably influenced by their past experiences and confront the unpredictable (possibility/ *Möglichkeit* in German) in the future; this is what is meant by “life practice” (Oevermann, 2005:138).

Metaphorically speaking, time past, present, and future can be seen as doors. There are three doors: the first is a closed door which stands for the past (it can neither be changed nor reopened); the second is an open door, symbolizing the present; the third is a door not yet opened, but which will open in the future. This third door necessarily incorporates attributes of uncertainty, unsureness, opportunity, and/or adversity, because no one can predict what will happen after opening it. These attributes of the future are collectivized as possibility (*Möglichkeit*) as defined by Oevermann (2000a; 2000b); such possibility is morally neutral—consequences can be either positive or negative. When considering many possibilities, individuals have to deal with making a decision (*Entscheidungszwang* in German), choosing one option only; and they are impelled to provide justification (*Begründungszwang* in German) of that decision (Oevermann, 2000a: 6; Jindra & Jindra, 2003). It is possible for individuals to make a decision because they are autonomous (Oevermann, 2000b: 8). In addition, cognitive capacity and language use enable individuals to make decisions about abstract and hypothetical subjects, and to justify such decisions (Jindra & Jindra, 2003).

This decision-making entails the risk that other, unchosen, options could have been better; but people must always accept such a risk as part of life. In this context, ‘a life crisis’ can ensue when making a decision. Decision-making is for the non-routine and unforeseeable future; individuals are obliged to choose without knowing precisely how their choices will affect them. ‘Crisis’ here denotes physically and mentally dangerous menaces (i.e. national-level disaster, bankruptcy, car accident, or the death of a loved one). Oevermann (2005: 139-

140) defines three types of crisis: the crisis of traumatization; the crisis of decision; the crisis of leisure. The first crisis is related to, for instance, natural and man-made disasters and the third crisis relates to an individual's curiosity and aesthetic interests. The second crisis is the most important in relation to understanding socialization. This crisis of decision-making is "universal and omnipresent" (Felhaber & Kirsch, 2008: 17). That can include both trifling and significant life matters and occur in every decision-making action. In this perspective, human life can be understood as a crisis-solving process, continually making decisions and consulting previous decisions in deciding future actions (Zizek, 2013: 223-224).

By means of continual decision-making actions, individuals develop their biographies ontogenetically (see Oevermann et al., 1987: 437). They accept, deny, or reinterpret social values and norms within their intrapersonal mechanism. In addition, they are able to consult their past experiences (previous decision-making actions) with an eye to the future. In doing so, individuals gradually develop their identity, formulated through the consistent action and interaction patterns of their decision-making (Wernet, 2014: 238). Continual social actions influence individuals either to maintain, to strengthen, or to modify their decision-making pattern, but the obligation to make a decision does not dissipate as long as life is sustained. The decision-making action of an individual, therefore, is an inseparable subject from biography. The biographical story contains the history of the narrator's decision-making pattern, which can present the narrator's socialization and identity formation process.

## CHAPTER 3 RECONSTRUCTION METHOD: OBJECTIVE HERMENEUTICS

### A Methodological View of Understanding Human Beings and Their Interactions

An individual's subjectivity and the meanings underlying their lives are not easily analyzable because they are not visible or tangible. Many research fields in social science have attempted to present these intangible intrapersonal features by quantitating data. A quantitative approach succeeds in categorizing individuals' behavior patterns and certain tendencies; however it is limited in its application to much of human life. Dilthey's perspective directly confronts the quantitative approach in social/ humanity studies because subjects in human life, in his opinion, are approached from the perspective of understanding (*Verstehen*) rather than by objective explanation frame such as natural law and numbers (Tuttle, 1969). The question of how an individual's subjective world can be understood arises; different methodological approaches have been developed in the field of contemporary social science. Objective hermeneutics is one such method, based on the 'understanding' frame; it contributes to the development of methodological concepts and procedures which differ from philosophical hermeneutics which rely on tradition and the genius of the researchers (Lee, H-S., 2005: 52-53). Objective hermeneutics, as developed by Ulrich Oevermann since the 1970s, is based on hermeneutics, structuralism, and pragmatism combined with theoretical and methodological concepts by Peirce (logic of abduction), Searle (concept of rules), Mead (theory of language), Piaget (psychology), Lèvi-Strauss (ethnology), and Chomsky (grammar theory) (Shin, 2005: 83; Reichertz, 2004: 291; Wernet, 2014: 235).

The main aim in objective hermeneutics is to reveal and reconstruct the latent structure of meaning embedded in decision-making actions (Oevermann et al., 1987: 439). As mentioned in chapter two, a person has to choose one action (decision) among many unrealized possibilities for the future. When making a decision, action and intention do not merely



emerge from the actor's interior, but must be considered in the context of social interactions<sup>5</sup> influenced by *meaning-generating rules*. Oevermann elucidates two parameters in respect of clarifying the structure and rules embedded in an individual's actions and interactions. Parameter I includes the meaning-generating rules which indicate all possibilities and limitations in relation to making a decision, such as linguistic and pragmatic rules, and which are mutually acknowledged by social members (Maiwald, 2005; Shin, 2005: 104). Oevermann gives considerable thought to language because language use to human beings is a definite transition from nature to culture; linguistic rules (applying Chomsky's idea) influence the production of meaningful action between actors (Wernet, 2014: 237). Parameter II delineates an actual decision-making action of selecting one choice out of the possibilities and limitations in parameter I (Felhaber & Kirsch, 2010: 23). Comparison of these parameters indicates that an individual's decision-making action and meaning-generating rules are correlated.

When action continues to be performed by an actor in a social interactional context, a structure of actions is constructed and is reproduced in a sequential decision-making context throughout the lifetime of that actor (Shin, 2005: 104)<sup>6</sup>. This means that individuals develop a certain pattern and consistency in making decisions; this selective pattern of decision-making constitutes a case structure (*Fallstruktur* in German); objective hermeneutics has as its aim to find and to reconstruct such a case structure (Maiwald, 2005). In order to analyze a case structure, objective hermeneutics applies abduction and falsification by Peirce's methods to

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<sup>5</sup> In the ontogenetical perspective, neither individuals nor external environment manipulates unilateral the other party (Oevermann et al., 1987:437). Instead, interactions between actor and responder, and actor and external world are, literally, bidirectional to influence each other.

<sup>6</sup> A detailed explanation was given in chapter two.

uncover the case's structural hypotheses by inferring various possibilities and by analyzing an actual decision from data and to reconstruct the various meanings thereof (Flick, 2002:11).

Detailed methodological concepts and procedures followed.

### Latent Structure of Meaning with Rules

Action and interaction in human life are affected by meaning-generating rules. Rules do not denote an unalterable and absolute factor such as a natural law or a mathematical formula which can be applied to get the correct answer. Instead, rules are universal and/or specifically embedded in linguistic, communicative, cognitive and moral factors which influence the individual's everyday life interactions (Wernet, 2014: 237). Rules can influence individuals to encourage or discourage them from making certain decisions, but it does not mean that individuals obey rules. Rather, rules allow individuals the choice of several options and individuals choose one among those options of their own free will (Wernet, 2014: 238; Zizek, 2017: 211). It is possible for individuals to make their own decisions because they are autonomous (Oevermann: 2000b). Therefore, each individual, given similar rules, make different life decisions; individuals can develop their own unique pattern in their lifetime.

Decision-making itself is never-ending because people have to make decisions every day. This means that decision-making develops a pattern; a unique consistency in the decision pattern. This pattern of choice is differentiated from randomness and isolated choices (Zizek, 2017) by embodying a steady direction – the case structure, in objective hermeneutics. Case structure needs to be carefully analyzed because it is not overtly noticeable, but is latent, concealed beneath words and actions (Oevermann et al. 1987: 441). This is neither recognized consciously by the narrator/ actor (Jindra & Jindra, 2003), nor defined by an individual's subjective meanings and intentions (Oevermann et al., 1987; Fehlhauer & Garz,

2004:136). On the contrary, the latent case structure requires scientific effort before it can become apparent; this is the aim of objective hermeneutics.

### Objectivity

Most qualitative research methods confront a contradiction between subjectivity and objectivity: how is the individual's subjective world able to be understood by scientific language, which is assumed to be objective. This question is intensified in relation to objective hermeneutics due to the term 'objective.' Oevermann et al. (1987) uses the "world three" concept (as developed by Popper) which recognizes the third/ objective part between an original issue and the methodological scientific approach in analyzing the issue. There are various ways to define the meaning of objectivity when using this method: firstly, as the object of data analysis; secondly, as a methodological scientific process to verify validity and credibility.

Firstly, objective hermeneutics analyzes only an objective resource which is authentic and material (Shin, 2005). Oevermann (1986 as cited in Wernet, 2014: 236) explains that the only way to approach meaning is through symbolized formation. Symbolized forms include all that is produced by human beings, who have the ability to communicate through symbol (language) embedding linguistic, social, and universal rules. Therefore, the social world, filled with people, can be textual in objective hermeneutics (Felhaber & Kirsch, 2008: 17). However, not all aspects of the social world can be analyzed as data; only that text which is recorded can be analyzed. According to Oevermann such recorded text constitutes *protocol* in which everybody can see and recognize the existence of materialized data, for instance, a picture, painting, building, book, interview, etc. (Felhaber & Kirsch, 2008:17; Flick, 2002: 11). Protocolized text has a disconnection from the original action and its subjective intentions; it is located in the tertiary sector of reality which Oevermann develops from the concept of

world three as posited by Karl Popper (Terhart, 1985: 458). Protocol, therefore, is objective analysis data, amenable to empirical study.

Secondly, a research result (latent structure of meaning) arrived at by means of objective hermeneutics should be replicable by different interpreters. Objective hermeneutics focuses on neither subjective intentions nor the spoken words nor the researcher's intuition and emotional empathy with prior knowledge (Terhart, 1985: 459; Zizek & Garz, 2015: 93). Instead, it analyzes the meaning of expressed forms embedding meaning-generating rules which are shared by all individuals. This means that results are verifiable by different researchers through analysis of a protocol which is available to all (Oevermann, 1996: 4 as cited in Reichertz, 2004: 290).

### Methodological Principles

It is important to analyze the latent structure of meaning in objective hermeneutics; however, it is not easy to derive that latent structure of meaning from data. The principles below can provide some guidelines (cf. Felhaber & Kirsch, 2008, 2010; Wernet, 2014) for the analysis process.

1. Freedom from context (*Kontextfreiheit*): the analysis process excludes context in order to understand a case's authenticity. Objective hermeneutics aims to uncover the latent structure of meaning. This is not manifest, but is buried in protocol. If context is not excluded in the analysis of protocol, it can blind researchers to the objective meaning of the latent structure. Context could constitute a bias, manipulating the true meaning of the case structure. Researchers need to ignore any previous knowledge of protocol so that they could be free to focus without bias on the meaning of the latent structure.

2. Literalism (*Wörtlichkeit*): Interpretation has to derive from what is literally expressed. If subjective intentions (e.g. what a narrator intends to say) were included in the analysis, the

interpretation of the latent structure of meaning could fail, and instead, might find merely subjective meanings on protocol; this is rejected by objective hermeneutic. Literalism can make it possible to exclude subjective intentions during the interpretation process and to maintain objectivity in the pursuit of latent structure of meaning.

3. Sequentiality (*Sequenzialität*): This principle includes a core methodological approach.

The latent structure of meaning can be discovered and reconstructed only in a sequential analysis process. Structure cannot be deduced from a single incident or analysis episode; it entails a case history formulated over a lifetime. It can be uncovered by sequential analytic effort.

Protocols need to be analyzed in order, word by word, line by line, and sentence by sentence sequentially until no new interpretations emerge.

4. Extensivity (*Extensivität*): Interpretation from utterance is extended to find deep meaning.

Meaning is embedded in intertwined rules of history and social interaction. Better understanding of meaning requires a deeper interpretation process. In addition, extended interpretation can uncover a structural hypothesis before the whole protocol is analyzed. Therefore, what remains of the protocol after formulating a structural hypothesis does not need to be analyzed line by line; the researcher can focus on finding any new meanings which may emerge. The principle is based on the basic idea that there is no independent segment of the protocol which has a totally different meaning from whole text, but all parts of a text are connected by a case structure (Wernet, 2014: 242.)

5. Thriftiness (*Sparsamkeit*): At the beginning of interpretation as many different ways of reading the protocol as possible should be explored; this allows abundant hermeneutic discussion in order to find the case structure. However, once the structural hypothesis is evident, interpretation can be tempered by the principle of thriftiness. This principle needs to be considered due to the economic necessity of interpretation being concluded in time. If everything

was analyzed using an intensive analysis process, case interpretation could take an immensely long time and might perhaps never be finished (Felhaber & Kirsch, 2010: 21). Case structure is consistent across the whole protocol; therefore, the quality of interpretation would not be affected by the application of thriftiness.

### Analysis Procedure

Data analysis by objective hermeneutics requires a hermeneutic community which consists of methodologically-trained members who might be expected to enhance intersubjective interpretation (Lueger & Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, 1994: 303-304). Research data is discussed in the hermeneutic community to share, to compare, and to criticize different opinions on research data in order to reduce possible bias within interpretations and to gain a better quality of. Whilst based on discussion in the hermeneutic community, the procedure of analysis also needs to be validated by a rigorous interpretation process. There are several steps necessary in conducting research analysis based on an abductive approach. Analysis begins inductively from data in order to find a hypothesis; thereafter, the hypothesis is tested in order to define a case structure which has to be generalized. The explanations which follow consist of two parts: first, a preparation section to define the research interest and the type of protocol; second, a case analysis section to elicit a general case structure through sequential and extended meaning analysis and to compare case structures.

- Defining the interest of research
- Defining the actual given type of protocol

The analysis process according to Objective hermeneutics begins with clarifying the research interest. A research interest is not supposed to be too specific, as this may interrupt the inductive approach. However, it is still important to define what is included in the protocol because if a research interest is too specific it can interfere with the free analysis of the

latent structure of meaning. After the research interest is defined, the next step is analyzing the protocol, a type of materialized text. Defining a protocol can help researchers consider characteristics of an analysis object in the context of meaning-generating rules. Different types of protocol can present different functions and purposes in a social interactional context. In addition, information can be differentiated by. Defining a type of protocol can provide a rough idea about the structure embedded in the material, which can be connected to the sequential analysis process which follows, in pursuit of the latent structure of meaning (Lee, H-S., 2005: 222).

- Sequential analysis
- Formulating a structural hypothesis
- Testing the hypothesis
- Generalization of a case structure
- Case comparison

Each segment of protocol needs to be carefully analyzed until the structural hypothesis is visible. The process of analysis, especially the beginning, is conducted delicately, attempting to discover the latent structure word by word, line by line, and sentence by sentence in the protocol; this has to be sequential. A protocol's unique and latent structure can only be uncovered in sequential process. Different ways of reading (Oevermann et al., 1987: 439; Fehlhauer & Garz, 2004) including the possibilities and limitations of decision-making actions; their historical and social circumstances can also be inferred therefrom. Many possibilities and their meanings in protocols are narrowed down; certain behaviors, decision-making, and a structural pattern are exposed through sequential analysis. The structure is interpreted

by means of extended meaning analysis; this sequential and extended meaning analysis can solidify a structural hypothesis hidden in the protocol.

After a structural hypothesis is constructed, that hypothesis needs to be verified before generalizing a case structure. The hypothesis is considered once more through the protocol in order to confirm a consistent case structure and meaning. In addition, interdisciplinary theories and perspectives are applied to interpret the latent structure of meaning in the protocol. The tested hypothesis is called a case structure. After a case structure is clarified, it is reconsidered in the light of the original research interest; the case structure is reconsidered within the research interest. Through these procedures, the case structure is verified as representing the case's uniqueness; in addition, it can be generalized into a wider meaning. Each single case study contributes to a more generalized case structure; meanwhile, a multiple-case study adds one more step - comparison of case structure. Case comparison includes comparing and contrasting the differences and similarities of case structures (minimum and maximum); by this method it can be seen that there exist at core structure common to all these cases.



## EMPIRICAL RESULTS

The empirical part includes interpretations of six cases and their comparison. Four case analyses (chapters four through seven) using the whole analysis procedure are included; the last two cases (chapters eight and nine) are presented in a condensed analysis process. Four case analyses consist of research procedures in the following order: 1) objective data; 2) sequential analysis I; 3) structural hypothesis I; 4) continuing interpretation; 5) sequential analysis II; 6) structural hypothesis II; 7) continuing interpretation; 8) interpretation of structural hypotheses I and II; and 9) case structure. The condensed analysis includes 1) objective data; 2) case summary; 3) discovering structural hypothesis; 4) continuing interpretation of structural hypothesis; and 5) case structure.

Objective data is the interview data arranged in chronological order. This can provide a general overview of an interviewee. Sequential analysis I starts at the beginning of interview and continues until a structural hypothesis I<sup>7</sup> is found. Each segment of narration was carefully interpreted according to the methodological principles outline in chapter three. Different ways of reading are inferred from the narration and a structural hypothesis is found through inference. After structural hypothesis I is uncovered, the continuing interpretation focuses on analyzing the meaning of structural hypothesis I. References (external resources) and narration relating to structural hypothesis I are employed to analyze its meaning. Sequential analysis II is applied in order to find any possible structure in addition to structural hypothesis I; this then constitutes structural hypothesis II and is subject to continuing analysis and interpretation. The next step is to analyze structural hypotheses I and II in order to clarify

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<sup>7</sup> Structural hypotheses I and II in this research are still potential hypotheses. The case structural hypothesis is determined through interpretation of structural hypotheses I and II.

the case structural hypothesis. This step also includes examining the meaning of the structural hypothesis in the individual's biographical context. Once the case structural hypothesis has been found, the result is generalized into the case structure as the last step. After the individual cases have been analyzed, all six case structures are compared in the light of the research interest: what kind of person leaves for a new land. Each unique case structure is then subject to comparison and analysis according to the subjects which emerge from case analysis procedures: the motivation behind migration, work, family, social involvements, relationship and self, and biography. By comparing each case's biographical uniqueness, the research aims to find a common feature as a core structure of the cases; the empirical part of the research ends by reconstructing the meaning of the core structure common to all the cases.

### Research Background

Research data were collected in two different periods in two regions in the US. The first period was between July 2008 and November 2009 in the city S<sup>8</sup>, on the west coast of the US; five males and three females were interviewed by snowball sampling, contacted via the Korean immigrant community and churches. Six interviews (two females and four males) were transcribed; the other two interviews were excluded due to external interruptions during interviewing.

The second period was between February and March 2012 in the city E in the middle of the US. The researcher made random contact with potential interviewees through the list of former miners in 'The Korean Pa-Dok miners' white book' (Kwan, 2009). Some interviewees participated through that random contact and the other interviewees were introduced by

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<sup>8</sup> Most names of regions are false names in this dissertation due to interviewees' confidentiality. A real name is revealed only when that is important for interpretation.

former interviewees. Seven females and nine males were interviewed and nine interviews (five females and four males) were transcribed, encompassing the subjects' whole life stories from childhood to the present.

Among 15 interview transcripts, six interviews (four females and two males) were selected for the case study as they included biographical stories which were relatively richer than those in other interviews. In addition, the selected interviews were considered to present typical or special features<sup>9</sup> of the multiple-migrations biographical path. While interviewing the 24 participants, certain patterns emerged with respect both to gender and to the degree of integration into the American mainstream. Most male interviewees focused on describing their social and economic achievements in the Korean immigrant community, whilst few stories about their family and childhood were narrated. In contrast, female interviewees' stories mostly focused on their families; they tended to present more diverse topics, relating to their families and aspects of their lives outside work, than male interviewees. Both female and male participants' interviews show stronger attachments to the Korean community in the US than to the American mainstream. Based on this observation, the two male cases and four female cases were selected for their diversity of life experience despite having certain common themes.

Each case was selected after analyzing the previous case, so that the case study could include diverse biographical features from different cases in an attempt to authentically understand the Korean migrants' lives. The method of data collection was the narrative

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<sup>9</sup> These typical and special features were not yet arrived at through the analysis process of objective hermeneutics. They were defined by pre-readings before the actual case analysis. The pre-reading did not focus on categorizing cases, but attempted to sketch out a rough idea of which interviews encompassed the scope of a whole life story.

interview, as developed by Fritz Schütze; all interviews were conducted in Korean, which was the interviewees' preferred language. Each interview started with the common question of "could you tell me about your life until now?" After the coda in which narrators voluntarily finished telling their stories, the follow-up questions were asked. The questions concerned the biographical story/data which the narrators had not described in detail and/or which were needed in the researcher's opinion to clarify narrators' feelings and thoughts on the previous narrative stories. The duration of interviews was between one hour and five hours; two interviewees had second interviews, one by the researcher's and the other by the interviewee's request.

#### Research Interest

The research interest is to reconstruct the meaning of international migrations in biographical context among Korean migrants in the US by way of Germany.

#### Type of Protocol

The protocol in this research is a transcript of a narrative interview. Each interview is enacted in a face-to-face meeting between the interviewer and interviewee. In a general sense, the interview is used to gather information about individuals' subjective values, opinions, and perspectives on some topics. Some interview methods allow the interviewers to provide questions to the interviewees in advance, in order to let them prepare answers to those questions. Other interview methods rely on the interviewers' authority to control interview situations and the interviewees' answers. The narrative interview method has, on the one hand, similar features to other methods, such as interviews being conducted in face-to-face meetings and aiming to gather interviewees' individual stories; on the other hand, excludes immoderate interruptions by the interviewers, prepared questions, and providing interview questions to the interviewees in advance. The narrative interview method is applied to collect

not only interviewees' subjective values and opinions, but also their communicative competencies in telling their everyday experiences by their choices rather than by an interviewer's manipulation (Riemann, 2003).

These interview rules make it possible to gather the impromptu life stories of interviewees through the interview process. Spontaneity of storytelling means that interviewees have the authority to decide what to tell about their personal life stories and how to tell it; that decision is not foreseen and prepared by the interviewees before the interview begins. The interviewers have roles in the conduct of the narrative interview such as minimizing interruptions to direct the interview process and facilitating comfortable interview situations so that the interviewees can narrate their biographies on their own. This interview method is less organized than questionnaire- and standardized-interview methods and written documents. Neither the interviewers nor the interviewees can know how the interview will go in advance; interviewees can modify their words after speaking. Information gathered through this interview method, therefore, is vivid, personal, and unique; as different as each individual is.

CHAPTER 4. LEAVING LIKE A WANDERER BUT REMAINING A STRANGER: EUN-KYUNG<sup>10</sup>

Eun-Kyung's Objective Data

<b>Year</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>1933</b>		o Her older sister is born
<b>1943</b>	<b>0</b>	o Born on April 25 as the younger daughter of her father and her biological mother (1 older sister) o has half siblings -1 younger brother and 5 younger sisters. o She is raised by her step-mother to live with her father and half siblings and never lived with her older sister o Father: from North Korea/ Have no information of her biological mother and she is raised by her step-mother
<b>1950</b>	<b>7</b>	o Her older sister comes to South Korea from the North before or during the war
<b>1956</b>	<b>13</b>	o Enters middle school, Seoul o Begins to attend Catholic church and baptized
<b>1959</b>	<b>16</b>	o Enters MJ Women's High School, Seoul
<b>1962</b>	<b>19</b>	o Goes to D city, Germany as a nurse, arranged by Catholic church priest and takes nursing class for 3 and half years in Germany o Works half time as a nurse: spends the other half studying nursing and German
<b>1966</b>	<b>23</b>	o Achieves a nursing certificate and works another 8-9 months in hospital in Germany o Applies to the immigrant procedure in Canada and achieves a legal status to stay in Canada before she moves there.
<b>1968</b>	<b>25</b>	o Moves to T city, Canada in January and takes English course arranged by Immigration department in Canada for 6 months o Starts a nurse aide job at women's college hospital for 6 months
<b>1969</b>	<b>26</b>	o Starts internship to prepare Canadian Registered Nurse licensing exam for 6 months

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<sup>10</sup> All names of research participants are false names in this dissertation due to interviewees' confidentiality

- |                       |                   |  |
|-----------------------|-------------------|--|
| <b>1970</b>           | <b>27</b>         | o Her friend who went to Canada from Germany with her marries in August, Korean formerly a miner in Germany  |
| <b>1970</b>           | <b>27</b>         | o Comes to the US and marries in November a 31year-old Korean who had been a coal-miner in Germany. Attends nursing school to take psychiatric course for 3 months   |
| <b>1971</b>           | <b>28</b>         | o Starts nursing job (nurse aide work without RN license)  |
| <b>1972</b>           | <b>29</b>         | o Her first daughter is born   |
| <b>1973</b>           | <b>30</b>         | o Fails Registered Nursing licensing exam (twice)  |
| <b>1974</b>           | <b>31</b>         | o Fails Registered Nursing licensing exam  |
| <b>1974<br/>or 75</b> | <b>31/<br/>32</b> | o Passes Registered Nurse licensing exam in another state and gains RN job<br>o First Korean trip since 1962 and the first meeting with her in-laws' family in Korea |
| <b>1977</b>           | <b>34</b>         | o Her son is born<br>o Her family buys a condominium on 30 years, mortgage   |
| <b>1982</b>           | <b>39</b>         | o (1982-1984) Her family buys a house on 25 years, mortgage  |
| <b>1986</b>           | <b>43</b>         | o Korean trip with her son (to see her father in the terminal stage of disease)  |
| <b>1987</b>           | <b>44</b>         | o Her husband has brain surgery to remove brain tumor  |
| <b>1989</b>           | <b>46</b>         | o Family Korean trip   |
| <b>1990</b>           | <b>47</b>         | o Her daughter enters social work program at college   |
| <b>1991</b>           | <b>48</b>         | o Family Korean trip   |
| <b>2001</b>           | <b>58</b>         | o Her daughter marries non-Korean, American: her daughter has three children and works as a real estate agent  |
| <b>2003</b>           | <b>60</b>         | o Her husband has another brain surgery<br>o She wins \$1500 in the lottery and her family has a trip to Korea   |
| <b>2004</b>           | <b>61</b>         | o No accurate information of year (2003-2004): Her son marries non-Korean, American<br>o Her grand-daughter (her son's daughter) is born<br>o Visits D city, Germany |

- |             |           |   |
|-------------|-----------|---|
| <b>2006</b> | <b>63</b> | o No accurate information of DOB: Her grand-daughter (her son's second child) is born   |
| <b>2008</b> | <b>65</b> | o Legally retires and works part-time   |
| <b>2009</b> | <b>66</b> | o Her son's youngest daughter is born   |
| <b>2012</b> | <b>69</b> | o Her husband is bedbound diagnosed with brain tumor and stroke and moves to a nursing home.<br>o She has a part-time job in hospital |

### Sequential Analysis 1: Analysis and Interpretation of the Beginning of Interview

#### 1. *IE: about (my) life? From when about life? Hahaha (laughing) (3).*

The narrator, Eun-Kyung is faced with a crisis - being obliged to answer questions about her whole life story to a stranger in difficult conditions, and having no previous knowledge of the narrative interview. The fact that she puts an accent on 'life,' turning this phrase into a question, shows that she is fairly astonished. She tries to assure herself of her understanding of the question and of the temporal range by turning the questioning back onto the interviewer. Even if she is not prepared to answer, she chooses to respond actively, directly back, to figure out how to answer the question in a way appropriate to the interviewer's request, instead of taking a break in silence. This, beginning with her surprised reaction, demonstrates that the following interview abides by the principle of extemporaneousness of narrative interview.

R1) The narrator needs to have some guidelines as to how to prioritize her plentiful biographical data. She is motivated to share her biography; however, it is difficult to start due to its voluminous quantity. She needs a detailed direction to limit the scope and to start and finish her story. To support the narrator, the interviewer will provide detailed direction to help her begin her narration.



R2) Her surprise is connected to her difficulty telling her story. Eun-Kyung could perhaps narrate any given period of her biography, but not the whole scope of her life. For this reason, the open-ended question makes her nervous and repeating the question is a relevant consequence of her astonishment.

2. *I: Well... IE: Since (I) left Korea? (4-5).*

While the interviewer was trying to answer to Eun-Kyung, the latter interrupted the interviewer's narration with another question. In this context, Eun-Kyung does not simply shy from openness of the question, but becomes actively involved in the inquiring process in order to understand the intention of the interview. Now the narrator narrows the temporal range from the vast expression, 'when,' to the particular time in terms of her migration history. This migration issue could be what she had expected of this interview beforehand. In questioning again and again, the narrator attempts to analyze the meaning and intention of the interview, and her way of understanding the interview process is very forward-looking and energetic.

3. *I: From before that time, about a whole life of yours. IE: (My) whole life? (6-7).*

The feeling of surprise is maximized in the interviewee's answer and it makes it more difficult or confusing for the narrator to start telling her story. The narrator was trying to narrow the range to the particular time she left Korea; however, the scope is increasingly wider than her expectation as she repeats the interviewer's questions. Repeating questions could indicate two possibilities, as follows:

R1) The narrator needs to have clear understanding of where or when she should start her narration. In this case, she desires to give an appropriate answer in accordance with the interview's purpose.

R2) The narrator is wondering why she should expose her entire life instead of those parts of it concerning vocation or migration episodes. The word 'whole' could mean to the narrator

not only the freedom to tell her story in her own way, but also the implied burden of sharing all of her secrets and experiences with a stranger. That means ‘whole’ could signify to her both opportunity and constraint to open her biography. If she considers it as opportunity, the first possibility is more relevant. The narrator simply needs detailed direction to begin her narration. On the other hand, if it is perceived as compulsion by her, the narrator has a higher level of resistance to continuing the interview. In that case, she must choose either to tell her entire story or to share a part which she feels less resistant to telling than the whole. Both of these assumptions reflect the inaccuracy and unclearness of her understanding of the aim of the interview, but could explain her hesitation in starting to narrate her biography.

4. *I: Yes. IE: Oh no Hahaha (8-9).*

The subsequent pattern of the sequence, as analyzed, shows a feeling of surprise and the attitude of determination to complete the interview. The exclamation, “Oh no” is an articulation of astonishment. “Oh no” (“Ai-coo” in Korean) in Korean is used in three different situations: when a person is sick or surprised by fury or bitterness; when a person feels happy; or when a person is dealing with hopeless or frustrating situations (The national institute of Korean language, n.d.a). Frequently, this expression is used in unexpected and difficult situations and the person in the situation has to solve the problem confronted with little preemptive power to control it. The narrator, with this expression, shows that she finds it intensely difficult to begin her life story, and the wide scope of the question reinforces her burden. However, it seems that the narrator is still willing to undertake the interview. The laughter, which implies no direct and aggressive rejection, underpins the argument that she still adheres to the concept of the interview. She attempts to modify the range of the question in order to share her story, at first: after it fails, she tries to modulate the interview question as the minutes drag by with several questions and laughing (the alternative being to refuse to continue with the interview).

5. *What has been done to me...*<sup>11</sup> (9).

The first authentic narration about her biography begins with the passive and past form after the difficult process of tossing back and forth questions to determine how to start her story of her entire life. Although the narrator feels herself the protagonist, i.e. subject, of her own biography in the here and now, she was previously treated as an object. This alludes to more difficult situations arising from loss of control over her own life. In other words, this may imply that Eun-Kyung feels she does not possess agency and subjectivity as a being empowered to act on her life. The narrator here relates her biography as having happened to her, rather than her being in charge and steering events. When something is described as having happened to an individual, this can imply that it was fateful and unavoidable. These could be either predestined factors which an individual is not able to choose at birth (i.e. her family, her inborn physical and psychological health/disability, sex, etc.), or life events which an individual cannot avoid (i.e. a car accident, a war, death of family members etc.). The fatalistic way she related her narrative may be connected to the future narration in terms of explaining her family background, her birth order, or accidents which she was not able to choose and to change. It might connect to her repeated pattern of hesitation in beginning the interview in previous sentences. The narrator might have a particular difficulty opening the gates of her biography, and she was not in a position to rectify the situation independently.

6. *Our father*<sup>12</sup>... (*U-Ri A-Ber-Nim...*) (9).

The narrator brings the first piece of the detail about her origins, her father, among numerous life themes. Metaphorically speaking, the father is a producer or creator, actively

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<sup>11</sup> This phrase can be translated to use both of expressions, to have been done and to have become.

<sup>12</sup> The possessive case, 'our' is frequently used as same as 'my' in the Korean colloquial.

reproducing life, like a farmer sowing seeds in a field, whereas mother reproduces life by being filled like a container or a field. Ontologically, Christianity contains the assumption of the male as a superior being to the female, symbolized by original sin, the latter having committed it and the former thereby gaining authority, which causes role differences in and out of church. (Grudem, 2004). In tandem with Christianity, Confucianism stresses men's role as rulers and representatives of the family, which encourages the hierarchical structure in primary groups. The father is the only being who has an obligation to carry over his family's cultural heritage, and, at the same time, is entitled to prerogatives officially recognized by all his family and society in Korean Confucianism. It is possible to see the father as a metaphor production in the historical and social context, with empowerment in terms of reproduction and ontological and social superiority. This can be linked to with her previous narration, in which she describes her situation in the passive tense as an object. The father, in this context, can be seen demonstrably to play the role of creator.

Another considerable factor is the way she describes her father in this phrase. It is not possible to distinguish meanings of father in the English transcript, but there is a difference between 'A-Ber-Ji' and 'A-Ber-Nim' in Korean transcript<sup>13</sup>. Eun-Kyung chooses to call father instead of dad or daddy and even uses A-Ber-Nim which is an honorific of A-Ber-Ji. This honorific form of address in Korean is used when one wishes to demonstrate more respect for one's father, father-in-law or the father of one's friends (The National Institute of Korean Language, n.d.b). Furthermore, it is polite to address the other party in public based on their hierarchical place in the relationship. Despite the etiquette, this honorific form is generally too formal to call one's real father: A-Ber-Ji is polite enough in this context. Thus, her

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<sup>13</sup> Both mean "father" but the latter is more formal.

chosen designation is more an embodiment of hierarchical attribute than just a mannerism; this hierarchical relationship demonstrates an enormous distance between the narrator and her father.

R1) The narrator is an extremely polite person.

R2) She is not close to her father.

Understandably, hierarchy between father and child plays a particularly strong role in the Korean cultural context influenced by Confucianism. As a traditional gender role, the father has less involvement in nurturing and this conventional gender role is more reinforced in Korean culture. The father, as head of the family, has strong authority; consequentially, his family members should respect him. In this cultural context, the relationship between father and child can be less intimate and close than that between mother and child. Even taking this cultural issue into account, her relationship with her father could be distinctly distant as opposed to being based upon genuine intimacy.

#### 7. *Mother... (Ur-Mer-Nim) (9).*

Her way of speaking is unstructured and fragmented. It could be expected that she continue to talk about her father; however, the narrator changes the subject to her mother. In addition, the narrator does not yet make any concrete comment on either of her parents. She mentions her father, followed by a short break and then her mother, followed by another short break, which causes a fragmented sentence structure. This unstructuredness implies her difficulty or unpreparedness in narrating the detailed story of her family.

R1) The narrator has family history which she finds difficulty to share with others. She hesitates to commence her biography and seems not to be able to describe her parents besides the words themselves.

This element is connected to two difficulties with her; where to start and how to explain her biography. Eun-Kyung wants to start her biography from her family (where to start), and it is not easy for her to articulate how her family is (how to explain). This may mean that her family history could be traumatic, abnormal and therefore difficult to explain to others (such as the absence of one or both parents) or complicated by an abuse or domestic violence issue.

R2) Eun-Kyung is remote from her parents.

She uses the honorific form not only for her father, but also for her mother<sup>14</sup>. As the most honorary terms “A-Ber-Nim” and “Ur-Mer-Nim,” these expressions contain formality and distance rather than intimacy with her biological parents. Language, reflecting one’s consciousness and unconsciousness, represents one’s personality and the culture to which one belongs, and can shed light upon the interrelationships between individuals. In light of this property, Korean culture based on Confucianism (which regards decorum as having moral properties and propriety has evolved), discriminates between relationship based on age, gender, social status etc. Due to this cultural disposition, it is possible to be in more explicit verifying a relationship attribute when designated in Korean. By choosing those words to name her parents, the narrator creates a distance between herself and her parents; such designations are not intimate enough or are too polite to designate a genuine parent-child bond.

8. *I was actually raised by (my) step-mother (9-10).*

The adverb “actually” may throw light on her situation. Eun-Kyung mentions her step-mother, who was in fact her main caregiver. This may imply either that ‘I have my biological mother, but I was raised by my step-mother in truth,’ or that ‘people know that I was raised

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<sup>14</sup> Ur-Mer-Nim (mother) is honorific of Ur-Mer-Ni (mother) in Korean.

by my biological mother; however, my step-mother was my caregiver' To reveal this secret does not come easy to the narrator in this sentence. This difficulty is also observed in her previous hesitant and careful approach to introducing new themes. Eun-Kyung was surprised when she was asked to tell her entire life story; she attempted to modify the question scope to a certain period. When that failed, the narrator began with what happened in her biography and then called her parents in turn with the honorific form of language. After these struggles, she finally reveals the fact that her caregiver was her step-mother. It seems that she has been in a quandary over whether to share this authentic piece of biography with a stranger or not; finally, she decides to share her real story in the interview.

Then, two questions come up as following; the first, why she has a stepmother: the second, what it means to have been raised by stepmother. The following ways of reading contain relevant inferences in terms of these doubts.

R1) Her father remarried after having divorced her biological mother. Her birth date cannot be accurately noted yet; however, the approximate year of her birth can be inferred from the characteristics of research participants who are the first immigrant generation to come to the US by way of Germany. They were generally born between the late 1930s and the 1950s, when Korean society was strongly oriented to patriarchy and Confucianism. Customarily and legally, the father had both custody and parental rights, and the female in the family still took a role of the main caregiver for them. That means as soon as her parents divorced her father had all the legal rights and responsibilities for his children and the father's new wife, girlfriend or mother took on the role of the main caregiver.

In this case, feelings of shame and stigma could attach to her. The society of that period was not tolerant of divorce because it was considered a failure. Family harmony was the elementary principle in order to be "a total member of society"; reflected, for instance, in the

saying: “when one’s home is harmonious, all goes well (家和萬事成)” in Myung-Sim-Bo-Gam (明心寶鑑). It reflects the perception that family is the most important basic element required to maintain one’s life in the community; therefore, the divorced family was suspected of immorality due to having broken the normative order in this social context. While Confucian discipline considers harmony within the family, a non-Confucian perspective also gives considerable thought to people in terms of marriage and family. Oevermann (2000b) indicates a contradiction between the inalterability of the Christian sacraments of marriage, and divorce. In the contrast to a commercial contract, he indicates that the marriage promise is terminated by death: a premature termination of marriage, divorce, means family disintegration and failure which can affect children in their development of their autonomy. In both cases, divorce could bring social stigma and shame upon the family and could increase psychological vulnerability in any children. If Eun-Kyung’s parents were divorced, she would have to deal with not only dishonor of her family as a social failure, but also the strain of being separated from her biological mother, which might cause anxiety.

It is a serious life crisis for a little girl to be separated from her mother and to accept a new caregiver as her mother regardless of culture. Especially when the separation occurs by artificial incidence such as divorce, a child formulates more resistance to her/his parents or the new family member. This consideration is reflected in her narration by the possessive case. The narrator tied herself to her biological father and mother by the use of possessive, ‘our,’ whereas she describes her step-mother without using the possessive case, which denotes a psychological distance from her step-mother. On the one hand, the narrator does not extend the detail on her father and mother, but on the other, she provides a complete sentence including what has been done to her by her step-mother. These contrasting elements representing that which is innate and that which is acquired, embody for her dissonance between experiencing a biological mother and a substitute. In addition, these complex influences on



her family structure can be seen in terms of the Oedipal triad (Oevermann, 2000b). The narrator could be excluded from her mother-child dyad by a situational change, her parents' divorce, and from her father-child dyad by a new queen, her step-mother. This situation could be a catastrophe for her unless her step-mother nurtures the narrator lovingly and caringly to develop intimacy.

R2) Her father remarried after the death of her biological mother. A widower was encouraged to remarry whereas a widow was compelled to remain in her dead husband's family in that period. Androcentric Confucianism gives the moral obligation to widowers to carry over family tradition and cultural heritages by providing a new mother-figure for his family, thus fulfilling his moral obligations to his family. If this was the case, the narrator did not need to deal with the shame of being a member of a failed family. Although shame and stigma would thereby have been avoided, this situation could still have caused a partial loss of her birthright to be raised by her biological mother in her socialization process.

In both ways of reading, one obvious factor is her loss of biological mother as a caregiver. Her biological father and mother were more important to her semantically, but she had to interact with her step-mother in reality. According to Honneth, the mother-child relationship is a cornerstone in earning recognition in terms of self-confidence in order to fulfill physical and emotional needs in the primary group (van den Brink & Owen, 2010:11-12). Intimacy and attachment relationships are firm by the main caregiver-child interaction. It does not need to be a biological mother who builds a genuine relationship for a child; however, a problem of discordance between biological and substitute mothers can arise when a child has been stigmatized by others or stigmatizes her/himself. In this case, it could be a prelude to the general trajectory of her life (Riemann, 2003).

It seems that she does not find it easy to talk about her life with her step-mother and Eun-Kyung could have begun her narration with the other stories. However, she chooses to reveal this problematic issue in the very beginning. This may show that her mechanism for coping with life's predicaments include orienting herself toward the external world instead of hiding.

9. *And our father came to South Korea from North Korea (10-11).*

R1) Her parents' separation is due to her father's migration to South Korea. He was married in North Korea, but physical relocation caused his family to disintegrate.

R2) Her father came to South Korea after her mother died. He had no strong ties after the death of his first wife, and left for South Korea to restart life with a new marriage and new job.

R3) Her father came to South Korea for a job or better life and then married her mother there. This marriage somehow ended due either to the death of his first wife or to divorce, after which he needed a substitute for the position of wife in order to take care of his children and to carry over family tradition continually. Or after he was left alone, he fell in love with his second wife and married her.

It was only possible to transfer between South and North parts of Korea until 1953, the ceasefire of the Korean War. People migrated to Seoul (now belonging to South Korean territory) to seek better jobs between 1945 and 1950, which is after the colonial period and before the Korean War. Furthermore, the second big migration occurred from North to South Korea during the war among people who were opposed to communism. That means his migration could be related to both personal and historical reasons; therefore, it is very possible that he underwent a crisis not only on a personal level of migration, but on a tremendous historical

and social level. However, the detail of his story is not able to be confirmed yet in her discursive narration.

The narration is fragmented, switching from one topic to another. The narrator leaves certain issues unfinished and brings in another topic which she also leaves unfinished. It makes her narration unspecific and disorganized, causing ambiguity of information and story focus. One common topic among her discursive narration; however, is her parents. The narrator attempts to present objective data concerning her parents and yet her narration contains inaccurate information in this regard. She might not have abundant data to draw her family tree even if it is important for her to open her biography. She lacks information in terms of her genesis, missing her biological mother as a caregiver and being ignorant of the details of her family history.

*10. And... (I) have one older sister... (11).*

R1) Her older sister is her sister from her biological mother. In this case, the narrator could have a strong attachment to her older sister as a comrade in arms fighting against enemy together; her older sister could substitute for a mother to the narrator.

R2) Her older sister is her step-sibling from the previous marriage of her step-mother. The narrator could be in an adverse relationship with her step-mother and sister, like Cinderella. She had less chance of developing intimate relationships with the newcomers because her step-mother and sister as a companion dyad had their own mother-child bond which the narrator was not able to enter easily.

The narrative topics are continually changed from one to another before the narrator finishes one story with a detail. The narrator scatters around fragmented information about various characters' puzzle pieces: her parents; her childhood being raised by her step-mother;

her father's migration: her older sister. She strives to put together the puzzle of her family tree carefully; her effort is not successful in making her narration clear thus far.

*11. The sister... When I was young as (my) father came to South Korea he worked (11-12).*

R1) The narrator was in South Korea before her father. The verb, "came" reflects the position that she had already been in South Korea. If she had been in North Korea, she would have used another verb, 'to go.' 'To come' generally indicates the direction of his migration toward the place where the narrator lived.

R2) Her father migrated to South Korea and the narrator followed her father later. The verb, come, denotes not her location at that time, but her current national orientation which has been developed in the several decades after her migration to South Korea.

The contents of her narration include neither accurate information of her father's migration to South Korea nor the relevance between his migration and her childhood. At first, it seems that she is providing the extended story of her sister; later, she changes it again to her father's story. It makes her narrative form a zigzag, which characterizes her narration by unstructured, confused, and fragmented terminology in the absence of a main storyline.

*12. Ah... I.. do not know even our real mother's face (12).*

R1) The narrator does not remember having direct interaction with her biological mother. That means the narrator had a long nurturing period by her step-mother and she did not know who her birth mother was until someone disclosed it. It might be a traumatic experience for her to confront such a secret about her birth and might change her relationship with other family members after such disclosure.

R2) The narrator was raised by her grandparents or aunts between the separation from her biological mother and living with her step-mother. Therefore, she recognized that she has two mothers; one for birth and the other for care.

Eun-Kyung reveals her lack of memories of her biological mother; furthermore, this degree of ignorance (in which she does even remember her mother's appearance) is exceedingly high. It is true that she literally does not know her mother's face, and this articulation symbolizes more than lack of memories. It is a metaphor for her absolute ignorance with regard to her mother. This extreme expression implies not only missing an opportunity to know about her biological mother in person, but to the impossibility of her ever acquiring the information. In other words, the secret has been completely sealed, and, as a result, her fundamental right to know about her origin is taken away. This shows that talking about her biological mother could be taboo, the elephant in the room.

This missing piece of her biography affects her ability to inquire where she is from. Origin is one of the fundamental elements in the formulation of a human being's totality in existing here and now, among significant life vectors including genesis, identity, and beyond death according to Oevermann (Lee & Garz, 2006: 264). The narrator is still able to maintain her everyday life without knowing a fundamental part of her origin. However, the missing piece of her biography seems strongly attached to her current identity because she wants to describe this issue at the very beginning of her biography. Eun-Kyung may think that she ought to reveal this fundamental biographical issue in order to describe who she is. At the same time, the issue is a sensitive one to bring up when talking to someone for the first time. Eun-Kyung had a choice between merely sketching her story or telling the whole truth, and she chooses to reveal her true story in the interview.

The fact that she never even had a chance to form a mental picture of her mother implies an inflexible atmosphere within the family when talking about her biological mother; this atmosphere could imply either of the following two possibilities. First, the relationship of her father and biological mother was terminated in a negative situation. Her mother either died or became “an expelled being” and her father as the remaining party decided to conceal this subject from family discussion. Second, solicitude for her step-mother required covering the past. Like the famous proverb, “Do not put new wine into old bottles,” her family needed a new atmosphere for a new mother and wife. The story about her biological mother as old wine needed to be discarded so that the family could fill up a new bottle with new wine. This rigid family situation could be based on patriarchal values which include a top-down communicative way of obeying orders in a household without regard to the individuality or autonomy of any member. Family role performance has priority over the individual’s desires and opinions and the role in family is more oriented to tradition than to the progressive. This circumstance could cause the narrator to have been overwhelmed and frustrated in being unable to ascertain her precise origins and in conforming to the prevailing order.

Furthermore, such a feeling of being overwhelmed might be related to her resentment against her older family members of depriving her of her basic right to explore her origins. The adverb ‘even’ underlines her lament. It could be for her father who created the uncomfortable circumstance and/ or for her biological mother who left or was expelled from family and never came back again. Any opportunity to discover her origins was denied by both of her parents: subconsciously, this factor influenced her to blame the older generation.

*13. I knew it later (12-13).*

“It” could refer either to having detailed information regarding her biological mother or to learning of the existence of her mother and realizing that her current mother was her step-mother. Both ways could impact directly on her psychological evolution in getting close to

revealing a secret regarding her origins. Moreover, the significant issue here is not only learning about her mother's existence, but the degree of her knowledge of her mother, which could be the key to resolving the fragmented and ambiguous issue of her origins.

*14. By the way well... my history is.. our older sister is (my) real sister and others are half siblings... well (I) don't know how our real mother died... (13-14).*

As history of relationships within her family, this sentence includes her roots and paradoxically also her rootlessness. Her origins are defined by dividing her biological sibling from her half-siblings, and she is defining genuine fraternity as being based only in biological relationship. Eun-Kyung has both the implicit genuine siblinghood with her older sister by having the same pair of birth parents and semi-fraternity with her half-siblings. On the other hand, the interviewee continues to describe her lost origins. The lack of knowledge regarding the life and death of her mother is identical to her previous speech regarding her absolute ignorance of her mother's appearance. It could have been a hugely traumatic experience for her to be segregated from her biological mother in this way; to be thus disconnected from her origins is called uprootedness.

Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe (1749-1999) famously said

There are two things parents should give their children; roots and wings. Roots to give them bearing and a sense of belonging, but also wings to help free them from constraints and prejudices and give them other ways to travel. (Az quotes, n.d., ¶1)

Eun-Kyung has a high degree of ignorance about her biological mother, and has two dyads between her real and half siblinghoods which might have interrupted the development of a steady sense of belonging in her family. In her narration, these elements have been mentioned several times, which shows that she gives significant weight to the fact of her uprooted state of being. From the beginning until the above narration, Eun-Kyung has focused on the

“uprooted” aspect of her life which she was not able to choose or change of her own accord, by describing her life in a vulnerable position, previously mentioned as “what has been done to me.” This could explain the pattern of her fragmented narration. The sketchy information regarding her family history deprived her of knowledge concerning her roots; this implies a deficiency in completing her life story and her identity.

*15. Ah.... To talk about my life background, our father came to South Korea and got a new marriage um... our grandmother arranged me to live with the... step-mother while (grandmother) lived together. (my) Grandmother did to me together... (my) older sister stayed in North Korea temporary so.. I could not remember very early stage of my life well (15-19).*

A summary of her family background is continually provided in a fragmented way. From the beginning of her narration to this point, she brings in episodes regarding her father’s migration, living with her stepmother as arranged by her grandmother, and her older sister’s country of residence. However, she is not able to finish any of the stories due to a lack of knowledge, as she admits. Eun-Kyung could have selected a different topic which she could explain better. As she feels it is a significant part of her life, however, she feels unable to skip relating her family background. At the same time, however, her narration is fragmented because of her lack of knowledge regarding her roots, which reflects her structure hypothesis.

### Structural Hypothesis I

Eun-Kyung’s story telling contains two unique patterns: her narrative way and her choice of topic. She chooses topics about her family background although she has a very limited knowledge of the same. Despite her lack of knowledge regarding her origins, she starts her story there and continues to show a fragmented narrative pattern due to her lack of information. The fragmentation inherent in her narration is related to the uprootedness of her life



history. Eun-Kyung chooses subjects with reference to her origin which she is unable to describe completely, consequently causing disturbance in the articulation of the main story line. She does not want to omit her genesis, as she feels it is a significant theme; unfortunately, it is the most difficult issue for her to explain properly due to her absolute lack of knowledge.

Genesis is one of the most important constituents in the expression of any biography. A person's roots, the metaphorical expression of their genesis, ground the individual firmly in a life nourished by family history (Erikson, 1964: 96). It is, furthermore, a foundation upon which an individual can build firm psychosocial boundaries in the process of identity formation. However, Eun-Kyung has been prevented from knowing her origins in a family situation fraught with constraint, suppression and impotence. It is not merely that she lost her roots, but sadly that she was uprooted by her parents' situation. This factor is related to the way that she is at a loss in depicting her family tree at the start of the interview. That is, her fragmented narration refers to the clash between her inner desire to reveal her secret, and external conditions obstructing her access to information, and causing ignorance of her roots.

Continuing interpretation related to structural hypothesis I : fragmented narration pattern relating to uprooted biography

*IE: I.....the reason that I do not know about (my) genuine background is our father (A-Ber-Nim).. um..... is originally a North Korean. (His) home was in North Korea and came to South Korea. And he ran (his) own business and then met (my) step-mother (voice is quieter). So I do not know very accurately about how I really was born in North Korea or, if I was brought to Korea, to South Korea, to Seoul. Just the school was told that it was Seoul. Seoul. I don't know the correct.. well.. so (I) don't know. The current mother has 6 children, 1 son and 5 daughters, and our sister now is getting 80 years old um...I could not spend even one night to*

*sleep together with her. My background is (my) mother (U-Mer-Nim), (my) older sister is the.. um... so I was very, very in the low spirits because if it. (843-852).*

This structure hypothesis concerns the secret which she is unable to completely unfold despite her willingness to share. Eun-Kyung agonizes over the first topic of her biography by going back and forth with several questions. She finally blurts out her origin in a fragmented, segmented way; a sketch rather than a complete picture. This narration pattern at the start of the interview reflects two elements: a lack of information about her biological mother and a similar lack about part of her genealogy. Her absolute ignorance about her biological mother and early childhood interrupts her fluent storytelling process and makes her attuned to the anguish of life. The interviewee is settled in her family morphologically; however, this is founded merely on the unsteady rock of her perception. She might have been deprived of the natural process of developing ontological security. Two facts: first, she lost a chance to know about her biological mother and her origin; second, she was not able to build an authentic relationship between her main caretaker and herself as a child; this might have caused her to fail to develop a reciprocal and trust-based relationship, which could have led to a catastrophic failure of development for her.<sup>15</sup> She perceived herself as being in the middle of the traumatic situation of having to recognize her current main caretaker as a substitute mother and that her origin was different from that of her half-siblings. That means, before even

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<sup>15</sup> According to Giddens (1991) in "Modernity and self-identity (p 46)", a child with anxiety caused by separation from the main caretaker is hindered in development of the process of perception in which she/he is able to comprehend the absence of the mother and to discern the difference her/himself and others. As an initial stage in building a concept of separation of oneself from the outside world and from others, this process is saliently connected to building basic trust in reciprocal, intimate relationships (Giddens, 1991: 46).

starting to question who she is and recognizing her individual characteristics, she was recognized as a different being from the rest of family members. This influenced the development of her own sense of uniqueness, as she felt like a halfblooded alien. Such circumstances provided an extra burden to her in developing her ontological awareness because the halfblooded stigma which other family members ascribe to her or which she herself may believe, encourages her to dwell upon the proposition: 'I am different from my step-mother and half-siblings.' In other words, her perception of existential meaning is the identification as being different to other family members, rather than following as the natural human development stages of individuation and differentiation.

There are two circumstances which reinforce this perception in her biography as follows; first is the inflexible atmosphere whereby the story of her origin and biological mother is sealed in her family: second, she was located in a reality where she had to interact with her step-mother and half-siblings, who made her feel 'different' every day, before she left for Germany. The lack of information about her mother was immensely high, similar to a child adopted or raised by foster or substitute parents with a lack of knowledge of the original family. Frisk (1964) elucidates that an adoptee with no knowledge of her/his origin has less chance of developing a genetic ego, which possibly makes the adoptee feel haunted by a hereditary ghost; they are vulnerable to strong feelings of insecurity. These children are referred to by the term, genealogical bewilderment as defined by Sants (1964), which refers to the feeling of difference from other family members and affects the development of a sense of affiliation and kinship in the family (Sants, 1964; Upshur & Demick, 2006: 94). Indeed, Eun-Kyung describes her experience of being recognized as different from her half-siblings: "*By the way, when our younger siblings visited me, people ask me "are they your younger siblings?" because our appearances are obviously different. "Yes, they are my younger siblings" "But appearance is different" "Yes we look different because we have many*

*daughters” (I) just said like this. But our friend knew it. I have known the friend who I lived with in 62. It has been already 51 years since 62 (852-857)”* Like an adoptee who wants to access information about her/his natural parents, but has no possibility of doing so, the narrator is deprived of the chance to know her origins and to build homogeneous belongingness in her family. She never felt a part of that family group, and therefore, saw it as no shelter against any attack.

In order to take these two propositions into account, the relationship between the narrator and her step-mother and half-siblings needs to be illuminated. The first element implied artificial closure to the information of her origin gives her experience to be rejected to reveal the unknown part of her life. When an individual lacks any feeling of acceptance by the natural parents, attachment to the substitute parents is more problematic (Triseliotis, 1984). In her case, the feeling of rejection comes from the older generation who knew about her history, but was reluctant to pass it on. This could have allowed her to speculate wildly about her origins, which could have possibly let her to speculate negatively about her family origins. Such negative speculation could have made her to feel that she was disapproved of and implicitly rejected by the remaining members of her family. If this is so, such a sense of rejection would have directly influenced Eun-Kyung’s relationships with her step-mother and half-siblings, who she felt, were indulged on account of having been born to a different mother. Eun-Kyung, the daughter of her biological mother, had to live with the children of her step-mother. In Korean society at that time, Eun-Kyung might well have been regarded as a ‘halfblooded alien’; this incomplete and extremely negative status might have let her to feel persecuted by other members of her family.

Her feelings of exclusion from the kinship-totality consequently foster the uprooted nature of her biography. Such uprootedness entails an inability, both socially and culturally, to feel a part of the whole and to develop a common sense of affiliation (Erikson, 1964: 97). That is to

say her sense of rootlessness began at her separation from her biological mother and was reinforced psychologically by her misrecognition as a genuine member of her primary group. Any possibility that she might have regained a feeling of authenticity from connecting her life to that of her older sister was dashed by having to live with her step-mother. So the family in which she was raised was of a different genealogy, and her biologically-connected sister was geographically remote; she thus felt a strange from both. Her feelings in this situation accords with Simmel (1971)'s concept of the stranger as follows: "The distance within this relation indicates that one who is close by is remote, but his strangeness indicates that one who is remote is near (p. 143)."

Eun-Kyung is not able to find a sense of belonging; this inability is called *Heimatlosigkeit* (a German term best translated into English as the loss of a homeland). This *Heimatlosigkeit* stems from the circumstances of both her own and her parents' generations. *Heimatlosigkeit* involves by definition the loss of *Heimat*, or home/land. As the definition of *Heimat* includes not only geographical spatial orientation, but also psychological implications such as identity, remembrance and attachment to the personal world<sup>16</sup> (Eigler & Kugele, 2012: 6), her *Heimat* needs to be considered both in relation to material space and the emotional connotations of her family history. Firstly, her father left his hometown during the tremendous historical upheavals of the 1940s/ 1950s. The Korean War split refugees between the North and South; they voluntarily or involuntarily built a new life in a new land. This historical

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<sup>16</sup> *Heimat* as an intrinsic German word is as similar as motherland, fatherland, homeland, etc. translated in English, which stands for both of geographical space and non-spatial context reflecting self-concept, psychosocial attachment, and familiarity (Blickle, 2002: 2; Ratter & Gee, 2012).

circumstance made her father a displaced person in that he would never be able to go back to his hometown unless Korea was reunified. Secondly, Eun-Kyung was further uprooted due to her family's secretiveness about her origins. She is therefore both historically uprooted, due to her father's refugee status, and generationally uprooted due to the lack of accurate information regarding her birth.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the fact that the narrator lost her biological mother is a very real component of *Heimatlosigkeit*. The mother's womb is the original environment; the fetus is protected by the waters of the womb and this creates an ontological bond between the child and the mother. The mother is the world itself to her child. When a child experiences both the loss of such a bond and finding itself in unfriendly and uncomfortable situations, such as Eun-Kyung went through, the child is unable to develop a sense of security and affiliation to the home or *Heimat*. *Heimat* is protective, caring, motherly (Blickle, 2002: 82), and entails the "idea of a good mother" who makes a child comfortable and looks after the child, defending against perils (Peterlini, 2010). Unfortunately, home, to the narrator is not a secure space because she does not feel that she belongs. In the absence of an authentic and intimate relationship with her main caretaker, home, is a functional category, nothing more. Eun-Kyung, in her disconnection to her origin and immediate family, is dovelly lost in her *Heimatlosigkeit*.

#### Sequential Analysis II: Analysis and Interpretation of the Interview

*16. Well, through this life process, it was so difficult in several ways. There are young siblings, half-siblings and how did it work.. so.. well... barely... (I) studied in primary school in Tong-Woun-Dong (19-21).*

Eun-Kyung summarizes the fragmented story of her family background, and the following story of her younger half-siblings relates to her continual trajectory. Her position in the

birth order was one of the variables which could have increased her perceived burden in her family situation. Mostly, older siblings were in charge of looking after younger siblings in the extended family in Korea at the time. That means she would have had to take on responsibility for caring for of any younger siblings even if she had lived with her biological mother and siblings. Her position in the birth order means she had to continually work to contribute to maintaining harmony within her family. In addition, another factor - that her stepmother was the main caretaker - could have created a discriminatory atmosphere between the narrator and her half-siblings. If she had been treated as equal to her half-siblings by her step-mother, she would not have emphasized “half-siblings” several times in this and the above sentences. That means she might have had to work harder than the half-siblings for her family and had a more difficult time taking chances for herself in a Cinderella- like fashion.

Despite all the above difficulties, Eun-Kyung moves the narration back to normal life as a student. School could mean not only an educational institute, but also an escape from heterogeneity with her half-siblings and step-mother in the family. Moreover, she could develop her personal resources or meet a mentor or teacher who could help her access another door to open for the future. This shift of narrative topic toward the institutional expectation pattern is like a prelude to a turning point, implying her life-coping strategies to allow her to go forward, rather than settling for the present. Eun-Kyung leads her narration to unlock her traumatic family background and to describe her alternative ways to escape from the situation. She may realize the impossibility of changing her family background and not allow herself to sink down in the given situation. If so, she could gain strength from weakness.

17. *Ah... our father tried hard to educate (his) children in spite of economic difficulty.*

*When I took a middle school entrance exam, I passed it and entered MJ Girls' high school and studied there, but.... Indeed it was very hard to go to school because (we) struggled financially to pay for my tuition... but again our older sister and our*

*brother-in-law helped me to finish high school. But our, now, step-mother's siblings said that "(we) cannot send you to school because you have (your) younger siblings. How does it work?" Due to my situation, our older sister and brother-in-law discussed to help me finish high school. I got a very hard time for a while. I helped the mother and took care of siblings. When (I) wake up in the morning (I) helped the mother to prepare lunch boxes and to do hand-wash laundry even with very cold weather. (I) laundered outside. (I) lived in this way so that I could graduate from high school (21-32).*

Eun-Kyung endures her life through the tough times to turn her dream into reality. It is possible because she conforms to the present in a Cinderella role; nevertheless, she does not give up a chance for the future. She is not one to wait for prince charming to rescue her. Instead, she develops her life opportunities by involving herself in the educational system to extricate herself from her predicament, with strong motivation and learning ability. For example, the high school that she graduated from was the fifth highest ranking women's high school in 1950s in Seoul. She was smart enough to pass the entrance exam, but her family was not rich enough to send her to school. In addition, at the same time, she was not considered a priority by her family, especially by her step-mother. Despite all the problems, she endures them to obtain her degree.

*18. (I) could not even dream of college due to financial difficulty and did not try it either.*

*After my graduation, I tried several times to find a job, but it was so hard to get a job and financial difficulty was getting worse at that time. It was so hard (33-35).*

Eun-Kyung faces the matter square on. Finishing high school was realistically only possible with support from her biological sister, and afterwards the realistic choice for her was getting a job instead of going to college. Unfortunately, there was a high unemployment rate in social terms, and culturally it was far more difficult for female applicants than male to get



a job in the 1950s and 1960s in Korea. This situation could have made her feel surrounded by enemies. It seemed that she had no other way to get away from her family than marriage.

*19. It was like that, and at that time our relative aunt<sup>17</sup>, aunt<sup>18</sup> who was a Catholic brought me to the Catholic Church service when I was in middle school so I accepted baptism at church. After that, about the Catholic Church, (I) care about it a lot. I was happy to go to church (35-38).*

This new subject of church could be an introduction to another topic which might happen after her high school graduation. She unfolds the adversity of her life and the following narration about church follows on the previous narration. This could be interpreted as constraint: going into detail is among the three constraints of impromptu narration explored by Schütze (2007: 16), explaining the background ahead of or following a narrative topic. Based on this inference this episode is possibly related to the coming turning point which would have no connection with her family. Eun-Kyung, as a realistic person, might have realized that she could not get better life chances in her family, and needed to find another way outside of her family in order to leave her family.

*20. So as time goes by, the priest um...the young people well like.. the.. recruited people who could work in Germany as a nurse and he indicated that nursing works combined half of labor and the other half of nursing education program...However,... uhu..(deep breath) I wanted to go... I wanted to run away from my home and had nothing to do at that time. Really I was same as a housemaid at home. I truly wanted to go to Germany, but it was hard to express my own opinion. But finally I said that I wanted to*

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<sup>17</sup> 'Wife of father's older brother' in Korean.

<sup>18</sup> 'Wife of father's younger brother' in Korean.

*go so I could come to West Germany with my classmate in 1962.... (I) went there and... well... (we) were about 10 people (38-46).*

She launches her life spaceship toward Germany instead of taking a passenger seat in someone else's vehicle. She could have married as the means to leave her family. In the historical and cultural context, most women married in their early 20s; it was an acceptable excuse to leave one's family of origin by moving to a family with a husband. However, she chose another option to carve out her fortune. There are several impactful factors in her leaving for a foreign country, as follows: first, since she had already been uprooted, she had in psychological terms few elements resistant to her transplanting her roots to a different space; second, her age is another proposition which might encourage her migration. According to Erikson (1964: 90) teenagers naturally uproot themselves to prepare themselves for entering adulthood by having tangible and legitimate reasons for independence in vocation and intimate relationships. In her case, she chose her career to haul up an anchor to cross the Atlantic in her late teens. Now she had a reason (work and study) to leave her family for her new life and a method (a guest worker arrangement made by the church) by which to do so. It could be the first action scheme to emancipate her from the trajectory of her primary group, which reflects her pattern, a forward-looking posture.

Despite her active involvement in taking a new turn, her migration could suggest another life trajectory dealing with labor and education in the nursing field in a foreign country. International migration itself contains a heavy degree of risk in adjusting to a new environment with a different language and culture. In addition, the fact that she had not previously undertaken a nursing job could increase the level of risk. As an apprentice and a student, she would be in a position of negligible power at work as a pre-professional and would have little authority over her life as a guest worker in a foreign country. It has always been difficult to

rely on situations determined by higher powers. Consequently, she could rescue herself from the snare called family, but fall into another trap called migration.

21. ... (Ellipsis)... *We did not know we were sent to Germany for saving the nation.. we just ran away from poor environments because Korea was so poor. In popular language, well we lost to the world because we just were early 20s. (we) grew up in an environment where all of family members sleep on the floor together. With this kind of mind sets we went there (63-67).*

The narrator relates her motivation for migration, which includes less relevance to the Korean government and more to the personal situation in which she left for Germany. Eun-Kyung needed to escape from her family, which instilled in her feelings of heterogeneity and relegated life opportunities away from her to her half-siblings. A place as far as possible from the resource of heterogeneity could be her main concern instead planning the process of migration in a calm and orderly way. Therefore, the first sentence could relate not to her ignorance about the national average of reasons to be sent to Germany, but to her later insertion of information regarding international circumstances. A rumor<sup>19</sup> at an international level is simply one episode of her narration rather than an important historical event intertwined with her personal life. One remarkable factor on this part of narration is that she categorizes her own biography as an integral part of a cohort group of Korean guest workers. Moreover, in

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<sup>19</sup> Many people believed that the Korean government had taken out a loan against the security of the future salaries of Korean miners and nurses working in Germany in the 1960s and the 1970s. Due to this rumor, Korean guest workers in Germany were considered as a contributor to rebuild the country destroyed from the Japanese colonization and the Korea War. The Truth and Reconciliation Committee (2009) discovers that the loan was provided by the German government, but Korean guest workers' salary was not related to the loan and the both governments discussed the loan way before the Korean guest worker program.

common with other interviewees she tends to collectivize her life story representing her as a patriot and a contributor to the nation, then as an ordinary migrant worker seeking to feed their family. Similar to other interviewees' narration, Eun-Kyung put herself in a collective position in order for their efforts for the nation to transcend personal reason.

22. ....(Ellipsis)..... *By the way, well (my) situation was not good to go back in Korea. It was, a case with us was hard to get a job in Korea and there was no one to welcome us in Korea. Furthermore, (my) family was not wealthy. If (my family) could have been wealthy, I would not have gone to there. We were very poor and really it was hard to get a meal per day with (my) family. And (my) classmates graduated from University were, but a person like me could not be treated well. So after the graduation I worked there about 9 months and (I) could not possibly do there. To the German charge nurse, (I) asked a help to make documentation for immigrating to Canada and the nurse helped. So (I) went through the immigration procedure with Canada embassy (95-104).*

Eun-Kyung elucidates her adversities at work in the same way as she describes her hardships with her step-mother and siblings in the omitted part<sup>20</sup>. The persons and places are changed from her family members in Korea to medical staff members in Germany, but the interviewee describes them with forbearance as she did in her family in Korea. In other words, her life has not been qualitatively changed since her migration to Germany. In contrast

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<sup>20</sup> The part of her narration is omitted purposely because it shows a repetition of the previous narration pattern. In order to focus on revealing case structure, the researcher describes the main narrative characteristic of the omitted part instead of quoting the entire interview transcript. The following analysis will follow the same procedure.

to her expectation having a better life in this new space by leaving her family, she still had to take an unpleasant task, and is unable to rid herself of poverty.

As the time for her planned return to Korea approached, Eun-Kyung worried more about her family situation, little chance of getting a job, and inconvenient living conditions. Her choice in order to solve these problems was to seek another opportunity to leave for a new nation after the period of her apprenticeship. This shows a similar pattern of her choosing an outbound path toward a new space instead of yearning for home. The prerequisites of outbound choice are the same as when she left Korea, as follows; first, Eun-Kyung's job involved physically intensive labor, making her feel like a maid. Mere nanny's work such as taking care of the bodily wastes of a patient had the same worth as the labor as she did for her half-siblings. There was no difference between laundering in cold water at the outside faucet in winter for her family and caring for a patient by feeding and washing them; they both have blue-collar labor status. One of her deepest fears regarding returning to Korea was falling again into a destined supporting role for her family. She attempted to escape from the destined situation by putting physical distance between them; however, she was still trapped in a supporting role as an aide for medical staff and a guest worker, which went against her desire to be an active protagonist both at work and in her private life. Second, after the interviewee decided upon a new departure, she actively asked for help in leaving her unsatisfactory reality. It was a priest who brought her to Germany from Korea; it would be the charge nurse who assisted Eun-Kyung to immigrate to Canada. Instead of navigating the migration procedure herself, Eun-Kyung found a 'gatekeeper' to open the door to a new world: this characteristic can refer to her life trajectory. A gatekeeper could only give her a key to access to a new world, whereas the narrator needed to take all the necessary risks and opportunities in person once there. In summary, Eun-Kyung was already strongly oriented to an outward-focused pattern in crossing over from the Asian continent to European territory, and now over

the Atlantic towards Canada. She was not afraid of unexpected situations and difficulties in a new world, but was more afraid of being stuck in the life expected of her by her family.

### Structural Hypothesis II

The narrator develops her story with a forward-looking attitude. At the beginning of the interview, she attempts to stay in an interview in which it proved difficult to decide where to start her narration. Despite all the surprises and unexpectedness of the interview questions, she continues to endure the interview from start to finish. This is similar to her life pattern, in which she endures life's adversities in order to achieve high school graduation, nurse certification, and an appropriate status to immigrate to another country. In her narration processes, moving forward and engagement are pursued instead of succumbing to circumstance. Her perseverance made it possible not to return to her destined situation and her active behavior in moving forward allowed her to direct her life despite a barren environment with scarce personal resources. This linguistic pattern reflects her general life attitude and strategy in switching chapters of her life from one place to another. Eun-Kyung had to be full of initiative, dynamic, and decisive in order to cross continents several times.

This forward-looking disposition as seen in her biography is related not only to her enterprising spirit, but also to the outward-looking path of her life. The causal fact in her moving forwards is basically her past and family which provided a limited feeling of affiliation and intimate bonds. She realized the impossibility of leading the same life as them: attempting to promote family harmony excluded her from intimacy and demanded too much responsibility. Eventually, these factors encouraged her to leave her family sooner and her migration path developed as a magnetic polarity away from her family. At this point in her story, she was used to leaving her past and her family, and she did not have a place to return to.

Continuing interpretation related to structural hypothesis II : Outbound and forward-looking life path apart from her past and primary group

The narrative pattern and life choices of Eun-Kyung manifest a unique pattern of the outbound and forward-looking. She continues to steer her narration and her life despite difficult circumstances, which drives her biography of living in four countries, crossing over the European continent and the Atlantic, and ending up far from her motherland. While she was unable to leave her family due to her age, she strove to go on to the secondary educational institute which was supposed not to be available her on account of financial difficulty in her family. The narrator patiently bore the misfortune of heterogeneity within her family and moved forward to achieve her degree. This endurance and effort for the degree built a steady foundation and social resources to depart for another place in the future. After reaching at age 19, Eun-Kyung drew the first arrow abroad to Germany with her classmates. Even if she struggled with a new culture and occupation as a nurse, she consistently endured a long wait for the end of apprenticeship and the nursing certificate. Moreover, she was decisive in wanting to leave the place which did not satisfy her. Her certified vocational experience made it possible for her to take off again for the second country, Canada. In Canada, it took effort to get into the nursing system. She needed more credits and hours for the nursing license and had less assistances regarding accommodation compared to her life in Germany. In contrast to her life in Germany, where her living and working conditions had been arranged by the religious institute, she had to arrange her apprenticeship and living situation on her own. It was a radical change to move from one country to another. At the same time, it was a process of gradual detachment from her past and accustomed space by training herself to become more self-reliant by living in foreign countries.

*(I) went there and in M city, no it was not M city.. anyway when (I) arrived no one was there to pick (me) up, it was getting dark, and (I) had no idea if anyone is able to come to see me (125-127).*

*So I got a nursing job as a graduation nurse under the condition that I will take the license exam, but I was hard pressed because of a lack of my training hours (171-173)...(Ellipsis) but (I) had a problem to take the state board exam due to a lack of my training hours (179-180).*

*We saved all money to work as a nurse for 6 and 7 months and there was a small hospital in Vellavill which was very far from where I lived and it takes several hours by bus to reach. Thankfully So for 6 months they offered 3 months obstetrics and 3 months pediatric, to accept us (181-183).*

In Germany, she was still dependent upon others, similar to her situation in her family in Korea. Two conditions: heterogeneity and hard labor were common to her life in both Korea and in Germany. The similarity of the two situations encouraged her to leave for another country, Canada, giving her a new life chance. Heterogeneity and difficult vocational tasks continue; however, a potential positive future working as professional with the Registered Nurse [RN] license encouraged the interviewee to stay there for a couple of years. As if better life opportunities always entail higher life risk, the narrator had the chance of promotion to professional status and increased personal responsibility, whilst leading her life alone in Canada. In order to deal with all chances and risks, she actively sought assistance to get into the system rather than passively stepping back from the issue. At the beginning of her international migration path, she had merely the strong motivation to leave for anywhere; now she was building know-how and coping strategies to survive as an alien abroad.



*In so doing like this, for each partner yeah, a friend of the friend introduced his friend to me, so it developed as a relationship and the friend told me that it is better to immigrate in America than Canada to settle down, which is true (225-228).*

With the strategies she has now acquired she searches for better living circumstances to settle down, and the US, politically and economically the strongest country in the world in the last several decades, was chosen as her new destination. Although she kept having to take more classes and credits for her nursing license exam she has never stopped pioneering a new chapter of her life in a new country. Eventually, she settled down in the US with a better job socially and financially and had her own family to provide roots for her own children. The narrator makes something of creating a migration path out of nothing as an alien for over 50 years. By actively becoming involved in changing her life from a dependent step-daughter she creates her own life opportunities crossing over borders without reserve.

However, her life trajectory is always reflected in her biography. After establishing her family and property in the US, she was faced with unexpected adversity again, in that her husband was diagnosed with brain cancer in 1987 and has been bedbound since. From her birth her life has been tough, having to deal with the absence of her biological mother. After establishing her own family in America she has further relationship difficulties in the absence of her husband. It seems that she has no means to oppose these two dyads of genealogical and marital relationships. Even when she finds the strength to move forward in the hope of recovering her life from the difficulties the action schema (Schütze, 2007), elements of her life trajectory such as rootlessness, unexpected poor vocational position, migration, and shouldering the bulk of responsibility for her family, drag her down over and over again. In this process her final geographical destination was the US as she believed in the US to have the best economic and social accessibility; whilst she did in fact accomplish her desire, her “arrival”, in genealogical and psychological terms, can be said to still be lacking. In the meantime, her

forward-looking attitude was continually reinforced; eventually, this allowed her to make her life wandering the world instead of actively wondering what she was missing.

Her outbound life pattern is that a wanderer, having a location to depart for and losing the space to go back. Metaphorically speaking “a wanderer is a dancer who has never dropped anchor in a certain place and knocked around world as a nomad” in Nietzsche’s Zarathustra (Parkes, 1993). In her case, she is a dancer who has no choice but to dance and wander because there existed no *Heimat* in her life. The elements which carried her to become a wanderer are fundamentally related to her Heimatlosigkeit structure. Blicke (2002) indicates that “*Heimat* is associated with the feminine, with staying at home, *Fremden* with the masculine, with going out into the world” (p. 86).

Her outbound and forward-thinking pattern is a profoundly dynamic and active way of coping with the absence of *Heimat*. The narrator chooses to get out into the world which leads to her life as a stranger, alien and wanderer. Instead of settling for life in uncomfortable but safe boundaries of home the door “*Fremden*” is open in her life; she actively takes this in order to effect her life transitions.

Erikson (1964: 95) indicates that if one loses one’s roots and is forced to uproot, an eagerness for recognition and a fear of misrecognition occur through these experiences. Moreover, genealogically deprived children show more frequent tendencies to depression and restlessness because they have lesser life chances than others (Sants, 1964). The social and psychological vulnerabilities inherent in uprootedness and Heimatlosigkeit, makes those uprooted seek alternatives. For Eun-Kyung this meant leaving one place for another and migrating through different continents in the last 50 years. Eun-Kyung may realize that she is unable to solve the original and genealogical problem because she has no access to the relevant information and could not change that fact. She would rather fly from her family than attach

to the impossibility of knowing the uncertain past. As an exile, uprooted from one's origin, on the understanding that, one is eternally uncertain (Peters, 2008); Eun-Kyung has lived in several countries and still never feels at home.

### Interpretation of Structural Hypothesis I and II

Heimat like the feeling of being in one's mother's arms and womb and feeling fully protected is essential to the formulating of one's identity and to the connection of an individual to the external world. It gives an individual the feeling of security, connection, origins and life. Unfortunately, Eun-Kyung missed this part of life; because of that she was forced to develop another strategy, uprooting herself completely from the awkwardness of her family ties by departing her motherland. She repeats departure and arrival until she finds the best conditions in which to establish her roots. Nevertheless, she experiences several impediments to rebuilding her own roots in her destination due to her husband's unexpected misfortune and her strong attachment to the unsolved issues regarding her origin. She lost her *Heimat* due to the absence of information concerning her origins and the feeling of *Heimatlosigkeit* was further reinforced while she lived abroad as an alien. In her case, her biography is *Heimatlosigkeit* not because she migrated several times; rather she migrated because she lost *Heimat* before her departure. In other words, her *Heimatlosigkeit* originated from the loss of genuine relationships and homogeneity in her primary group, which influenced the course of her migration biography; the unsolved issue about her origin consistently interrupts true settling down in a psychosocial space of *Heimat*.

*So (my) children do not know about it. They believe that the half-siblings are my real-siblings. It is not necessary to talk about it. What do (my) children think of it if I tell them the truth? That's just my background and (I) do not want to reveal it to them..... well..... indeed.... So ... (I) do not tell even our, their father ....(865-869).*

As her narration showed, Eun-Kyung does not confront the original issue strongly embedded in her entire life until now, in her late 60s. Obviously, she does not surrender to her destined situation in Korea and develops her personal resources to move forward, making remarkable life transitions the action schema. However, the fact that she avoids process of confrontation regarding her lack of knowledge of her origins condemns her to the life of an eternal wanderer. Eun-Kyung knows how to remove herself from the original issue by working hard, using all endurance and effort, but she cannot overcome the issue of heterogeneity in her family, meaning that despite her enormous efforts, forward thinking and constant relocation and reinvention of the family relationship, she has for the last 50 years been unable to lose *Heimatlosigkeit*.

This structure on her biography can describe, metaphorically speaking, leaving like a wanderer and remaining as a stranger. Eun-Kyung felt like a stranger in her family, born to a different mother from that of her half-siblings. Her feelings of estrangement- *Heimatlosigkeit*- constituted a strong motivation to leave for Germany yet tagged along with her wherever she went. She was literally a stranger/ alien to those people who were born and lived in the countries to which she migrated (Germany, Canada, and the US); she feels even more a stranger due to a lack of information about her origins. Her feeling of estrangement is a cornerstone in her decision to become a wanderer, choosing to migrate to and from several countries. Finally, in her final destination, the US, she ceases to be a wanderer, because she does not plan to leave again, as Simmel describes (1971). However, Eun-Kyung remains a stranger to herself psychologically and symbolically and a literal stranger as a migrant. “The stranger will thus not be considered here in the usual sense of the term, as the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather as the man who comes today and stays tomorrow (Simmel, 1971: 143).”

Case Structure: Leaving Like a Wanderer but Remaining a Stranger

Origin/ Heimat/ motherland is not a subject that one can choose at birth. Similarly, the loss of Heimat is not an individual's choice, whereas an individual's decision to immigrate is. Loss of Heimat could result from external, social, political, and physical factors (i.e. war, historical and political circumstance, natural disaster, etc.). This is what happened to Eun-Kyung.

As different meaning as each individual has of Heimat, loss of Heimat can be registered differently based on how individual experiences and understands her/his life. In Eun-Kyung's case, she lost her spatial Heimat due to her father's move from North Korea to South Korea and her psychological Heimat due to the lack of opportunities to know her biological mother. She is not even sure of her birthplace and has never had a chance to know about her past relating to her biological mother. She was raised by her stepmother and her family environment did not provide enough strong intimacy and solidarity for her to feel an innate part of it. Eun-Kyung felt separate from her family and thought that she was unfairly treated due to her 'half-blood' status. Within this circumstance, Eun-Kyung regarded herself as an alien; she did not feel she was rooted in her family. The concept of motherland existed for her, but she felt that she had no access to it.

Since Eun-Kyung did not have a strong bond to her family and Heimat, she looked for, and found a reason to leave. Multiple international migrations were her way of leaving her family in Korea; Eun-Kyung tried to build her second Heimat with better economic and life conditions with her own family. She lived in three different countries in Europe and North America in her 20s to find good conditions to settle; she married and had two children in her last destination, the US. However, her own family nest is at risk since her husband has been bed-bound with cancer for last 25 years. Her husband's circumstances load the bulk of responsibilities onto Eun-Kyung; she has had to play the father's, mother's and wife's roles in her family. In such circumstances, Eun-Kyung could not find repose within her family, but

must work all the time. Eun-Kyung could not find repose within her family in Korea because she felt she was not one of them (half-blood); she continues to be unable to relax in her own family in the US because she feels she must play many roles in order to maintain her family. Neither her family in Korea nor that in America can constitute her Heimat and a place of peace.

Her Heimatlos life story has been shaped by two strong influences: one is in the form of unalterable circumstances imposed from outside; the other is her decision-making pattern, which has impelled her around the world but, in the absence of a secure sense of Heimat, has not led to a settled sense of being. These two patterns influenced many of the choices that Eun-Kyung made throughout her life. Outside, unalterable influences include her absolute ignorance about her biological mother (thereby losing her motherland) and her husband's health issue (thereby failing to develop her second motherland). She was unable to choose either to know about her biological mother or to prevent her husband's serious disease. The second factor is her decision-making pattern regarding her forward-looking attitude. Eun-Kyung actively coped with unhappy situations in her life by, for example, going to school, leaving for other countries, and undertaking vocational training to become a professional nurse. She underwent remarkable transformations: from beginning in poverty; to taking care of her half-siblings; to becoming a guest worker in Germany; to training in Canada; and finally to working as a professional nurse in the US. However, she always felt that her status as a migrant led to her working in inferior grades, which always left her feeling unsatisfied. Eun-Kyung made the choice of deviating from her apparent destiny instead of staying in that situation; however she has had to face new difficulties in life, wherever she was, due to a lack of deep consideration of the consequences of her forward impetus. In addition, her resolutely forward-looking life pattern has possibly hindered her, in that she never stopped to look

before she leaped. Eun-Kyung's narration shows that she seldom gives herself time to reflect on her life; instead, she focuses on moving forward at any cost in order to escape her past.

This second aspect eventually encourages her to become a wanderer crossing several national borders and having no place to return to. Eun-Kyung still does not know about her origin; her children and husband know that her step-mother is her biological mother. Eun-Kyung has not come to terms with the lack of knowledge about a significant part of her origin, thus she is unable to complete the puzzle of her identity, which makes her remain a stranger despite wandering around the world.

Her biographical feature, *Heimatlosigkeit*, is a main motivation to push Eun-Kyung away from her family in Korea and to have been a migrant in three countries. All migrants can be said to be part of a diaspora and lose their *Heimat* since they left their countries. However, some migrants have a strong tie to their motherlands and others build a second motherland when they settle in a country. Both cases can feel homesickness for their original countries, but homesickness to Eun-Kyung means something different from the above groups. Because her *Heimatlosigkeit* is based on her knowing nothing of her roots/origins, her nostalgia is not born of a particular space and time in her past, but of her lack of a solid identity. Thus, she cannot assuage her nostalgia. Instead, Eun-Kyung keeps moving forward and living like a wanderer without *Heimat*<sup>21</sup> and remaining a stranger. Her forward-looking attitude has proved a considerable strength in developing her biography and affording her international opportunities. However, the fact that her *Heimatlosigkeit* is rooted in a psychological lacuna,

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<sup>21</sup> *Heimat* is a way of understanding spatial and temporal meanings to identify self (Blickle, 2002: 66).

never allowing her to feel that there was the possibility of return, means that she spent her life feeling unsatisfied despite such opportunities.



## CHAPTER 5. A LIFE FOR OTHERS: HAE-SOOK

## Hae-Sook's Objective Data

<b>Year</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>1939</b>		o Her older brother is born
<b>1942</b>	<b>0</b>	o Born in Seoul, second child out of 4 children (1 older brother, 1 younger brother, and 1 younger sister) Father: a farmer, has two marriages (has a child with his second wife)
<b>1949</b>	<b>7</b>	o Her younger brother and younger sister died before she turned 8 years old
<b>1950</b>	<b>8</b>	o The Korean War begins and she flees to X, 170km from Seoul
<b>1954</b>	<b>12</b>	o Her older brother dies of pneumonia
<b>1965</b>	<b>23</b>	o Moves to G (90 km away from Heidelberg), Germany as a nurse
<b>1966</b>	<b>24</b>	o Becomes a chief nurse in hospital
<b>1971</b>	<b>29</b>	o Returns to Korea
<b>1972</b>	<b>30</b>	o Marries, in April a Korean who is the 4th child of 8 children (6 sons and 2 daughters) and 4 years older than her. she has a miscarriage
<b>1975</b>	<b>33</b>	o Her son is born/ Immigrated to the US (her son does not come to the US with the couple due to a visa-processing issue and is raised by her parents)
<b>1976</b>	<b>34</b>	o Passes RN licensing exam and gets a job in a delivery room/ No accurate information re the year: had another miscarriage while working
<b>1978</b>	<b>36</b>	o Her son comes to the US  o No accurate information re the year: Hae-Sook's mother has a stroke comes to live with Hae-Sook's uncle and grandmother and dies. o Hae-Sook's father comes to the states before Hae-Sook's mother dies
<b>2006</b>	<b>64</b>	o Her father dies
<b>2008</b>	<b>66</b>	o Retires from work where she has been for over 34 years
<b>2009</b>	<b>67</b>	o Attends a school of adult education, city college branch taking a computer course and a spiritual training program at a Christian church

## Sequential Analysis 1: Analysis and Interpretation of the Beginning of Interview

1. *“Well in Seoul (I) was born and in 1942... was born and, (2)”*

Hae-Sook was born in 1942, still under the era of the colonial administration by imperial Japan<sup>22</sup>, in Seoul, Korea. Japanese colonial history might not enormously influence her life due to the fall of the Japanese empire in 1945. Instead, unstable political and social circumstances including poverty and the Korean War could be considered as issues significant to her childhood. The cohort of people born in the 1940s later lived through radical modern transitions e.g. ideological conflict caused by division of territory, dictatorship by the military government, and the ‘new village’ movement intended to rebuild the destroyed country after the war.

R1) This sentence does not include a subject, typical of the Korean colloquial form which should be differentiated from the colloquial flavor in English and German. In Korean colloquial style, using a subject and object in a sentence is not necessary. Contextually the first sentence is understandable, and the elliptical subject could be ‘I,’ thus the interviewer and interviewee arrive at an arrangement to abandon the subject as unnecessary.

R2) Despite consideration of this Korean linguistic characteristic, it seems that the loss of the subject in this sentence represents a distance between the narrator and the subject of the narration. It is not possible for anyone to remember their own birth process. She must have had information regarding her birth relayed to her by a parent, a relative. For this reason, it is possible that she is creating a distance between what has been done to her and what she has done. However, this is not a valid reason for her to create a distance between herself and the subject in the sentence because the subject is the narrator herself.

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<sup>22</sup>Korea was under Japanese colonial rule from August 1910 to August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1945.

The narrator throws open her biography to the listener straightforwardly, starting from her birth place and year and following chronological order. However, her way of narration is solely to enumerate information within a fragmented sentence. This sentence could have been related as one finished statement instead of being divided into three different parts. As mentioned above, each part can be understood as a complete sentence, but her way of description is to present information in the order of an interjection, place, behavior, time, and repeated behavior, without a subject. To understand the characteristics of this sentence structure, detailed analysis of each element is needed.

First of all, “well” is an interjection defined as representing and stressing one’s emotional reaction (Loberger & Shoup, 2009) and used when a narrator means to signify a hidden view or opinion or to stress a certain meaning (Naver online dictionary, n.d.c), and the other part of narration follows without a break. In this context, “well” functions neither to indicate an unclear opinion nor to emphasize the next sentence. “Well” here serves to make a listener infer that she is confused as to which point she should start her story. However, the fact that the narrator clearly gives direction to the beginning of her life supports the elimination of this assumption.

In succession, the information regarding her birth place and year is followed in a unique order. If the place and time had subsequently been grouped under one verb, this part could be explicitly understood as her own story. Interestingly, the place and time belong to a different segment of the sentence where the main agent is unclear. In addition, the subject is not revealed by the narrator. On account of these elements, this description remains ambiguous as to whom the narrator is talking about, and creates a distance between the narrator and the subject of the narration. That is, this sentence is viewed neutrally with objective fact, and consists of vagueness regarding identification of the subject who was born. Autobiographical storytelling encompasses life events, the social and historical situation, and the personal

relationships of a narrator, interspersed with the narrator's own view and identity. Nonetheless, describing objective data with ambiguous subjectivity can suggest distancing from one's particular life story. It seems that the interviewee focuses more on ascribing a banal and functional role to the delivery of information than on attempting to explore her own identity.

R3) The place could be a salient element in her biography. The narrator chooses place in priority to other options such as time, relationship, situation, and life transition in the reconstruction of her life story. Especially when one starts a story with a birth, the element of time is more frequently selected. It seems that it is more meaningful for Hae-Sook to explain where she was born rather than when she was born.

Her birth place, Seoul, as a capital of Korea, is symbolically important both historically and socially, which may have an effect on the narrator choosing place as a beginning, as follows; First, Seoul has been the capital city of Korea since the Joseon Dynasty period, over 500 years ago, since when it has been rich in social and human resources; it represents a sophisticated and cultivated culture and is well developed relative to other areas of Korea. Being a Seoulite can be considered as experiencing a highly cultivated culture, which possibly gives her a prominent identity. In this way, the narrator pursues superiority over inferiority. Second, this city is important to the narrator because it is where she is originally from. To reconstruct her biography, her place of origin is relevant not only as objective information but also as serving to characterize her background, roots. Third, her initial choice of place can allude to an upcoming migration to other places either temporarily or permanently. This place in that period has a profound relationship to the turbulent history of Korea, in that it was involved in the Korean War. As most people in the city left for the southern areas, the following story can be related to evacuation, which is a start of a migration path on her biography. If this way of reading is true, the following story can be arranged by spatial transition.

2. *from there now (I) went to that place in a 2<sup>nd</sup> year of primary school. (I or my family) fled to X<sup>23</sup> city due to the 6.25<sup>24</sup>. (I) fled to X city and (I) just have lived there (2-4)<sup>25</sup>.*

The narrator resumes the thread of her story in reference to two elements - place and time. She could have unfolded her biography by following 'institutional patterns of the life course' (Schütze, 2007) or by describing relationships with others. Even when she first speaks about primary school, this is merely used to indicate time in this context. This spatio-temporal path, simply juxtaposing facts, can illustrate on the one hand physical movement; it does not on the other hand include detailed information regarding her life transition to different locations and times. This part of her biography consists merely of description (Schütze, 2007: 15) regarding place and time in order to deliver objective data. Another repetitive pattern is to elucidate actions in the active voice without accurate information regarding the subject. Notwithstanding missing subjects in these sentences, there is only one protagonist to be presumed. If she were indicating only her birth and elementary school episodes, having one protagonist would be normal. However, helping an 8 year-old girl travel to X, 170km away from Seoul, due to the war, evidently requires more characters. The obvious inference is that the narrator was the person involved in the evacuation, and an 8-year-old girl must have fled to X with her family (unless she was an orphan).

Naturally, the story is told not by an 8 year-old girl but by 67 year-old<sup>26</sup> Hae-Sook. As Schütze clarified, there is a distinction between one's previous perspectives of one's

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<sup>23</sup> X is one of large cities in the central districts of South Korea.

<sup>24</sup> 6.25 stands for the Korean War which broke out on June 25, 1950.

<sup>25</sup> The verb form in the original Korean transcript is not explicit either to be translated to the past form nor to empathize on a subject as Hae-Sook. However, there are several components to complete this sentence in English. For instance, the pronoun "there" which creates a distance from the current place of her -here-, can be evidenced to translate this verb into the past form.

<sup>26</sup>This age is estimated between 1942 and 2009 because the interview was conducted in 2009.

biography and current perspective, where relating it as a narrator (Schütze, 2007: 21). That means the behaviors<sup>27</sup> are depicted in the active voice through the perspective of the grown Hae-Sook. By taking this factor into consideration, it is possible to infer the present viewpoint. Neither significant others in her early childhood nor herself as an active agent of the narration is identified thus. The narrator confines her biography to disclosing detailed content concerning geographical relocation and family and friends, in reminiscing about her childhood. This constraint creates an apparent deflect in terms of life transitions and significant others in her biography, and is related to dry storytelling. That is, it contains a common denominator by establishing a distance between her and her narration and between her and others. The narrator marginalizes herself into the outsider of her own narration by maintaining a distance between the narrator and story, and between the narrator and others.

3. *It means, many of our relatives lived in Seoul and I became a citizen of X completely to flee to X. Because (I) had been in Seoul until 8 years old and have lived in X city until 23 years old (4-6).*

Contrary to the previous pattern, she utilizes the subject of the verb in relating behavior and discloses who she is as well. When comparing her relatives in Seoul and herself in X, the antagonistic relationship, divided by geography is shown. One constant configuration is that changes to space and time are main elements in developing her narration. Furthermore, such changes to space and time affect the formulation of her identity.

Her articulation, “I became a citizen of X completely”, implies two different identities of Hae-Sook. If she indicates “I was a citizen of X,” her life experiences in Seoul can be absorbed into formulating her identity as a citizen of X. Ironically, in order to become a citizen of X, she must have had another aspect of identity from which she changed herself into

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<sup>27</sup>In Korean, “was born” is in the active voice.

identifying as a citizen of X. The discrepancy between her previous identity in Seoul and her new identity in X is incorporated into the sentence by using “became” which mediates between the two aspects of her desire: to remain a Seoulite and to become a resident of X city. This might bring into question whether or not she abjures the aspect of her identity not connected to being a citizen of X. She illustrates herself as a citizen of X due to a fairly long length of residence in X, whereas the period in Seoul was only for 8 years of her entire life. Moreover, she could not remember the whole 8 years there because she was too young to retain detailed memories of her infant and early childhood. If so, a question needs to be extended to how important Seoul, as a place, is to the interviewee. The inferences are as follows;

R1) Hae-Sook needs herself to be separated from non-Seoulites. As mentioned above, she may want to reflect the symbol of polished urban culture that is Seoul. Ostentation of cultural superiority and self-display to differentiate herself from others could be embedded in this way of reading.

R2) Seoul is her original birth place. She cannot be a complete a citizen of X naturally, but can become a naturalized citizen of X after over a decade living there. She needs this place to explain her biography not only as a one-time place of residence but as the place of residence of her relatives.

In both ways of reading, Seoul, as a symbol of her previous identity, contrasts with her new identity in another place. Seoul is the place to which she did not return after the war and the main space from which she metamorphoses herself into a new identity in a new place.

The fact of becoming a citizen of X shows her life strategy to be assimilation into a new milieu, and her situation meant that there were particular benefits to be obtained from doing so. In terms of assimilation in to the mainstream, the new living environment is not

immensely challenging due to the homogeneity of language and culture. Moreover, she was not the only one having to adjust to a new environment, because most Koreans left their hometown for a safe place during the tumultuous war period. For these reasons, to become a citizen of X to her may not be particularly arduous compared to becoming a citizen abroad. Furthermore, the other element that helps her to become a citizen of X so easily is her age. The life stage between eight and 23 years old includes her major socialization processes: middle childhood, in which she experiences an extended social world by starting school and having a peer group; adolescence, in which she deals with significant physical and psychological changes and in which the developmental task of formulating an identity is necessary ; and early adulthood, in which she might have further educational experience in college and/or involvement in a vocational life and a social role. In light of the above it is a relatively unexact-ing process for her to assimilate in the new environment.

*4. After it did, (I) went to Germany at 23 years old. (I) stayed in Germany for five years, and then came to Korea in '71, and (I) came in '71. after that, (I) got married in 1972 and three years later (I) came to America in '7....5(I) came to America (6-9).*

R1) Hae-Sook does not have any outstanding achievements other than moving from one place to another. Living in three different continents makes her life appear remarkable when narrated to others: her previous role and status in family and community are not compelling topics to her and others relative to the attractiveness of the migration process.

R2) The narrator evaluates the detailed story as unnecessary because she has more important things to say.

R3) The submerged stories are too difficult or serious for the narrator to confront, which means that they are related to her momentous and burdensome life issues.



The story is condensed and drily told without detail or emotional expression. It relates her migration path by moving from Korea to Germany, Germany to Korea, and Korea to the USA. The first section of her migration path between Korea and Germany and back again represents a reciprocal movement cycle in which she was pulled back to Korea from Germany after a certain period by what Hägerstrand refers to as the center of gravity (Hägerstrand, 1957: 27; Cavalli-Sforza, 1962: 140 as cited in Roseman, 1971). After that, the second section of her journey is a one-way path, attempting to shift her center of gravity from her previous home, Korea to the US (Cavalli-Sforza, 1962: 140 as cited in Roseman, 1971). Her migration route is described very dryly as solely a process in her life, culminating in her ending up in the US, which is a unique type of narration compared to other cases<sup>28</sup>.

The way that the narrator unfolds her story focuses narrowly on her spatiotemporal path without detailed articulation or emotional expression. The narrator illustrates her life events, which could be extremely dynamic and unique, given that she lived in three different continents, compressed into a few sentences. She does not divulge details or extended stories relating to her moves. In other words, her narration merely includes transferring from a place to another place in a different time, but does not refer to life transitions. Transitions occur in

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<sup>28</sup> The following interview transcript shows that interviewees can describe not only their life events but detailed stories of their emotions and explanations context of following on from their introduction.

*"Yes... Um (coughing)..When (I) went to Germany in March 1970 I had been married and have two daughters. By the way my husband was supposed to come to the States in the same year, and two grown sisters-in-law needed to get married, and when my husband comes to America (I) do not know how to handle living issues, so (I) went to Germany with (my) friend. (I) went to... I worked hard. (I) had nothing to do besides working (laughing). Um (I) worked hard and while working if (I) had extra time (I) participated in meetings and when patients were discharged they gave me lots of chocolate and I sent these to (my) children, and (I) had a day off one a month, but I did not have breadth of mind to do something... because I stayed away from (my) family (Y, 2-13)."*

individuals' roles and status in her/his lifetime by having various life experiences (Hutchison, 2003: 24). Hae-Sook must have been involved in many transitions in her changed roles and status in different situations and cultures; however, she is reticent about them. This omission of life transitions enables a comparison to the other notable feature, the elimination of significant others. These two characteristics manifest a parallel with the previous analysis because of her way of brisk, crisp storytelling, pinpointing objective information regarding time and space. Both elements are intertwined intimately because a life transition must be described in relation to others and to the wider community.

The two components here - the continual linguistic pattern involving lack of a subject and producing objective fact without any relevant detail - can be extended to consideration of the formation of her identity. This form of narration can be understood as containing both first-person and third-person perspectives. Although the narration concerns her own biography, it is debatable whether the narrator takes the role of protagonist or observer. In other words, this ambiguity evidences a distinct characteristic of Hae-Sook's narration in encompassing a distance between herself and 'the narrator'. This could infer a lack of independence via her marginalizing herself in her life story. The narrator minimizes any extended narrative details which might expose her identity. Instead, she conceals her individuality by producing spatiotemporal information in which she alienates herself from her own biography. By stating her position in relation to 'otherness' instead of 'oneness' her narration is distanced from the narrator herself and from others as well, which can imply an identity issue of self-alienation.

5. *From 75 until now it has been 34 years. My consciousness status is just same as we left Korea hahaha(laughing) (9-10)*

Hae-Sook turns around the above argument in relation to assimilation. Hae-Sook indicates that she became a citizen of X completely because she stayed there for a long time.

Now, however, the narrator relates that she continues to have the same level of consciousness

as she had in Korea, no matter how long she has lived in the US. It follows that domestic migration predisposes Hae-Sook to formulate the sense of her X citizen identity, whereas international migration has not produced any change in her identity formation over the last 34 years. This narration shows her acculturation pattern as segregation through not modifying her identity into the new place. On the surface, this utterance serves to contradict the causality between length of residence and identity formation which was implied by her previous narration. Nonetheless, implicit in both “completely” and “same” is an analogousness connected to an absolute standard associating her identity with a place and group. Hae-Sook cannot be purely the same as she was 34 years ago, although she continues to maintain her “consciousness status” or personal identity mostly as a Korean. This absolute standard to become a community member with a new geographical identity can explain her attempt both to assimilate and to segregate herself from a place, situation, or group. She feels that if she goes to a certain place, she should change herself to fit into the new place completely: if not, she considers herself the same as before she moved to the new place. That means she chooses to be either a complete citizen of the current society - assimilation, or an alien with the previous sense of identity - segregation (Berry, 2001), instead of integrating the two cultures in her life. These two components could make an enormous difference either to maintaining her original culture or to being absorbed into her new host society. However, the common denominator in these acculturations is that the narrator chooses to retain only one culture in any migration circumstance.

To understand this concomitant feature her acculturation preferences can be explored using Piaget’s concept of assimilation and accommodation (Baldwin, 1967: 190-192). At the beginning in X, the social and human resources which the interviewee can access relatively easily fostered a less challenging condition within the ethically and socially homogeneous community. The narrator could mingle easily with local people and found it natural to

develop her personal identity in this new hometown. Over a decade Hae-Sook was able to include herself in the mainstream. Unfortunately, this equilibrium could be lost when she visited Seoul or had visitors from Seoul, which reminded her of the fact that she was originally from Seoul, but now lives in X. So now she placed more importance upon the transition from Seoulite to a citizen of X and this cognitive scheme functions to restore equilibrium in different situations and interactions with others. In contrast to her domestic migration experience, the narrator dealt with more challenging situations in different linguistic and cultural contexts in order to achieve equilibrium in the United States. Her non-American habits and way of thinking combined with a lack of language proficiency, required a special coping strategy to live in the new land. She chose the less difficult, less challenging condition of staying in her previous cultural identity; consequently, this makes her maintain her identification as Korean at the same level as she had over 30 years ago. In other words, she adjusts to the situation without undergoing to accommodation process, building a new equilibrium by negotiating modified identity formation in a new environment. Her acculturation patterns in both Korea and the US are that Hae-Sook does not leave the homogenous culture.

Due to the necessity of upholding this assimilation strategy of being Korean, it would be hard for her to undergo qualitative changes as regards her identity. Instead of modifying her identity qualitatively, the interviewee uses technical and functional adjustment strategies within the particular system; she adapts only in the economic sphere and subjugates to the administrative system in goal attainment as defined by Parsons (Turner, 2003: 38-53). That means she could adjust to everyday life to get a job and to follow social rules and order at the level of economic and administrative systems; however, reflexivity and self-schematization, as Luhmann suggested (Turner, 2003: 59-61), could not be applied to her biography due to her unconverted identity in the US. If so, this tactic does not contain a progressive paradigm for the future in terms of developing identity, but implies a passive adjustment strategy to her

current situation. This divided lifestyle, living in the US without establishing a new part of identity, could have led to her self-alienation.

6. *then and now (I) came to the States like that and have worked here in a delivery room until the last year... (I) have worked for 33 years. And then, (I) retired... in June, last year. In here we... should be 65 year and 10-month-old so that (we) can get full benefits. It was in June, last year (10-13)*

What she did for the last 33 years in the USA was work in a hospital. Unsurprisingly, Hae-Sook does not describe the detailed story in relation to her career of 33 years in the same department in the same hospital. She could have started her vocational life even before the US as inferred by “then and now” which refers to a concatenation of her labor before and after. Additionally, it is highly probable that she was involved in the medical profession before her move to the US, for example in Germany, based on the historical context of the huge Korean guest workers’ migration between the late 1950s and the 1970s<sup>29</sup>.

R1) The narrator may have taken substantial responsibility for her family or relatives by working continually. Through her long life time working she gained financial reward and stability as the fruit of her labor, and it would have been shared with her significant others in Korea and/or in the USA. In many Korean-American immigrant cases, most male family members worked as laborers due to the language barrier and lack of job skills in the beginning<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> In that period, most immigration from South Korea to Germany was related to either government jobs in the Korean embassy or to guest worker positions (e.g. miner/ nurse). In addition, it was rare for a female government worker to attain a diplomatic position abroad at that time. Not only do the research interests reveal research targets, but also the historical context supports her previous vocation position.

<sup>30</sup> The male interviewees can support this argument, as follows;

Compared to this, female immigrants who worked as nurses had more chance of getting a job. The narrator could easily find work with her nursing degree and started her career while America dealt with a labor shortage in nursing in the 1970s. Her husband, meanwhile, might have struggled to find a stable and professional job. That meant the bulk of responsibility consequent to migration might belong to Hae-Sook because she was the only human resource within her family to having experience and vocational skill abroad.

Her enduring decision to remain working in the delivery room until she was 65 years and ten months old could support the above way of reading, in which she needs to participate in economic activity in order to live. She does not mention her precise role in the delivery room, but illustrates the conditions required to get retirement benefits. It seems that the narrator was desperate reach the retirement age to get a full benefit and then simply walked away from her job without looking back. If she had another reason to work besides economic benefits, she would have provided abundant narrations in terms of her job description and work experiences. Instead, she enumerates the conditions and benefits of retirement, which would imply that her occupational motivation was related mostly to financial reasons; simply her means to attain economic assimilation into American society.

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*"um.. when (I) went to America, I got into hot water. As (you) can read it on this book, for example, when (I) was looking for a job, um... I was a welder and got my green card through the job (L, 186-188)."*

*"When we came to America, my first work place was OWT Company which makes oil tools to search for oil. Even though we had no experiences (we) can learn the job quickly because (we) had higher education in Korea. Such as how to read blueprints... the way to read blueprints, and it's called Sambang in Korea. Yes SamBang which is a machinist. We started the job as a machinist in the beginning here (A, 39-43)"*

Work can serve to provide not only economic benefits but also a personal or social sense of achievement for individual<sup>31</sup>. Besides salary and benefits, the interviewee could have elucidated other components of rewards of gaining a job and self-satisfaction. Superficially, she has a challenging life, crossing over different continents. In practice, her narration, with its accent on monetary elements, reflects her actual circumstances in that she endured a life of work for several decades in different places.

Interestingly, Hae-Sook felt that she had endured the yoke of a labor similar to that of a mother enduring the pain of birth. According to Jacques le Goff (1980), there were two separate terms used defining work in the Middle Age ‘opus’ and ‘labor’. Opus, implying freedom and autonomy in work, was used in medieval translations of Genesis in order to describe God creating the world, whereas labor implied servility and slavery (Dewitt, 2002: 49-50) as punishment for original sin. Thus, servile labor was the destiny of man, and the tremendous pain of giving birth the destiny of woman. Her enduring attitude to her job often utilizes the terminology of labor.

7. *Now, here, an adult school, it is an adult school but more like a city college, so everything is in English because there are foreigners in a computer and other classes. when (I) thought about adult school we... hu... know it is awful stuff but I was surprised because (I) didn't know it is a branch school of a city college (14-17).*

Hae-Sook concentrates on explaining detailed information regarding a school of continuing education which takes a different form to the previous pattern of her narration. She expresses her satisfaction with a school of adult education which provides every class in

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<sup>31</sup> Belcher and Atchison (1976: 574) set out various factors which may act as rewards in order to develop job satisfaction as follows; recognition by society, a sense of accomplishment, career development, social status, interpersonal relationships with colleagues, social responsibility, income, vocational conditions, and self-satisfaction.

English and is a branch of a city college. Obviously, it is not astonishing if classes are in English in America, and if a school of continuing education is run by a city college, because colleges run a number of adult education courses. It seems that she denigrates an adult education program without any previous experiences. If she does, the question of why she wishes to be involved in a school of continuing education program which she belittled must be asked.

R1) Hae-Sook works for the adult school program as a teacher with her long-term practical experience as medical personnel.

She might need a substitution to maintain her social role and sense of belongingness after retirement. The program may not require scientific rigor, but pragmatic experience, so that she could have obtained a teaching position there. However, this is not a persuasive argument because she was desperate to reach retirement with the accrued full benefits. If she had exhibited job satisfaction and a feeling of attachment to her career, this interpretation would have been more relevant to the facts.

R2) Hae-Sook takes the programs in school of continuing education.

She might want to learn a new subject due to having more free time after retirement. An adult school belonging to adult education programs (U.S. Department of State, n.d.) offers life-long scope for education (e.g. vocational training programs, English courses, high school diplomas, college-level examination programs, parenting and family courses etc.) for adults 18 or older either free or for low cost (California Department of Education, 2012). The eligibility to enter the program is not exacting; accessibility to it is easy as well. These factors could encourage her to become involved in the learning process after a long-term vocational life. The easily accessible and the non-rigorous eligibility rules, and the inexpensive cost, mean that might she have more reason to choose the program.



Another consideration concerns her articulation, “everything is in English because there are foreigners in a computer and other classes.” This sentence allows readers to conceive of two interpretations: if speaking English is not natural to her; what does “foreign students” mean to her? This expression would be more appropriate spoken by an individual from outside America, not by Hae-Sook who has been in the US longer than 30 years, because it reflects the outsider perspective from America. If she had mentioned foreign students in the classes speaking their own languages, she might have been seen as having encompassed the inner perspective of an American. “Foreigner<sup>32</sup>” to her depends on which country she considers as her own. While she lives in the US, she describes issues from an external perspective. This articulation can stand for her sense of belongingness to her ethnic group instead of to Americans.

8. *So America is a very good country because people just come here to learn for free. Oh... there are different levels not only in a computer class but also in an English course from a basic level, level one to two, three, and four (17-20).*

There are two momentous analysis elements in this context. First, the narrator strongly pays attention to the language course; second, she unlatches the gate of silence. To look into the former element, the narrator admires school programs of continuing education and commends the country for sponsoring a free adult education service which has been common for several decades in America. It is unclear whether or not she takes the course, but her strong attention to the well-organized course is enough to expose her interest in the language class. Moreover, this factor could explain what her deficiency in the present in relation to language issues is. The reason why the English course from a basic to advanced stage attracts her could

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<sup>32</sup> “Foreigner” means a person who is affiliated to a country that is different from your own (Collins Cobuild dictionary, 2009).

be related to her situation in the beginning of her life in the US. Hae-Sook came to the US at 33, at which age the speed of language acquisition is relatively slower than when younger. In addition, a reasonable possibility is that she spent most of her lifetime in the US working without being able to enjoy cultural and personal learning, which could be inferred by a lack of know-how about community resources despite the long resident period. Instead of learning the language gradually and thoroughly, it is possible that she had to learn unrelated phrases to solve immediate life issues. She could perhaps communicate with her co-workers at work as time passed, but her language proficiency would not be developed based on the gradual and thorough learning process which would fulfil her expectation.

For the latter element, the narrator breaks her laconic narration pattern in expatiating on the program in contrast to her introductory remarks. The narrator jumps over the present in talking volubly about the adult school program compared to the previous narration in which she condensed her first 65 years into mere objective data concerning her migration path and work duration in 13 lines. It shows schema radically divided by time on her narration. She saved her breath regarding personal matters in the past and then suddenly expressed more evaluation, impression, and thoughts regarding the education program. The characteristic of her current activity correlates to her emancipation from what she sees as her labor and duty to share the fruits of her work. It seems that whilst in work she could not admit her attitude to the same; after retirement, it becomes obvious that she feels a reaction similar to that involved in the emancipation of slaves.

9. *At first to come to here (I) had a hard time because there were other classmates who have taken this class for 8 years. And... (I) just needed to click without basic knowledge of computer in hospital. It was hard here without any basic knowledge of computer. (I) look at a computer screen as a picture, just the same as a picture to me (20-24)....(Ellipsis) (I) have participated in the class and busy... busy... It is like a*

*full-time. And here there is a training program too. It seems like that (I) don't have a reason to be busy because of retirement, but (I) am busy. Tomorrow (I) have a group meeting and next weekend (Ellipsis) (29-32).*

Retirement releases the interviewee from a heavy duty of labor caused a delay in her enjoyment of her personal life. The narrator gives a long-winded explanation of her current life activities, which she had never done in the past due to her job. Now she is able to use her free time for herself only. She chooses to spend her retirement taking computer classes and training programs<sup>33</sup> paying particular attention to a language course. These are educational programs and as such fulfil spiritual, practical, and psychological purposes in promoting her life after the delay caused by the work she felt bound to do.

One question which might be asked is why the narrator waited to do them until retirement. She could have accomplished them even whilst working. In particular, proficiency on computer and language could have been acquired at work. Hae-Sook acquired only very limited computer skills even though she had used computers for a certain period at work. She could have gained more technical skills on the computer, if she had been more active in adapting to new subjects. Nevertheless, her extreme expression, “*(I) just needed to click without basic knowledge of computer in hospital..... (I) look at a computer screen as a picture, just the same as a picture to me,*” implies that she used computers at a minimal level, merely in order to complete her work. This feature appears to demonstrate her attitude to adapting to new subjects and techniques at a minimal level, to solve a problem directly facing her, rather than attempting a more fundamental solution by developing her own skills. Possibly, in a

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<sup>33</sup> This can be inferred to be a religious activity on account of the place where the interview was conducted at Christian church. The place that she pointed out on her narration, “*And here there is a training program too,*” therefore, means church. In addition, “training program” frequently describes a church activity in Korean.

similar fashion to her attitude to computers, she might have learned English to the most minimal degree necessary at work. It was not difficult for her to use a computer to upload patients' information and to communicate in a basic fashion by using universal medical terms at work. The narrator could not rise above her feeling of deficiency regarding technical and language issues, which possibly influenced her attitude of estrangement from the mainstream.

*10. Do you have many relatives here? I: Not many, I have an aunt who lives in L. IE:*

*um... (you) can have many suitable bridegrooms because (you) are a social worker. I: yeah... IE: How about a job market in recent? Like a social worker? I: The job market is ok because many bilingual workers are needed here. However, the economic situation is not good... but still ok compared to other jobs. IE: so nurse is good here, here really as much as, people such as Filipino they have two jobs, three jobs so that (they) earn much money. Fine thing. Earning that much money is nothing. For money, I am that. Filipino nurses worked hard but eventually (their) husbands got an affair so she is worried and then died. Some people say that money was piled up in their locker room. All, that, that is useless, the present, it is true that a present which is today is a synonym of a gift. The present, so.. Live well to think today as your gift. Hahaha(laughing) (35-48).*

There are two considerable factors in this phrase relating to her way of communication and the meaning of money within her narration. First, Hae-Sook does communicate in a mutual fashion by actively listening to the other party. After the detailed description of the class and training program, she suddenly asks a question of the interviewer in terms of a personal issue, then pays no attention to the answer. In other words, she has a scattered way of conversing, which causes a failure of mutuality in communication with others, and her way of storytelling is discursive. Second, there is discordance between her overt narration and her characteristically hidden narrative.

R1) The narrator devalues the economic element in the making of a meaningful life. She believes that money cannot achieve happiness, but family does, bringing up the example of others. Her question to and comment regarding the interviewer concerns family information and demonstrates the assumption that the interviewer will marry and start a family, which reflects her perspective on family. For her, family is an important factor in the fulfillment of one's life, whereas money dissolves family.

R2) On the surface, Hae-Sook evaluates money as unimportant; however, material value is the most salient element of her biography. Ironically, the narrator denigrates the value of riches by pretending to rise above money matters giving an example of Filipino nurses whilst continuing to categorize persons and groups in accordance with the lucrativeness and professionalism of their work. That is, her narration reflects her reliance on the material value of work rather than the achievement of a sense of accomplishment or self-respect through it. This tallies with her stressing the economic benefits in terms of her 33-years work life in the delivery room.

In the same context, the Filipino examples used expose the hidden meaning of her narration. Filipino and Korean people belong to the same continent; however, Filipinos have the advantage of speaking fluent English. Filipino nurses are less challenged in terms of language, and are therefore able to involve themselves more actively in their vocational life, earning much money than the narrator. It seems she learned from the case of the Filipino nurses mentioned above; however, the sentence, "*Fine thing, earning that much money is nothing. For money, I am that*<sup>34</sup>," implies that the lesson could be related to her personal experience. Her expression, "*For money, I am that*," has an ambiguous meaning, but it is

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<sup>34</sup> "그렇게 헤가지고 돈 무지 벌더라고 아휴 벌버봤자지.. 돈에 대해서 난 저기야 (39-40)." In Korean

possible to infer a sense of giving up, abandoning, or not being interested in money. In addition, the subject “I” implies that she could have had her experiences of the unworthiness of money in the past. Her experience could be different from that of the Filipino nurses; however, it could have a correlation with a financial issue. One possible difference between Filipinos and the narrator is that she believes that Filipinos work for money and she labors for something else. In this context, the ‘something else’ can be interpreted as her family, based on her narration, which emphasizes the importance of family values.

Another remarkable issue in this paragraph is her explanation of the term “present”. The narrator underscores two definitions of “present”: to be existing now and to be an equivalent term of “gift”. Had she felt that her past was a gift, she would have no reason to stress to latter now. It ironically shows that she focuses on the present because her past was not a gift for her. This issue might also relate to the similar sequence when she condenses her past in 13 lines and talks at length about school of adult education. The narrator elaborates stories of issues to less relevant her personal experiences, such as adult school programs, in the present; she condenses the narration of more relevant stories of her own biographical issues in the past. She feels that it is only now that she has the chance to be happy.

*11. That... with no further ado... So, (I) lived in Korea for 23 years, in Germany for 5 years and here to be the longest time for 34 years. (I) have been here for 34 years, 34 years to live... but Being empty is still same huhuhu (laughing).. being empty... (49-52).*

The narrator summarizes her biography as having lived in three different continents in her spatiotemporal path. After the summary, she provides the first emotional expression on her present life: a feeling of emptiness. First, she returns to her previous narration pattern, omitting details and presenting ambiguous information as opposed to her narration of her current activities and life episodes. This evidences a sequential pattern of her narration,

distinguishing between her past and her present. Second, the narrative stream is that this summary is followed by her comment on the present. The narrator elucidates the meaning of the present with an example concerning Filipino nurses, and her story resumes with her current emotion. This explanation incorporates a contradiction between the meaning of the present and her current life. The present is supposed to be a gift, fulfilled by joy, but she feels it is continually empty in spite of her dynamic migration experiences. The fact that she feels she has never had a gift in the past and struggles with finding the meaning of the present now could support the above inference.

Living in three different continents would be challenging to anyone. Since leaving her place of origin she has had to start from scratch in learning many new things until she has accustomed herself to a new country. Moreover, a similar path must have been followed several times given her repetitive migration experiences. It is possible that she came to realize the vanity of life after all her efforts at migration. Or that the feeling of futility has descended upon her while migrating, maintaining the homeostasis of this psychological feature over her whole life. In both cases, the question of what she feels she needs to make her life fulfilled might usefully be asked.

Her pursuit of migration can be considered in intra- and interpersonal terms. First, the interviewee could be a person who enjoys challenges, feeling a sense of accomplishment through her adventures. She may expect to completely adapt to a new environment or to become a local after spending several years in a particular place. As she became a citizen of X completely in 15 years, she would certainly have anticipated becoming American after spending 34 years in the US. Unfortunately, her being surrounded by a heterogeneous culture and having to work so hard for a living obstructed her chances of assimilating into mainstream society. In this case, her feeling of emptiness could arise from the discrepancy between her expectations and reality. Another interpretation is that the narrator wishes for recognition

from others, which would encourage her to maintain her life as a migrant. Her motivation in spending most of her life as an immigrant is not for her intrapersonal pleasure, but can be seen as being motivated by interpersonal relationships. If so, her level of life satisfaction mostly relies on external conditions, which causes her vest herself in a heteronymous situation.

*12. so... do you go to church? I: Yes I do IE: Some people said that souls without Jesus should be empty. It has to be empty... Would Solomon say this 'vanity of vanities, all is vanity'. (Ellipsis) yeah, so simple. (My) life very ran in a groove. (I) lived there and then went to Germany because (my) family circumstance is not very fine. When (I) have lived in Germany for 5 years (I) remitted all money to my family (62-64).*

Hae-Sook feels that she is doing her homework, which she was supposed to start earlier in life. The narrator might have suspended her personal growth and learning due to life events such as migration and labor. She feels she can finally begin this accumulated, unfinished assignment by participating in learning and religious activities.

The biblical verse quoted among the mass of topics could act as a key in understanding the meaning of vanity on her narration.

The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem. Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labor which he takes under the sun? (Ecclesiastes, 1:103, The Holy Bible: King James Version, 2000)

This can be interpreted to mean that, according to the Holy Bible, all is vanity even though one does one's best in all one's labor because the fruits of such labor will be taken by others who have never contributed (Ecclesiastes, 2:18-26). The conclusion would follow that one should have only suffering and sorrow after being willing to labor. This biblical expression



embodies the unfair, less independent life due to being deprived of the right to the fruit of one's labor by random others. If the interviewee had felt she had received appropriate rewards for all her labor, she would not have focused on this expression. Her feeling of emptiness can be related to her labor in vain over several decades in different countries.

In addition, her fruitful labor could be connected to her primary group. After she cites religious perspectives by unspecified people, she makes a connection between faith and a vocation, and eventually discloses the reason for her migration to Germany. Interestingly, her first story of her family is about her responsibility for it. The fact that Hae-Sook assists her family financially by working abroad is not surprising because many Korean miners and nurses had a similar reason for coming to Germany at that time. But it is salient as the first comment on her direct family. The narrator evaluates her life as vanity of vanities because all she has ever done is support her family financially. This narration, "(I) remitted all money to my family," corresponds to the biblical expression regarding the futility of labor.

R1) Her life is not a tortuous life, but is consistently rough.

She evaluates her life as having been unremarkable and simple: she talks about her sacrifice for her family. In this context, unremarkable and simple means not smooth but unchanging. It was hard for her to move to another country for a job. In addition, the fact of her sending most of her income back to support her family in Korea could make her life more difficult. If she had had a variety of experiences, both good and bad together, she could have illustrated her life as spectacular, having lived in various countries. Her narration of her life, ironically, denotes that she feels she undergoes hardship consistently from the beginning to the present. Because her life is so simple, she now has a life which is not much different from what she did in Germany in order to work for her family. It does not stand for the contemplative life in making things simple, but substantiates her life path as a plaintive song.

13. *(Ellipsis) But when we were 23 years old, words reached into one's year well. (I) got a charge nurse in 9 months. But a few people who are 38 years old could not become a charge nurse in their entire life. (They) could not follow all direction that (they) should do as a charge nurse, but they earned much money. They got alimony and children... that.. that if there are three children the government paid 80 dollar.. no 80 German mark per child. At that time I got 480 German mark and if they got 80 mark per child.. how much money did they have...(70-76).*

Like the random others who took all the efforts and fruits of labor in the Holy Bible, she feels that not only her family, but also older coworkers with children, took benefits from her. The narrator had more working hours and heavier duties; however, she feels she was unfairly treated, which makes her life in vain. Her narrative reflects contains her victim mentality.

Another consideration is her occupational view concentrating on economic value rather than on self-satisfaction or achievement in the health profession. Her personal life story in Germany is all about working conditions and benefits in this phrase, which is a repetitive feature of the previous analysis. That means the narrator is more concerned with practical and material needs, and it could be related to the fact that she felt compelled to work in order to support her family.

14. *So (I) sent all of my money to Korea... so our father bought that.... not it was not buying....(76-77). (Ellipsis) However, one of (my) relatives sold it to a person who is a professor at the Q University (82-83). (Ellipsis) When (I) was back ... just... I gave up money... that kind of... huhu... man... man... money should follow people. (Ellipsis) (I) sent (my) money to save our family, but what... now (I) am here to work as a nurse my lifetime, and now (I) retired so.. just... I deserved a rest... haha (laughing) (90-92).*

These sentences can represent one of her main life themes as work. She was probably a skilled, professional worker rather than a blue-collar, unskilled laborer in the delivery room.

The chances are that she worked as a labor and delivery nurse among the main medical staff in the delivery room in her work as a nurse in Germany. The main medical staff in the delivery room (e.g. obstetrician, labor and delivery nurse, and midwife) are mostly highly qualified and educated medical professionals. That means her vocational life could be seen as developing a career and work rather than simply laboring. However, it seems that to Hae-Sook, her occupation is merely a bread-and-butter tool for living: most of the advantages from her labor were taken by her family.

Her experience of work was not the fulfilling process of developing a career, but an obligation to fulfill the desires of her family. She delineates her feeling of frustration at her father who made her labor come to nothing by investing her money in property at the wrong time. It could explain the above narration, "Fine thing, earning that much money is nothing. For money I am that." She feels that she never earned an appropriate amount of money for her effort. She worked hard in hospital: she remitted most of her income in Germany to support her family in Korea: she spent about 40 years of her lifetime working for her family. However, she has less income in comparison with nurses with dependents in Germany: her five years' efforts there were rendered unprofitable by her father. Hae-Sook feels that she undertook the responsibility and duty of performing labor over her lifetime, and her family enjoyed the rewards earned by her, which makes her dissatisfied.

#### Structural Hypothesis I

Hae-Sook evaluates her life as 'vanity of vanities, all is vanity' and relates that she did not get appropriate financial remuneration for her hard work. She chose during her first international migration to remit her salary to her family in Korea; however, her father's bad investment choices effectively meant that her effort was in vain. She moved from Korea to Germany, from Germany to Korea, and from Korea to the US by working hard as a nursing

professional, but she has had to deal with a feeling of emptiness wherever she has been. It seems that place and residence period in her biography should have been important in her early narration; however, ironically, her life did not change significantly despite the change of place and time. Wherever and whenever she has been, Hae-Sook had to work and never had any luck with money.

Her self-evaluation does not give herself any credit for having undertaken several international migrations. Instead, she continues to allude to obligation and unalterable outside forces which made her remain in work until retirement age. The fact that she crosses international borders several times could have been evaluated as her being a person who enjoys life adventures. Contrary to this expectation, Hae-Sook shows a relative lack of initiative in driving her life forward, which is demonstrated in her narration and decision-making patterns. Hae-Sook marginalizes herself as an alien and an observer of her own biographical storytelling. She continues to create a distance between herself and the 'narrator' and important life decisions are made for her family.

In addition, she was not actively involved in acquiring new cultures in a new place, which caused a failure of assimilation to the new land. Instead of directing her life and situations, she lives in deficit status (i.e. she learned only a minimum of computer skills in order to complete her work. She chose to limit her computer use to charting for work) which gives her minimum freedom to interact with her external situation. She has been subjugated to external situations and dealt with her life matters passively; the fact that she worked hard until retirement without due gratification brings to mind "*Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.*"

Continuing Interpretation Related to Structural Hypothesis I : Being Subjugated to External Situations

Interestingly, space is not considered as salient, but consistent labor as a migrant worker is important in the consideration of the case structure of Hae-Sook. Her narration, based on the spatiotemporal path describes her moves from one continent to another in order to carry out the obligation of supporting her family. Hae-Sook describes her biography in a dry fashion by describing objective factors in terms of migration and economic benefits which manifest practical and functional roles. This narrative characteristic, whilst incorporating her various multi-migration experiences, nevertheless reveals the unvarying nature of her life as a migrant worker in different countries. This interpretation is supported ironically by her spatiotemporally based narration. At first glance, it seems that she highlights her multinational migrations by arranging phrases of place and time at the beginning of sentences. However, this arrangement evokes a stark contrast between glamorous migration paths and continual labor which such paths only seem to make interesting. Migration is, to Hae-Sook, an inevitable consequence of circumstances which pulled and pushed her into working abroad for over 40 years. Thus, her many migrations were, for her, the result of her determination to support her family. The following analysis places the priority on her decision-making mechanism with regard to migration and labor which can show high relevant to the structure hypothesis one.

Her narration incorporates her 40-year labor history undertaken solely to support her family. Her first decision to be a guest worker in Germany is made with the intention of creating a retirement plan for her parents, in particular for her father.

*Even if (my) father was like that, in Germany I still sent all money (to my father) to help our father... (157-158).*

The narrator continues to underscore her efforts to undertake financial responsibility for her family and she spent half of her twenties living abroad. Hae-Sook could instead have had

more abundant life opportunities to find her own meaning of life through work and love in early adulthood. In addition, this could have offered more radical life transitions, or, in other words, it could have increased her life changes relating to her international level of migration experience, despite being apart from her primary support group. Nevertheless, she merely indicates the detailed economic benefits of her work instead of any other positive or negative aspects when narrating how her life was in Germany. Both the motivation and the process of her migration were the results of helping her family.

The decision regarding her second migration is similar to the first one. Hae-Sook came back to Korea in 1971, having resigned as a nurse in Germany due to her marriage. It seems that she wanted to settle down in her mother country. In 1975, however, she left Korea again to immigrate to the US, which was for her husband this time.

*(My) husband wanted to come. For (his) job, he was not good and he thought that it becomes so good when (he) comes to the USA. I know that it is lonely and I dislike coming to the USA because I lived in Germany. But (my) husband liked (it) so much..... (277-280).*

To make her husband's American dream come true, she started her second migration path toward the USA. This presents not only a similar pattern in her determination, but the same result, committing her to work until retirement. As her husband did not have a good job in Korea, he continued to have problems with work. His small business had a chronic deficit in the US: consequently, all financial responsibility rested with her. As follows her narration, "*so (my) life is not related to have satisfaction with money due to (my) parents and due to (my) husband (432-433),*" she expended all her efforts working for her family and feels that there is nothing left for herself in the present.

A final weighty decision relates to her choosing to acquiesce to her in submission to accept her son's choice of girlfriend (the girlfriend suffered from chronic Type I diabetes; this would be judged, in traditional Korean society, as a considerable disadvantage and something to be avoided, at all costs, in one's family) as follows: "*our son at age 34, (he is) 34 years old, but does not get married yet, and his current girlfriend has type one diabetes so (it makes me) crazy... (171-172)(Mediated syncope)... he said no one wants to get married to her except for me... well.. Ai-Goo... in addition, he himself is a physician who knows about the disease better.... So nothing goes my way (182-184).*" Her narration displays the same sequence of reluctance and disagreement between her and her intimate other at first. Eventually, she conforms to the decision made by her son. To sum up, her biography has been built on a tripod consisting of obedience to her father, husband and son. In addition, Hae-Sook continues to feel that she cannot achieve rewards and respect after her efforts to labor for her family.

Her decision making with regard to her migration and labor has the same pattern of submitting to the head of family, which reflects an ethical code in Confucianism, Samjonggido (三從之道). This is a virtue of three subordinations in a woman's life: to conform to her father before marriage; to her husband after marriage, and to her son when widowed (Park & Cho, 1995; Kim, 1996). Hae-Sook determines upon becoming a guest worker in Germany for her father as well as migrating to America for her husband. In addition, she feels that she is faced with making another sacrifice for her son in accepting her future daughter-in-law who has a severe disease. This sequence displays an allocentric decision-making pattern, which naturally restricts her seeking what she likes and wants to do in her individual life, and causes her to remain at work to fulfill the desires of her significant others. Consequently, her biography illustrates two elements - obedience and labor - to follow her father, husband, and son, which signify a heteronomous life pattern. Her international migration is embarked upon in order to obey to her significant others, male family members, and her living in three different

continents does not qualitatively change her life. In other words, her biography is less influenced by modern industrialization and ideological changes and is relatively more dominated by following patriarchy and Confucianism, meaning that she feels no difference in her life in different countries. Accordingly, she feels she has been held back from any significant life transition despite her exotic, multinational migration path, which can imply the strong inference that psychologically she has never left Korea.

Hae-Sook's decision-making pattern is defined as the normative orientated style (Berzonsky, 1989, 1992, 2004) categorized to identity-foreclosure by Marcia<sup>35</sup>. Hae-Sook has subjected herself to her male family members according to Samjonggido (三從之道) by making commitments restricting her own opportunities for self-reflection and exploration in formulating her identity. Her identity status can therefore be identified as foreclosure (Marcia, 1980: 111), which indicates a high degree of dependence on the external world in the decision-making process. In this respect, she follows the normative standard built by her intimate others and a community mostly ruled by Confucianism, as opposed to struggling to individually define her identity within the social environment. This feature is strongly correlative of one's orientation with the collective identity rather than individual identity (Berzonsky, 1994) in the same manner as the Korean culture of collectivism. It means that Hae-Sook orients herself to convention and tradition in the Korean traditional model of gender roles.

The normative-oriented identity style in her biography, furthermore, applies to two other aspects of her acculturation pattern and work. First, as regards acculturation, Hae-Sook segregates herself from the mainstream and merely adjusts to society in respect of her economic

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<sup>35</sup> Berzonsky, theory of developing identity styles in inquiring into the relevance of four identity statuses by Marcia and decision-making and problem-solving features, defines normative-oriented persons as those who obey the expectations and seek the satisfaction of significant others and of the wider group (Berzonsky & Ferrari, 1996).



activity. She acquired the minimum level of computer literacy, simply in order to perform her work, and has low self-confidence regarding language proficiency. Hae-Sook does not take on the challenge of learning new cultures and acquiring new knowledge of technology, but depends on the traditional standard of Korean culture even in new places, i.e. Germany and the US.

This structure can be seen in her precious narration describing feeling of maintaining the same consciousness level over 35 years in the US as she had in Korea. Berzonsky (1989) and Berzonsky & Sullivan (1992) indicate that the normative-oriented person tends toward exclusiveness in adapting to new information. Explicitly, she has attached to the old discipline and motivation in terms of making a commitment to identity status based on the virtues of Confucianism whereas acquiring the new culture is mostly excluded from the identity formation process. This implies a correlation of her acculturation process in separating herself from the American culture with her normative style. As with the second element, this identity characteristic correlates with her perception of work. Although her job is professional, with a certain degree of authority in the decision-making process, especially in the US, she perceives it as the work of a laborer, which includes less freedom and power of autonomous authority. So long as her significant life decisions are made for others, it would be profoundly hard for her to become a craftsman who is actively, creatively involved in her work, with holistic understanding of the same (Honneth, 2012: 59). Her nursing job is not a method of achieving recognition and reputation within society and increasing satisfaction, but a way to be recognized by her intimate others. In other words, that which she values in terms of recognition for herself is mostly related to the search for recognition of her family. This mechanism combined with her feeling of engagement in fruitless effort as regards her father and husband means that she evaluates her vocation as exhausting labor instead of the creative and enjoyable work of a craftsman.

## Sequential Analysis II: Analysis and Interpretation of the Interview

15. *Yeah... so... now.. where... after I am free to travel somewhere (my) knees are hurt, (my) low back is hurt... living longer is not that.... because there are many parts to be sick. That... now... (I) should travel when (I) could walk well...but (my) husband... a couple should be hand in glove. He does not participate in church service.. so I expected that if (I) change myself by participating this spiritual training program (my) husband may come to church... it is the best missionary work... the best missionary work here my friend got divorced by her husband. If one got divorced... the person's life is miserable. Her husband had an affair with another woman... later I said her life is wretched... but she was totally changed since she took this spiritual training program. She registered me in this course. (I) said that I do not have time to take it, later... later I postponed taking the program; however, because now (I) got retired (I) have no reason to delay it. Hahaha (laughing) just (she) did it for me... I thank (her). I worked with (her) so... (I) came here through her... yet...(92-105).*

Hae-Sook reveals significant information regarding her marital relationship in this phrase. She wished for mutual activities such as traveling and participating in the spiritual training program with her husband in retirement. Unfortunately, they had difficulties reaching agreement, which may have happened not only in the present but in the past too. Concerning the discordance between their opinions, there are two possibilities, as follows:

R1) First, Hae-Sook wants to make her point rather than to cooperate with her husband. She makes her own plans to take the spiritual training program with her non-Christian husband. If her purpose were to spend time with her husband, she would search mutual for interests and hobbies to satisfy both of them. Instead, she asserts her wishes for life in retirement to her spouse. This might also relate to her conversation pattern with the interviewer: it seems that she is interested in others, but she focuses on her own thoughts and opinions. If she had

intended to build mutual interactions with the interviewer and her husband, she would pay attention to the other's wants and concerns. If this is the case, Hae-Sook and her husband have probably had marital issues for a long time. This continues the theme that efforts to support her family for several decades are seen as worthless because she continually fails to gain respect from her family.

R2) Second, she claims her opinion has never been listened to; however, her attitude turns to asserting her own desires after her retirement. She obeyed her spouse within the household, in accordance with Korean culture, and sacrificed herself to maintain harmony in her family. After many years' endeavor she realizes that she deserves not only a rest, but time with her husband. Nevertheless, it is not easy for her to persuade him because she has little experience of it. For this reason, she chooses to change herself, attempting to gain confidence before she approaches her husband.

Another perspective which might develop the analysis is related to the word "divorce." This is the second time she brings up examples of marital issues, and they are all related to a profound betrayal issue. In the case of both the Filipino nurse and her friend, she opines that women with flirtatious husbands are depressed. There are both similarities and differences between the cases and Hae-Sook's circumstances. A similarity is that all of them have an arduous time with their families. Even if the Filipino nurses and Hae-Sook make money for their families, their endeavors are turned to nothing by the families. Indeed, Hae-Sook is reflected as a vulnerable being in eyes of her friend whom Hae-Sook thinks pathetic. Her friend who experienced a marriage failure has an entirely changed life after the training, and this gives hope to Hae-Sook as well. It seems that Hae-Sook does not recognize her problems, but her friend can discern that she may need help. On the other hand, a difference between them is the cheating issue. When she brings money matters up, she cites the Filipino nurse who committed suicide due to her husband's affair, despite her high earnings. To explain her

attachment to the training program, she provides the story of a friend who divorced due to an affair on her spouse's part. Although there are many different problems which make one's life difficult, to Hae-Sook an affair is the most serious cause of misery. She can live with her husband so long as he does not have an affair.

*16. it takes some time, 6 months, 6 months... (I) should take these levels 5 times. A beginning class, basic level 1, basic level 2, growing level 1 and growing level 2.. Two levels that people should take. Now the beginner class is done and (I) start the basic level 1, but yet (I) am not 100% to do some, not to do some.... Our husband is chun... that... what's... he said Buddhism touches his heart more because it is philosophical, but... I want both of us to come to church together and it is the reason why I came here to take the spiritual training course, but I am not 100% sure... (105-112).*

The spiritual training program has particular levels of achievement and Hae-Sook has completed the beginning class. Importantly, Hae-Sook struggles with her faith, which obviously cannot reach 100% assurance. She may agonize about her insufficient religious belief because she is a recent convert to Christianity. Essentially, the significant factor to be analyzed in this phrase is not about how strong her faith is but about why she desperately wants to achieve perfection. Her yearning for completion has been identified in the above sequence analysis progress continually as follows; 1) She became a citizen of X **completely**, 2) She has the **same** mentality as when she left Korea 34 years ago, 3) In spite of **34 years** in the States, she has a feeling of emptiness, 4) She has the impression that the spiritual training program changed her friend **entirely**, 5) She wants to have **100%** assurance through faith.

Basically, related to the first and second factors, her definition of a successful migration is that she completely assimilates to the new space, becoming a local. She has advantages in embracing a new culture in X in that there exists a homogenous culture and language, so that she assimilates herself to the community with ease. In contrast, she has to deal with an

entirely new culture and language in the US, which constitutes an impediment to her complete absorption into the American culture. She can neither be changed completely from her past state due to these impediments nor remain the same as she was in 1975. These expressions include an ostensible antonymous meaning; however, both of them reflect her tendentious, dichotomous disposition to be either totally assimilating or to be segregated from the new land. As the third element, Hae-Sook describes her current feeling of emptiness. She condenses her 65 years of life by simply juxtaposing a place and duration without any details. Details of time as the result of migration can anchor her existence in the past and in the present: it does not clarify how her life has been in different countries there and here.

Interestingly, she indicates her feeling of emptiness after explaining the consequences of dramatically varying life experiences in three different continents. She may have hoped to feel fulfilled as a result of existence in a particular place. Despite having lived in the US for 34 years, she still feels empty because she has not achieved a certain goal as the result of those 34 years. Now, she anchors her hope on a successful case, i.e. her friend who is changed after a traumatic divorce experience. The degree of transformation in her friend's case is considerable. Hae-Sook defines her status and that of her friend dichotomously as similar to the first and second sequences. The fifth topic in relation to a less-than-100%-certain belief in God has a different subject, but the same black and white logic. She evaluates herself as imperfect because her faith is not 100% certain.

*17. Oh. That's distressing. The thing that (I) cannot be 100% makes (me) painful (133-134).*

100% success appears to be the most salient value in her biography as follows; Hae-Sook evaluates the degree of her faith at about 90%<sup>36</sup>, suggesting her attachment to the other

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<sup>36</sup> "However, I believe almost 90%, questioning... (114)"

10 % of deficiency, making her life painful. The process which leads towards perfection is not considered important to her, if she cannot achieve 100% success. This obsession with perfection manifests the same sequence as the above five episodes; in addition it shows, paradoxically, her attachment to deficiency. Her feeling of emptiness and psychological pain results from the loss of her equilibrium due to her incomplete accommodation process. This situation is not confined to a single place or subject, but is an essential condition in relation to her accommodation process in interacting with the environment. Furthermore, this pattern may have been developed throughout her whole biographical experience, not merely in her migration process.

### Structural Hypothesis II

Hae-Sook perceives subjects, including herself, as either 100% perfect or unacceptable. Anything less than perfection is simply not acceptable to her. She does not consider herself psychologically as an American because she has not adjusted her life to that of an American. But she cannot count herself as completely Korean either, since she has spent 39 years living abroad. When she says that her faith is only 90 %, that 10% deficit evidently causes her pain. This extreme black and white perspective of perfection is widely found in her narration; she has always suffered from the feeling of imperfection.

Her narration focuses more on her deficiencies than her achievements; more on who she was than how she has been changed through various life experiences. This perspective has made her life difficult and depressing because being complete and perfect is impossible. Given this structure, Hae-Sook did not attempt to learn new culture and life style in Germany and the US because she could not bear to be less than perfect at anything. In addition, such a failure to even try to integrate may have severely lowered her self-esteem, as she will have

recognized that she does not possess the cultural competency to develop her identity in a new land.

#### Continuing Interpretation Related to Structural Hypothesis II : Living as an Imperfect Being

The narrator shows her attachment to the fantasy of perfection through her linguistic characteristic. The following adverbs: “completely”, “same”, “entirely”, and “100%”, constitute absolute criteria in defining both herself and others as either perfect or imperfect. This extreme standard indicates her obsession with inadequacy. Hae-Sook is exceedingly concerned with the facts of her 10% of deficit regarding her religious beliefs, the fact that she feels no longer Seoulite; her constancy of ethnic identity during 40 years’ life abroad, instead of taking into account the flip side of the facts. This requires of her a draconian discipline in defining and judging herself and life situations, which are clearly unable to ever attain perfection. Moreover, this impossible standard inclines her toward a pessimistic and negative judgment of any situation, and failure to achieve perfection makes her life miserable, including her current life. This obsession can be examined in connection with her biographical experience of internal and external influences upon development of her self-image.

According to her narrative account, there are two fundamental, remarkable crises in her life leading to her experiencing deficiency regarding her relationship with significant others. The first crisis occurs in the relationship with her father. Hae-Sook was the second child of four; however, she became an only child after the deaths of her siblings. The last death in her family was that of her older brother, who died of pneumonia, and her father was immensely affected by the death of his oldest son.

*Only I, only I, the ugliest one, survived. So when our older brother died “Please take another not this one, please take another not this one” If I were the father (I) would*

*do it because the brother was the only son... however, I would not have said like that in front of his remaining child (154-157).*

In these sentences, the traumatic moment to her is not her brother's death but her father's reaction. She remembers clearly her father wish to substitute her brother's death for Hae-Sook's life. Her father's indication includes a strong wish to keep his son who would have succeeded him according to family tradition in Confucianism culture. Unfortunately, this makes her feel repudiated as an individual by her father. Her existence is as a shadow of her brother, and she is regarded as deficient and incomplete by her father. This means that she experiences a complete denial of her existence by her parent and she is treated as an exchangeable commodity and a conditional being for the purposes of her father and family.

In this case, Hae-Sook could have blamed her father, whose treatment of her can be seen as inhumane; however, she punishes herself as the main cause of his reaction. This shows her negative self-image through her devaluation of herself in this situation. Generally, an individual who has appropriate psychosocial support and recognition from intimate others can achieve a well-founded sense of ego identity (Côté & Levine, 2002: 94). In a vicious circle, conditional love from her father causes misrecognition, and then misrecognition contributes to in the impossibility of her ever developing a positive self-image.

Another salient relationship is with her son. Hae-Sook did not nurture her son in his first three years due to her migration to the US. While she struggled with settling down in the US for several years, her parents raised her son in Korea. For this reason, her son has a strong emotional attachment with his grandparents, which makes her feel unfulfilled.

*"My favorite person in the world is my grandmother." But one day when I read his diary, he... he attended school here, when I read his diary, "My favorite person in the world is my grandmother (253-255)."..... (Omission).... I was shocked.*



*Somehow (he) wrote a diary for (his) homework... when (I) cleaned up his room (I) found the diary, "My favorite person in the world is my grandfather"..... Well, it was all of my own doing. If we would have stayed with him or brought him with us it could not have happened. It was not his fault.....(265-269)*

She is not the most significant person to her only son, in the same way as she was not to her father. It must have been difficult for her to accept the fact. However, at the same time, it could be considered as a natural consequence for her son because he was raised by his grandparents in his early years. Later, her father came to the US to live with her family; naturally, her father spent longer with her son than the narrator did while she was working. This could be perceived as a healthy attachment formation of her son to his grandfather who is practically his main caretaker, had Hae-Sook been able to see it as a natural reciprocal relationship. Sadly, she perceived it as a traumatic experience and another cause for self-reproach.

The fact that she did not have first priority with either her father or her son provoked a misrecognition issue within her and this in turn caused her preoccupation with being complete. She strove hard to achieve the role of the favorite child by sacrificing her lifetime for her father, whose negative reaction from the beginning of her life impaired her ability to formulate self-recognition. According to Gallup (1979), an individual is able to obtain an objective sense of self-recognition when she/he fully understands the boundaries between herself/himself and others, and the early stage of social interaction is the most important place for these realizations of dissimilarity. Her father's vocal reaction to the death of his son contains discrimination against Hae-Sook as opposed to his son; it inevitably led to contorted boundaries in her development of self-recognition. In other words, the development of her unique sense of self was stunted due to misrecognition and denial within the social group by her father. In addition, it instilled her in the perception that she is substitutable due to her gender. This distorted estimation, particularly by her parent, could cause damage to her sense of

the perpetuity and inalterability of her existence, which causes her attachment to a sense of imperfection.

This feature of parent-child relationship which is supposed to be *Gemeinschaft* (community) is categorized as based on *Gesellschaft* (society) which reflects the role relationship of such as a social contract between buyer and user (Oevermann, 2000a). Oevermann indicates that diffuse relations – *Gemeinschaft* - embedded between family members include elements of unconditionality and unsubstitutability with complete bonding among the members (2000a). This feature directly conflicts with her relationship with her family, which results in a permanently impaired ability to develop self-recognition. This is a fundamental absolute to developing basic self-confidence in life. Honneth articulates that a child who is confident of being loved and recognized by the main caretaker in a mutual relationship is able to develop a steady sense of independence; this care-based reciprocity provides healthy self-confidence in the process of development (van den Brink & Owen, 2010: 11-12). Taking his theory into account, Hae-Sook's vulnerability as regards a sense of self-confidence and recognition originated in her primary relationship with her father and it continues to dog her in the present. Now, though, this misrecognition is rendered by the next generation, her son. Despite having spent most of her lifetime supporting her family, Hae-Sook's desire to be the most important person to her family is not fulfilled, which makes her feel incomplete even now.

#### Interpretation of Structural Hypothesis I and II

The interviewee's life has been bound by misrecognition - being imperfect - from her significant others, and she has spent her lifetime attempting to obtain recognition. Her international migration path is part of her efforts to bring satisfaction to her family; in addition, her ceaseless work activity is another method to attempt to prove herself within her family. Even when Hae-Sook was involved in modernized social activity such as vocational

participation (which traditionally belongs to male family members), she still obeyed the old conventional ethic, Samjonggido.

She concentrates more on an allocentric life, which is related to her normative-oriented and identity-foreclosure status; this makes it difficult to be psychologically independent. In other words, Hae-Sook attempts to achieve a sense of self-confidence and recognition in her family; consequently, this struggle makes her very attached to external conditions and circumstances, without a strong identity through which she could develop autonomy and freedom from others.

Furthermore, international migration itself is another obstacle as regards recognition because immigrants as a minority are at a higher risk of being misrecognized than the native-born. Migration for Hae-Sook does not mean life challenges or new experiences, but adds more duties not only as an obedient daughter, wife, and mother, but also as a worker. Hae-Sook is assimilated only as regards the economic system, and she is segregated psychosocially, with little attempt to involve herself in new countries and cultures due to her strong attachment to the culture and values of her country of origin. She would rather have stayed in Korea than lived abroad. Hae-Sook experienced failure both as regards gaining recognition by her family from generation to generation, and as an immigrant within the receiving society.

#### Case Structure: A Life for Others

Hae-Sook's narrations can perhaps be summed up in one phrase: living for others. She made several major life decisions including multiple international migrations in an attempt to satisfy her family. In addition, she spent most of her time in Germany and the US working to support her family; this unfortunately came to naught due to her father's bad investment decisions and her husband's inability to manage his business well. Despite all her efforts to work

for and support her family, she feels that she was never an important person to her father and her only son, and that her father denied her very being when she was young. The compass of her life has always pointed towards her family, but she feels that she has never received the recognition and attention she deserves from that family.

In this biographical context, her negative self-image has developed in the relationship with her family. Hae-Sook lived in the shadow of her deceased older brother in her childhood and has never been the most significant person to her only son in her adulthood. These factors continue to inspire feelings of being imperfect to her, which encourages Hae-Sook to spend most of her life time living for her family in an attempt to be perceived as the most significant person in their lives. Because she has been constrained by her relationships within her family, Hae-Sook misses the chance to explore what she truly wants. She has made a prison for herself of the following two sentences; *“Please take another not this one, please take another not this one”* from her father and *“My favorite person in the world is my grandfather”* from her son.

For her, international migration is a consequence of her biographical feature of attempting to make her family happy in order to gain their recognition. Hae-Sook had good chances to work abroad due to her profession of nursing; the international circumstances such as recruiting guest workers in Germany and the Immigrant Act of 1965 in the US gave her relatively easy ways to move to different countries. In this international context, she went to Germany when her father needed money and immigrated to the US because her husband wanted to live in the US. However, Hae-Sook has always felt unsatisfied firstly because her father lost the money she remitted to him and secondly because she cannot be the most important person in her only son’s life because she has to prioritize work over his care.

Hae-Sook has to deal with the mismatch between her efforts/labors and her expectation of gaining recognition from her family. In addition, Hae-Sook feels that she is imperfect not only because she is not recognized as the most important person in her family's life, but also because she is not a proper American who can speak English like a native speaker and who has integrated wholly into American society. She thinks inchoately that her life has been in vain and struggles with feelings of emptiness, but she does not confront her biographical pattern of living for others. Instead, she tries to find the answer to such feeling of uselessness through educational and religious activities which do not provide the answer. Hae-Sook could have enjoyed her life living in several countries if she had "given herself to herself", as Montaigne's famous saying goes. Instead she spent her life craving the recognition of her family and never achieved such reward and recognition as she felt she deserved.

*Lend yourself to others but give yourself to yourself* (Michel de Montaigne, 1877).

## CHAPTER 6. UNFINISHED CONFLICTS AND CONTINUING A TROUBLE MAKER'S

## STORY: KYUNG-MUN

## Kyung-Mun's Objective Data

<b>Year</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>1938</b>	<b>0</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Born in North Korea, the oldest child of 5 (2 younger brothers &amp; 2 younger sisters)</li> <li>○ Father: Own business/ Mother: Housewife</li> </ul>
<b>1945</b>	<b>7</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Moves to Seoul after Korean Independence from Japan</li> </ul>
<b>1950</b>	<b>12</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The Korean War begins; flees to Y city</li> </ul>
<b>1951</b>	<b>13</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enters middle school in Y city</li> </ul>
<b>1954</b>	<b>16</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enters high school</li> </ul>
<b>1956</b>	<b>18</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Runs away from home to B-city to avoid a University entrance exam</li> </ul>
<b>1957</b>	<b>19</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enlists in the army and is placed in a forward unit.</li> <li>○ He is then sent to another unit in N city near Seoul.</li> <li>○ Enters Seurable Art College near his army base</li> </ul>
<b>1960</b>	<b>22</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Discharged upon completion of his military service; quits college</li> </ul>
<b>1964</b>	<b>26</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Goes to A city, Germany as a coal-miner</li> </ul>
<b>1965</b>	<b>27</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Fight with miners from the Middle East</li> </ul>
<b>1967</b>	<b>29</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ He breaks up his relationship with his German girlfriend who is pregnant with his baby and leaves for the US. Arrives in W city</li> </ul>
<b>1968</b>	<b>30</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Comes to E city to settle down and works as a factory worker</li> </ul>
<b>1970</b>	<b>32</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Marries his first wife</li> </ul>
<b>1971</b>	<b>33</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ His first son is born</li> </ul>
<b>1973</b>	<b>35</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Quits as a factory worker.</li> <li>○ Becomes the first president of the Association of Korean Miners in Germany.</li> <li>○ His youngest son is born</li> </ul>

- 1974 36**      ○ Becomes the manager of the KY newspaper
- 1975 37**      ○ The newspaper goes bankrupt.
- 1976 38**      ○ 1975-76: Establishes a cleaning company which he managed for over 20 years
- 1977 39**      ○ Helps an employee who has been treated badly and stabbed by his employer
- 1978 40**      ○ Loses an election for the president of the E city Korean-American Association
- 1980 42**      ○ Divorces his first wife due to his excessive involvements in Korean community works and his first ex-wife raises two sons.  
                     ○ He is elected as president of the Korean-American Association in E city (80-81)
- 1981 43**      ○ Marries his second wife who had been a nurse in Germany and later became the president of Korean-American nurses' association  
                     ○ He is re-elected as president of the Korean-American Association in E city (81-82)  
                     ○ Former president, vice-president, chairman of many Korean-American associations and organizations
- 1982 44**      ○ Organizes a parade for the anniversary of the establishment of a diplomatic relationship between Korea and America.
- 1985 47**      ○ President of TK (assumed name)
- 1992 54**      ○ Organizes a ceremony advocating reunification of Korea  
                     ○ Campaign against Senator M., who had criticized Korea on TV.
- 2002 64**      ○ His second wife dies  
                     ○ Organizes a support group for Mr J, who fired shots in the name of peace in North Korea
- 2003 65**      ○ Third marriage to a woman who was the president of C organization and K local Association
- 2004 66**      ○ Publishes Korean-American history book
- 2006 68**      ○ 2006 or 2007 visited Europe (obtained contact information for his daughter in Germany and tried to meet her, but failed to see her because her stepfather and mother opposed the meeting)

- 2011 73      ○ His twin dogs die in November
- 2012 74      ○ President of Korean-American L meeting/ Writing a book, Korean-American immigration history

### Sequential Analysis I : Analysis and Interpretation of the Beginning of Interview

#### 1. IE: Um .....(2).

Kyung-Mun does not start verbal storytelling right away and uses a nonverbal expression to begin the interview. The silence is a means of gaining time to prepare himself for the answer. This shows his prudent approach to choosing biographical experiences and episodes from the large scope of his lifetime for the interview. The narrator as a thinker in the silence chooses not answer the question yet; he needs more time to select certain life stories to share with the interviewer. This deliberate attitude can be read in two ways:

R1) Normally, an interviewee is wary about revealing her/his own biography with the interviewer at the first meeting. This type of interview is different from everyday life conversation with family and friends in a private space. The narrator realizes that his personal life story is being recorded and used for academic research, which may cause her/him pressure (negative) or expectation (positive) regarding the impact of revealing his life story in interview.

R2) Kyung-Mun may simply be hesitating about where and when to start his narration. The interjection, “um” is a beginning of his answer, which does not yet contain a particular meaning. This shows his intent to take a short (ten seconds) break in the interview. Had he not used this interjection before the silence, the interviewer might have thought the narrator could not understand or hear the question well. The interjection and break indicate that he is thinking of how to start his storytelling instead of ignoring, refusing, or misunderstanding the question. Furthermore, Kyung-Mun chooses a silence rather than asking the interviewer for detailed directions to narrow his biographical topics down in order to start the real narration.



Even if the following narration were a question regarding detailed guidelines of his answer, it would not change the fact that he chooses a silence to reflect upon the question or interview purpose before questioning the interviewer. Kyung-Mun does not ask for help in clarifying the meaning of question from the interviewer, but holds the power to decide where and when he can start his narration.

2. *When I really look back on the past aged at over 70 (2)*

Kyung-Mun narrates his temporal perspective on his storytelling from the present to the past. This narration contains neither a concrete time, place, or episode nor an outspoken approach to disclosing his life story. Instead, he takes a bypass by using a reflective expression to avoid the future main story of his biography. Kyung-Mun took ten seconds' break and still took the long way round to start his storytelling, which could indicate that his storytelling will not be short and easy, but rather long and complicated.

This narration has the period, process, and reflection of the time to think back into over 70 years as a long journey including both start and finish. The period of over 70 years encapsulates a considerable amount of his life experiences, and they have been developed in historical and social context related to the interviewee's biography. In other word, this narration embodies more process than a single episode in his biography. Kyung-Mun has to go through the process of time in 70 years in order to explain who he is in the present. The interviewee chooses to present himself as having been an agent for over 70 years instead of defining himself by a category of a certain job, social position, generation, or residence. This process can be a criterion in evaluating his biography in the following main clause because this narration as a subordinated clause and prologue is a condition for the main clause. The following sentence can be expected to be some sort of an evaluation (either good/successful or bad/failure) of his life.

3. *I regretted my life, in some ways, in which I have been too excessively interested in many social issues and spent all my energy to work for society (3-4).*

He starts by pontificating on the results of what he has done. There is as yet no detail of his activities or ways of involvement in society. However, the degree of his involvement is emphasized by the words, “excessively,” and “all my energy.” This extreme expression may be related to his satisfaction level with the result pouring all of his interests, energy and time for the society. In this narration, Kyung-Mun presents himself both as an activist who had attempted to contribute to public life, and as a critic of the imbalance which this passion for society had caused in his life.

R1) Kyung-Mun regrets that so much of his life has been spent in contributing to society. He could have done much for his personal life such as assisting his family or developing his career rather than working for society. The harder the narrator worked for society, more he neglected to take care of his own family or his job. When young, Kyung-Mun might have thought that he could change the world by involving himself in many social issues. However, as an old man, he may realize the significance of maintaining his personal life with his family and close friends.

As he emphasizes his public activities in the beginning, his narration does not demonstrate concern regarding other personal life issues involving friends and family. This implies that Kyung-Mun may have imbalanced biographical works between working for the good of society and living for his personal life i.e. family relationships, friendships, leisure, etc. His feeling of regret is possibly connected to this disequilibrium. If the first way of reading is assumed, there are two possible ways to interpret Kyung-Mun’s words regarding his imbalanced life and his regret about the same. The first possibility is that Kyung-Mun may have never married or may have been single for many years, so that he could focus solely on working for society. The second is that Kyung-Mun has a family; however, his family has not been

taken into account as a meaningful subject to him. For the first possibility, his decision is clearly to focus on working for society, which decreases conflict in choosing between them (i.e. between working for society and taking care of his personal life). For the second possibility, Kyung-Mun has either to deal with getting his family's consent as friendly forces or to defend himself from a lack of understanding by his family regarding his concerns for society. His evaluation of his own efforts for society might take a long time because this could be expected to include concurrences and disagreements of opinion from many members of society. In contrast, feedback from his family members (on the assumption that he has his own family) could be relatively faster because interaction with them can be expected to be an everyday matter. If his family were not of like mind regarding his excessive involvement in social issues, his family life would have been conflicted and highly at risk, which might cause him regret in the present.

R2) The resentment is related to a lack of recognition for his contribution and efforts by society at large. It could have been different for him had he gained adequate praise from society for his efforts and time. Kyung-Mun may believe that he had spent his life contributing to society at large, and that society considers his efforts as nothing.

Kyung-Mun does not evaluate his efforts and actions for society as wrong. Instead, he emphasizes his contributions and sacrifice for society; his phrase "for society" implies that his motivation and actions are not solely related to pursuing his own wealth and fame. It seems Kyung-Mun had high aspirations to live for others; this passion was his motivation to spend ALL of his energy working for society.

Few ordinary people are prepared to spend ALL of their time and effort to try to change and develop their society without gaining benefits financially and politically. Despite any extra advantage which might accrue through working for the good of society, most

people doing so would be unwilling to expend all their time and effort. Kyung-Mun, being one of the few people willing to do so, can be understood to be passionate about improving his society, putting his beliefs into practice, which indicates that he is not a thinker or talker but a doer. Kyung-Mun has practiced social activism due to his convictions about society, a choice which many people do not or could not make due to the pressures of everyday life. Nevertheless, he begins his narration with a feeling of regret and his regret is directly related to the fact that ALL of his time and effort has been spent working for the good of society.

Working for society in one's biography means that a person has to be involved in many interactions i.e. discussing and negotiating social issues with others holding different opinions. Anyone who aims to publicize and solve social issues for society can expect to encounter situations of both cooperation and conflict. In addition, Kyung-Mun's dynamic activism could have been amplified by his multi-migrational history. These features show that the process of working for society could have made it difficult for Kyung-Mun to deal with various business and social interests between people. They may signify that he has a more dynamic biography than those who have never been involved in social activism and left their country of origin. Despite all the difficulties which were to be expected, Kyung-Mun has spent a lot of effort working for society, but now he feels dissatisfied with what he has done. This can be related to his main biographical storyline. He may define himself as a politician or moral arbiter, as a doer who initiates actions to better society. This biographical identity could influence his consistent and strong involvements in working for society; his regret could be considered a result of his overriding passion to put society first, to the exclusion of anything else. As he selects it for his first narration about his life, working for society and his feeling of regret can inform the next narration and his biographical subject.

4. *The reason why I regretted it is that I would have felt worthy if this society which I dedicated all of my aspirations to had developed in a healthy way (4-6).*

Kyung-Mun provides the reason for his regret, which embodies three considerable dimensions of analyzing his narration. These dimensions are divided between the object (this society), his action (to change this society), and his expectation (to create a healthy society). The first dimension is the object of his action with his enthusiasm to change “this society”.

Kyung-Mun articulates his motivation and actions working for this society repetitively in the first and second sentences. However, it is ambiguous regarding the definition of “this society” that he is involved in. It could be a geographical region (i.e. a small town, a city, or a nation), or a community sharing similar values (i.e. social groups united by ethnicity, race, generation, gender, social position, job, ideology, etc.).

Society is constituted with its members for the public good by social consensus. In order to establish and to maintain a society, members consistently interact with each other in order to develop social rules, values, and culture. A member with strong aspirations to change that society must have a strong sense of affiliation, competence to mediate different opinions in communicating with other members, and is looking for social recognition for her/his efforts and work. These elements are crucial to identification of “this society” in his narration and to analyze his actions in attempting to change it as well. As discovered in the research interest, interview participants have experienced multinational migrations from Korea to the U.S. via Germany. Depending on which culture and language he is more familiar with or assimilated into, the “society” could be defined variously as the Korean-American group, Padok (dispatched to Germany) Korean guest workers’ group, the Asian group, or Americans in the US. The sense of affiliation for him could be based upon his region of origin or upon where he lives at present, religion, class etc. To clarify the meaning of “this society” could provide a clue to interpreting Kyung-Mun’s identity, i.e. which values, traditions, and cultures he identifies with.

For this society (which is not yet defined in his narration), Kyung-Mun describes his passion, interests, and efforts in spending all his time and energy attempting to change it. Generally, an individual applies all of her/his efforts only for a subject that she/he values highly. “Society” for Kyung-Mun possibly takes priority over his personal life with his family and friends. However, it is disappointing for him precisely when he realizes that he is unable to change society as he wishes. Regardless of what “society” means to him, changing a society of whatever size is not easy work for an individual. He has to have powerful authority and strategic proficiency to achieve his goal. In his experience of failure, Kyung-Mun either overestimates his ability to make things happen, or is an imprudent adventurer. Nevertheless, Kyung-Mun finds the reason for his failure in society not developing in the right way, rather than his personal capacity or strategies. He sees society as being comparable to an organic body (from the functionalist perspective) evolving in a negative direction, and the narrator, believing he knows the right direction, fails to lead the organism toward the healthy direction. The interviewee defines himself as a hard worker, helping society to change; while society ignores Kyung-Mun’s efforts for the public good. This argument embodies his condemnation of the society and his consternation about society going in the wrong direction from his expectations.

His expectation is that society should become healthy, which means that Kyung-Mun from the beginning defines such society as a problematic, sick organism which he needs to alter. The word “healthy”, which also can be replaced by “wholesome”, includes value or moral concepts rather than simple functional operation. For an organism to be healthy and wholesome requires the maintenance in harmony of a totality of well-functioning organs both physically and mentally, which achieves a positive ripple effect from one part to another. Kyung-Mun diagnoses his society’s status as unhealthy and feels a profound need to change society. The interviewee is full of the desire to make a healthy society and has spent his life

in this way; unfortunately, he has not succeeded. In other words, Kyung-Mun may have had to deal with many tragic biographical experiences in confronting his failures to change the society.

5. *but when (I) saw that society is getting morally sicker and getting more gone so wrong than before, in a manner of speaking, I am feeling frequently inconvenienced because this makes my voluntary services for this society become a lost time (6-9).*

This style of narration is similar to the above sentences. Kyung-Mun continues to explain his efforts to change society, but explains that his involvement came to nothing due to society continuing on its negative path. Feelings of remorse, bitterness, and suffering are embodied in describing his biography so far. His narrative way of manifesting his unhappiness consistently includes blaming “this society” which does not acknowledge his efforts. In addition, this is conditional, disappointed, and critical of society, which appears to be going in the opposite direction from his hopes and expectations. Although he expresses his feeling of discomfort indirectly and euphemistically, his dissatisfaction is related to his feeling that he should have been better rewarded for his voluntary services. His feeling of discomfort within society may contain inner conflict related to his regret for what he has done and external conflict with society and with community members holding different opinions from the narrator.

The meanings of “morally sicker” and “wrong” in his narration are ambiguous. These could be interpreted as according to a universal concept of right and wrong, or a relative/subjective perspective on the same; moral issues being subject to debate and argument. Kyung-Mun starts relating his biography with just such a contentious issue, and exhibits harsh judgement in his opinion of society. When he criticizes society, there exists an assumption in his narration that Kyung-Mun, standing for the “healthy” side, tries to treat the sick organism “this society.” This shows his dichotomous thinking way on a subject; this perspective may assume that Kyung-Mun perceives himself as a more moral person than normal in

“this society” and as a leader with superior capability or a prophet with abundant knowledge and insight, who can save “this society”, steering it in the direction of what is right. This can be understood as evincing narcissistic and elitist characteristics which Habermas discusses in his article on civil disobedience (1985).<sup>37</sup> He discusses the possibility of encountering misunderstanding by those who get involved in civil disobedience and apply moral prescience to justify their acts of insubordination. Kyung-Mun believes that he knows what the right thing is to make his society healthy, which provides legitimacy for his actions. His belief might or might not be right, which means his perspective contains the possibility of his misunderstanding issues of morality.

However, his narration does not provide any wider societal context for his opinions and it is entirely possible that he could be mistaken in his moral reasoning and therefore in his actions in the name of society. In other words, Kyung-Mun sees what is a very contentious issue as totally black and white, based on his strong personal beliefs, which causes many conflicts with others who have different opinions. Society consists of various people with different world-views. That means a person working for society has to take diverse opinions from others and to consider chances that she/he could have misunderstood people’s opinion due to her/his bias. If this is not taken into consideration, the person is at high risk of getting involved merely in conflict and contentious situations rather than reaching a consensus in order to solve a problem without the agreement of that society to the intended change. In this case, it is possible that Kyung-Mun would feel isolated from society and its members, which could further increase his sense of failure.

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<sup>37</sup> “The fools of today are not always the heroes of tomorrow; many will remain tomorrow the fools of yesterday (Habermas, 1985: 105).”



As “a fool of today” (Habermas, 1985: 105), Kyung-Mun concentrates on his failure, which he cannot accept, and which, consequently, causes him difficulties in the twilight years he now inhabits. This is a fairly tragic situation to him and could remain as an unsolved problem unless he faces up to his failure. Although, ironically, Kyung-Mun stresses the significance of developing a healthy society, he may be confronted by a crisis in the development of his own ‘healthy identity’ in having failed to integrate his success and failure, pleasure and sadness into his life and in failing to develop his relationship with society<sup>38</sup>. This crisis may cause him to feel powerless and hopeless due to being unable to gain reward for his efforts.

6. *Yes.. well and in our America since the immigration law of President Johnson in 1965 was amended (9-10).*

A historical episode regarding the revised immigration law in the US is expressed within a collectivistic linguistic description. In this narration, two features – the linguistic characteristic and the historical event - are significant clues relating to his definition of “this society.”

R1) “Our America” signifies “this society.”

R2) The possessive case “our” is a typical Korean colloquialism.

The Korean colloquial style often has an ambiguous meaning to distinguish between the first person singular possessive and the first person plural possessive case. So his narration of “our America” can be understood as ‘my America’ and ‘our America’ as well. If the

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<sup>38</sup> An individual in late adulthood goes through a psychological development stage of either integrity (succeeding in adapting fully to her/his life achievements) and loss or despair (remaining in anguish and frustration), as defined by Erikson (Nevid, 2009: 392). In addition, Erikson elucidates that in order to attain “healthy” identity in adulthood, an individual needs to achieve two dispositions as follows: coping with identity crisis by understanding the social world; developing identity formation successfully in dealing with developmental tasks such as intimacy, generativity, and integrity. (Côté & Levine, 2002: 176).

interviewee used “our” followed by Korean linguistic habits, this possessive case is counted simply by his cultural habits on the one hand. On the other hand, if Kyung-Mun applies “our” to emphasize his solidarity and belongingness; thus, the meaning of “this society” is revealed to be the United States.

The second feature is the historical event regarding an immigration issue. The amended immigration law in 1965 made it possible for massive numbers of non-European immigrants to enter the US<sup>39</sup>. Obviously, the immigration law of 1965 had a positive impact in increasing the number of Asian immigrants, which could have been highly relevant to Kyung-Mun’s biography. Through his narration, the space that he belongs and the political situation which is strongly influential on his life is related to the US rather than to Korea or Germany.

*7. well our Asian immigrants have been increased. I mean no doubt about the modern immigration history was started in 1965(10-11).*

Kyung-Mun talks about the Asian immigration flow, and collectivizes his own identity into that of “Asian immigrants”, as signified by the use of “our.” In Phrase 6 above, he uses the collectivistic ‘we’ as a possible signifier of his belongingness as an American; this second use of the first person plural possessive links his identity to the Asian immigrant group in the US. The collectivized group is narrowing from the national level to the racial group. This sequential pattern of grouping and political speech may show him as a politician or social activist in considering a healthy society and immigration law instead of talking about his personal life story.

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<sup>39</sup> Before this law, U.S. immigrant policy included the national origins quota system, which ensured selective immigration flows from mostly European countries, and excluded immigrants from Asian and African countries (NPR, May 9, 2006).

8. *Yes, so Korean society has been rapidly developed in our modern immigration history from 1965 and in the rapid growth process we had many tearful sorrows and joys which could not be even imagined (12-14).*

Kyung-Mun narrows down the categorization of society from the ambiguous concept of society in the beginning to a nation, a racial group and an ethnic group. This way of narration is an inverted triangle structure, leading the story from a general issue to a specific topic. The inclusion of this historical fact substantiates his speech and the grouping by a certain category makes his narration take on a public character, which is a well-organized way of storytelling frequently utilized by experienced politicians and speakers. He manifests his 'we-group' as Korean-American immigrants coming to the US after the passing of the immigration law in 1965; this cohort group shared difficulties and pleasures through the immigration process.

Kyung-Mun develops his point to include not only objective historical fact, but also emotions as experienced by the group members. This is the first time there is positive emotion in his narration, but difficulty in the immigration process is magnified by the expressions "tearful" and "which could not be even imagined." This collectivistic suffering is probably because this cohort group experienced the rapid social transition as a minority coming from an at-that-time undeveloped country, Korea, to a more advanced country, the US. Those people had to deal firstly with issues related to international migration, and secondly with the rapid growth in the Korean community. When a transition occurs too suddenly, side effects may not be deeply considered, which may give rise to social problems in the future. In other words, it is difficult for society to achieve social concurrence between members when in rapid growth. These factors could be a reason why the interviewee considers "this society" not to be wholesome and healthy in the above narration: "this society" is sick because it only focuses on growth in a short period, but not on maturation.

9. *In spite of the grief of living, that we, Korean compatriot society, have developed well, must considered as good work (14-15).*

Repeating his narration about the Korean immigrant group, Kyung-Mun again emphasizes his identity as part of the group of Koreans living in the US; the subject “we” in apposition with “a Korean compatriot society” supports the definition of “this society” in the above narration. By narrowing the meaning of “society” from a national sense to this particular ethnic group, the interviewee gradually approaches the evaluation of the developmental process of Korean society in the US. In the previous sentence, Kyung-Mun explains the external condition of the rapidly increasing number of Korean immigrants, causing a massive expansion of the Korean community in the US. This could also mean economic and political enlargement; becoming an ethnic group now able to exercise significant voting power in the mainstream, and strengthening their culture to maintain their ethnic identity whilst living in the US. This expansion implies the construction of a homogenous ethnic group; the narrator stresses that “we” are involved in the construction process.

It can be considered as a natural phenomenon for immigrants to develop their own ethnic community in a receiving country; however, the noticeable element here is not simply the process of constructing a Korean community, but the interviewee’s active participation in the development of that community. This analysis is inferred from his narration in applying ‘we’ and ‘our’ and in describing emotional responses related to the developmental process of the Korean community. Kyung-Mun continues to stress his identity in the context of the historical situation, i.e. the construction the Korean community in the US, and his participation is maximized in “the grief of living.” He is not an observer and onlooker, but a participant in that time and place. In this context, it is getting clearer to define “this society” as the Korean community living in the US, for which he spent all his time and effort over several decades. In addition, “this society” is more meaningful to the interviewee because he is in a leading

role to develop the community from the beginning although he has failed to confront many of his failures. To sum up, the Korean society in the US, which Kyung-Mun aimed to develop, is a meaningful group and a significant biographical subject in his narration so far.

However, on the flip side, this feature indicates that the more Kyung-Mun stresses his participation in the development of his ethnic society, the less he integrates into the mainstream of the US. This might imply two elements of international migration characteristics; by his personal preference and by the receiving country.

R1) Kyung-Mun may have had a more difficult time in adjusting to a new culture than he thought he would, so building his ethnic community may give him more comfort and convenience in developing his life after migration. Kyung-Mun must have had a good reason for his decision to leave Korea for a tertiary country via Germany. Some dissatisfaction with his reality encouraged him to find another territory to migrate: as Charles Simic (1997) indicates, a migration is “a terrific opportunity to get away from everything one has always secretly disliked about the people one grew up with (p. 129).” In the beginning, he may have been fascinated by an exotic environment in the new countries and have enjoyed leaving his origin to be distanced from what he felt to be uncomfortable. However, the initial exotic atmosphere is eventually replaced by a sense of alienation, in which Kyung-Mun finds it much harder to integrate himself into the mainstream culture than to stay in his homogeneous Korean culture.

R2) The receiving society may have given him limited access to integrate into the mainstream. Even if the aim of American society regarding immigration was to become a melting pot, integrating all into the American dream, as opposed to Germany, which treated migrants as guests, American society was still not completely free from segregation by race (i.e. Jim Crow laws until 1965) in the 1960s. Kyung-Mun may have been confronted with the cultural and emotional barricades to integration created by the mainstream. In this way of reading, his

effort to develop the Korean community is related more to his individual demand than to reasons of solidarity. In other words, Kyung-Mun contributed to the development of the Korean community not because he considered ethnic solidarity as important to aid the integration of individuals orientated towards collectivism to a more settled society within the U.S., but because, as an individual, he needs his own emotional hometown in which to drop the anchor of his life in the U.S.

For about 12 minutes from the beginning to the first coda in the interview, Kyung-Mun consistently talked about the social and political situation in the Korean community in the US. After his critiques of the political situation in Korea and in the Korean community in the US, he described the social contributions of the first generation of Korean-American immigrants, especially by those who came to the US via Germany as he did, to both mainland Korea and to the Korean community in the US. This shows a similar pattern to the previous analysis in that his narrative structure focuses on political and social issues with few of his own biographical experiences. He gets involved in arguments about and explanations of these issues and expresses his dissatisfaction at the society to whose development he attempted to contribute. Political and social issues may cause controversy, given people's varying opinions and interests, necessitating conflict and reconciliation between various sides in order to resolve differences among members of society. In Kyung-Mun's narration, there are consistently more arguments and conflicts than examples of negotiated agreement; this can be interpreted as highly relevant to his regret and dissatisfaction. This shows his habitual feature of formulating his biographical identity as being at the center of conflict. In light of his repeated patterns, the following analysis process omits a part of his narration which contains a similar sequential pattern, and goes to the next question after his first coda.

*10. I: ... (Ellipsis) when (we) get back to your biography how have you been? IE: um... I settled in 1968 in E-city (87-88).*

The question changes the interviewee's direction from the general history of Korean community in the US to his personal history. Kyung-Mun responds to the question with the time and place he settled in the US, which contains two interesting elements regarding his actions. First, the verb "settled" may indicate an unstable history before he moved to E-city. As defined by the research interest, the interview targets had lived in Germany before moving to the US. It could be inferred that the migration path of the interviewee involved passing through more than one city and country until settling in E-city. Second, his settling was legally much easier after the immigration law passed in 1965, as he mentioned previously. The more easily the law allowed Asian immigrants to enter the country, the more Koreans immigrated to the U.S. This means that Kyung-Mun was not only a beneficiary by the law, but one of the first generation of Korean immigrant boomers by dint of being in the US at that time.

11. *Aye, on the day when I came to E-city, I fought on that day.*

The narrator describes his fight episode and even stresses the temporal factor by repeating the temporal phrases twice. Kyung-Mun could have talked about a different episode, time, and place of his life; nevertheless, his fighting episode is chosen by the narrator to reveal the first detail of personal information so far. He might have had a fight with locals, Korean immigrants, a friend, or a random stranger; "fight"<sup>40</sup> could signify either physical force or an argument with another party. It is not a routine everyday life matter for a grown human

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<sup>40</sup> To fight in Korean can be understood as both of body battle and verbal argument. The narrator does not state definitely whether the fight episode was related to hustle or to argument in the Korean transcript. By Korean dictionary, to fight means to strive to win by arguing or by using power and weapon (The National Institute of the Korean Language online, n.d.c)

being<sup>41</sup> to get involved in fighting in a strange place on the first day of arrival unless he is a soldier in a battle.

To fight, in general, incorporates an expression of conflict and different opinions. In order to decide on right and wrong and to strive to win, people and groups involved in conflicts experience heightened emotional responses and exhibit violent behavior in solving the conflicts. In other words, fighting, to a greater or lesser degree, is not a peaceful and soft solution to conflict, but a rough, emotionally-consuming way of defining winners and losers. This subject is highly relevant to his consistent activism in getting involved in conflict and argument, as shown in the previous analysis. In addition, his choice of this as the first topic in the narration of his personal history reinforces his biographical pattern of being continually in conflict. From the beginning of his American immigrant history to the present, Kyung-Mun's biography contains the ongoing feature of him finding himself in problematic circumstances, which can be interpreted as a significant indicator that his biographical identity is heavily invested in living in the middle of conflict.

*12. The reason why (I) got involved in a fight was that friends who came to the US from Germany before I came talked a lot about "never talk about you are from Germany. Now our most of young residents in E-city are students and we don't need to encounter contempt (by them)." (They) told (me) this story. So I told them, "if we lie even once in order to avoid a moment, we must continually lie to justify the lie and finally we will become a person with personality disorder (91-97).*

Superficially, there are two visible causes of conflict between Kyung-Mun and his friends. First, from his friends' side, they feel reluctant to reveal their history as guest

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<sup>41</sup> Kyung-Mun was in his middle or late 20s in 1968 by calculating his age inferred from his narration of "aged at over 70" in 2012.



workers in Germany<sup>42</sup>. Even if most Korean miners in Germany were highly educated and had previously never worked in blue-collar occupations, they chose becoming a miner in Germany due to domestic economic difficulties and the high unemployment rate in Korea. His friends are afraid of the disharmony between different status and classes, which reflects a sign of the times related to superiority and inferiority by class in Korean community. Their perceived inferiority to the students could be reinforced by their comparative deprivation. The guest workers' group had to support their families by working underground at the risk of their lives, whilst the students' group had the opportunity to develop their career and to experience an advanced culture supported by their family and the country.

While his friends worry about being looked down upon by the students due to their status, Kyung-Mun wants to deal with telling the truth in public. To hide the part of their history in Germany is considered as a lie by Kyung-Mun. This means that the narrator defines honesty only as total disclosure. His friends, on the other hand, do not define honesty in this way, believing that full disclosure in the matter of their previous guest worker status is unnecessary. An individual does not have to disclose absolutely everything in order to be honest. However, the narrator, with the strong belief that honesty means telling everything, understands his as the only morally correct path. It is legitimate that total disclosure is his right and choice, and that lying produces more lies in a relationship, but there is an argument to be made against his definition of honesty. He fails to take into account that his friends may have

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<sup>42</sup> In the 1960s, few people could come to the US to study; this was achieved either by support from a well-to-do family or by national scholarship. Because emigration and immigration control by the military dictatorship was rigorous, it was only possible for a limited number of people; either from families with power and money, or those who were extraordinarily smart. In contrast, people who had worked as guest workers in Germany were seen as having a poor family background compared to those in the students' group. This stereotype was applied more strongly to males who had worked as coal miners than to female nurses.

an equally valid opinion, and that his is not the only legitimate definition of this particular moral issue, thus putting himself at risk of falling into sophistry.

There is an implicit agreement between the narrator and his friends about the possibility that the guest workers' group is underestimated by the students' group. Kyung-Mun criticizes his friends for evading relating their experiences in Germany, but does not deny his friends' fear regarding the chance of misrecognition. The narrator simply has a different way of presenting his history from that of his friends, who choose a more roundabout presentation. Kyung-Mun is direct, firm, and unquestioning about his beliefs and values. This attitude is evidenced by his language, "*we don't need to encounter contempt (by them),*" and "*finally we will become a person with personality disorder.*" In the first sentence, Kyung-Mun paraphrases his friends' worry regarding discrimination and disregard by the students' group from a different class, and the word to describe a disregard is "contempt (Neung-Meual, 凌蔑)." This phrase, in Korean, is an extreme expression of disdain and scorn and is not often used in current conversational form. This word is more often used in historical drama when a king is displeased by a vassal showing disrespect to him. The second word, in addition, of "personality disorder" is profoundly pathological. There can exist a correlation between lying and mental health; however, Kyung-Mun fails to set up variables to make the argument legitimately. In other word, his logic – to lie is wrong - is morally correct, but his hypothesis – that honesty requires total disclosure - is simply opinion.

13. ... (Ellipsis)... *Since then, I said that the fact that we hid we are from Germany is because we, ourselves, are weak. So, if we have power, others could not look down on us. For this reason, (we) for the first time in the overseas Korean society established Dong-Wo-Hwae as the group of people to have been in Germany (103-106).*

Kyung-Mun evaluates the situation in the context of power, thus becoming involved will almost inevitably lead to conflict due to the imbalanced relationship between those with power and those without. He sees the reason why people want to cover up their history in Germany as loss of power and suggests a solution; to organize an association in order to develop stronger recognition. It can be a personal choice for those people who were guest workers in Germany to choose whether they reveal their story or not. However, Kyung-Mun perceives this issue in the collectivized context and arrives at the conclusion of power creation. The flow of his logic is as follows: first, to believe in being honest in telling everything to others; second, to fight against people with a different opinion; third, to access a cause of misrecognition by a lack of power; fourth, to make a homogenous group to develop power as a solution. Kyung-Mun however commits a logical error in that he fails to recognize the existence of alternatives to his first proposition in the above logical flow. His confused hypothesis causes a conflict with his friends and dissatisfaction with the situation in the society to which he belongs. On the surface, Kyung-Mun is attempting to do right thing; nevertheless, his belief in rightness is more subjective than he believes. This flaw in his logic is like a domino effect, extending from this particular situation to encompass the creation of the Dong-Wo-Hwae association as a means of gaining power within the community.

Kyung-Mun, in this sentence, describes his first action in the Korean community in the US as a pioneer and organizer of Dong-Wo-Hwae. This implies a correlation between his political attitude and his over-rigid definition of morality in the above narration. The interviewee identifies himself as a moral arbiter, aiming to treat an unhealthy society by becoming involved in political and social issues. However, his narrow definition of rightness is not shared by society at large and therefore society does not provide recognition for his achievements. His reliance on his over-rigid concept of morality, failing to take others' opinions into consideration, as grounds for his participation in political activity and in the hope of gaining

social recognition, however, means that such hope can never come to fruition, as his basis for attempting social justice is not necessarily shared by the whole of society and will therefore inevitably lead to misrecognition.

### Structural Hypothesis I

Kyung-Mun is considerably sensitive regarding justice, social and political issues and proactive in attempting to change society to be healthy. Superficially his concerns and actions indicate a strong sense of affiliation, public spirit, and altruism, but this is only acceptable if his concept of right and wrong issues is reasonable. In contrast to his strong belief in himself as a practitioner of rightness for society, Kyung-Mun evinces a lack of recognition that his subjective definition of right and wrong may not correlate precisely with any universal meaning of morality. On the contrary, his social activism is influenced solely by his own personal opinion. The interviewee defines being unable to be totally frank as a lie, which he confuses with the definition of honesty; he establishes the Dong-Wo-Hwae in order to gain power in overcoming the perceived superiority of the students' group. The act of total disclosure is a personal choice rather than a universal moral imperative; organizing a Korean guest workers' association is not substantially relevant to solving conflicts between guest workers and students either. From his contention, it is becoming obvious that he is not prepared to make an effort to form a consensus with those who hold different opinions. Instead, the narrator strongly asserts what he thinks of as right, which could be seen very differently by others, based on their own values. The fight episode, for instance, demonstrates his radical action in dealing with a conflict which could have been solved by rational conversation between him and his friends.

His dichotomous perspective on solving problems can cause antagonism with others because the subjects in which he becomes involved are political and social issues. Such issues

are complicated because they necessitate mediation between people's desires, varying world-views and cultural and biographical experiences; far more so than issues such as natural science, where statements are demonstrably either true or false due to being based upon natural laws. That means there are abundant possibilities for conflict from the early stages of attempting to understand a certain political and social issue until agreement and reconciliation are reached. In addition, a group consisting of immigrants who have lived in several cities and countries, experiencing dynamic life experiences, and who did not know each other well before their migration, might need a more discreet approach to discussing these issues than those who have lived in the same village over years. In a group with such sensitive issues, the risk of causing more conflicts than harmony or consensus is considerably increased. Despite such increased risk, he continually engages in and creates conflict situations and perceives his opinion as a moral imperative for the whole of society. This shows that he has a sequential pattern; unfinished conflicts and incomplete morality.

Conflict can happen to anyone in any situation and can lead to both positive and negative consequences; it can either politicize a social issue so that society and its members attempt to settle the problem, or polarize people's opinions on the issue. In Kyung-Mun's case, he tried hard to bring social issues up and evinced deep concern about the wellbeing of society. However, conflicts consistently appear in his biography due to his dichotomous way of thinking. His drastic way of thinking might cause more conflict in the small ethnic group in the U.S. than in his hometown and origin country because the members came from all different regional and cultural backgrounds different from those who have lived in a same village and shared similar tradition over decades. This cycle of conflicts in his biography may impede his attempts to gain positive feedback and popularity in society, which can amplify his feelings of regret and dissatisfaction that society has not rewarded his efforts to improve it.

Continuing Analysis and Interpretation Related to Unfinished Conflicts and Incomplete Morality

*So because Koreans have a tendency that (people) look down upon weaker persons and attach to stronger persons, (they) have no desire to help our KY-newspapers, but only support KOV-daily newspapers which has been existed longer (120-122).*

Kyung-Mun's argument can here be seen to be that people with power oppress the weak; this imbalanced power relationship circumscribes accessibility for the weak to social resources which perpetuates social inequality. Kyung-Mun can therefore be interpreted as blaming such an imbalance of power within society for the failure of his media business. It is more probable that the reason for the failure of his media business can be found in the principles of the market economy rather than in the context of oppression and the power dynamic. Kyung-Mun mentioned that the Korean community was small; therefore, there was a limited number of potential advertisers to raise financial resources. Furthermore, K-newspapers had already led the media market for three years before Kyung-Mun started his own newspaper. This indicates that Kyung-Mun had to have a special marketing strategy in bringing advertisers to his newspaper, which is not related to moral issues but to the relationship of gain and loss between the demands of the supplier and the consumer. In other words, his newspaper was seen as a weaker competitor than K-newspaper in terms of ability to provide high advertising impact to local advertisers. This is a matter of competency in the market economy and capitalism. Nevertheless, Kyung-Mun confuses the market economy issue with the subject of right and wrong and considers it a moral issue that local advertisers do not offer the expected support. If the argument had been about suppression of the press by community leaders who felt uncomfortable regarding reports of the truth by O-newspaper, it could have been a social justice issue as he asserted; however, it was far more about his inability to read the market as a newspaper owner.

Following similar action patterns to the above, Kyung-Mun describes another fight and problems regarding his passport. A fellow Korean working in the same mine in Germany was beaten by another miner from an Arabic country, and Kyung-Mun organized a gang fight to avenge his friend.

*It is more than enough to be sad for (us) to have hard graft in a faraway country and it is not possible to have this unfair situation without any fault. Do not think about this issue as only one person's problem, but we have to think of this issue as ours because no one knows when it happens again to us. When (I) said that to people, there were about 50 people to agree with me and did not go to work. So (we) were waiting for this person biting that person, the Arabic miner, but (he) did not come out to the ground because of us and came out an hour later. So there was a gang fight. We about 50 people were perfectly prepared, and the others were only five to six people. When they came out, we bit them until almost putting to death by dismemberment (436-445).*

It is fairly simple that Kyung-Mun here extended an individual issue to a group problem, and organized the gang fight to revenge his Korean co-worker on the Arabic miner. Similar to the above pattern, Kyung-Mun develops his argument to provide a reason to attack the other miner by using the concept of false accusation and unfairness. Instead of inquiring into the actual reasons for the fight, Kyung-Mun defines the situation as unfair and organizes ten times more people to take part in a revenge attack on the Arabic miner than were involved in the original affray. This gang fight was a serious issue in the community and many of his fellows were not able to work in the same mine any longer. While other conspirators were being investigated, Kyung-Mun did not give himself up to the police. Instead, he collected money for the other conspirators who had to be transferred to another location. The narrator counts this act of collecting money as his achievement and contribution towards helping his

colleagues. If Kyung-Mun had revealed that he was the organizer of the gang fight to police, he would at least have been following the principles of total disclosure and honesty that he was previously seen to advocate; surely, given his definition of honesty, it can be seen as hypocritical of him to fail to give himself up to the police, rather evading this direct responsibility by instead collecting money for his colleagues. He therefore emerges as a sophist capable of hypocrisy. Kyung-Mun is capable of good organization and of acting to realize a goal, but can be judged a man of narrow legitimacy.

*.... Anyway the minister in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism visited. At that time I lost (my) passport...(458-459). (Ellipsis) so I said that (I) am sorry to ask a personal request to you. At this moment, (I) lost (my) passport and it takes longer than one to two months to have a new passport, but for motherland, (we) have to spend money that we saved while waiting for the new passport in Germany. So (I) want you to correct the problem and as the second issue, there were many returners of the dispatch of troops to Vietnam, and when they came back to Korea the soldiers could bring their stuff for customs-free. When we struggled in Germany for three years, (we) had record players and TVs as consolation and (we) want to bring the players and TV to Korea and it is wrong to impose a duty on them, so (I) want (you) to fix the erroneous system (461-470).*

The narrator brings up two problems; his passport issue and the taxes on Korean guest workers' household electrical appliances upon their return to Korea. The contradiction in the first episode is to make a connection between foreign currency waste and the process of passport issue. Losing his passport is his personal responsibility, so much so that it can be seen as his own duty to support himself while waiting for its replacement. In addition, it is understandable in general for the process to take about one to two months in the 1960s and 1970s. Kyung-Mun substitutes a personal matter for a public issue in order to gain advantage for



himself. His second logical misrepresentation is to compare the guest worker program to the overseas dispatch of armed forces. The structure of contradiction is same as the first one in confusing the personal with the public. Definitely Korean guest workers were abroad for their own benefit (i.e. they received better wages than in Korea and an exotic experience) whilst soldiers in Vietnam were fighting for their country in the line of fire. The time in Germany which Kyung-Mun felt painful was at least the free choice of the individual; however, the others' time in war cannot be decided by one's free will, but by orders from above. Kyung-Mun's arguments in these episodes show that he may overly extend (misunderstand) the concept of duty and rights from personal demands to moral rights. Similarly, Kyung-Mun continues to get involved in contentious public issues and his strong opinions are embedded in his narration, which reflects his rigid attitude, causing confrontations with others.

Kyung-Mun's biographical storytelling contains mostly argument rather than narration and description in the communication schemes (Schütze, 2007: 15). He focuses narrowly on his subjective opinions in his arguments which he strongly believes to be right, but indicates a lack of rational deduction: from full disclosure vs. honesty to psychological coping/defense strategy vs. power imbalance, to capitalist economic subject vs. social oppression, to disrespect vs. revenge, to denouncing himself to the police vs. supporting his arrested co-workers in hiding, to private vs. public. His narration omits any mention of compromise and agreement with others holding different opinions; his continual pattern of engagement in conflict is reinforced by his insistence upon his own rightness. This demonstrates that Kyung-Mun may fail to distinguish between mutual and one-sided communications.

These fatal mistakes in his arguments could be seen as having affected his biographical development. Piaget & Inhelder (2000: 122-127) indicates that an individual can develop

her/his moral judgement with autonomy by learning reciprocal respect and obligation<sup>43</sup>.

When an individual does not understand that obligations must outweigh rights and fails to take others' views into account, the individual is not able to develop an appropriate autonomous concept of morality. This is seen in Kyung-Mun's arguments. Whilst he believes that he is pursuing justice, defined as "a form of equilibrium between conflicting interpersonal claims" (Kohlberg & Gilligan, 1971: 1071), he is actually making unilateral assertions rather than listening to others in an attempt to mediate the differing claims. His pattern of unilateral assertion could also be seen as an impediment to achieving due reward for the time and effort he expended in working for society. Because Kyung-Mun fails to show mutual respect and compromise with other members of society whilst attempting to work to better such society, his social activism cannot develop community feeling with others<sup>44</sup>. Kyung-Mun has the ability to organize and to convince people to achieve his goals; however, he does this without consensus based on mutual respect within the members of his group. On the contrary; he insists upon pushing his own opinion until it is acted upon.

*Our mom, I still call her our mom haha (laughing). Our mom always said that no one can say everything that he/she wants to say, but I talk about subjects too bluntly, so need to control what I want to say and what I need to talk. (872-875)*

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<sup>43</sup> A child has to go through obeying orders and the authority of her/his parents when young; however, she/he will later develop autonomous and reflective ways of thinking in order to understand social rules by reaching consensus (Piaget & Inhelder, 2000: 127).

<sup>44</sup> When Adler develops a concept of *Gemeinschaftsgefühl*, translated as social interest or community feeling (Ansbacher, 2004), he indicates the significance of feeling empathy and we-feeling through relationships and cooperation with each other in a community (Ansbacher, 1973: 6, Shulman, 2004: 148-149, Huber, 2006: 114). This concept of social interest connotes respect and support in a mutual communication between members of society.

*(I am) very simple and honest and well... I throw caution to wind when I think if it is to make our society just. Because of that, sometimes, I get hurt a lot (518-520).*

The above narrations include a gap between his understanding of himself and an evaluation by others regarding his outspoken behavior. Whenever the narrator wants to say something, he has never held back his opinions and speaks straightforwardly to others. This attitude is observed as a lack of self-regulation and prudence by his mother, whereas he perceives his attitude as a simple and honest action. He may be frank in expressing his opinions and thoughts regarding social issues, but such total disclosure, whilst his personal choice, is not the only possible right and moral course of action. As a person who believes in social justice and cooperation to make a better society, Kyung-Mun might be supposed to acknowledge that people can have various opinions and ways to bring about justice. If he recognized his opinion as one of many different world-views attempting to understand social issues, instead of as one absolute way to make a society healthy, he could have gained a more flexible attitude towards reducing conflict with others. He could have reached social consensus when discussing a certain issue; eventually, this effort would have allowed him to achieve not only a better solution for social problems, but also positive feedback from others.

There is another subsection of discussion which further shows his biographical structure. Kyung-Mun spends a long part of his interview describing his social beliefs and his activities within the Korean-American community. There are only a few parts of narration covering his family and relationships. He reveals his family story after several questions by the interviewer, and the story is not detailed. As he spends a long time describing the details of his social activism, he indeed spent most of his life living merely for the social issues rather than taking care of his own family. For this reason, he is confronted with divorce by his first wife in 1980.

*Eventually, (I) had to deal with a decision of whether I choose this society or choose (my) family. Even if I am in a difficult situation, I, relatively, do not lie. (I) could not take care of this matter extemporaneously with sweet words. I cannot do it. So I divorced (536-539).*

He perceives his family as being less important than his social activism and puts more value on telling everything he thinks than on trying to improve his relationship with his family. Kyung-Mun consistently spent most of his time working for society, while his two sons needed their father to play with and his wife needed support to raise their children in their ten years of married life. Kyung-Mun states that he never changed his sons' diapers and never put his family first. This shows that Kyung-Mun maintains his attitude in focusing primarily on social issues, which causes a lack of time to share with his family. These factors include a lack of mutual respect and obligation to develop his family relationship. He does not want to change his lifestyle of spending much time on social activism and fails to carry out his obligations as a father and husband. In this situation, his wife feels that she needs to sacrifice herself to maintain harmony in the family, which is the reason why she sought a divorce after ten years.

His narrations regarding his family relationship show enough to identify his imbalanced values on his family and the society. He narrates that *"I had dogs which I have raised for 17 years. They are twins. But when those twins died, it hurt me so much. I have never imagined to have this much grief in my entire life (580-582)."* When he describes helping a funeral for an undocumented female suicide whom he has never met, he said that *"in the funeral service, (I) cried for her in holding her hand (334-335)."* Kyung-Mun cries for a stranger and suffers for his pets, but not for his own family, who suffer for his indifference.

Kyung-Mun acts in the opposite way to Gilligan's theory<sup>45</sup>; he has a strong care voice to help strangers, meanwhile he neglects his duty to take care of his family, his own children, spouse, siblings, and parents. This particularity of relationship does not give him a special motivation to carry out his obligations; he applies a characteristic of this particularity to random people he has never met. In other words, Kyung-Mun is interested in others' problems and conflict whilst failing to confront his personal family issues. His pattern of possibly irresponsible behavior is found in another example when he left Germany. Kyung-Mun left his pregnant German girlfriend behind for the US<sup>46</sup>. Even if he knew of her pregnancy, he made a decision to migrate to the U.S. by himself in 1967, and did not contact the mother and his daughter until 2006 or 2007. In the last several years, he has attempted to meet his daughter, which her mother and step-father do not want him to do.

*In some ways, I have a severe guilt feeling to my children and our siblings and parents when I am getting older. I regret that I was puerile and went forward without considering many significant life matters. I have never thought our family, parents, and children as a priority (341-344).*

Kyung-Mun has shared sufferings and hardships of others in his community and attempted to contribute to develop his community better. However, he does not empathize with his family and friends. Aged 74 (in 2012, the year the interview was conducted) he regrets his irresponsible behavior towards his family, and his excessive passion for social issues.

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<sup>45</sup> According to Gilligan, this demonstrates his abnormal moral concept: Gilligan criticizes Kohlberg's moral view which is based on impersonality and indicates that an individual's moral action is strongly correlated to the particularity of their relationship with a certain person (Blum, 1988: 474-475).

<sup>46</sup> Kyung-Mun mentions about this episode in the first interview after the recode was turned off. The interviewer arranged the second interview considering a significance of this issue for his biographical context.

However, his regret not does include any reflection upon his actions, and simply expresses disappointment with society and its members which do not provide recognition and rewards. The narrator thinks of himself as an upright member of the Korean immigrant community, whilst others in the community fail to fulfill their responsibilities towards the community. In addition, he does not distinguish appropriately the difference between his obligations and right to the society, and to his family. These ongoing problems are fundamentally related to his lack of understanding of reciprocal communication, and cause inner conflict in that he has failed to balance the interests of his family and of society; other conflicts with the external world provide merely misrecognition.

The above interpretation shows Kyung-Mun's consistent involvement in conflict by insisting upon his own opinion whilst failing to engage in mutual communication with others. His pattern gives rise to the argumentative atmosphere consistently surrounding Kyung-Mun's biography; his migration history can be seen as having amplified such an atmosphere. Living in a new country means that Kyung-Mun feels defensive and is therefore more prone to argument. Maintaining a strong sense of affiliation and community is one of the main agendas in his social activism in the Korean community in Germany and the US. As a guest worker in Germany and a member of the first immigrant generation<sup>47</sup> in the US, Kyung-Mun was automatically accorded historic symbolization as a pioneer and therefore a contributor to the glorification of Korea. With such symbolic weight behind him, he had a great advantage over others when becoming involved in social issues in the Korean community in Germany and the US; this advantage should have conferred societal approbation rather than

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<sup>47</sup> Many guest workers are acknowledged as a best contributor in the 1960s and the 1970s to reestablish ruined Korea from the war and the Japanese colonial period; the first generation Korean residents in the US are well appreciated as a pioneer to develop Korean community from starting with nothing to making economic and social success.

disapproval. If he had raised sensitive social issues in Korea, e.g. disagreeing with the Korean government in the 1960s and 1970s, he could have been arrested and tortured under the dictatorship. His overseas Korean status allows him to criticize many social problems related to Korea and the Korean community, with less danger of legal action than he could have done in Korea.

### Sequential Analysis II: Analysis and Interpretation of the Interview

The narration contains more historical and social issues and descriptions of his actions for society in Korean-German and even more in Korean-American society than narration concerning his personal life story. Facts regarding his family and childhood were only revealed through more specific narrative interview questions<sup>48</sup> than the usual open questioning.

So far, his narration has two major axes: the first is his ongoing political involvement; the second is his conflict-seeking pattern. Kyung-Mun does not separate himself from the social issues in the Korean community in the US. He spent his efforts and time to be a leader and organizer of his ethnic community and looks for social issues that he can get involved in. However, his actions were both praised and criticized. He was famous enough to be elected as a leader of many associations (see objective data) and unbending enough to have many conflicts with others by strenuously insisting upon his opinion. When he is firm in his belief, Kyung-Mun explains his reason by making a connection to justice and moral standards. As opposed to his convictions, his standards of justice and morality are relative, leading to a situation in which he lacks recognition for his existence and social achievements. In summary, Kyung-Mun wants to be a center of the Korean-American community as a famous politician

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<sup>48</sup> The first question is "Sir. Hum (clear interviewer's throat), would you tell me about your life until now?" and the second question is that "Ah... I want to ask you how you have lived. You talked about many good stories related to Korean community in E-city and so on. But if (we) get back to your biography, how have you been?"

and indeed devotes most of his life to becoming a special part of the community. Despite his attempts over several decades, he still cannot achieve sufficient social recognition, and he now regrets his life having been involved to an extreme extent in social issues and not having taken care of his own family.

The next sequential analysis begins from the third question in minute 53 of two hours ten minutes in the first interview<sup>49</sup>. No other structural sequence emerged in the first half of the interview, so the second analysis is from the question of his childhood and life in Korea.

14. *IE: Yes I was really a troublemaker (laughing) (375).*<sup>50</sup>

Kyung-Mun begins his narration with defining his youth as having been “a troublemaker”. This theme implies two factors of what will follow in the more detailed story and how he evaluates his childhood. Kyung-Mun constructs his narrative framework by offering a subject which could have been replaced with a particular time, place or episode. Instead, the interviewee chooses the topic of his life as a troublemaker which could be understood as positive or negative evaluation of himself.

R1) Kyung-Mun was a troublemaker who consistently had problems without any improvement.

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<sup>49</sup> Kyung-Mun has two interviews on February 27, 2012 for two hours ten minutes 46 seconds and on March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2012 for 17 minutes 18 seconds. On the first interview, he discovered his natural child with his German girlfriend who he left in Germany after the recorder was turned off. In order to collect information regard his natural child, the second interview was arranged in two days.

<sup>50</sup> The question asked here by the interviewer was “Well you talked about your life and personal achievement so far. Would you tell me of your life in Korea including your childhood before you came to the US?”



R2) Kyung-Mun was a troublemaker for some issues, but the trouble could be understood simply as a bit excessive for an ordinary boy and as nothing serious.

His narration, “I was really a troublemaker (laughing),” may stand for two different ways of reading in terms of positive and negative evaluations on his behavior in childhood. When Kyung-Mun confesses who he was, he stresses the fact of being a troublemaker in “really”; this demonstrates how sure he was of this characteristic. This narrative feature may reflect that Kyung-Mun sequentially produced problems without any improvement after rebukes from his parents and teachers. Kyung-Mun may have encountered criticism about what he had done, which could have caused a sense of inferiority, lacking recognition by others and society (Erikson, 1968: 124). As long as he loses recognition, he gains more attention by making trouble. Both recognition and attention can only be granted by others. The fact that he is merely a trouble maker, but not a solution maker, still allows him to achieve a profile by making a nuisance of himself. Kyung-Mun may not have had the ability to gain positive attention from others by devising solutions, but he may have found that he required the attention of others even if that meant being a troublemaker. On the other hand, the appellation “troublemaker” might not have been meant with any particular seriousness, simply indicating a healthy and active boy’s character. It is not clear how problematic the trouble was. It could have meant a bit excessive and wild, but still within the ordinary scope of a boy. Had he been a girl and a troublemaker, the appellation would signify more negatively, because a girl would have been expected to obey her senior family members more than a boy, according to social expectation in a Confucian society like Korea. Boys had relatively more flexible behavior regulation than a girl had in the mid-1950s. So the trouble may mean in Kyung-Mun’s narration no more than the normal trouble that a young boy could make at that time.

His narrative topic of being a troublemaker can be considered in connection with his structural feature of getting involved in many political and social issues. Kyung-Mun looks

back his life from his current perspective; he stresses his history of being a troublemaker by bringing that subject up before he goes into the detail of his childhood story. When Kyung-Mun described his life in Germany and in the US, most episodes were about his social activism in attempting to solve social problems. In this process, Kyung-Mun dealt with many conflicts with his friends and election supporters because he did not follow the existing regulations and the opinion of the majority. Being a troublemaker is less related to the qualities of calm, quiet, and obedience than to those of noise, action, distraction, and being problematic. If an ordinary boy or adult is a troublemaker, she/he could be considered a bad student or social misfit. In contrast, if a politician has a reputation as a troublemaker, she/he does not adhere to the Establishment in order to maintain a political life for personal gain, but is publicizing a social issue in an attempt to solve it for the public. Being known as a troublemaker could for this reason be counted as a positive in the biography of a politician.

*15. When I was 13 years old, aged at 13<sup>51</sup>, the Korean War broke out (375-376).*

This sentence<sup>52</sup> contains information regarding his age and a significant historical issue in Korea; these two narrative facts are dissolved into one story. Kyung-Mun chooses neither to explain his age from his birth and personal history, nor to articulate the historical event in an objective perspective such as ‘the Korean War broke out in 1950.’ Instead, the interviewee describes the beginning of war in his self-centered perspective, and this makes the two facts become closely intertwined. A considerable feature in this narration is that Kyung-Mun articulates his biography in the historical and social context. This factor is similar to his previous narration in setting out his biography to focus on his social achievements in the societal

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<sup>51</sup> Kyung-Mun was 12 years old in the way of counting his age in full.

<sup>52</sup> His age, ‘over 70 years-old,’ is clearly revealed as aged at 74 born in 1938 at that time of the interview in 2012.

context. In other words, Kyung-Mun consistently explains his life in terms of adhesion to the macro- and historical context.

Another interesting element is the event itself. He could have chosen, for instance, Korean independence in 1945, which was another significant historical event, or other historical issues in that turbulent era of the 1940s and 1950s. Seven is possibly old enough to remember the time when Korea was freed from Japan, had Kyung-Mun considered independence meaningful to mention in the interview. Instead, Kyung-Mun selects the war, which means this is fairly important for him. The Korean War symbolizes ideological conflict between South and North Korea, which share the same ethnic roots. Those who were family, friends and relatives before the division in 1945 became enemies, vowed to kill each other and destroyed the country. War is a radical, violent method to attempt to solve a conflict by means of military force; war makes people's life deviate from regular orbit. That means a person in a war is in a catastrophe, losing her/his normative, routine everyday life. As well as Kyung-Mun being in the middle of catastrophe because of the Korean War, interestingly he is in another catastrophe called puberty, as a 13-year-old boy. The story of his youth starts with these catastrophic elements: one is a historical crisis; the other is a normative crisis in the human developmental process. Thus, Kyung-Mun as a young adolescent, is surrounded by significant crises; yet, he does not mention his personal crisis. These chronological and historical pieces of information are still without personal details.

*16. (I) was in Seoul at that time (376-377) (The interview was stopped for 2 minutes 40 seconds due to a phone call).*

Seoul is only about 55 km far away from the Military Demarcation Line, which means the narrator and his family - if he had one - were in danger, directly affected by the war. When people fled to a safe place in the South, many people lost their families and became a dispersed family or were killed in the war. Kyung-Mun describes his youth as living in the

war in a major city which the enemy continually attacked, thus providing a high degree of danger. In this context, the war could be important to him because the war could have caused his life transition or trajectory, such as losing family, being injured, migrating to a new place etc.

*17. As I was 13 years old, (I) flew to Y-city. (I) flew to Y-city (377).*

So far, Kyung-Mun has described his biography as a solo story without providing any information regarding his family, siblings, parents or friends of his youth. It would have been a long distance and emergency evacuation from Seoul to Y-city, about 300 km away, which would have been profoundly difficult for a 13 year-old boy. The factors of his young age and migration in the war can be understood as an amplifying mechanism for the danger he faced.

*18. At that time a rifle went off by accident at my age 13 in Y-city. How the accidental discharge happened was that (I) shot the gun by accident while I played around with the gun from a friend of our father which the friend left on the table (378-380).*

Kyung-Mun's narration does not include the process of his flight, but brings up the accidental firearm discharge after having narrated his arrival in the safer place. The war is dangerous; this accident is not as severe a situation as the war. Kyung-Mun is now living in a safe area with his family (he indirectly reveals that he was with his family in "our father"). However, the crises are exactly realized as inferred from the above analysis as intertwining the historical crisis with his normative crisis. Kyung-Mun is able to obtain a gun more easily during the war than during an ordinary period; is during early adolescence, in which a teenager is dealing with physical and psychological transition to maturity, but is not yet mature enough to make good decisions. The war situation was lacking in normal discipline and he was young enough to be allowed to make a mistake.

This accident is caused by a combination of the external and internal vulnerabilities, and there is a special meaning implicit in his selection of this accident as the first story of his childhood. The consequences are not yet revealed, in order to discuss the seriousness by the accident; therefore, only possible results can be inferred. First, Kyung-Mun or someone else was injured in the accident, which could lead to lifelong trauma for him. Second, no damage to human life occurred, but Kyung-Mun was severely scolded by his father or a friend of his father. Third, Kyung-Mun is forgiven because it was wartime. It is possible that this accident directly influenced his life or that it is used to explain the riskiness of war by the narrator. No matter what reason he has, the accidental discharge of the firearm is as unstable, unforeseen and uncontrollable as the situation in the war is. In addition, his young age accelerates this instability. Kyung-Mun mentions his youth several times in this and the previous sentences. Indeed, this accident would have been a very different story had he been an adult. His youth makes this accident more dramatic.

*19. By the way, where we lived at that time, we lived in a military house located in the provost marshal headquarters. Because it was in 6.25 and the gun went off from the provost marshal headquarters, many soldiers came running toward our house but a little boy made the accident. I did that while (my) 6th grade in primary school, 6<sup>th</sup> grade in elementary school (380-384).*

There are a couple of more elements to amplify the seriousness of the situation to the young Kyung-Mun. If there was gunshot in one's own encampment in such a serious war which did not originate from an enemy troop position, the situation could have been regarded as an unexpected aggression by the enemy or something more serious. Worse, the place was in the provost marshal headquarters which contained many army executive members responsible for making significant decisions for the war. Naturally, this accidental discharge of a firearm got a tremendous reaction from the soldiers who immediately responded to the

situation; they just found a 13-year-old boy, playing with a gun for fun. His mistake was maximized to get people's attention because the accident happened in the middle of their own position during the war, caused by a young boy.

These three remarkable elements magnified the accident so that it became well-known to the public: 1) the historical situation, 2) the place, and 3) his youth. When Kyung-Mun brought up the war in his story, the possibility in which the war could provide a life trajectory could have been used to explain political, historical issues, which he obviously considered as important until this point in his narrative. However, the theme of war has been used as a background to explain this incident. The second element indicates not only his family social/class status, but also constitutes a good chance to get the attention to the narrator. Only a few people, those with power or with the social network to be able to do so, were able to live in a military house in the Provost Marshal's headquarters at that time. This then means that Kyung-Mun's family was of high social class or knew someone in a high position who enabled his family to stay in the headquarters. Indeed, the fact that his father had a friend who carried the gun which Kyung-Mun played with manifests this inference even more strongly. This factor of place made possible for Kyung-Mun to access to the gun and to come into the spotlight by the accident. Although it was an accident, Kyung-Mun could have been punished for his mistake. However, he had less responsibility for his mistake and got more attention because of his youth.

This accident could have been considered as a serious crisis or a shameful mistake. Interestingly, Kyung-Mun manifests this accident as an episode which shocked other people, but not himself. This episode is in line with the troublemaker theme defined by the narrator. Kyung-Mun does not find a solution to deal with crises in the war and in early adolescence. Conversely, he creates more crises in the state of crisis, which creates nuisance. Therefore,

his self-identification as a troublemaker denotes not the usual trouble made by a young boy, but trouble which causes more problems than other young boys.

*20. While I participated in school in Y-city where (I) flew from the war I could swim very well (384-385).*

This narration could be a subplot of the main troublemaker theme. Kyung-Mun suddenly changes to this topic and he is still located in Y-city, which implies the war is not over yet. He is still a young boy in the war and is sure of his swimming ability. These factors could be enough to allude to upcoming trouble made by Kyung-Mun.

*21. (We) swam at a stream in C-Dong where our temporary school is. We were 6<sup>th</sup> grade. One day one of my classmates nearly drowned and it looked like the friend is going to die soon. So I just jumped in the water to save the friend but I could not swim to save him while the friend was grasping me. A soldier who was bathing in the river found us holding each other and saved us. Yeah, but I just acted extempore not to be circumspect in doing (386-391).*

This narration includes another trouble Kyung-Mun was involved in. The narrator was brave enough to jump into the water for his friend, but failed to consider alternative ways to rescue his friend from drowning. The gunshot crisis was still in very recent memory; he now confronts another crisis, this time a near-drowning. Unfortunately, Kyung-Mun is overconfident of his competency, which fails to solve the crisis. His action pattern is acting without thinking. This pattern amplifies the crisis situation which eventually marks Kyung-Mun as a real troublemaker. Consequently, Kyung-Mun got into trouble through this incident and the soldier, saving the narrator and his friend, became a hero. Had Kyung-Mun evaluated his ability appropriately and asked for help from adults, he would have been a little hero, supporting people who actually could save his friend.

22. *(I) studied not very well in high school, (I) did not study and was a troublemaker, a very typical troublemaker in (my) school (391-393).*

Kyung-Mun evinces the same action pattern in dealing with crises in his life as above. He reveals another crisis to have been poor academic accomplishment at school. In Korea, a student with good grades can gain not only praise from her/his school and teachers, but popularity from her/his classmates and friends.<sup>53</sup> His poor grade in this cultural context could have caused more problems regarding lack of recognition by his teachers, friends, and even parents. In addition, this makes his parents, who will have had a higher expectation on their oldest son, more disappointed in him. Kyung-Mun, unfortunately, is not a famous student with good academic achievement, but a famous persistent troublemaker.

Kyung-Mun emphasizes his high profile in his school even if this was in negative as a troublemaker. It is ambiguous whether the narrator is profoundly frank in uncovering his weakness as a troublemaker or he considers his troublemaker character as an achievement. From the accidental discharge of the firearm and his friend's near-drowning to his poor grades, the narrator categorizes himself as a troublemaker; but what he received through the trouble he made was attention, which is different from gaining recognition. Attention simply means being put in the spotlight by people and this cannot guarantee recognition. On the contrary, if he were not given attention by people, he might not have been noticed in his school and village. In order to gain social recognition, a person has to be seen to contribute to society, which Kyung-Mun fails adequately to do.

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<sup>53</sup> A long history of education fever, which is parents' overenthusiasm on educating their children, encourages people to focus narrowly on academic capability. Indeed, Koreans believe that better education in order to enter the best university can bring a better life even nowadays.



23. *When (I) was young (I) really wanted to wear hair long but we should wear a crew cut. But (I) wanted to wear (my) hair long. So we demonstrated against the strict rule in terms of length of hair. (I) argued that wearing a crew cut is the vestiges of Japanese imperialism. For an agitation against Japan and achieving a real independence from Japan we should wear long hair (laughing) (393-397).*

This narration is another example of his troublemaker character, and the narrator has never changed this so far. The only difference from the previous three episodes is that Kyung-Mun provides a legitimate reason for his resistant action. As a high school student, the interviewee seems to take a more mature attitude, with a reasoned argument against the vestiges of Japanese colonialism which was a sensitive issue to most Koreans. However, the similar pattern of contradiction is visible in his argument as he described previous conflicts with his friends in Q-city and his critics in the Korean immigrant community. His motivation for the demonstration against the regulations regarding hair style not rooted in a desire for emancipation from the Japanese imperialism; this psychological emancipation issue concerns his own desire to grow his hair. If his motivation were purely to rectify the vestiges of colonization issues, his argument might have been legitimate. This feature is the same as his previous arguments, setting a false hypothesis to develop his logic on certain issues. Kyung-Mun has to abandon the identity of a hero to the soldier who could swim well enough to save people and that of a good student to other students with good grades. In addition, he is not acknowledged as an easy going and flexible friend and member of the community due to his unceasing troublemaking. His narration relates so much of his efforts and actions to achieve social recognition, but he receives attention rather than recognition. This way of making trouble in order to gain attention lends him the features of a clown instead of those of a knight.

## Structural Hypothesis II

The narrator chooses episodes which can represent his troublemaker aspect when asked about his childhood by the interviewer. His selection of narrative to describe his childhood shows incidents which are more memorable, important, and meaningful than other life events. The first two episodes of shooting and falling into water do not happen on purpose, but by accident. That means, he does not intend to cause a problem; instead, these episodes show his careless behavior pattern by not considering the significant result of shooting a real gun and by overestimating his swimming ability. These episodes could have caused the death of himself or others. Despite the severe degree of danger, Kyung-Mun is absorbed in describing how much he scares people as a young boy and how spontaneously he decides to jump into water to save his friend. No one is injured, but Kyung-Mun is sharply scolded by his parents, which he does not mention while talking about the stories and reveals later when the interviewer asks about his parents' response to the accidents<sup>54</sup>. In general, many children feel shame or guilt when confronted with wrong behavior and attempt not to repeat the mistake, to avoid being rebuked by parents or teachers. In contrast, Kyung-Mun gives the trouble episode a special meaning, far from reflecting on his mistakes. He does not perceive his behavior as careless, and this lack of reflection means that such behavior might well be repeated, but instead sees his actions as brave, supportive of his friend, and a chance to take center stage.

Right after these two episodes in primary school, Kyung-Mun tells another story of trouble in high school. When he participates in a demonstration against the strict regulations concerning hair style at school, his argument which resists the vestiges of Japanese imperialism is persuasive. This could have been considered as different from the two accidents in

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<sup>54</sup> "(I) was hit by our mother. Haha (laughing), by our mother because (I) was mischievous (766-767)"

primary school, which attract the attention of others, but nothing else, had he not mentioned his strong desire to have long hair. If the demonstration was less relevant to his personal desire and more related to a public reason, this trouble could have been understood as a social action or resistance against a wrong convention. This shows that Kyung-Mun needs a reason for his wish to grow his hair; as an adolescent who can have “formal operatory schemes (Piaget & Inhelder, 2000: 140)” he can apply the historical context –“hypothetical reasoning” (McCarter, 2003: 260) - to justify his resistance against school rules.

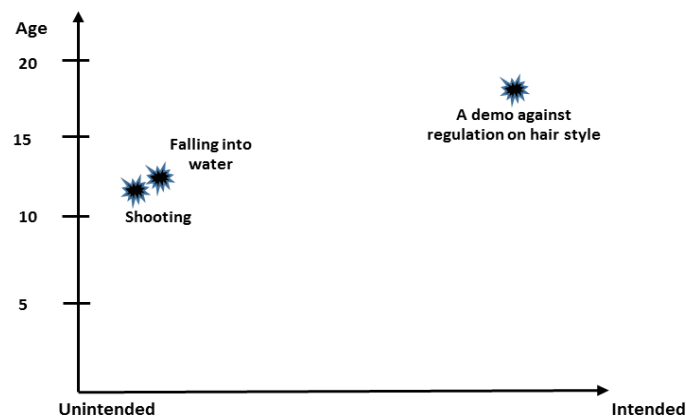
It was fairly difficult to make a successful demonstration considering the social atmosphere in the 1960s in Korea which was very much oriented towards authoritarian, conservative, and conventional perspectives in school. The fact that he resisted school rules could have made his school life much harder. In contrast to this worry, Kyung-Mun does not concern himself about any difficulty caused by his resistance against school, but describes his troublemaker tendencies. Definitely, the act of him disobeying his teachers and tradition would have given him a bad name as a troublemaker. Kyung-Mun does not show any uncomfortable feeling or shame arising from his troubled behavior, but applies this issue and the previous episodes to define himself as a troublemaker. It must then be considered what benefits Kyung-Mun gains by identifying himself as a trouble maker.

A troublemaker causes problems, bringing troubles to others, and consequently, disturbing the harmony and equilibrium of the group. That means, being a troublemaker can be stigmatized negatively and risks losing positive feedback from others. Instead, a troublemaker can take center stage by attracting concern, attention, and criticism in a group. Had Kyung-Mun’s purpose been simply to get attention from others, being a troublemaker would have been a suitable way to achieve this goal. However, this method was not appropriate if he were aiming to gain positive social recognition. In order to gain recognition as a student, good grades are needed at school in the Korean cultural context: a good student equals a

student studying well. Therefore, Kyung-Mun has a hard time being recognized as a good student due to his poor grades (*(I) did not study, but (I) was a troublemaker (392). ”*). He is not a famous, good student, but a well-known troublemaker.

#### Continuing Analysis and Interpretation Related to His Troublemaker Structure

Figure 6.1. Unintended and Intended Trouble Episodes



The interviewee makes his foundation stone self-identification of his personality under the umbrella of being a troublemaker; the above episodes are utilized to describe his troublemaker feature even if their contents are different. The demonstration episode leads to success in attracting much attention from others by applying a legitimate reason to justify his social action; meanwhile the earlier two episodes, which happened accidentally, merely make a noise. This shows a transformation that his unintended involvement in trouble is converted to intended activities with age as shown at Figure 6.1; before and after the transformation Kyung-Mun continues to attract attention through the above episodes. It seems that Kyung-Mun chooses to make a nuisance of himself in order to get attention from society and its members rather than to be forgotten or to be recognized as one of the ordinary people. This inference can be extended to apply Adler's concept of apperceptive scheme. He indicates that

the child does not respond simply to the world, but he/she interacts with the world with her/his own “scheme of apperception” (Adler, 1929: 35-36)<sup>55</sup>.

Table. 6.1. *Simple Instruction applied to Kyung-Mun’s case*

Simple instruction of scheme of apperception	
1. I shoot a gun by accident which could have hurt myself and others. Do not play with a real gun. If I play with a gun, I will hurt myself and others.	2. I shoot a gun by accident and no one is injured. People are alarmed and come running to me. It will make people frightened if I do it.

Table 6.1 contains two possibilities of the simple instruction applied to Kyung-Mun’s shooting episode. The first instruction indicates that a young boy who is not able to control a real gun with responsibility realizes that there is a risk of harming people. If Kyung-Mun develops his instruction based on the first, he could have acknowledged the possibly very significant consequences of his behavior and learned a strong sense of responsibility. In contrast to this, the second instruction includes a young boy perceiving the shooting episode as frightening people and making them run to him. The second instruction shows in which direction the interaction between his self and the world is heading for. He does not reflect upon his mistakes and his lack of responsibility, but focuses on gaining people’s attention as a consequence of the accident. This direction is getting clearer in the other episode in high school. A complex instruction in Kyung-Mun’s case follows: ‘If I want to grow my hair, which is against school rules and causes trouble, I need a persuasive reason to take action. I invoke

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<sup>55</sup> The scheme of apperception informs the development one’s own self/world relationship through both simple and complicated instructions; Shulman (2004: 114-115) gives examples as follows:

A simple instruction: If the stove is hot, don’t touch it. It will hurt my hand if I touch it.

A more complex instruction: If I tell mother something is wrong, she will ask me questions. If I don’t tell her, she will leave me alone. When I want her to pay attention to me, I will tell her that something is wrong.

vestiges of Japanese imperialism, by which means I can convince other students to agree with me to demonstrate against the hair regulations. The situation that more people agree with and participate in my action will bring more attention than if I demonstrate against it by myself. If I want to have attention from people, I will disobey the existing rules and regulations and organize a group of people.’ This inferred complex instruction, that Kyung-Mun finds more plausible reasons to support his troublemaking behaviors, is also demonstrated in his migration to Germany and the US.

There are several episodes of his narration which show his pattern of getting involved in major social issues as follows: supporting an employee who was stabbed by the owner of restaurant in which he worked in 1977; a campaign against a senator who had given a TV interview in 1992 who singled out Korea for disapproval in the scandal of Asian-made imitation goods; supporting a gunman who had fired seven shots at the United Nation in order to protest North Koreans’ civil rights in 2002; arguing with his colleges about the North Korean government while visiting North Korea in 2002; organizing the funeral of an undocumented immigrant who had committed suicide in 2007 or 2008. They have three things in common: 1) the issues are related to Korean compatriots; 2) the narrator organizes many group actions in the Korean immigration community; and 3) when he decides his opinion, he does not compromise with the other party, but insists upon his rightness. These subjects form part of a main narrative in which he spends much of the time in conflict; with Kyung-Mun often in the middle of problems in the Korean-American community. He has to deal with much opposition because he voices strong criticism of the leadership and the rich when he politicizes these issues in the Korean community. He perceives many social issues as dichotomous subjects, matters of right and wrong and of black and white, which brings him many opponents as well as many supporters. He is someone who raises many questions regarding social issues and acts aggressively in support of his beliefs regarding those social issues. He is elected to

several major positions including president of Korean immigrant associations, and organizes particular committees to practice his beliefs. These facts show that Kyung-Mun can be reckoned a capable organizer and social activist, which means that Kyung-Mun is not a troublemaker boy jumping recklessly on a problem without any plan any more.

However, the narrator is still a troublemaker, a troublemaker president in the Korean community in America. When he politicizes many social issues, his arguments often contain his insistence with a lack of agreement and discussions with others. He does not accept others' opinions and varying values and perspectives when making a particular issue into a social agenda, but asserts his own thoughts and values. His lack of concern regarding social consensus can be regarded as the fatal flaw in his desire to become an admired politician, because people's demands and needs relate to political issues cannot be understood by only one set of values and method; this is the basis of a politician's work in mediating the varying demands of different sections of the community. But Kyung-Mun can be called a troublemaker politician because he succeeds in making a noise in order to achieve people's attention.

#### Interpretation of Structural Hypothesis I and II

Kyung-Mun consistently pursues social problems which he wants to campaign against or to criticize. His proactive involvement becomes more systemized after migrating to Germany in 1964 and to the US in 1968 than when living in Korea. Kyung-Mun has been in the center of problems through his active social participation, which attracts attention to him in his community. This noise and attention, unfortunately, are not converted to positive feedback, but give him misrecognition for his time and effort working for society. The narrator believes that society should go in the direction which he suggests, but that it has taken an unhealthy way, against his wishes. This fact makes him frustrated, unsatisfied and regretful of his past and gives him a name of a troublemaker or nuisance rather than a contributor to the

development of the Korean community in the US. In this context, Kyung-Mun evaluates himself as a moral arbiter of his community, and he does not change his opinions when he has arguments with other community members.

This factor is a significant barrier to him gaining respect and recognition by society. Honneth (1992: 193) ascertains that recognition can be achieved by a person when her/his relationship with others is developed based on mutual respect and intersubjective communication, which Kyung-Mun does not consider. He involves himself in numerous arguments and conflicts regarding particular social problems, but fails to recognize that there are legitimate differences between people's opinions and world-views. Instead, Kyung-Mun strongly asserts his own opinions and often gets involved in arguments and conflicts with community members who disagree with him. Due to this biographical pattern, Kyung-Mun fails to receive the recognition he desires; rather, he gains misrecognition from those who are not comfortable with his unilateral pattern of communication. In addition, there is another reason why he loses respect for his efforts from his fellow community members. Kyung-Mun perceives a causality of many social issues in the power and political context in which some issues are more relevant and the others are less relevant. His over-enthusiastic perspective on power contains a lack of legitimacy in that he attempts to understand all problematic situations in only one way. His biased angle is not enough to support his arguments in order to convince other community members to participate in social action with him. Trapped in a vicious circle, this lack of legitimacy in his arguments causes negative feedback to him. His pattern conforms precisely to Adorno's concept of "false normality", which puts forward a view of power relationships regarding misrecognition, with examples of "happily oppressed" and "unhappily oppressed (van den Brink, 2010: 91-93)." The social activism in which he is involved is understood by him as "unhappily oppressed" in which a person is in a troubled situation by the external control and fails to gain social recognition (van den Brink, 2010, 93). The way in



which Kyung-Mun evaluates most social situations that he relates to as ‘unhappily oppressed’ can produce a high chance of misrecognition because he mostly focuses on criticizing rather than coming up with positive action. Despite Kyung-Mun spending his time and effort over several decades for society, he cannot gain enough respect and good reputation for what he has done due to a lack of consensus and his biased perspective in evaluating social problems. His strong arguments on many social issues give him social attention for a while; however, his bitter criticism, which is not based on mutual communication, returns to him with regret and dissatisfaction in his life.

Contrary to his proactive approach to social problems, Kyung-Mun does not confront his personal matters: he ran away from home to avoid a university entrance exam,<sup>56</sup> left his pregnant girlfriend in Germany for the US, and divorced because he had a lack of interest in parenting and housework for 10 years and spent all his energy following social issues. This shows that the narrator avoids direct confrontation with his personal life crises whilst he becomes actively involved in solving social problems and helping others. Kyung-Mun operates in two different directions: backward from his personal life crisis and forward toward social problems and others’ life crises. In general, a person cares more about their own crises than about social problems. However, Kyung-Mun empathizes with others’ problems whilst running from his own life issues. This pattern shows how he dealt with his crisis of decision among various alternatives. Oevermann (2005: 139-140) explains that crisis evolves sequentially in every situation in which an individual needs to make a decision<sup>57</sup>. Even if this is a

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<sup>56</sup> “However, our parents have never thought about (I) did poorly in school. Our father and (his) friend who worked in a media sector discussed about my University entrance exam when I was a senior. But I was not sure that (I) could go to University and no teachers gave me a recommendation for university. Because (I) was not confident, (I) ran out to B city (398-402).”

<sup>57</sup> For example, a student oversleeps and will be late for school. The student has the option of hurrying to take a school bus or of going back to sleep and skipping classes.

trivial everyday life matter, a person must confront selecting which option she/he takes among many possibilities and the selection has a pattern and sequence reflecting traditions, social expectation, the rules of society and her/his socialization process (Oevermann, 2005: 139). In Kyung-Mun's case, avoidance is dominant regarding his personal responsibility, and his attitude of initiative towards engaging social problems is revealed when he has a crisis of decision.

This pattern is fairly contradictory to his desire to create a healthy society. Kyung-Mun stresses his continual support and contributions towards making a better Korean community in the US; nevertheless, he does not carry out them for his own life issues. This imbalanced biographical pattern can tend to reinforce his regrets and dissatisfaction aged 74. The subject that Kyung-Mun considers as important is attracting attention from others; for this, he has to make a noise to gain people's attention, which can give him a stigma as a troublemaker: even Kyung-Mun defines himself as troublemaker when young. Later, he attempts to upgrade himself from the status of a troublemaker status to an admired person creating social justice in his community as a politician and president. However, his efforts in the public arena are limited by his lack of legitimate and consensual approach, and are not applied to taking personal responsibility for his family.

On the other hand, the narrator takes the initiative in organizing many social actions; on the other hand he relies heavily on others' interest and attention, which identifies his self-concept with a lack of autonomy. That means Kyung-Mun is capable of action and initiative for short-term social action, but cannot act autonomously in developing his biography. As a 74-year-old man, this imbalanced pattern can make it difficult for him to integrate his life and relationships with others. As abovementioned by citing Côté & Levine (2002), a person needs to understand and accept "the social world" and to be prepared for later identity crisis "in the contexts of intimacy, generativity, and especially, integrity (p. 176)." In Kyung-Mun's case,

he is dissatisfied with the way society is and the fact that he is not able to gain social recognition for his activities within that society. This shows that Kyung-Mun does not adapt to the social world he is involved in, but regrets his past and blames society for acting contrary to his expectations. He feels guilt about abandoning and neglecting his family (especially his two sons with his first wife and his daughter with his German girlfriend), which causes a lack of intimacy with his descendants in old age. In addition, he has no followers to acknowledge his efforts for society: i.e. there is a lack of generativity. These factors negatively influence the final human development task, i.e. integrity, and positively cause despair (Erikson, 1968: 138). Kyung-Mun still struggles with ongoing conflicts from the past to the present, with despair and regret, and continually fails to break away from his troublemaker feature.

#### Case Structure: Unfinished Conflicts and Continuing a Troublemaker's Story

What is the meaning of the continual narrative pattern of Kyung-Mun emphasizing social and political issues within his ethnic group? How is this biographical structure related to his migration progress? He simply left his country of origin and then another in which he had worked as a guest worker. Each time he migrated, he found another land in which to settle and continually advocated changing society. These behaviors are reflected in Hirschman's concepts (1970, 1995) of "exit" and "voice"<sup>58</sup>. When the narrator left Korea and Germany, he found 'exit' by choosing another country and leaving those which he might not have liked to live or in which he could no longer stay. After a couple of migrations, he settled in E-city, in the US, and began to have a 'voice' to politicize social issues in the Korean-American

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<sup>58</sup> "Exit" means to leave one's organization, company or nation and "voice" is to remain in and to attempt to change it while one has dissatisfied (Hirschman, 1970: 1995).

community<sup>59</sup>: he thus incorporates “exit” in migrating from both Korea and Germany and ‘voice’ in his Korean community in the US.

The exit and voice pattern in his migration process resonates throughout his biographical structure. Kyung-Mun consistently seeks out and creates conflicts; thus he became a troublemaker when young and this has remained true until the present. His biographical structure shows that he wants to be the center of attention rather than being isolated or excluded from others. That means he enjoys being a troublemaker, which can give him the chance gain others’ attention. In this context, his biographical uniqueness is a trigger for his migration paths between three countries. He developed his troublemaker feature in Korea; however he had to be careful in giving voice to social and political issues due to possible repercussions from the military government. In addition, a couple of his narrations (e.g. being ignored by his parents after he escaped home to avoid the university entrance exam) show that he could not gain the attention he craved, but instead received only punishment. When living in Germany, his unfinished conflict and troublemaker structure was maintained by getting involved in sensitive issues such as a gang fight against Arab miners. At that time he could have been arrested by the police had they found him guilty of arranging the fight. It can be concluded that whilst he sought to agitate the situations in order to gain a reputation as a leader (albeit a troublemaker), the consequences of such action could in this case have been extremely serious. In this situation it can be understood that Kyung-Mun would benefit from moving to a country where his troublemaking (in the hope of gaining respect and adulation from society) would be less likely to entail serious legal consequences.

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<sup>59</sup> A person having voice has more active involvement in political and social issues and more chances to be a group leader than others who choose either exit or silence while remaining in a group (Hirschman, 1970: 33-38).

When Kyung-Mun wanted to move to a third country, then, he found that the US could offer him better conditions to maintain his troublemaker feature. From a practical point of view, the US offered more flexible vocational choices and an easier immigration process than his previous countries did (Korea having a high unemployment rate in and Germany an unfriendly attitude to immigration). Moreover, the possibility of permanent residency in the US meant that the Korean community there had the opportunity to settle and grow, while the Korean guest worker group in Germany could only stay individually for a short period due to the strict immigration policy. Kyung-Mun could find steady external conditions in which to settle in the US; in this situation, he could begin to pursue active social involvement in the Korean-American community in the US.

His status as a Korean-born citizen within the Korean community in the US. at that time gave him a possible advantage in seeking the attention of society. There were at that time many Koreans yearning for the US, the Korean name for the US being Mi-Kuk (美國), which translates literally as 'a beautiful country'; America was seen as a land of wealth and opportunity in the 1950s to the 1970s. A Korean-born citizen in the Korean community in the US who became involved in Korean issues would have had a better chance of successful participation in social activism than Koreans who never left the country. In addition, many people's belief that the Korean guest workers supported Korea in the reestablishment of the country by earning foreign money increased his reputation as a proud Korean. These factors may have given him reason and justification to become involved in social activism related to Korea and the Korean-American community. Indeed, he had various opportunities to participate in political events in Korea and in the US as a Korean-American and was able to visit North Korea, which ordinary Koreans were not able to. In other words, Kyung-Mun's choice of exit to be a migrant made his voice strong so that he could gain attention and interest from others as long as he remained loyal toward Korea and the Korean community in the US.

Kyung-Mun chose exit from Korea and Germany, but these migration exit experiences helped him accumulate assets to make a voice in getting involved in social activism in a Korean-American community. He continued his interest in issues in mainland Korea and the Korean-American community and built his social network in the US through Dong-Wo-Hae members who had participated in the Korean guest worker program in Germany. Ironically, Kyung-Mun has a strong voice for Korea and Korean-Americans living in his city in the central US by standing on a foundation strengthened by his exit experiences. His multi-migration history made it easier for him to gain the interest of others. If Kyung-Mun had never left Korea, he would not have been able to achieve as much social attention for his voice as he now has.

Based on his biographical structure, Kyung-Mun's migrations can be seen as his using 'exit' purely in order to amplify 'voice'. With any migrant, there has to be a psychological reconciliation of, in effect, being divided between countries (having roots in one culture yet living in another), and the balance is delicate and the subject of a lot of research. In Kyung-Mun's case, despite him having lived in three different countries, it would appear that he never left Korea in terms of his psychology. For him, migration was simply a physical change of environment which did not impinge upon his core identity as a Korean. Migration, for Kyung-Mun, was simply the means to find and amplify his 'voice'.

## CHAPTER 7. A TASTE FOR MAKING MONEY: YONG-SEOK

## Yong-Seok's Objective Data

<b>Year</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>1938</b>	<b>0</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Born in F city, S province on January, the youngest child of 5 sons and 5 daughters</li> <li>Mother: Housewife</li> <li>Father: Print factory manager</li> </ul>
<b>1944</b>	<b>6</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enters AO primary school in F city</li> </ul>
<b>1950</b>	<b>12</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Fails the entrance exam for PK middle school in Seoul and entered HQ technical middle school</li> <li>○ Stays with the oldest brother who has a tailor shop in Seoul</li> <li>○ The Korean War begins</li> <li>○ Comes back to F city</li> <li>○ Enters AO middle school in F city</li> </ul>
<b>1953</b>	<b>15</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enters F agricultural high school</li> <li>○ His father dies</li> </ul>
<b>1956</b>	<b>18</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Graduates from high school and moves to Seoul</li> <li>○ Attends Politics College in Seoul for a year</li> </ul>
<b>1957</b>	<b>19</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Transfers to JG University</li> </ul>
<b>1958</b>	<b>20</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Finishes sophomore, but unable to graduate due to financial problems</li> </ul>
<b>1960</b>	<b>22</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enlists in the army</li> </ul>
<b>1962</b>	<b>24</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Discharges upon completing his military service</li> </ul>
<b>1962</b>	<b>24-</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Works as a mechanical technician in Korea</li> </ul>
<b>-63</b>	<b>25</b>	
<b>1964</b>	<b>26</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Goes to E city, Germany in October, as a miner</li> </ul>
<b>1965</b>	<b>27</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ While living in Germany he has two jobs, in mining and farming (working hours over 15-16 hours per day)</li> <li>○ His mother dies</li> </ul>
<b>1967</b>	<b>29</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Meets his wife, who is a nurse in Germany</li> <li>○ His contract is complete and he comes to the United States with his fiancée, now wife</li> <li>○ His wife gets a RN and he has a blue-collar job/</li> <li>○ 1967-1969: is president of Dong-Uwo-Hae in S city</li> </ul>

- 1970**    **32**        ○ His first son is born
  
- 1972**    **34**        ○ 1972-79: President of F city Fraternity in America  
                  ○ One of founders of the K institute
  
- 1973**    **35**        ○ Begins his own gas station business (for 7 years)  
                  ○ His son dies by a car accident
  
- 1974**    **36**        ○ His oldest daughter, diagnosed with mental illness (acquired disease), is born
  
- 1975**    **37**        ○ His second daughter is born
  
- 1976**    **38**        ○ His third daughter is born
  
- 1977**    **39**        ○ His youngest daughter, who is currently preparing for the bar exam, is born
  
- 1980**    **42**        ○ 1980-82: Member of the board of directors in D organization
  
- 1981**    **43**        ○ Started his own car body shop (for 16 years)
  
- 1988**    **50**        ○ 1988-89: Chairman of the board of the K Institute  
                  ○ 1988-2007: Member of the board of directors of the G foundation
  
- 1997**    **59**        ○ Donates \$ 15,000 per year to help children head of household and elderly with low income until the present (for 12 years)  
                  ○ Chairman of the board of the G Foundation  
                  ○ 1997 Established WR Welfare Foundation (at present still involved)
  
- 2005**    **67**        ○ 2005-07: Chairman of the board of the K Institute
  
- 2008**    **70**        ○ Receives SD Cultural award from the F city local government in Korea

### Sequence I : Analysis and Interpretation of the Beginning of Interview

#### 1. *Sure... (3).*

R1) The narrator has previous knowledge of the interview through an interviewer or a link-man. He is prepared to talk about his biography as it relates to the research interests; guest workers in Germany and Korean-American immigrants.



R2) The interviewee has experiences with this interview type. This answer shows a high level of willingness to disclose his biography without hesitation or resistance. The narrator may have extensive interview experience, possibly related to his special status or high social position.

The question “could you tell (me) about your life” has two possible responses, in either a positive or a negative way. The interviewee chooses the first option and assures the interviewer of his cooperation. This utterance “Sure” contains the narrator’s assurance and strong self confidence in cooperating with the questioner and demonstrates his preparedness for the interview. This brings up the question of who might have the confidence and willingness to share their life story with a stranger. It is fairly rare for an ordinary person to have this response to such an interview question. An individual can be resistant when she/he is asked unprompted, by a stranger, to relate her/his biography, because this is a private and intimate subject. However, he gives the interviewer a positive response with a high degree of affirmation, which implies his willingness to be actively involved, rather than being surprised. This inference supports the argument that he is an experienced interviewee or was prepared to do this interview.

2. *that.. So, when I, as (I) told (you) a minute ago, I grew up dirt-poor, shuddering at poverty; everyone wants to escape it (3-4).*

The narrator chooses a topic which describes his fundamental background of poverty. The phrase “grew up dirt-poor” symbolizes a temporal course including his childhood and adolescence period which means that he, or strictly speaking his family, was poor. This poor environment may have granted insufficient life chances to obtain material, social and/or educational resources to the narrator. Indeed, the negative effects of poverty in his life are visible from his radical, drastic description of it. The expression, “shuddering at poverty,” incorporates his struggles with poverty; in addition, Yong-Seok emphasizes the significance of the

theme of poverty by repeating it even before the interview. Poverty was a serious social and national issue between the 1930s and the 1950s<sup>60</sup> and this period includes rapid economic, social, and political transitions in modern Korean history<sup>61</sup>. Obviously, this was a profound crisis in Yong-Seok's personal life, and he extends this, as a problem to be overcome, to a universal scope. He does not mention problems of life and death in the Korean War or general social situations in the complicated modern history of Korea. Instead, he perceives the issue of poverty as a life crisis. That means the rest of his biography might be highly connected to his destitute early life background.

R1) Poverty is related to his main story line in that he started out poor, which was generally an impediment to his career path as a young man.

R2) Poverty is not a continual condition in his life, but a background theme, explaining his successful efforts to escape it.

The subject of poverty could be used to give Yong-Seok an excuse for any possible failure to escape from said poverty, and a background story for his success in escaping from it. As mentioned above, poverty was both an individual and social problem in Korea at that time. If Yong-Seok had failed to rise above poverty, this would not simply have been his own failure, due to the complicated structural problems prevalent at the time. For this reason, Yong-Seok might use poverty as a problem that everybody wants to escape, but not everybody is able to. As Yong-Seok managed to break away from the poverty, on the other hand,

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<sup>60</sup> The birth time of the interviewees in this dissertation is between in the 1930s and 1950s in consideration of their demographical characteristics.

<sup>61</sup> The Korean government focused on pushing forward industrialization and modernization to increase economic power; poverty was a problem to be solved at the national level.

this provided a background for him to achieve his successful life, in overcoming such adversity.

In order to understand his biographical structure, there is the need to consider what **not** being poor means to the narrator. In his narration, there are no particular clues to define “the poor” in education or culture, but this is more related to economic status. Not being poor, for the narrator, means being financially wealthy or at least no longer in dire poverty. This economic standard relies on mere materialism; Yong-Seok believes that this desire to be free from poverty is universal. Material goods and money can indeed provide significantly better access to social and cultural resources; however, they are not the only dimension relating to overcoming poverty (he does not mention, for example, social or cultural aspects). When Yong-Seok perceives poverty as a traumatic experience, other social and historical issues (i.e. the Korean War, the division of North and South, the dictatorship) which happened while he experienced poverty in that time and place, were not apparently considered as crises.

3. *especially the environment of our hometown (4-5).*

The economic deficit in his life is maximized in growing up in his poor family in his poor hometown. The narrative subject continually underscores the seriousness of poverty in his personal and in wider community units.

R1) His hometown may be a rural area or region distant from a city center. Korea at that time had neither a good job market nor sufficient natural resources and infrastructure to create more jobs with good salary and benefits. This difficulty was more severe in rural and suburban areas than in big cities. If his hometown was in a rural area, this could be an encouragement factor regarding his migration path in the future.

4. *(I) became about 72 now in Korean age (coughing) (5).*

Yong-Seok switches topics from poverty to his age suddenly, and his description of his age incorporates the Korean standard of counting age.

R1) Yong-Seok is capable of shifting his cultural perceptions between Korean and American ways.

R2) Yong-Seok empathizes more with the Korean group than with the American community.

Yong-Seok uses the Korean age which counts one or two years older than the western age<sup>62</sup>. According to this unique cultural context, Yong-Seok is one or two years older than his age in full when counting it in the Korean way. Had this interview been conducted in Korea, his narration would not present any sensitive cultural issue. This interview was conducted in the US and the interviewee had been in the US for a number of years<sup>63</sup>. This means that his while his residence space has changed from Korea to Germany and to America, nevertheless, he still embodies the Korean cultural style. This narration may show that Yong-Seok has been habituated more to the Korean than to the American culture.

A small age difference can be a profoundly sensitive issue because it provides a significant standard to define designation and hierarchical relationship in the Korean cultural context<sup>64</sup>. The interviewee understands the significance of age in identifying the correct

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<sup>62</sup> In Korea, a new born baby is already one year old because a fetus' uterine life is counted, and everybody is one year older on New Year's Day (i.e. a person born in December, 2013 is one year old, and a month later in 2014 the person turns two years old).

<sup>63</sup> The place of this interview is revealed in the interpretation process in order to help the case analysis process, and the fact that the interviewee has been in the US for a number of years is inferred by characteristics of the target group in this dissertation.

<sup>64</sup> It is not strange for a Korean to ask age before name in order to determine appellation in the relationship. Furthermore, society believes that being older means having wiser and more knowledgeable life experiences than younger people have. Younger people should respect life experiences and wisdom by using the honorific form of language.

appellation, and a small difference of age can make a lot of difference in determining a relationship feature in Korean culture. American culture, in contrast, does not discriminate with regard to age in developing a relationship with others; people in American society do not reveal their age easily in general. This factor can evidence his acculturative pattern involving more Korean than American culture.

5. *So, well, the generation suffered so much, our motherland, Korea.. (5-6).*

This phase indicates his repeated collective narration pattern. The interviewee describes the economic difficulty in his life by grouping it within his community and his cohort group, and then he extends the level of grouping into the nation. Now, suffering poverty is generalized from the personal to the national level.

R1) “our motherland” emphasizes his collective narration pattern, taking consideration of ‘we’ feeling, affiliation.

R2) “our motherland” is not related to a particular meaning of grouping, but related to an ordinary Korean colloquial style, as an embedded collectivism in Korean culture.

The first way of reading is that his linguistic pattern of using the possessive case, “our,” is related to his strong orientation towards and identity with Korea. The narrator emphasizes a collective experience with his generation and his country of origin by twice repeating the words “our motherland” and “Korea.” This narration embeds his intended choice of the community with which he identifies himself. In Korean colloquial style, on the other hand, it is possible to replace ‘our motherland’ with ‘my motherland’ because the possessive pronoun ‘our’ is often replaced by the first person singular possessive<sup>65</sup>. Therefore, the plural

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<sup>65</sup> The first person plural possessive is frequently applied to the singular (i.e. our house meaning my house, our parents meaning my parents, etc.), reflecting the inherent collectivism of the Korean culture and language.

possessive case “our” is understandable as a natural colloquial style to indicate ‘my,’ which indicates that his Korean language proficiency has not declined despite his long period of immigrant life.

For another inference in relation to the possessive case, it is possible that Yong-Seok chose this plural possessive purposively because of “motherland” which is translated from the original word “Cho-Kook.” The Korean word “Cho-Kook” has more profound meanings than just the nation of which one has citizenship, and in which one’s family has lived for generations; “Cho-Kook” is used as an abstract term denoting an individual’s internalized idea of his or her heritage, even when such heritage is taken away or the land is colonized by a foreign nation (The national institute of the Korean language, n.d.d). It is therefore perhaps best expressed as “motherland”, symbolizing both a tie to his ancestors and to his own generation in a collective historical context; as distinguished from simply a nation, meaning a functional term for a sovereign territory socially, financially and politically. The plural possessive “our” emphasizes the collective meaning of the word “motherland”, which helps him extend his biographical story to a wider group category.

Yong-Seok does not bring any political and social issues which he agrees with or is against when using the resolute word “Cho-Kook”. His intentional use of the words, “the generation,” “suffered,” and “our motherland,” underlines the idea that his suffering may be related to dynamic historical situations at that time and/or he may have been involved in patriotic activities in the situation. This word, mostly used in formal and public speech, contains a heroic resolve such as that possessed by a fighter for independence in the Japanese colonial period or a soldier fighting against the communists in the Korean War. There are a number of possibilities to indicate the economic difficulty caused by systemic failure or corruption, which were highly relevant to the situation in Korea in the mid-20th century. When considering his resolute expression regarding his motherland, the problematic situations of that time

could have been mentioned by the interviewee. However, his narration signifies that he regards the collective suffering merely as an economic hardship. On the surface, Yong-Seok expands his personal issue into a public problem by using the expression of solidarity, the “we-feeling”. His narration is persuasive because poverty was indeed a serious nationwide problem at that time. All the same, there is a lack of a detailed evidence and reason to conflate his situation with that of his generation and motherland.

To take these various inferences into account, his grouping narrative pattern may contain two possibilities which are more related to individualism than to collectivism. First, the collective suffering could have been used as an excuse if he had failed to escape from poverty; second, this suffering could provide a background story of a heroic birth myth, fighting against life’s hardships. By enhancing poverty from his personal level to a societal level, Yong-Seok can hope to gain the generosity of his audience regarding how difficult the situation as regards poverty was. This was a structural and national problem which an individual could not easily overcome without structural change. If an individual could succeed economically in this dreadful situation, she/he could be a hero, appearing in turbulent times. If he or she failed, she/he could still be understood by others, considering the problem was prevalent in the whole society. These possibilities show that his linguistic pattern of collectivization is more relevant to the emphasizing of individualism in his biography than to collectivistic orientation.

6. *By the way so the family formation is what.. it was ten siblings, five daughters and five sons, and I was born the youngest child.. (6-7).*

Yong-Seok elucidates his family structure in terms of sex and number of children. His family, with ten children, was relatively big, even considering the social context of the 1920s

and 1930s<sup>66</sup> in Korea. The large size of the family may be a trigger factor for being at high risk at poverty because having more children means more burdens for the head of the family to feed. Although the expense and method of childcare at that time was different from the modern standard, nurturing a child is a time-consuming task and is accompanied by a consequent expense of marital resources. His family could have been poorer after ten children, or his family might still have been poor with any number of children. No matter which situation his parents had, the obvious fact is that his parents chose to have a number of children despite economic hardship. This factor may be related to a unique cultural value or religious belief besides economic reasons. His family situation can be reflected in the Confucian, and conventional Korean culture which was all-pervasive at that time and place. In the 1920s and 1930s, parents had more children because having many children means a family is thriving, and more gives more chances of having sons<sup>67</sup>. In light of this situation, the large number of children in his family could be influenced by the Confucian culture. However, Yong-Seok's birth cannot be directly attributed to the desire to have a son, due to the sex ratio in his siblings. His parents already had four sons before the interviewee was born.

This fact can give him two variables: a special right as a son, and less heavy obligation to hand down family heritage than his older brothers. Yong-Seok could not get preference as a son because his family already had four sons and the oldest son had a special right, that of

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<sup>66</sup> He was born in 1938 when as calculated backwards from his current age. This interview was conducted in 2010 when he was 72 years old. He is at present 76 years old in 2014. His birth year means that his parents had begun to have children even before 1930s, considering that he was the youngest child.

<sup>67</sup> Having sons was a significant task for a married couple due to a strong belief on Confucianism, in which male family members have a moral obligation to carry over the family heritage from generation to generation. For this reason, male family members were treated as more important than females; many couples attempted to procreate until they had a son (preferring a son to a daughter).



one who will be the head of family. Yong-Seok, however, still had a special right as a son/male in his family due to male privilege influenced by the living philosophy of Confucianism at that time. He could make a claim on family resources (increasing his chances of education) and was allowed to have a progressive and challenging attitude towards the future; meanwhile female family members were subordinated to male family members. Furthermore, Yong-Seok had more freedom to make a decision merely for himself than did his oldest brother. Inflexible societal obligations meant that it was almost impossible for an individual to make an important life decision on her/his own in the traditional Korean society. Older children had more responsibilities towards their family than their younger siblings, and important decisions in their lives had to be considered in the collective context<sup>68</sup>. Yong-Seok might not have been able to access as many resources as his oldest brother, but he would have had less of a burden (more freedom) as regards carrying over the family heritage.

R1) Yong-Seok has a stronger bond with his older siblings than with his parents. Older siblings, especially older sisters, had a great deal of responsibility to care for their younger siblings in the traditional extended family in Korea. Taking into consideration his birth order, his oldest and second oldest siblings were at least 10 to 15 years older than he was. This age gap may mean that his older siblings were capable of taking care of their newborn sibling while their parents worked. The role of caretaker might go to female siblings; meanwhile his oldest brother might be his role model for his social activities and achievements such as study and vocation based on the traditional values of the gender roles of that time.

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<sup>68</sup> At the same time, older children could get paid for the work done for their family. They could get more benefits and resources; especially older male children could have better chances in education and living environment. On the other hand, younger children had less access to resources already spent by their older siblings yet suffered fewer expectations and interferences by their family in making a life decision.

R2) Yong-Seok has a birth situation in which he gains the most attention by his parents as the youngest child. The youngest child may be treated with favor, differing from the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> child. After nine births, his parents were much older and they had a shorter time to be with their youngest child. This factor may influence the parent-child relationship in that it might be closer. As the youngest and favorite child, he could have received more attention from his parents and felt less of a sense of duty towards his family, this duty already being carried by his oldest brother.

*7. anyway, now, even in that environment parents love the youngest child a lot in Korean cultural context (8-9).*

Yong-Seok describes an aspect of traditional Korean culture in which the youngest child has a special place in the affections of her/his parents. This privilege of the youngest child is explained in a universal perspective, and he does not specifically mention his own situation in terms of this general cultural characteristic, yet it is possible to infer from this information in connection with his situation as the youngest child. This is a similar pattern to his previous narrations in collectivizing his individual life situation. In the above sentences, the interviewee collectivized his economic hardship in geographical and generational groups. Now, Yong-Seok again provides a generic case of the beloved youngest child which is possibly related to his personal experience. This means that Yong-Seok implies his life story as a constellation of biographical experiences in the collective context which is shared by generalized others, rather than as an individualized construct. The first constellation was poverty and the second is birth order. "Even in that environment" can refer to the previous sentence alluding to economic difficulties during his childhood.

Yong-Seok made several layers of grouping as follows: 1) poor in his home town cluster; 2) poor in his generation cohort group; 3) poor in his nation cluster; and 4) the group of the youngest child most beloved by its parents. Thus, these constellations indicate that he has

been poor, but has been well supported psychologically by his parents. This grouping pattern implies both generalization and specialization of his life issues. His individual situation being poor is generalized within this cohort group of generation and nation, and then the feature of his birth order allows him the specialization of having sufficient love, more than the older children in his family could have. Moreover, he collectivizes himself into the “youngest child” group while emphasizing his particular position in his family. This sequence shows that he is using a narrative pattern of collective biography to apply to his specific life story, meaning that his position as the favorite son is implied rather than stated, with his parents’ economic hardship generalized to include the struggle of most ordinary people of the time.

8. *So despite of the difficult process, I've monopolized (my) parents' love (9-10).*

The two layers of constellations (poverty and birth order) are utilized to explain his individual situation in his family. So far Yong-Seok has used two subjects in his narration; the first is the environment surrounding him, which can be symbolically understood as a big container of poverty: the second is that he is in the balloon of love in this container of poverty. Metaphorically speaking, he is a sailor in a boat built by love, floating on the water of poverty. It seems that, on the one hand, Yong-Seok constructs the background structure of his biography to make a successful story by using adversity as a path of metamorphosis into a successful man (poverty, as a hard shell surrounding him and his generation, will be broken by the narrator who has been beloved by his parents; therefore, he must have inner strengths enabling him to find a better life path; the story of a self-made man); on the other hand, he fails to mention that because of his monopoly of his parents’ attentions, his siblings must therefore have been deprived of their love and attention to some degree; light and shadow. Both Young-Seok and his siblings were in poverty’s container, but Yong-Seok was the only child on the boat built of the love of his parents.

His expression, “I monopolized (my) parents’ love,” indicates the extreme degree of his being the focus of his parents’ attention among 10 children. This shows that he had a stronger bond with his parents than did his older siblings, which means the above way of reading is verified in this sentence. This expression reflects the probability that his siblings lost out on his parents’ love, since he was the outright winner of that competition. His monopoly could cause conflicts of family politics regarding the distribution of the parents’ love among their children. His siblings, especially the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> children, could have felt disadvantaged by Yong-Seok’s monopoly, whilst the other older siblings were already in a different life stage, probably more separated from their parents. It is a matter of opinion as to whether Yong-Seok was a winner of the game or a thief of parental love. The narrator has no negative perception about what he has done; his narration displays resolute confidence that he richly deserved this attention within his family. This belief that he was justified in monopolizing his parents’ love (as one medium of family communication) shows his lack of reflectiveness, which might increase the complexity of his siblings’ feelings towards him and therefore their relationship; he distorts self-thematization to attempt to lean all the power of the family media of communication to his side instead of using it to reduce complexity in his family system as Luhmann (Turner, 2003) indicates. These features clash with his collectivizing narrative pattern.

Previous inferences have shown that Yong-Seok maintains the linguistic pattern of collectivizing and shows similar themes in terms of his environment regarding his neighbors and family. The interviewee describes the issue of poverty and the position of the favorite child as communal situations. It seems that the narrator depicts his biography in a collective context, ‘we,’ which could refer to his original social and cultural outlook, collectivism. However, to monopolize his parents’ love alone turns this inference around. Collectivism means that the goal of the group takes more important than the goal of the individual (Triandis, 2001), which is different from what he has done in his family. Yong-Seok actively interacted with his given

situation as the youngest child in hogging all affection from his parents. This behavior could be explained as pure individualism which gives priority and more freedom to an individual according to that individual's desires and will. In other words, it could be related to meritocracy, providing him with the belief that he deserved success in life because he received the lion's share of his parents' love. Superficially, his narrative pattern of collectivization presents his strong we-feeling. However, the narrative pattern is used as a way of background storytelling to accelerate the individual successful story which follows.

9. *Anyway, I always the.. the what is called... thing to boast of (me) is that (I) was full of chivalry since I was young (10-11).*

Yong-Seok describes himself as noble with the word “Ye-Hyup-Shin (義俠心)<sup>69</sup>.” This word is not frequently used in a Korean colloquial form, but is normally used in a literary style meaning an inclination (心) to help others even by sacrificing oneself or to keep faith in a relationship (The national institute of the Korean language, n.d.e). This word, translated into English as chivalry or moral indignation, emphasizes the fair, altruistic, sacrificial, and noble aspect of a person's attitude and characteristics. The interviewee feels that his noble personality can be boasted of and that the high degree of his chivalry is shown in this sentence. However, this feature conflicts with his previous narration. Yong-Seok just described how he took all attention and love of his parents in his family in the previous sentence. Had he actually been chivalrous, he would have considered the other siblings, who got less attention from their parents. Ability to empathize with others' difficulty is a prerequisite for a person with chivalry because helpful behavior is based on understanding other's needs. On the contrary, Yong-Seok took his parents' love being focused merely on him for granted instead of being sensitive to the feelings of his older siblings. These two different arguments in his

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<sup>69</sup>의협심 (義俠心) in Korean.

narration do not present a consistent personality, but indicate a collision between altruistic and selfish attitudes, which imply a possibility that one of arguments is exaggerated or faked. Otherwise, Yong-Seok has a particular and subjective definition as regards the term 'moral'. Indeed, it is fairly complicated to distinguish what Yong-Seok perceived as honorable behavior.

"Ye-Hyup-Shin" symbolizes not only an inclination to pursue justice and right, but indeed to sacrifice oneself for one's belief in justice (The national institute of the Korean language, n.d.e). Therefore, the way abstract terms such as 'justice' and 'chivalry' are defined is significant in attempting to understand his evaluation of himself. The concept of honor/chivalry/moral regarding Ye-Hyup-Shin can be interpreted in both universal and subjective perspectives; it is hard to tell which perspective the narrator took here. He provides neither practical examples nor a self-consistent narration. His storytelling has been dragged from a collective adversity to his chivalrous personality through the story of a beloved young child. In this process, there was no persuasive information or argument in terms of proving his brave and sacrificial inclination for others. Yong-Seok's perception of his chivalrous and noble character as a child may indeed be exaggerated.

Another noticeable narrative pattern of the interviewee is that he emphasizes a continuity of episodes in his lifetime. Yong-Seok uses the adverbial phrases, "always" and "since I was young" to explain a history of developing his noble attitude. This element has been sequentially seen in his narration from the beginning. He described economic hardship (*when I ... grew up dirt-poor*), his beloved childhood (*I monopolized (my) parents' love*), and his chivalry (*always, since I was young*) as part of the process of his growth. It seems that Yong-Seok attempts to present particular situations or traits as having been developed over a long period. Continuity implies repetitive, habituated, and ordinary; when a situation lasts a lifetime, the consequences of that situation are internalized. In other words, Yong-Seok stresses

continuing and repetitive situations in his life in order to show the steady process of acquiring and cultivating particular attitudes and strengths. If this is the case, it may be related to the necessity to prove himself to have been meant for a certain position or status.

10. *So anyone, in any case, who was in a weaker situation, even if that person became weak depending on situation; whenever this happened in [my] school days, [my] style was to help the weak, even at primary school...(11-14).<sup>70</sup>*

The narrative contents are arranged in an ambiguous and scattered way, causing confusion, without detailed information regarding persons and situations that Yong-Seok helped with. There are no specific and detailed persons, groups, and situations given, only the universal concept of justice and obligation to protect the weak. Like Superman, Yong-Seok describes his helpful behavior towards others and stresses the continuity of his actions (i.e. “*in any case,*” “*whenever*”). It seems that Yong-Seok tries to emphasize the nobility of both his thoughts and his actions, practicing justice as needed. Moreover, he implies that he was not fettered by convention and understood relative situations involving unfairness to the weak. His understanding of justice and helpful acts can be seen as stage four in the conventional level or higher in the post-conventional level according to the moral development of Kohlberg. Nevertheless, a student at elementary school, aged between seven and 12, can hardly have achieved the post-conventional level (Kohlberg, 1984: 48-55). This means that the interviewee, looking back to unfold his biography, modifies what he has done or interprets his previous behavior through his current perspective as a 72-year-old man.

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<sup>70</sup> The original transcript is that “그래서 누구 특히 이게 다른 사람인데 어떤 경우에도 이 사람이 이게 옳은 건데 이제 그건 환경에 따라서 이제 약한 자가 되면은 언제고 학창시절 때, 국민학교 때도 그 사람을 도와주고 그런 스타일이었던 말이야...”

Another considerable factor in this narration is his choice of justice issue among various life matters in his childhood. This topic of chivalry can be understood when the above aspects of his childhood - poverty and being the focus of his parents' love - are analyzed. The combination of the ideal of justice in the above contexts presents Yong-Seok as having the make-up of a politician. He was poor, as were many others in that period due to the historical context. As opposed to a member of the middle class, compared to whom many people have a sense of relative deprivation, Yong-Seok has as his starting point the proletariat, who have to improve their lives without help. In addition, he believes that he was full of chivalry and even started to help the weak when he was at primary school. These elements emphasize his mission and ability to work for the public, using his extraordinary childhood as a basis upon which to eliminate the disharmony between classes. Based on this background story, Yong-Seok adds one more strengthening of psychological stability in monopolizing his parents' love. This makes him stand out not only as having mission and ability, but it also confirms him as having a gentler way to solve problems, different from that of a radical activist. In addition, the high degree of his monopoly of his parents' love correlates with his later strong desire for power as a politician. These narrative factors show that he carefully attempts to build a steady background story to show what he has done; the narrator develops his story as an argument in creating a picture of his self-image as a politician or hero, rather than as pure narrative.

11. *So (I) lived like this until I was 27 years old in Korea. (I) was raised in that certain environment all along in my home town. Well there is now, in the present, called JG University in Seoul. (I) graduated from AO elementary school in R-town and after (my) primary school graduation, to Seoul... (14-17).*

His fragmented narration causes ambiguity in his biographical information, and the main storyline is continually clouded. Despite his habitually vague narrative, Yong-Seok maintains



a steady structure of solidifying his sequential pattern of the biography of a self-made man. His narration, “*(I) lived like this*”<sup>71</sup>,” includes a progression of the formation of his identity as being full of chivalry for society, surrounded by love in family and poverty in community in Korea, for 27 years of his early life. His narration is like describing his life as a flower blooming in the mud. As sequentially disclosed, Yong-Seok’s narration contains continuity in building the impression of his upright character, supported emotionally by his parents through adversity in early life. This sequential pattern may emphasize his view that his biographical achievements were obtained not by a dream of making his fortune at one stroke, but by neatly adding to his achievements one by one. This can be extended to a pattern showing the life of a self-made man building a successful life by overcoming difficulties through his altruistic human nature – intrapersonal - and the love of his family - interpersonal.

The narrator brings in the new topics of his migration history and the institutional expectation pattern (i.e. primary school and university), located in different places to that of the cultivating process of his identity. His fragmented narration provides limited information, for instance it is unclear whether Yong-Seok graduated from JG University. However, this indicates two possibilities: the time of international migration aged 27, and a possible domestic migration due to attending school in Seoul. Regarding the first fact, this must have been in 1964 for him to have been 27 (26 years old in non-Korean age); a year after the first group of Korean miners was sent to Germany under a national treaty establishing a guest worker program. It was possible for him to take advantage of this international situation to go directly to Germany. Germany was one of the few options given the domestic situation at that time because the authoritarian government controlled international emigration and immigration.

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<sup>71</sup> “This way” can be clarified in the previous sentences which contain his personality with righteous, emotional support by his family, and the poor.

Secondly, Yong-Seok could have effected a domestic migration from his hometown to Seoul for school. Even if there is a gap between elementary school and university, his narration, “*and after [my] primary school graduation, to Seoul....*,” contains his potential moving to Seoul. This gap may be related to the Korean War between 1950 and 1953 when Yong-Seok was in middle school. His hometown, R-town, is located 140 km south from Seoul, which means his family might have stayed in R-town to avoid the ravages of war (there were some inland areas which suffered less from the war) or might have fled to southern parts such as Dae-Gu and Bu-San. Both cases would have had the effect of postponing his or his family’s migration to Seoul.

If Yong-Seok went to Seoul for his higher education before or after the war, questions follow as to how he had the financial support for tuition and living expenses, and what the purpose of his study was, given the dire poverty of his familial situation. Based on his narration of his family background, it would have been fairly difficult for him to be supported by his family financially. That means he either monopolized financial support in his family as the favorite child or received a scholarship to support himself. Education was in either case considered as important to both the narrator and his family. High education and intelligence in the Korean cultural context have constituted the best way to be upwardly mobile for hundreds of years. The rise in status means that not only an individual, but the family of such an individual, can gain a reputation and social and financial resources. Yong-Seok and his family may have decided upon higher education as a means to overcome their poor status.

12. ....so that was fifty... that Ha.. [I] was the first grade at primary school when it regained the Independence... when the independence was. And when the year of 6.25<sup>72</sup> broke out was, (I) was the first grade in middle school. 6.25, that’s our war between

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<sup>72</sup> 6.25 means the Korean War which broke out on June 25<sup>th</sup>, 1950.

*South and North. And 5.16<sup>73</sup>, 4.19<sup>74</sup>, anyway our generation had experienced all these various events (17-21).*

The interviewee explains his biography in terms of Korean modern history, including Korean independence (1945: his first grade at primary school), the Korean War (1950: his first year at middle school), the April democracy revolution (1960: term of military service), and the military coup (1961: term of military service). The narrator chooses collective topics which his cohort group in Korea at that time has been through, rather than personal events in his individual chronological calendar. Indirectly, these historical events imply that the early part of his life was in an extremely difficult world politically and economically. They could give Young-Seok extra life crises added to his own personal life crisis as an adolescent and young adult regarding developing identity formation and poverty in his family. Although these events could have been used as a negative influence on the lives of his generation as a risk factor, Yong-Seok stressed these factors more as the experienced past. His emphasis is again connected to the previous feature of continuity in his narration.

Experience is accumulated over a long time period and still influences the current life of an individual. Furthermore, to experience something cannot be substituted by reading a book and taking a class. To experience means direct, active, practical involvement by the individual, building up her/his own knowledge. He had the opportunity not only to amass experiences but also to live through the particular historical times between the 1940s and the 1960s, a unique opportunity denied to his descendants. To sum up, his narration attempts to demonstrate his acquired life experiences in collective and historical contexts and these

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<sup>73</sup> Military coup on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>74</sup> The April democracy revolution on April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

experiences symbolize a particular and personal experience which only can be made by a special person in that collective suffering.

### Structural Hypothesis I

Yong-Seok's narration suggests two features: economic adversity and continuity of experience. The first feature is the poor economic conditions surrounding his family, community, and nation. The subject of poverty is an important choice as a prologue to his narration and provides a background to Yong-Seok's life in Korea until the age of 27. The repeated topic is more related to a foreshadowing of the subject of his future narration rather than a general explanation in terms of the social situation during his childhood. Yong-Seok stresses that poverty is an unavoidable catastrophe within complicated historical events. In addition, his phrase 'everyone wants to escape it' implies his individual desire being extended into a universal and valid need shared by all. These narration units provide a concrete basis for Yong-Seok's evaluation that poverty is a prevalent social problem and that the motivation to overcome it is a general phenomenon. Despite everybody's earnest desire, the route out of poverty is still a difficult task for everyone because it was a national and structural problem at that time. Furthermore, the desire to escape poverty does not guarantee the development of any ability to overcome financial hardships. The topic of poverty may therefore be used to excuse any failure on his part.

On the other hand, Yong-Seok may indicate this subject as a trigger to highlight his success. Not everyone is able to overcome poverty, given limited social chances and infrastructures. So many people want to be free from poverty, that competition to grasp opportunities and limited alternatives is fierce. That means Yong-Seok could be recognized as a particularly successful man if he solved this problem in his own life. The backdrop of severe poverty is a vehicle to create a dramatic and tragic atmosphere in order to maximize his

successful life story later on. Indeed, one of these failure and success inferences is crystallized into one case structure by interpreting his narration sequentially.

His other narration units put more weight on his successful life background story rather than on its pretext. Yong-Seok stresses his personality enriched by a strong sense of honor and a well-loved, nurturing atmosphere amongst the suffering of deprivation. These personal features can be a good foundation in building the psychological strength to cope with life crises. The subject of poverty could have been used to explain simply his environment if the above personal features were not brought up. Metaphorically speaking, Yong-Seok builds a substantial house on the barren land called poverty by using materials, his gentle and helpful nature, and emotional support from his significant others. His well-built house can provide not only a safe place from risks outside, but also a rest space to recharge himself to deal with life's difficulties. In other words, his steady and good personality can be a shield to fight against poverty. These three axes, one disadvantage and two advantages, can be seen as preconditions to the concept of the self-made man.

#### Continuing Analysis and Interpretation Related to 'I made it' - The Biography of a Self-Made Man

A self-made man in a dictionary is a person who was born poor and otherwise disadvantaged, but who achieved great economic or moral success thanks to their own hard work and ingenuity rather than to any inherited fortune, family connections, or other privileges (Pearson ELT, 2009: 1581). The definition incorporates a difficult life situation and the personal motivation and effort to overcome adversity in one's life without external supports. These features correspond considerably with Yong-Seok's three axes: poverty, nobility of character and emotional support. Even if Yong-Seok does not reveal his particular strategies

to overcome poverty at the beginning of his narration, he steadily builds his narrative of himself as a self-made man.

The self-made man's legend is even reinforced in the second feature of continuity of experience. When Yong-Seok explains his three axes, his narrations are in the progressive and perfect form. Generally, it is not strictly necessary to distinguish the tense in Korean, so the tense in sentences is understood in the context of meaning. Yong-Seok's narration contains a mixture of the past and present tenses in explaining his childhood. However, his narration is not ambiguous despite the shifting use of the progressive and perfect forms, because time adverbs such as 'always' and 'all the time' stress the continuity of his actions and life conditions. In addition, Yong-Seok values certain of his life experiences as distinguished and specialized from other generations. Instead of explaining events and incidents in his childhood, the narrator underlines his accumulated experiences in a sequential and temporal life context.

Experience occurs when an individual is involved in particular situations and when she/he obtains knowledge or techniques through certain activities (Pearson ETL, 2009: 593). The definition includes direct engagement with a certain situation by a main agent, which is impossible to substitute. Similar to these properties, Yong-Seok narrates the process and consistency of his experience over a long period. In addition, his experience is achieved through his own *Erlebnis* or 'lived experiences in that moment' (Arthos, 2000; Highmore, 2002: 66-67; Osborne, 2000: 82). His *Erlebnis* requires history, immediacy and his direct participation in those particular situations. This does not include metaphysical, abstract, and indirect experiences from reading books, watching movies or taking school classes. Yong-Seok sees himself as an active participant who is prepared to deal with life's suffering by himself. In addition, Yong-Seok as a protagonist emphasizes his initiative and involvement in what he has done and how he has lived through his experiences. These characteristics contain the concept

of *habitus*, which is “experience integration” (Lizardo, 2004: 391) in the continual temporal context and “produces individual and collective practices (Bourdieu, 1990: 54).” It seems that Yong-Seok gradually builds his narrative direction toward getting his life achievement, success, brought about by his own abilities, endurance, and efforts throughout his biography; a self-made man.

*I said that “Why do you cry mom? Do not cry. I will succeed in making money and come back home (90-91). (Ellipsis) I went to West Germany for three years in order to achieve success for our mom and for the Nam family and to overcome poverty (94-96).*

As this narration presents, Yong-Seok has a strong orientation towards success in finance and his international migration to West Germany is the beginning thereof. A miner could earn about 800 German marks (₩160,000) monthly (Kwan, 2009: 277) in the middle of the 1960s, which was an exorbitant amount of money compared to the monthly salary of any job in Korea. Yong-Seok had never worked in a mine, but the amount of salary was profoundly tempting to make him cross the border to work as a blue-collar laborer. He left for Germany promising to return to his family with money. Sticking to his promise, Yong-Seok worked not only in a mine, but also on a farm, so that he could make double the money; in addition, he lived frugally, spending a minimum of money on himself: “(I) had double jobs almost for a year working for 15 to 16 hours per day (105-106).” Yong-Seok keeps one of his promises, to succeed financially, however he breaks the other promise to return to his family in Korea. His mother, to whom he was strongly attached, passed away in his last year in Germany. This incident made him change his plans; rather than returning to Korea, he would emigrate to the US. At that time, Korea still struggled with a high unemployment rate and had bad working conditions with low labor value. In contrast, the US was the one of the most affluent and more advanced countries in the world; the immigration process was

relatively easier than that prevailing in Germany. It was fairly rare in Germany for miners to be able to extend a contract for another three years and to have a new job due to strict visa regulations applying to guest workers.

His second migration to the US may have been an inevitable conclusion when these international push-and-pull factors are reflected this structural hypothesis. As the first push factor, Germany may have symbolized finite life opportunities to Yong-Seok. Germany accepted Korean migrants merely as guest workers at that time<sup>75</sup>. This unstable social status and misrecognition as a member of society could have disrupted his plan to develop his successful life story. Another push factor was the delicate domestic situation in Korea. Yong-Seok may perceive that the poor economic status of Korea was too risky to invest the money which he made in Germany by working hard. Moreover, he may have been concerned about the cultural obligation that a family member, having more money, ought to help other family members in need. Yong-Seok, indeed, remitted much money to his poor widowed sister while working in Germany. It might have been easier for him to help his sister while his mother was still alive. Because Yong-Seok was the favorite and the closest child to his mother, he accepted his mother's needs with less resistance than that he felt to those of his siblings. However, Yong-Seok's history of hogging the love of his parents from his siblings may signify that he has been habituated more to get benefits than to share them with his siblings. Given these push contexts by two countries, he could find a pull element from the US. The US was friendlier and it was less difficult to obtain legal status as an immigrant. In addition, the US market economy system had less strict regulation and controls in respect of opening a small business, which could be advantageous to Yong-Seok in achieving economic success.

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<sup>75</sup> This terminology means a segregation between a host and a guest; the guest has to be prepared to return to her/his home after a while.



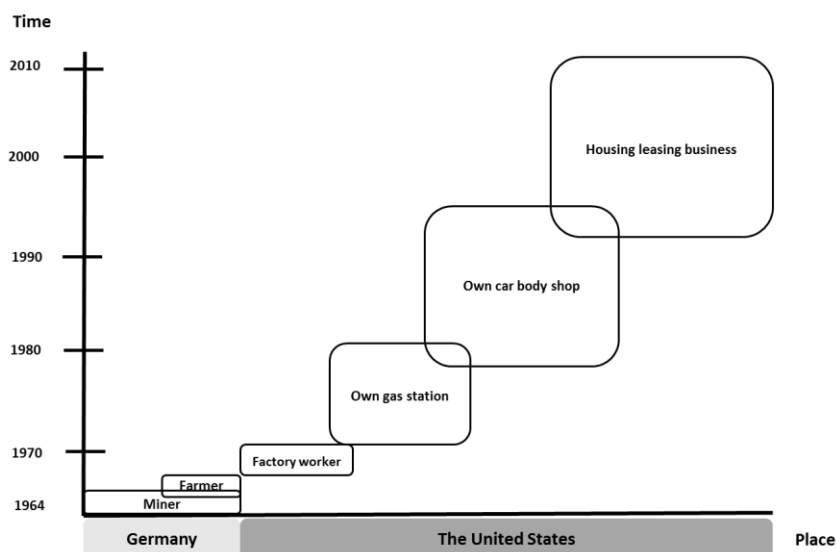
*(I) bought a gas station which usually sold 10 thousand gallons per month, and [I] sold 16 thousand and 15 thousand gallons because I worked very hard as I did with two jobs in Germany. (Ellipsis) I mined the bonanza there for seven years (212-216).*

*A long time ago, (I) bought an apartment building for 12 thousand dollars, and the building price is raised up to two million dollars. The 12-thousand-dollar building is now valued at two million dollars because I did not sell it and buy another (245-247).*

*So (I) earned money whilst I and (my) wife were (socially) hidden away (455-456).*

The main storyline in terms of his migration path is overwhelmed by the subject of making money. Yong-Seok worked as a blue-collar worker and saved his most income in the beginning of his migration to the US as he did in Germany. At that time he met his wife, a Korean nurse, in Germany; she worked in a hospital as a Registered Nurse and contributed pretty good money to the family economy. His marital relationship was depicted mostly as an economic result which was one of salient financial resources to make the seed money to start his own business.

Figure 7. 1. Work Path



The narrator had a careful plan for his business in considering any risk in the future; he did not invest money impractically in many business areas at once. Instead, he stuck to managing a single business from a minimum of seven to a maximum of 16 years, during which time he accumulated his own know-how (see figure 7.1). In other words, Yong-Seok consistently adheres to his *Erlebnis*, lived experience, through his direct experiences built over a long period. In addition, Yong-Seok gathered more know-how through trial and error. Since Yong-Seok migrated to the U.S. he has gradually extended his business. In the process, he accumulated a massive amount of money; however, he was not knowledgeable regarding tax. Yong-Seok was charged with tax evasion and was ordered to pay an enormous amount of back tax. Through this experience, Yong-Seok gained much knowledge of tax and the way to protect his property. As his friend with a PhD in economics advised, Yong-Seok invested his surplus funds in real estate, which was the best way to achieve tax reduction and is now the major income source to complete his successful self-made-man story. As this coping strategy demonstrates, Yong-Seok experiences life matters and learns the lessons of his experiences.

Naturally all human beings experience things and gain knowledge from their experiences. However, not everyone learns a lesson from the experience of failure and converts such an experience into the next step for success. Yong-Seok learns the reality of managing his own business in the US and realizes that his capacity is finite regarding what he is able to do through his experience (Sung, 2001)<sup>76</sup>. It is the reason why experience is particularly related to his case structure. Experience is the only way to make his dream come true. Because Yong-Seok was from a poor family and country and lives in the US as an immigrant, he cannot utilize many personal resources to achieve his goal of economic success. Experience and

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<sup>76</sup> Gadamer indicates that "Experience is the experience of human finitude.... Experience teaches us to recognize reality (Gadamer, 1975: 320 as cited in Sung, 2001: 240)."

learning the lessons of his experiences are his 'seed money' leading to the successful life of a self-made man.

### Sequential Analysis II: Analysis and Interpretation of the Interview

13. *By the way in Seoul I, (my) older brother had a tailor shop in Seoul. So (I) graduated from primary school in R-town and then, that.. well.. like saying, send a horse to Cheo-Chu-Island, send a person to Seoul, so the city of F-town which was raised to the status of a city now has only 14 thousand inhabitants as a small city. Geographically it is so narrow, narrow to be surrounded by mountain even if there is LK-river nearby. So since I was young, (I) have liked things VERY large and had that kind of dream (21-26).*

The place itself or his migration to Seoul may be a salient narrative topic because he goes into more detail here than with other topics. When Yong-Seok accounts for his migration to Seoul, he uses the collective belief that there are better educational chances in Seoul than in rural areas. His character pattern is continuous from his first sentence to this paragraph, which contains the collective agreement pattern for his individual life matters. In addition, the interviewee expands his explanations by bringing in an old Korean saying and the sheer size of Seoul in relation to his migration thereto. From this, the following ways of reading are inferred, reflected in his personal and historical environment.

R1) Yong-Seok moved to Seoul for a job at his older brother's tailor shop instead of going to middle school. A student at that time had to pay tuition for middle and high school education, which his family could not provide. After his graduation from elementary school, the narrator and his parents may have decided that he should learn tailoring skills at his older brother's shop.

R2) His moving to Seoul for study could not meet with general acceptance due to the financial difficulties of his family. Yong-Seok could get support from his older brother in Seoul, but the major responsibility for his moving belonged to his parents. His migration might invite criticism by his relatives and community members due to causing extra burdens to his parents.

R3) Leaving for Seoul was something few people could afford at that time. There were better educational and vocational opportunities in Seoul, the national capital city than rural areas. Many people from the provinces wanted to move to Seoul for better life chances. However, few of them could achieve these chances, which depended on grade point average [GPA] at school or having sufficient money for living costs and education expenses. Despite the poverty of his family, Yong-Seok has the opportunity to move to Seoul because he had a good GPA.

There are two features in these sentences dividing his biography between the time of his primary school graduation, and places between his hometown and Seoul. These features may be applied to explain circumstances regarding his migration to the national capital city with support from his older brother and with his motivation to experience adventures in a bigger place. He could have gone to Seoul to work (R1) or to study (R2 and R3). In both cases Yong-Seok could have had an easier time due to the support from his older brother. All the same, he could still have had a turning point after his migration. Yong-Seok needed to manage his school work and everyday life alone, without assistance from his parents. This could mean his dethronement from the position of “prince”, or favorite child. Another two factors, being separated from his parents and becoming an adolescent, could represent a significant transition to the 12-year-old Yong-Seok. In addition, adjusting to a new lifestyle from a small town to the capital city could challenge him as well. Between perceptions of risk and chance,

Yong-Seok understood his migration as a chance to move forward for his big dream. His migration can be analyzed in various ways.

The meaning of his migration can be interpreted by extending the above ways of reading. It is obvious that Yong-Seok was willing to move to Seoul, but ambiguous as to whether his migration was for study or a job. Both academic and vocational reasons could be relevant to his biographical structure, the story of self-made man. As inferred in R1, he would have gone to Seoul to acquire operational skills. Yong-Seok may have found a way to free himself from financial hardships by entering the vocational world when young. This inference can give Yong-Seok a unique background story, in that he accumulates his own experiences and know-how in order to succeed at work. The narrator is a direct and pragmatic type of person, achieving his goal by doing his work step by step. However, Yong-Seok could have been confronted with an impediment to gaining social recognition in the later period due to his lack of academic background. In Korea, an academic career is one of the most important elements for success. Yong-Seok would not have been able to gain promotion and an appropriate level of salary with only a primary school education, even if he were fully capable at work. That means he could achieve his dream of living in a big city, but could not escape from poverty, which could affect his life trajectory.

On the contrary, Yong-Seok could have dealt with a different situation if his migration were for secondary education. His family must have had a reason to send him to Seoul despite their poverty: his extraordinary learning ability or his parents' belief in providing education for their children. Yong-Seok had a decided advantage in respect of better educational opportunities than his sisters had due to the Confucian culture. That means he only has four competitors, his brothers, to share any financial resources available for education. In addition, his older brothers could have been old enough to be independent or to support his family,

inferred by his birth order. Indeed, one of his older brothers had his own tailor shop in Seoul. Yong-Seok may have a decent support from his parents and siblings to study in Seoul.

Another feature in attempting to understand his migration for education is the social context. There was a grade system to middle school in the 1950s; many students tried to enter prestigious middle schools by means of an entrance examination (Kang, 2004). As a decided life path, a student with good GPA went to a prestigious middle school and high school, which was a necessary condition for gaining entrance to a distinguished university. Graduation from a top university could bring a student social success, which Yong-Seok may have aimed for through his domestic migration to Seoul. In this case, education means to him and his family an investment in his potential success. If Yong-Seok developed his career by moving to Seoul for a better school, this story can provide good background material for his self-made-man biography.

14. *So now (I) came to Seoul. Our brother, the oldest brother had the tailor shop in A-dong. So I came. For middle school, there is PK middle school which is public, and (I) studied, why would (I) in the rural area? (26-29)*

His migration for study was verified in these sentences. Yong-Seok could start his middle school year in Seoul with his older brother's support. According to his narration, Yong-Seok is not a top student, which could have influenced his choice of middle school. In this context, it is not clear yet how PK middle school is related to Yong-Seok's biography. Instead of clarifying his middle school information, Yong-Seok implies his bad GPA by referring to study his former life in rural parts in the questioning form. Furthermore, the interrogative form is utilized to ask the interviewer for agreement with his reasoning in terms of his unsuccessful academic result. The last sentence can be paraphrased thus: 'A student living in a rural area does not study hard. I live in a rural area. Therefore, I do not study hard.'

Again, the narrator generalizes his personal issue from others, which makes it easier for him to find a legitimate reason for his failure to study. Consequently, it shows that his migration is not related to any extraordinary learning ability but to his family's concerns regarding education or to his own desire to live in a big city.

However, this inference contains a contradiction. Yong-Seok maintains that he did not study hard and did not gain good grades because he lived in the rural area. He could not have studied hard because he would have had to help his parents with their farming. This indicates that his parents had less interest in his education, and had more concern regarding his working and helping the family. Sending a child to Seoul from a rural area means a huge amount of economic investment, which requires the parents' serious desire to improve their child's future. That means his parents would have encouraged him to study rather than to work in field or farm. This presents the possibility that his unsuccessful outcome at school was significantly related to his personal learning ability rather than the poor environment. Another possibility can be inferred as regards resources and capital. Obviously, Seoul, as the biggest city in Korea, had more and better educational chances on an institutional level compared to a small town. Yong-Seok would not have been able to find better chances of education when living in his home town. His family might decide his moving for a better life chance and the decision could have been easier for his parents due to his oldest brother living in Seoul.

15. *Always (I) ran amok and started trouble. (I) worried my parents to death. That's (my) style (29-30).*

Yong-Seok defines his personality as that of a troublemaker; his actions must have been fairly serious to make his parents worry about him. There remains ambiguity in the definition of the problems and trouble that he makes because Yong-Seok provides no particular examples. One thing is for certain; this narration reverses the hard work he put in to describe

himself as a person motivated by chivalry and beloved by his parents. How could a chivalrous and beloved person become a troublemaker? Cultural context should here be applied in order to untangle his dual evaluations regarding his identity.

R1) A good child/student in the Korean culture has to have good grades at school, to obey teachers and parents, and to live in harmony with a group of classmates. Yong-Seok might not have met these requirements to be a good child/student. The interviewee could indeed have been his parents' favorite child due to his inborn benefit as the youngest child. However, his learning ability might not have been good enough to maintain that position in his family and to gain social recognition at school.

R2) His belief in himself as having an innately chivalrous nature, even at a young age, does not correlate well with his behavior as reported here, such as disobedience to his teacher and parents or disturbing the peace, which caused problems for others.

16. *So (I) failed to enter PK middle school and so now it became KQ ... it's KQ.. KQ located in H 6th street, (I) passed it. It was the secondary exam, the secondary exam (30-32).*

Failing the middle school entrance exam could have given him and his parents a fairly difficult time. Such failure could mean humiliation to his parents, who would have felt unable to be a proud father and mother. This could have caused Yong-Seok profound frustration as well. According to Erikson (1968: 123), an individual at school age gives a special meaning to school work in relation to developing goals and a sense of accomplishment and recognizing her/his strengths and weaknesses. Failure to pass this exam at a sufficiently high grade meant that he had a choice between accepting a less prestigious school and retaking the exam the next year. He would not have been allowed to stay in school in order to retake the exam, whilst his peers would proceed to middle school. Indeed, there were 'repeaters' who



had already graduated from primary school, and who studied alone in order to prepare the middle school entrance exam for the next year. Instead of becoming a repeater, Yong-Seok chose to enter a second-division school. KQ middle school was a trade school, whilst PK was an academic school. That means his choice of KQ technical middle school indicates not only dropping a school level, but also changing his goal from having continual study at a higher educational institute to becoming a technician. Despite the possible huge impact upon his future, Yong-Seok chose to remain in education rather than studying alone for a year.

17. *“(Ellipsis) After about three months from my middle school entrance, the 6.25.. the 6.25 broke out (34-35). (Ellipsis) By the way there was no way to do due to the war... our older brother quit (his) tailor shop, and (we) packed and left for F (36-38).*

The Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950, which was three months after his migration to Seoul. It was only about 100 km from 38<sup>th</sup> parallel to Seoul; the North Korean army broke the line of defense in Seoul in two days. The invasion by the North Korean army was an unavoidable danger, and every civilian had to flee to the southern part of Korea immediately. The evacuation route was extremely difficult because the North Korean army attacked many connecting roads and bridges to the south. Furthermore, Yong-Seok might have had much more difficulty in returning to his hometown due to his young age, 12 years old. The interviewee could have experienced the horrors of the war, and this experience could relate to his turning point or biographical trajectory.

18. *(Ellipsis) So (I) came to (my) home town and our principal said that “you entered KQ technical middle school in Seoul so go to AO middle school where includes a technical school curriculum.” So AO elementary school, AO middle school, the... Agricultural high school, so even if I am native in F-city, (I) graduated from the agricultural high school (43-47).*

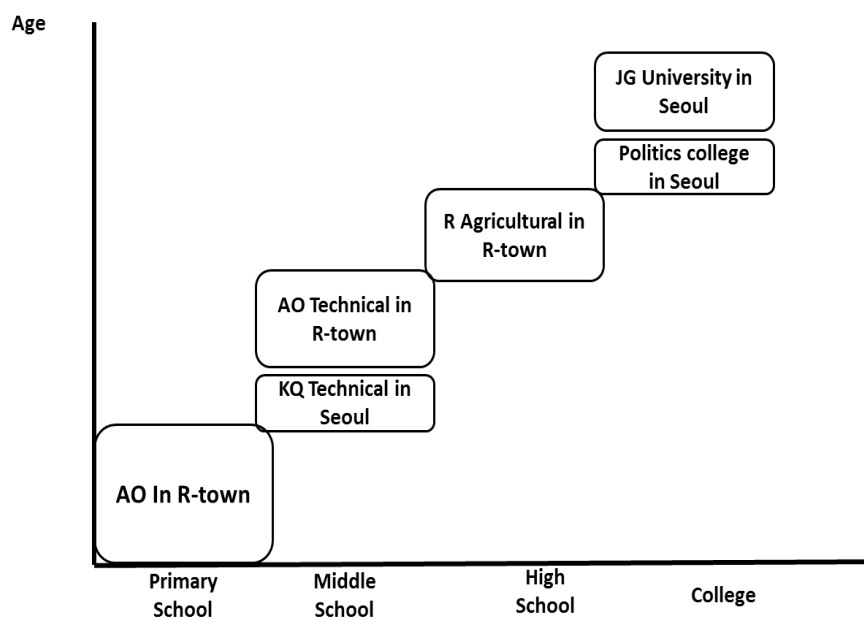
Before this part of the narration, Yong-Seok described his evacuation path to his hometown in detail. It took four days for him to arrive in R-town, F city, meanwhile undergoing all sorts of hardships in the war. This nationwide crisis directly influenced his life, including evacuation and transferring school, and Yong-Seok was between 12 and 15 years old when the war ended in 1953. This type of narration could have been a prelude to the following story regarding his traumatic experiences of war in his early adolescence. On the contrary, Yong-Seok returned to the institutional expectation pattern as soon as he reached his hometown in his narration. The evacuation story in the war was merely a medium to connect his narration to a school story. He maintained his everyday life by transferring to a school in his hometown and following the educational path to high school in the middle of the war. In other words, Yong-Seok continued to follow a normative life course, the institutional expectation pattern (Schütze, 2007: 27), in the particular situation of war. This biographical process structure is similar to his previous choice of going to KQ technical middle school. Yong-Seok could trade entering a low grade school and transferring to a small school in the rural area for maintaining student status. His sequential biographical decisions present his or his family's strong emphasis on education. This emphasis is not based on high academic achievement but on maintenance of a conventional life course. Had he had not only a strong desire, but competence upon entering a prestigious middle school, he would have repeated the entrance exam or studied harder to enter a distinguished high school. Instead, the narrator continued to attend another technical middle school in his home town and went to agricultural high school which required neither a high GPA nor exceptional learning ability.

19. *That.. I graduated from the school in '56. After that (I) came back in Seoul, but (I) did not study hard on schooldays and everyday played only sports.. so now there was Politics college for 2 years in N-Dong in Seoul. There were a day class and night class and (I) entered to the day class... but I attended for a year and JG University opened*

*in CA-Dong or JA-Dong.. It's JA-Dong. So (I) participated in JG University until sophomore in Seoul. And then (47-52).*

A life path along the institutional expectation pattern has been developed throughout Yong-Seok's biography. Yong-Seok returned to Seoul for education and studied at a four-year university by taking a bypass through the two-year college. Modally, his migration for study follows the normal procedure from high school to two-year college and to four-year university. In substance, however, his narration incorporates inconsistencies in his educational path. Yong-Seok appears to have had a lack of interest in study, and his high school specialized in agriculture. These elements may indicate that higher education was not necessary to him. A high school diploma was enough to become a practical farmer unless he planned to be a researcher or teacher. To tread a different path from that he had previously done at technical and agricultural schools, Yong-Seok became a student at the university, which could offer more vocational chances of a white-collar job.

Figure 7.2. Educational path



As Figure 7.2 shows, his schooldays include changes in major and residence. Yong-Seok moved around to seek better resources and conditions in education, and his parents and siblings appear mostly to have supported him to access the educational environment. That means his educational path reflects his and/or his family's strong desire to better themselves through his education. Unfortunately, the narrator had two unfavorable factors, the Korean War and a lack of academic competence. The war interrupted his urban life and his bad grades were an impediment to entry into a prestigious school. The second unfavorable factor, in particular, could have meant further problems with his competitors for study and work. As the famous saying goes, "you can lead a horse to water but you cannot make him drink;" Yong-Seok could have taken a school entrance exam and lived in Seoul supported by his family, but his family could not give him an admission letter. Although the interviewee went to university, none of schools he attended was a distinguished school at that time.

His efforts and time in education provide a noticeable element in attempting to understand his biography. As mentioned above, the narrator was neither a top student nor particularly eager to be accepted by a high-grade school. This shows that study is not what he likes to do, but what he has to do to achieve a better reputation and career to overcome poverty in his family. Indeed, educational background can bring a person practical bread-and-butter help more than intellectual activity in the Korean historical context (Kim, Lee & Lee, 2005). This cultural context and his biographical path can be reflected by his life strategies seeking resources in his further narration. Since hypothesis one reconstructed his self-made-man structure, the following analysis focuses more on his life strategies and unique biographical patterns which are not interpreted in the first hypothesis. For this, the following analysis omits repeated narrative contents and concentrates on his life strategies in his migration path.

20. *“(Ellipsis) I (went) to West Germany in 1964 in October. It was on the first of October. At that time, when the revolution of 5.16 was started, highly educated people were laid off and could not get a job. I was at home and doing nothing after I went to university and served in the army. I could go to West Germany so I went (76-79).*

His narration represents desperate financial situations both at national and personal levels. There was a high unemployment rate amongst people with both highly educated and non-educated backgrounds in society at large. A shortage of jobs and a nation devastated by the war were not much changed after the military coup on May 16, 1961. This hopeless situation might have presented Yong-Seok with much more difficulties because his/ his family's hopes were related to education. Yong-Seok spends time and money on being a student even if he is not a good student. In addition, the support provided by his poverty-stricken family is described in the part omitted. That means, the investment and support of his family, given in difficult circumstances, were totally negated, crushed by the nationwide problem of job shortages. This collective suffering stifled hope in him and his cohort group; his biographical choice was to leave the collective suffering space for West Germany.

R1) Yong-Seok leaves for Germany in order to continue his studies. He may have felt he needed a strong strategy in the hunt for a future job by developing his academic background, which was not extraordinary, to gain advantage in the tight labor market. A diploma from a more advanced country could help his career.

R2) Yong-Seok migrates to Germany as a miner through the national treaty of the guest worker program.

His migration between Seoul and his hometown was consistently led by academic reasons. This pattern indicates his and/or his family's profound desire to improve his geographical and educational circumstances. Since Yong-Seok realized that higher education

was no longer a guarantee of a job in Korea, he could have decided to seek an alternative abroad. The interviewee carried out his original idea in terms of education and migration, and only one factor is changed; he went from domestic to international migration. This way of reading (R1) would have been persuasive if Yong-Seok had had good financial support and the academic competence to enter a college in Germany. Yong-Seok struggled with academic achievement and his family's financial situation had deteriorated. The narrator was unable to finish his university years because he could not pay for the tuition (narrated in the part omitted). Even if his biographical pattern shows consistency in education and migration, the cost of studying overseas might have been too much for him and his family. Therefore, his international migration may relate more to seeking a job rather than to study. His migration took place one year after the national treaty allowing Korean miners to work in Germany, and about 800 Korean males went to Germany in the year of his migration (Kwan, 2009: 466-467). It was fairly difficult for ordinary people to migrate to another country due to stringent control of immigration and emigration by the military dictatorship. In this situation, both studying and working abroad were only allowed for special reasons. The guest worker program with Germany was one of the rare chances to leave for abroad.

If his migration was arranged by the guest worker program, he would have had to deal with another life transition, which is not comparable to his previous life changes. He had to work as a blue-collar laborer in a mine and to adjust to the new cultural environment in Germany. These new situations can represent either a life crisis or a chance to redirect his life. His choice of moving to Germany represents a tremendous life transition; from a college student to a miner, and from being part of the mainstream culture in his country of origin to becoming part of a minority in a foreign country. Yong-Seok could have been infatuated with occidental civilization in a honeymoon period at the beginning of his migration. However, this exotic atmosphere could have turned into inconvenient, strange, and unknown everyday

life issues which might have caused a life crisis through living abroad. On the other hand, his migration gave him chance to facilitate his life path in a creative way. The narrator learned various subjects such as academic, technical and agricultural works at school. These experiences may have helped him to develop a flexible attitude to new jobs and situations. Furthermore, the ability to adapt can be fostered in his biography by migrating back and forth between a small town and the capital city from a very young age.

Crossing borders required a brave and challenging attitude, no matter what this would bring to the interviewee. He had to make a decision regarding his migration and to put the decision into practice. He might have been pushed by the dire domestic situation, or decided upon his migration to fulfill his dreams. In any case, his migration can be seen as a turning point, altering his life positively and/or negatively.

21. *(Ellipse) So (I) heard that it is easier (for one) who wants to migrate from West Germany to the US to have a permanent residence card in the US when (one) marries a nurse (103-105).*

The narration topic is about a means to an end for a migration. Commonsensically, marriage is a way that two persons connected by love can be included into social system. In contrast, marriage in his narration appears similar to a business contract between people who share the same goal of US immigration with reduced risk. This perspective of the marital relationship is considerably pragmatic and functional, given that this is a relationship which is supposed to be genuine and love based. As he came to Germany by means of an employment contract, Yong-Seok may have sought another contract to help him enter the US. His second migration, to the US, was suddenly decided after his mother's death, which was explained by the narrator in the omitted part. Because Yong-Seok was strongly attached to his mother, his mother's death meant more than loss of his loved ones and loss of his homeland and roots.

Yong-Seok explains that he no longer wanted to return to Korea, but wished instead to migrate to the US. This circumstance led to him seeking any possibility to assist his US immigration. Marriage might have been the most practical way for one who possessed limited financial resources. Although several factors are considered, it is still a radical perspective to use marriage as a means to facilitate migration.

22. *(I) had two jobs, so I could only take a rest on Sunday. (I) had double jobs almost for a year working for 15 to 16 hours per day. I was the one who earned most cash among miners because I have two incomes, one is from a farm for seven to eight hours and the other is from a mine for eight hours (105-108).*

Yong-Seok not only adjusted to his new job in Germany, but also applied his labor to make extra money. His acculturation pattern represents here merely an economic assimilation without any psychological and cultural adjustment process through his job and living experiences. It seems that his selected activity merely focused on money, showing his clear purpose in moving to Germany. The massive amount of working hours could have been an impediment to his developing his acculturation in various life matters unless Yong-Seok's work required more communicative actions to improve language proficiency and to learn German culture. Both a miner and farmer experience more physical involvement than interaction with others in order to learn new cultural subjects in a new land. In other words, Yong-Seok's priority was to earn money and he approached his aim with the strategy of having two jobs: *I went to West Germany for three years in order to achieve success for our mom and for the Nam family and to overcome poverty (93-94).*

23. *(Ellipse) My life was reconstructed here between my aged at 27 and 30. Ah... I have learned how to earn money and how to become rich in West Germany and then I have*



*done same thing that I did in West Germany after (I) moved to the U.S. and until now (124-127).*

The interviewee reveals his life theme of growing rich through his migration path. The migration to West Germany was a trigger to change his life from poor to rich, and he developed a taste for making money. It was less important for him to enjoy the exotic mood and different culture, than to gain more technique and know-how in respect of making money. His clear life aim and activities are highly relevant to his narration about marriage. His migration and biography are described in a rather functional and pragmatic way, aiming to achieve his goal without emotions and significant relationships with his family and friends. Since Yong-Seok set up his life goal to succeed, he continued to use the same strategy for the same purpose wherever he was. For this reason, his first migration is a turning point in learning a new life strategy and the second is to maintain his lifestyle in order to achieve success.

### Structural Hypothesis II

Yong-Seok's biography is divided by his international migration. The first phase contains his educational path, moving back and forth between his hometown and Seoul. He and his family did not give up on maintaining his student status despite financial difficulties and his poor grades at school. He transferred from technical middle school (after failing to enter academic middle school) to agricultural high school, to two-year political college, and then to university. This shows his gradual approach to developing his educational pathway and to upgrading his status from that of a student at a trade school to that of a university student. His biographical path adhered to 'institutional patterns of life course' until he and his family could not afford university tuition any longer and hopes that he could get a good job after university graduation were fading due to the poor domestic economic situation at that time. The first phase of his biography ended after his migration to Germany. In contrast to

some other cases, for instance, that of Hae-Sook<sup>77</sup>, Yong-Seok's migration represents a distinct biographical turning point in terms of his identity.

Since Yong-Seok's leaving Korea, his life strategy was clearly to cultivate material resources. He came to hold a different world-view regarding blue-collar work when he realized that a laborer was able to make decent money in Germany, in contrast to the situation in Korea. In addition, working as a laborer in a foreign country meant that he was not subject to other Koreans judging him for such lowly blue-collar work. Yong-Seok was actively involved in making money by taking two jobs, in a mine and a farm; part of his salary was remitted to his family in Korea and the rest was saved. His biographical view values economic success more deeply than any other subject, which was not in evidence before his migration to Germany. Yong-Seok extended his wealth through his own experience and knowhow, forged through his own process of trial and error. These experiences are the intangible asset of which he is so proud. His migration triggered a life transition from student to laborer and from poor to rich; it helped him adjust his life strategies in order to align them with a taste for making money.

#### Continuing Analysis and Interpretation Related to a Taste for Making Money: Economic Attitude

His first international migration implies a great transformation into a blue-collar worker from a college student and this became an optimal method in making a successful life

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<sup>77</sup> Hae-Sook does not have a life transition before and after her international migration. Although her life space was changed from Korea to Germany and the US, she continued to make important life decisions with regard to her family; her life style, working hard at hospital and at home, did not change in a new country. Her biography does not contain metamorphoses, but maintains a structure of 'a life for others.' Migration to her is in the context of a continual decision-making pattern for her family; it is no more than that.

in the second round of migration. Yong-Seok even describes the alteration in his circumstances, becoming a blue-collar worker after having been a student, as reconstructing his entire life. His migration in this context means not only crossing geographical borders, but breaking his habitual everyday life. Yong-Seok attempted to remain a student by changing his majors and residences until he was 27 years old. His pattern shows that he was more interested in maintaining his student status than actually studying. Many people in Korea believe that obtaining white-collar work with a degree from a prestigious school is the best way to succeed. Korea had many laborers, but not enough jobs, which made labor fairly cheap in the 1960s. Working as a blue-collar labor in Korea would have meant a limited life chance of becoming rich. In contrast to this, blue-collar work as a miner and farmer in Germany meant something different for Yong-Seok. Although those jobs still provided less social recognition and a smaller wage than white-collar jobs in Germany, they could provide generous amounts of money to Yong-Seok. The German currency (the Deutschmark) was much stronger than the Korean currency in the 1960s, which could have given him a different world view in that he could earn massive amounts of money by working as a laborer. This new perspective, which had never been considered in his life in Korea, converted his life from seeking a well-recognized vocation to doing “three D” (dirty, difficult and dangerous) jobs abroad.

This change represents ‘creative metamorphoses of biographical identity’ which phrase indicates one’s internal change to bring a new biographical phase in terms of developing identity (Schütze, 2007: 27). Yong-Seok did not present a strong motivation and ambition for his study in Korea. Contrastively, Yong-Seok expressed his strong desire for success when leaving for Germany and he made his words come true while working as a miner and farmer. This presents a different attitude from his being a bad student at school in Korea. Like the butterfly’s metamorphosis, when the narrator takes off his student status and puts

laborer's clothes on, Yong-Seok could experience a different side of world with a taste for making money.

His narration shows a massive shift in his life after his migration to Germany. As Figure 7.2 shows, his life while in Korea appears to focus on following the institutional pattern of expectation. Even if Yong-Seok was not capable of being a good student, his life path adhered to a student's status. This pattern was applied to infer the way of reading that he might have gone to Germany for study. Instead of repeating his previous pattern, Yong-Seok adjusts to his changed position and develops a new habitual pattern in making money. Migration brings him a chance to be free from the conventional expectation; to find his new ability in economic value. From the various possible benefits of migration, the narrator chooses economic value, which is tangible, practical, and universal to use. If he had chosen more abstract values as his priority when adjusting to a new country, it might have taken longer for him to settle down in the new land in the beginning. It is a fact that abstract subjects, for instance culture and diversity, are delicate and relative because they need to be interpreted in the historical context. This factor would have been problematic for him because Yong-Seok migrated from an oriental, Confucian and collective culture which is very different to German and American culture. On the other hand, money is a universal medium which does not require deep interaction with and understanding of others. As long as an individual knows a basic economic system and can provide appropriate labor to the market, she/he can have feedback via money in a capitalistic society. In contrast to the poor and insecure Korean economic system, the markets in Germany and America were stable, providing better chances of work with a reasonable wage in the 1960s. Yong-Seok experienced not only a new way to succeed, but also a new land with a stable economic market.

*By the way, so after (my) three years contract, (I) do not return to Korea. Because (I) can easily get a permanent residence card when (I) go (to the US) with a nurse, I go*

*to women's hospital dormitory instead of going to church on Sunday and met my current wife (143-146).*

His migration to the US is his first independent journey without institutional and family support. In the preparatory period, the interviewee sought a marriage partner who could help to make his migration process easy. Furthermore, he gave up his normal religious ritual to find a partner. This choice indicates his strong desire for international migration and his utilizer's feature of using a marital relationship to achieve his goal. Indeed, Yong-Seok proposed to his wife by showing her his bank account history to prove his industrious attitude and wealth. He could have built an individual and genuine relationship with the other party. However, he chose a form of business deal, showing his money as a security in order to share her benefit as a nurse tied by a marital contract. The narrator could provide money if the nurse would give him legal status to enter the US. This behavior reflects an instrumental and exchangeable value (Garz, 2009: 41), considerably commodifying the idea of marriage, which is supposed to include intimacy and love.

*When I have money, (I) send it to poor churches in Korea because I want to bring a conclusion by inheriting spiritual bless to my offspring. So (I) hired a lawyer to make a foundation. To make a foundation needs about \$ 15,000 – 16,000 in six months. If (I) put my money down on the foundation, (I) will not be deprived of the inheritance tax (346-350).*

*When (I) walk around allies which (I) walked a lot when young, I remembered that (I) was very poor and had hardships even if (I) am rich in America now. (I) graduated from high school aged at 17, 18. When I thought about that time and retune to America, I rouse myself. So (I) walk around the area where I grew up every*

*year and set my goal again and come back. (I) can reset my goal in order to live harder one more year (471-476).*

These narration units are another example of accentuating his value as a person through charity and visiting his hometown in Korea. Yong-Seok has donated to support various people in need since 1997, and received an award for his charity from the local government in his hometown. Yong-Seok gained a reputation as a self-made man and a subscriber to charity in both Korea and the Korean community in America. It is made to seem that Yong-Seok practices 'noblesse oblige'. However, his helping behavior is based on economic benefits and emphasizing his inner motivation to work harder. The narrator can give his money to the poor as long as he obtains advantages through such charity. His biographical view sticks to the give-and-take perspective consistently, and the interviewee makes a tool of his marriage, charity and visiting his hometown. His instrumentation brings a utilitarian and materialistic perspective to everyday life. Spranger (1966) indicates that a person with a primarily economic attitude values utility and economically-calculable value over anything. As the economic subject, Yong-Seok perceives many of his significant life events as materially beneficial opportunities to him. He describes his wife not as an intimate life partner, but as a hard worker and frugal. His four daughters are introduced in order of how important their jobs are. Yong-Seok becomes known as a recognizably successful man; he is fully oriented to "economic egoism" (Spranger, 1966: 137) which utilizes riches as a power to reproduce wealth consistently. The narrator learns to enjoy making money when he migrated to Germany and developed his know-how to make money in the U.S. He left his original country for another, but the universal medium, money, shelters him from inner and outer conflicts due to cultural differences.

Yong-Seok is a protagonist who experiences an incredible metamorphosis from being a poor man living in a poor country to being a rich man who has migrated to more advanced countries. He learns better strategies through his mistakes and creates opportunities for himself through a coherent plan to become wealthy. Many political and charitable activities<sup>78</sup> are undertaken by the narrator and these assist Yong-Seok in continually increasing his wealth. As he planned, Yong-Seok achieves his successful life; however his success contains an imbalance between material and cultural values.

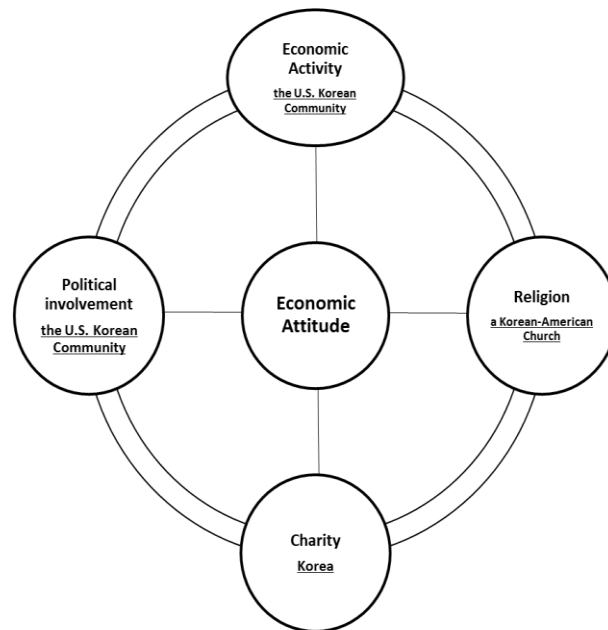
His narration does not show any cultural integration or segregation process, despite having lived in Europe and America for the past 44 years. Instead, his biography relates primarily to his money-making process. It seems that Yong-Seok has never left Korea psychologically, even if he has lived in the US since 1967. This is possible because his standard of success consists purely of economic value, and his economic activity is always attached to the Korean community in the US. The region in which Yong-Seok settles is one of the most populous cities in the US in terms of Korean immigrants, which brings him enough demand for his business. In this environment Yong-Seok planned each step of his journey to accumulate wealth as follows. First, the narrator collected enough seed money to start his own business with his wife, and then he extended his business from a gas station to a leasing service. When he became wealthy, Yong-Seok joined in many community activities with the aim of increasing his political power and his social standing in the Korean community in his American home. He also built two protestant churches in the Korean community in the US and supported churches in Korea in financial difficulty; his belief was that these religious activities could bring the grace of God to his progeny. In addition, he began to fund charitable work in

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<sup>78</sup> The detail activities are described in the objective data.

Korea and extended his charitable business by establishing his own foundation, utilizing it as a tool to reduce his tax obligations.

Figure 7.3. Biographical view and activity



Yong-Seok's economic attitude values his economic, politic, social, and spiritual aspects according only to their utility (see figure 7.3). He was a hard worker, earning a lot of money and gaining a strong reputation; these achievements are then used as stepping stones for his political, religious and charitable activities which in turn produce many chances for him to accumulate wealth. Yong-Seok attains his goal of escaping poverty successfully, and grows rich built on his own life experiences of trial and error with international migration. His property as "the fruit of work (Weber, 2005: 97)" is a symbol of his success and he wishes to hand it on to generation after generation as God's blessing: *"When I have money, (I) send it to poor churches in Korea because I want to bring a conclusion by inheriting spiritual bless to my offspring (346-347)."*

His biographical view, focusing on money, has a strong correlation with Weber's 'the protestant ethic and the spirit of Capitalism' which contains the "middle class vocational



ethos (*Berufsethos*)” (Weber, 2005: 100) and the moral approbation of the “self-made man” (Weber, 2005: 97). When the poor Yong-Seok living in a poor country metamorphoses into a rich man in more advanced countries, he came to acknowledge the value and importance of labor and wealth. He utilizes his ability to maximize his wealthy status and continues to develop his motivation to maintain it, like Puritans promoting capitalism (Weber, 2005:101). His charitable activities and support for churches provide a decent argument that there is not simply avarice in his desire to accumulate wealth, but a sincere desire to contribute to the community. In addition, the fact that he still works as a handyman for the maintenance of his buildings at over 70 and that he and his wife have lived frugally shows his sincere attitude toward wealth and work. Like the ‘middle class vocational ethos’ these three factors: working hard, performing good deeds for others, and living within his means, support Yong-Seok’s economical attitude rationally. Based on these steady foundations, Yong-Seok’s economic attitude is legitimated and he attains the status of the legendary Korean-American self-made man.

#### Case Structure: The Legendary of a Korean-American Self-Made Man- a Taste for Making Money

Yong-Seok’s first narrative phase provides a steady background to his story of a self-made man, while the later phase focuses on his money-making and charitable works. His biography, with its two different departures and arrivals, demonstrates that he learned how to develop his life strategies in order to become the rich in the US, despite coming from one of the poorest countries in the world at that time. Yong-Seok always remained within the Korean-American community for his economic and social activism. Moreover, he always maintained a connection (e.g. through charitable contributions) to his hometown in Korea, which demonstrates his strong attachment to his origins. The interviewee said that maintaining a connection to his hometown gives him the motivation to focus on working hard and had

helped him define his identity throughout his life. The fact that he is from a poor environment strongly influences his current self-image as a successful Korean-American, cultivating his life through his own efforts and experiences.

The biographical feature of the self-made man can be found in other cases<sup>79</sup>. In such cases, the subjects' economic and social achievements in the US via Germany were stressed in their narrations. Reflecting Yong-Seok's experience, many migrants demonstrating the biographical feature of the self-made man had struggled with their studies at college due to poverty, but were enterprising enough to instigate international migration as a solution to such difficulties. At the time (1950s to 70s), Korea had severe structural problems such as a high unemployment rate and a devalued labor market which they were not able to manage by themselves. These problems meant that many people faced personal crisis, in that they could not be guaranteed a good job after graduating from university. It was not a matter of a lack of personal ability, but of systemic and social issues requiring the investment of massive amounts of money over a long period in order to reestablish the whole country after the ravages of war and colonization.

When encountering this structural problem, Yong-Seok had a chance, through the guest worker program in Germany, to escape his native land, in which he was unable to spread his wings. In a new land, he realized that a blue-collar worker could earn decent money. In addition, the money he earned was perceived by him as a high level of remuneration, due to the rate of exchange between Germany and Korea. He accumulated his know-how in order to adjust to a new environment and to gain material resources in Germany

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<sup>79</sup> All 14 male cases described their biographical stories focusing on their social (mostly in Korean-American community) and economic successes and/ or their children's successful integration to the American mainstream.

instead of becoming overwhelmed by his status as a migrant and a laborer. Two factors, namely his active attitude and his amassed experiences, created a synergy effect after he immigrated to the US. It was more flexible for immigrants to gain legal status and to start a small business in the US than in Germany, therefore self-made men like Yong-Seok took advantage of this in order to build wealth in earnest. Following the “push and pull” model, international conditions at the time meant that his life chances could have been affected positively or negatively by the choices he made in migrating; he chose to move to a new county to find better circumstances on each occasion.

In this context, there is a significant implication in terms of migration and biography which can aid in attempting to understand the biographical path of the self-made man. Migration gives the chance to be in a place called “a location of experience”<sup>80</sup> (Walter, 1988: 21, 117). Migration means not only that an individual’s physical residence changes, but that the migrant finds themselves living in an unfamiliar society. Immigrants experience new social rules and lifestyles in a new place, which can open up numerous options to develop their lives in a changed ‘location.’ When the changed location offers innumerable possibilities for immigrants to carve out their lives, ‘experience’ reduces their various options to a finite number of choices. Because experience is accumulated throughout the history of a personal biography, an individual’s experience connotes her/his decision-making pattern in a repeated life structure and the unique life strategies which they developed before and after their migrations. That means a change of location can provide infinite possibilities to them at the beginning of migration; however, the migrants choose certain options related to the experiences gained during their particular biography.

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<sup>80</sup> Experience symbolizes a person’s emotions, actions and perception (Walter, 1988: 117)

Changing location meant, for Yong-Seok, seeking better conditions in order to gain experience which would eventually make him rich. For this reason, living in Germany and the US did not mean that he felt he had to change his identity despite the strong cultural transitions. Instead, Yong-Seok chose to leave what he regarded as an infertile field to one he recognized as fertile in order to achieve his goal of wealth. His choice of final destination, the most popular city for Korean immigrants in the US, could also have contributed to his success. Because the city has a large enough community of Korean immigrants, it was not necessary for him to deal with things such as nostalgia and the necessity to integrate into the mainstream culture. After he gained legal status and seed money by working as a laborer at an American factory/company, his economic and social activism was carried out solely in the Korean community. This factor helped him focus on expanding his wealth instead of struggling with the different language and culture of the receiving country.

Migration, for Yong-Seok, means leaving a land where he was faced with problems which were insoluble by his own efforts and finding a new land in which to unfold his life, the impediments in that new land being not only fewer, but amenable to subjugation through experience. Metaphorically speaking, Yong-Seok stands up on a surfboard, preparing to fight life's difficulties, and he rides the waves like a skilled surfer. When the wave is too strong to ride with his current skills, he finds another wave. The interviewee crossed borders more than once to find a better location to consistently develop his experience. Despite the various life chances offered by such changes of location, he maintained his core identity, pursuing a successful life economically and socially. In this context, location can be seen as an external condition of his experience. As long as the external conditions for his ambition being reached in a new place are fulfilled, he is confident of being able to build a successful life.

Yong-Seok's narrative demonstrates the path of a Korean-American self-made man who used migration to find a new location in which he could spread his wings and increase his chances of achieving his goal of accumulating wealth.

## CHAPTER 8. FACE REFLECTED IN A MIRROR: HEE-JIN

## Hee-Jin's Objective Data

<b>Year</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Content</b>
<b>1951</b>	<b>0</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Born in south-eastern part of South Korea (her real birth year is 1952)</li> <li>○ Youngest daughter- 21-22 years' age difference between herself and her oldest brother and sister (she has a brother and 3 sisters)</li> <li>○ Her father passes away when she is young (no accurate year information)</li> </ul>
<b>1958</b>	<b>7</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enters primary school</li> </ul>
<b>1964</b>	<b>13</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enters middle school in G-city</li> </ul>
<b>1967</b>	<b>16</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enters high school in G-city</li> </ul>
<b>1970</b>	<b>19</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enters D Nursing school</li> </ul>
<b>1973</b>	<b>22</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Graduates from D Nursing school and becomes a nursing aide instructor at a private organization for 6 months</li> <li>○ No accurate year information- her mother dies between 1972-1973.</li> </ul>
<b>1974</b>	<b>23</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Comes to Germany as a nurse near X-city, Germany</li> </ul>
<b>1977</b>	<b>26</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Moves to the US to be with her fiancé; her fiancé abandons her.</li> </ul>
<b>1979</b>	<b>28</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Passes RN exam and works as RN</li> </ul>
<b>1981</b>	<b>30</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Marries an American without Korean background</li> <li>○ Her husband quits his job as a professor shortly after their marriage (no accurate time information)</li> </ul>
<b>1983</b>	<b>32</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Her older son is born</li> </ul>
<b>1986</b>	<b>35</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Her younger son is born</li> </ul>
<b>1987</b>	<b>36</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Gets a kidney specialist license</li> </ul>
<b>2009</b>	<b>58</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Separates from her husband</li> <li>○ Celebrates 25 years of having been a full-time worker at one of the most prestigious hospitals in E-city for 25 years and becomes the president of Korean-American Nurse Association</li> </ul>
<b>2012</b>	<b>61</b>	

## Case Summary

Hee-Jin comes from a poor family of teachers in a small town in the south-eastern part of South Korea; she was the youngest child, with an older brother and three older sisters. She was actually born in 1952, but her family reported her birth year as 1951 because her nephew

or niece<sup>81</sup> was born in the same year as she was. Hee-Jin describes her mother as having been embarrassed to have had Hee-Jin as the same time as her daughter-in-law had her first child<sup>82</sup>. When Hee-Jin's father passed away (when she was young; there is no accurate time information mentioned in her narration), Hee-Jin's mother transferred ownership of her property to Hee-jin's oldest brother and relied on him financially. Hee-jin grew up with her nephews and nieces like brothers and sisters and feels that she was forced to play the role of the oldest sibling.

Hee-Jin studied hard under the influence of her teacher family and her oldest brother always supported her study. Nevertheless, her sister-in-law complained about supporting Hee-Jin's study because they were poor; in addition, her sister-in-law wanted to give more educational chances to her own children than to her young sister-in-law. Hee-Jin was able to go to middle and high school despite the financial difficulty, but had to move back and forth between her brother and her sisters' places several times due to the conflicted family circumstances and lack of money.

When she was in her senior year in high school she considered going to teacher-training college as many of her other family members had done. A month before the college application period, Hee-Jin changed her plans and applied to a nursing school in D-city. She describes nursing majors as being very popular at that time because nurses had the chance to go to Germany as guest workers. After college graduation in 1973, she taught nursing aides at a

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<sup>81</sup> There is no accurate information regarding the sex of her oldest brother's child.

<sup>82</sup> Being pregnant in one's 40s could be considered shameful in the traditional Korean culture of the 1950s because most people became parents at their late teens and had grandchildren at 40s instead of having a new-born baby.

private institute for six to seven months and left for a town near X-city, Germany in 1974. Hee-Jin was shocked to be asked to do nursing tasks that she felt to be beneath her professionalism in Germany at the beginning of her guest worker years<sup>83</sup>. Moreover, it was difficult for her to adjust to a new culture with a language barrier. However, she gained recognition by working hard, become a charge nurse a year later, and made a couple of German friends with whom she stayed in contact until quite recently. Hee-Jin reminisces that she met many good friends and enjoyed music, going to concerts and buying records in Germany. Besides buying records, she remitted most of her salary to her oldest brother in Korea to support her nieces' and nephews' study. Her mother had expressed the wish that Hee-Jin help her brother when she started to earn decent money (her mother had passed away a couple of years before Hee-Jin left for Germany).

Before she went to Germany, she had had a fiancé who came from a very well-to-do family and who went to the US. She planned to meet him in the US after her contract ended at the end of three years. In 1977 Hee-Jin left for the US to meet her fiancé; unfortunately, he left K-city, where they were supposed to meet, before she arrived. He did not leave any word for her and disappeared. She contacted one of her college friends who was already settled in P-city, which is 455 km away from K-city, and was supported until she decided to stay in the US. Hee-Jin had to decide whether to stay in the US or return to Korea after the disappearance of her fiancé. Her decision was to remain in the US because she was ashamed to go back to Korea with the bad news. The first 5 years in America were terribly difficult for her due to

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<sup>83</sup> Hee-Jin has a college degree on nursing and has been educated to practice more advanced medical skills than she was asked to do in Germany. She thought that the nursing job she had in Germany was for a semi-professional such as a nurse assistant and that she was overqualified.



not only the trauma of her fiancé's betrayal, but also adjusting to a new culture and learning another language. With her friend's support, she was able to focus on her Registered Nurse exam a year after her arrival and passed it in 1979. After she qualified as an RN, she devoted herself to her work. Unlike many other Korean immigrants, Hee-Jin minimized her participation in the Korean community for the next 15 years and refused to consider dating Korean men again, influenced by the trauma of her fiancé's betrayal.

In the process of improving her English, she met an American man who was kind and engaged with Korean community's activities to help people learn English. He showed interest in Hee-Jin from the beginning, but she did not at first consider dating him. She had never thought of dating or marrying a non-Korean before, but realized that she could not trust Korean men any more after her fiancé's betrayal. He thought about her interests and had a good job as a professor. They married in 1981 and had two sons, born in 1983 and 1986. Their marriage, unfortunately, did not go smoothly because her husband quit his job as a professor shortly after their marriage and opened his own business. When this failed, he tried again several times, none of which well. Hee-Jin explains that she saw her husband as a considerate person and a good friend, but not as a responsible husband. She was frustrated by her husband's attitude, which meant that he did not apply steady and persistent effort to his business and did not contribute enough financially to their family. Hee-Jin's income was the main financial resource for her family, and her husband spent more time taking care of their children than working.

She believes that she lives life to the full wherever and whenever she is. She worked hard as an RN, having gained her kidney specialist license, so that she could work at a prestigious hospital. Only a few Korean-Americans of her age group worked at that hospital because it was fairly difficult to get such jobs. When she raised her children, she fully supported their education and both of them found what they wanted to do. Her older son entered one of

the most prestigious musical colleges in the US to study violin, and her younger son is a senior at medical school. In the last seven to eight years, she has become actively involved in the Korean community, including a Korean-American nurses' association, and is attempting to develop a strong network with second generation of Korean-American nurses. She feels much more comfortable participating in the Korean community than before because her traumatic memory has gradually faded and the attitude of Korean immigrant community has gradually changed regarding Koreans who marry non-Koreans<sup>84</sup>. She does not regard her marriage as having been successful: she and her husband have been separated since 2009; however, she is satisfied with her life overall, having a great job and raising her children well.

#### Discovering Structural Hypothesis: 'Face' Reflected in a Mirror

*(I) was thinking about (my) major over between two years' educational college and nursing school. At that time, there was a boom in nursing school in order to go to Germany. (I) chose nursing school a month before my graduation (5-7).*

Her two major life decisions in the beginning of her narration are heavily influenced by popularity, meaning what other people want to do. She explains that she thought deeply about the choice of entering a college of education or a nursing college, and both were very popular in the 1970s. She decided upon nursing school because this was the most popular major due to it providing, at in the time, the chance to work in Germany. Hee-Jin would be able, if she qualified, to go to Germany as a guest worker after her graduation, as many young people wanted to do. Job and country of residence are significant factors in developing one's biography, especially in one's early adulthood. Early adulthood is the time to experience life

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<sup>84</sup> Hee-Jin relates that there was a bias in the Korean immigrant community in the 1980s and the 1990s against Koreans who married non-Koreans.

transitions extending one's life from the parental boundary to that of society at large; leaving home, undergoing education / vocational training, and finding a job are major stepping stones in building responsibility for an independent life (Matto, 2003: 309-311). She never consciously considered the ramifications of such study, which would include not only leaving home, but her home country, but only followed the path of popularity. For these important life changes, her narration merely includes the fact of how popular nursing school was and excludes what she wanted to do and what she was good at.

The narration following the above story summarizes her life as she moved from Germany to the US including stories about her job, the failure of her engagement, marriage/separation, her sons, and her social involvement, until the coda is reached. A common theme emerges from her presentation of these subjects and is found in her narrative style: she often uses social position, reputation and social recognition to present herself. When she talks about her husband and sons, she mentions her husband's past job as a professor; her oldest son's college, one of the most prestigious musical schools in the States; and her youngest son's major, medicine. She stresses that her husband must be intelligent to have become a professor and that her oldest son is so musically gifted that he got into music school after only one year's preparation. Concerning her work and social involvement, she is proud of herself for working in the prestigious hospital which gives her a great reputation in the Korean immigrant community, and she enjoys her work as president of the Korean-American nurse association, receiving a lot of positive feedback. The first part of her narration consists of stories regarding her and her family's social position, ability, intelligence, and reputation. The facts of her children's successful academic achievements, her professional job, and social involvement can present her as a good mother and successful professional.

Her strong concern about how she is seen by others both encourages and discourages her social participation in the Korean immigrant community as well. Hee-Jin said that she did not engage actively in the Korean community in her first 15 years in the US for two reasons. Firstly, she struggled with the trauma of her ex-fiancé's disappearance; secondly, she was not comfortable confronting the bias against Koreans who married interracially<sup>85</sup>.

*In the past, there was severe stigma regarding Koreans married to non-Koreans. (I) did not think about participating in the Korean community in the past, in the past; however, the stigma is no longer existing in the community (88-90).*

She did not challenge the existence of the stigma; instead, she minimized her social contact with the group which did not provide positive reinforcement of her situation. In other word, Hee-Jin did not join the group when it was not willing to provide positive feedback, but waited until circumstances had changed in her favor. This reveals that others' views and social recognition significantly affect the degree of Hee-Jin's social interactions, influencing both her initial passive and minimal engagement with the community and her later active work within that same community.

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<sup>85</sup> This bias may relate to the stigma to Korean women who married US servicemen. According to Min and Kim (2014), interracially-married Korean-American women between the 1950s and the 1970s were mostly from poor families; they married US servicemen in Korea, moved to the US following their American husbands and, in some cases, were emotionally and physically abused. Although different cases than those of these women existed, interracially-married Korean-American women were often categorized with a negative social image and could be discriminated against by Korean immigrants who had married within the community.

This biographical feature is noticeable in her linguistic pattern of often using the comparative degree and quoting others' opinions.

*When I meet my school friends who became school teachers, they live just ordinarily. Just normal. (They) do not travel a lot. Our world perspective is wider than those who become a school teacher and never left Korea. For this reason, (I) think, nurse... nurse is better (133-136).*

*The degree of nursing profession in America is very advanced (239-240).*

Hee-Jin applies the comparative degree to ascribe to herself a deeper insight into life than that of her teacher friends in Korea, and to praising the nursing profession in the US as more advanced than that of Korea and Germany. She seeks to confirm that her choice of nursing and working in the US was better than being a teacher and staying in Korea by comparing herself with those who are teachers or who stayed in Korea or Germany.

Hee-Jin made two major life decisions (her job and her international migration) diverging from the path which the majority of her friends and peer group took, and creating her own path of becoming a nurse and emigrating. This could have been seen as to her credit; forging a new way as a pioneer in a new world. However, her linguistic pattern of strong use of comparison may indicate that defining her life path according to these leading and progressive features may be of limited use. This pattern points to Hee-Jin's tendency to evaluate her life through others' opinions, which could lead her life in a certain direction.

There is another linguistic characteristic which might indicate her dependency on others' opinions: Hee-Jin often describes how other people thought of her and her situation.

*Many people say 'you did a great job' (72).*

*(I) work at Z hospital. Because of my job, people give me great credit (smile) (78-79).*

*People did not believe that (I) was the youngest child. (I) had to yield, always, always to be kind. Because of my attitude, people did not think (I) was the youngest child (155-157).*

*When (I) was young, (my situation) was not normal. So, people were surprised and (asked) 'wow, are your niece/ nephew that old? (383-384).*

Her narration includes repeated episodes regarding others' recognition, positive feedback, sympathy, and envy. She sees herself reflected in a mirror of others' eyes; they are strongly related to her self-evaluation. In other words, Hee-Jin is concerned about how she is seen by others and how others judge her and her situation. This repeated pattern as a significant axis in building her biographical direction in her narrative subjects and linguistic feature points to her structural hypothesis: **'face' reflected in a mirror.**

#### Continual Interpretation of Structural Hypothesis

It is considerably significant that Hee-Jin often evaluates herself through others. She cares about her good reputation amongst her neighbors and the community and works hard to develop it. She is active in those circumstances which make her feel comfortable in building her positive self-presentation; whereas she shows protective self-presentation (Arkin, 1981: 316) when she could not have good feedback from others such as her minimal participation in the Korean immigrant community instead of at the beginning of her migration put when she moved to the US – and avoidance process (see Goffman, 1967: 15). This feature indicates ascriptive property to the external world and social expectation; there are several biographical stories which show her ascriptive biographical pattern to others' views. One of them is related to her birth story which could be a trigger to develop her biographical structure.

*(I) think our mom is always ashamed that her child is the same age group of (her) children's children (146-147).*

She describes that her mother was ashamed to have Hee-Jin in her 40s at the same time her grandchild was born. Her age on her birth-certificate is one year older than her actual age because her parents did not want to report it as the same year as their oldest grandchild's birth year. Women in their 40s in Korea in the 1950s could be expected to have grown children, to take care of their grandchildren, and to obey their husbands or grown oldest son, strongly influenced by Confucianism culture. Moreover, the traditional Korean community may have expected members in their 40s to assume more senior roles, providing wise and abundant life experiences to their descendants, rather than reproducing. Even if there was nothing morally wrong, her mother might have felt ashamed of breaking away from the conventional life path ('acting their age') which Korean society in the 1950s expected of its members.

On the other hand, the possibility existed that her mother could have enjoyed raising a child in her 40s, with more life experience than previously. Her mother perceived the fact that she had a late child at the age of 40 as a shameful life subject and was bound by rules and social expectation instead of choosing the possibility of enjoying having a child later in life. This indicates that her mother may consider 'social face (Chemyon)'<sup>86</sup> as a significant matter and her late pregnancy may have made her feel that she was losing face. Hwang (2006) indicates that an individual can evaluate either gaining or losing Chemyon in two ways: 'moral

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<sup>86</sup> Chemyon is a Korean word based on Chinese characters, a body and face, meaning honorable duty and face to treat others (National institute of Korean Language, n.d.f).

face' and 'social face'<sup>87</sup>. Choi and Kim (2000) define the first way as being related to being ashamed of oneself; the second way is associated with feeling shame in front of others when losing Chemyon. Hee-Jin's mother did not lose her Chemyon by the first way because her pregnancy did not throw up any moral issue, but she may have believed that she was losing face in the second way. Her pregnancy later in life was not ordinary for her age and position in her family and society at that time; she considered that she did not live within societal norm<sup>88</sup>. This could have caused her mother to feel ashamed in front of others; this is called Nam-Buk-Kurob-Da in Korean (Kim, 2003).

Hee-Jin started her life within the family environment by being considered to have brought shame on her family simply because of her birth. Since then, Hee-Jin has felt under pressure to control her behaviors and life choices in consideration of how they were reflected in the eyes of her friends and neighbors. She had to be nice to her nieces and nephews and to yield many things to them in order to be seen as a good girl to others. Hee-Jin remembers her childhood as a difficult time in her life: "*When (I) was young, when (I) was young, (my life) was very difficult (211-212).*" Even before she could formulate what she wanted and what she liked as an individual, she was given her role and assigned value as a well-behaved child in order to mitigate shame on her family. This factor has strongly influenced her socialization process to consider others' opinions.

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<sup>87</sup> Moral face is to evaluate individual's morality, individual's personality and inner side of self through one's face by oneself; social face is related to social relationship to appraise oneself through one's face reflected by others' eyes (Choi & Kim, 2000; Hwang, 2006).

<sup>88</sup> Choi (1989) defines that the essence of Chemyon is to be guaranteed individual's existence by showing appropriate behaviors for one's social status, roles and position (Choi & Yu, 1992).



*Our family members were all teachers even if our family was so poor (157-158).*

Another factor, that of her family's background in teaching, could have encouraged her to develop her biographical feature of giving undue consideration to others' views. Generally, teachers' and religious leaders' children in Korea have to deal with the social expectation of being a model example of well-behaved children. Hee-Jin stresses several times that her family's background was that of poor but honest-living teachers. She has never said poverty is shameful; however, dishonor and insincerity could bring shame to her and her family. Hee-Jin describes that she was a hard worker and never caused any trouble in her childhood. The circumstances of her birth could have meant that she was shouldered with the shame of 'an original sin (being born to an older mother)'; however, she built a good image of a good daughter in her family and an earnest student at school. In these situations, Hee-Jin grew up prioritizing what others thought of her, which indicates that her family's values were strongly internalized in shaping her biographical structure.

Her first international migration to Germany in this context was connected to this structure. She chose her college major of nursing in order to go to Germany as a guest worker. It was fairly difficult to move internationally at that time; the guest worker program between Germany and Korea was one of the most stable ways, with a secure job and accommodation organized by the government<sup>89</sup>. Hee-Jin was one of few Korean young females to be able to have life experiences in a more advanced country and to earn much more money than she and other young people could make in Korea at that time. This factor offered her the opportunity to acquire positive self-presentation and social face, to make herself and her family proud.

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<sup>89</sup> When Hee-Jin left for Germany in the 1970s, the guest worker program was organized only by government which is different from the 1960s.

Hee-Jin built her life steadily, based on the traditional and conventional social expectations at that time in Korea; her first international migration was successful in gaining recognition both in Germany and Korea.

However, her second migration did not start smoothly as the first one. Hee-Jin left for the US to meet her fiancé after her contract was ended in Germany. She had dated him before she went to Germany and expected to marry him after her job was over. Unfortunately, her fiancé disappeared without a word when she came to see him in the US. Hee-Jin was in an area where she had never been and knew no one. This incident puts her on a biographical trajectory: she had to make a decision: either return to Korea or remain in the US.

*I had considered returning to Korea, but I would have been more embarrassed to go back to Korea than to remain here. So, I hesitated between returning and remaining in the beginning, but decided to stay here (331-333).*

Her second international migration to the US began with her decision to stay. Hee-Jin remained in the US in order to avoid the shameful situation of having to break the news of her failed engagement to her family and friends in Korea. Her decision is reflected in her biographical structure of concern regarding others' opinions of her, which puts her in a situation of having to deal with grief and the difficulties of learning a new language and culture in a new country without much psychological or social support. This indicates that the most important thing for her is to keep honor and 'face'; to be shown as a successful person.

#### Case Structure: Face Reflected in a Mirror

Others' opinions are significant for Hee-Jin in making life decisions. Since her birth, her mother's feeling of shame in having had a child later in life was tagged onto her; she was under strong pressure to be a model example of a well-behaved child as a representative of her family of teachers. She was brought up to consider others' opinions in order to avoid

possibly shameful situations for her family. It was important for Hee-Jin to behave nicely and politely and to study/work hard to be seen as a good daughter and an earnest person in the eyes of others. She has internalized<sup>90</sup> the social value which encapsulates being honorable and assiduous, influenced by her interactions with her family and society; she gained a good reputation and developed positive self-presentation in order to shed any shameful associations connected with her birth. Her two international migrations were successful in maintaining her good self-image in Korea, Germany, and the US. Hee-Jin overcame life difficulties (e.g. language and cultural barriers and the breaking of her engagement) and built a successful life as an immigrant, holding down a professional job in a prestigious organization and also being the mother of two children who were academically successful. Her separation does not deliver a fatal blow to her good self-presentation because that does not spring from a serious moral drawback (e.g. an affair), but was caused by their irreconcilable life values. She still can be shown as a **good** mother and professional to others; her increased social participation in recent years has contributed to an increase in her reputation.

‘Face (social face)’ is, to Hee-Jin, the most important element in developing her life path. ‘Social face’ is generally significant to most people for themselves and their social interactions with others because it includes symbolic meanings of communicating physically with others and of expressing oneself, and socially representing one’s identity (see Spencer-Oatey, 2007). Face is understood as “mien-tzu (face) as honor (Hu, 1944: 45)”; “image of self” acknowledged in the context of social value and convention (Goffman, 1967: 5); face in interactional situations (Brown & Levinson, 1987:13); “identity boundary phenomenon

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<sup>90</sup> Internalization is defined to embrace a decision of one’s values in assimilating other’s values and perspectives into individual’s values and goals (Kelman, 1961: 65; Bagozzi & Lee, 2002: 234).

(Ting-Toomey, 1994: 2)”; “reflection of internal self through external symbols (Lee & Choi, 2001)”; “public esteem (Kaufman, 2011: 559)”; “the negotiated public image (Scollon, Scollon & Jones, 2012: 47)”. All these understandings indicate that face needs to be interpreted in the context of the interaction, relationship, connection and communication and negotiated with others and in one’s social groups. That is why face is considered significant in general. However, not everyone makes their decisions relying primarily on gaining face. Some people choose different options even when they know that the different choices could cause the loss of face. Hee-Jin could have chosen any of several biographical subjects; however, she chooses to define herself as reflected in the mirror of others’ eyes and she directs her life path from Korea through Germany to the US.

Face means to Hee-Jin being honorable and proving her intelligence and competence. She works hard to improve her academic and professional competence in order to get a job seen as enviable by others. In addition, her husband’s previous job and sons’ academic achievements advertise her family’s intelligence. The fact that she works in a prestigious hospital gives her a good reputation in the Korean immigrant community and she gains honorable social position as the president of the Korean-American nurse association. All of her hard work had the goal of allowing her to remove the shameful tag of being a child born to an older mother, and many people respect her now. Her sense of honor is based on her strong desire to become an object of respect through her social achievements, as realized by her hard work. This is different from showing off her social position and status, which she needs to try to get people’s attention. Rather, honor for her means that others pay attention to her because she has an enviable career and life.

Conversely, Hee-Jin is vulnerable when losing face<sup>91</sup> and being shamed. The sense of shame to her means not belonging to ordinary and normal categories, such as the negative status ascribed to the timing of her birth. It requires comparative groups to evaluate being ordinary. Comparative groups provide standards to define what is too different from the normal scope. This means that Hee-Jin is surely sensitive to responses by significant and/or general others and reference groups in order to define herself as being normal. Her sense of honor and shame relies excessively on the external world and maintaining social face instead of focusing on internal sense and ‘moral face’ (see Kaufmann, 2011; Hwang, 2006). She attaches great importance to others’ approval, compliments and responses. Her reference groups, such as her neighbors in Korea and the Korean immigrant community in the US, provide significant standards in the development of her biography. This shows a common feature with the ‘other-oriented behavioral person’ in a ‘shame culture’ (Benedict, 1946: Kaufman, 2011: 562).

Nevertheless, it does not mean that Hee-Jin accommodates all the traditional values of Korean culture between the 1950s and 1970s, which were strongly oriented to traditional gender roles, collectivism, and Confucian culture. Her biography does not deviate from the conventional scope, but does not include strong orientations to traditional gender roles or collectivism. Hee-Jin describes her steady life path, building her professional career and gaining social status, which were believed to be mostly male roles in traditional Korean culture; she does not show the traditional image a woman depending on decisions made by male members of her family.

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<sup>91</sup> For example, her life trajectory after her fiancé disappeared and her minimal participation in Korean immigrant community due to the stigma of Korean marrying non-Korean.

Moreover, her orientation is more individualistic than collectivist. When young, the furtherance of her family's reputation was her priority in making life decisions. As a representative of her family, she was supervised by her family regarding maintaining positive social face in front of observers in her community. This demonstrates that Hee-Jin has a collectivistic attitude towards her family, and identifies herself to some degree with that family. She is concerned about what others think about her, but has neither internalized external group values (except, to a limited degree, those of her family) nor sacrificed herself in order to maintain harmony within such groups. On the contrary, she sees groups, indeed everyone with whom she interacts, as a mirror in which to reflect herself, and thus she has always kept her distance from others. This individualistic view is related to her strong "defensive orientation"- a performer applies it to save her/his performance (Goffman, 1959: 212; 1967: 14)- by having "avoidance process"- an individual avoids a situation/interaction which can threaten her/his face (Goffman, 1967:15)- when she confronts a negative opinion. These two features explain that the strongest reference group for her is her family group, which has a definite vocational view, as teacher and requires each individual family member's input in order to maintain family 'face'.

These two factors made her international migrations relatively easy. Hee-Jin sees herself as a professional and hard worker. Instead of relying on her husband financially and socially, Hee-Jin develops her professional career. Furthermore, Hee-Jin can focus on her individual career and her own family instead of devoting herself to creating or maintaining harmony in her social groups and community. Especially since she left her primary family in Korea, she is free from her obligation to maintain family 'face' as she was obliged to do in Korea. Hee-Jin is able to develop her life as an immigrant with fewer difficulties, with progressive values on gender roles, and with a less collectivistic worldview than would have been the case in Korea.

An example of the “looking-glass self” (Cooley, 1902: 152), Hee-Jin’s pride in her self-presentation, as reflected in the eyes of others, is the core biographical structure in her continuous life path. Hee-Jin watches herself in such a mirror every day. This is a habit which developed from her family values. Since the formation of that habit, her appearance, job, location, family status, etc., have all changed, through either the passage of time or her own efforts. In addition, the frames of her mirror have mutated from her family and neighbors in Korea, to the Korean guest workers’ group in Germany, to the Korean immigrant community in the US. The thing that has remained consistent throughout different times and spaces is the fact that she continues to hold the mirror up to herself.

The mirror is a medium which balances her need to be demonstrably special, but not **too** special; to be someone who is envied by others, but at the same time not too conspicuous or different from others. In order to see her whole self, she keeps her distance from the mirror, but has never discarded it. The mirror is not a means through which she follows the path of narcissism. On the contrary, the mirror acts as a buffer from shame, because it shows her an image of herself as she is supposed to be. According to Jacques Lacan’s concept<sup>92</sup>, she may well be stuck in the ‘premature mirror stage’; she lacks the confidence to complete the

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<sup>92</sup> <sup>92</sup> Lacan posits the mirror stage as part of infant development occurring between six and eighteen months of age (Monnier, 2007). The child is unable as yet to coordinate her/his body and movements: despite this fragmented and imperfect body image, s/he sees her/himself through a mirror, in which s/he is reflected as a perfect and whole being. At first, the child is unable to distinguish between her/himself and her/his image in the mirror; however, as the child develops, s/he comes first to recognize that the reflection is of her/ his body and later understands it as her/ his image (Gasparyan, 2014: 12). Hee-Jin completed this developmental stage in a physical sense; however, the concept can usefully be applied in interpreting her biographical structure.

definition of herself alone. Her self-image since youth may well have been fragmented and fragile (Lacan, 2001); however, in the mirror, she could see herself as a finished being, the Gestalt being more than the sum of the parts of her reflection, body and image (see Lacan, 2001; Verstegen, 2015). In this context, the mirror is not only a guide line along the path to secular success, but an integral part of her. Metaphorically speaking, she no longer holds the mirror, but has incorporated it within her body. Initially, she held the mirror in her hands, strongly influenced by her family; over time, due to interactions with external environments, it becomes part of her body. This is a case in which her own biography would not have become established without the existence of the mirror; a subjectivity, paradoxically, in which subjectivity does not develop independently, but needs to be understood in the context of communication with others (Gasparyan, 2014).

Hee-Jin reflects herself in the mirror of others' eyes, and seldom views herself directly. Is she still herself if the mirror is removed? Can she still see herself without the mirror? Would she have chosen to migrate to Germany and the US if she had not been so bound to the concept of gaining or losing face? She may well not have been able to view her image and identity clearly without the mirror, because she has been socialized from an early age to see herself in it. Had she not considered gaining face to be so significant, it is likely that she would have stayed in or returned to Korea. Through the process of interpretation, Hee-Jin's biographical structure, of face reflected in a mirror, was maintained through both her international migrations without much in the way of qualitative change.



CHAPTER 9. HANDLING MY OWN LIFE- “I SHOULD BE THE ONE WHO CAN HANDLE MY LIFE”: KYUNG-MI

Kyung-Mi’s Objective Data

Year	Age	Event
1945	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ She is born the second daughter of 9 children (1 older sister, 2 younger brothers and 5 younger sisters)</li> <li>○ Father: A head of township (Myeon-Jang)/ Mother ran a rice wine winery</li> </ul>
1949	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Her younger brother is born</li> </ul>
1950	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Her family flees to MY due to the Korean War and comes back to her hometown after the war</li> </ul>
1959 or 60	14 or 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ She becomes a leader of the discipline department in middle school</li> </ul>
1961	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enters Nursing technical high school in Seoul</li> </ul>
1966	21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Starts work as a nurse at D University Clinic in Germany</li> </ul>
1968	23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Gets engaged in December</li> </ul>
1969	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Renews her contract for another 3 years</li> <li>○ Moves to Y city to live with her fiancé in April</li> <li>○ Marries Korean miner in June, and her oldest daughter is born.</li> <li>○ Her husband works at a factory in Y city</li> </ul>
1971	26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Her son is born and she quits her work after her son's birth.</li> </ul>
1972	27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Her family is accepted to the permanent resident card in the United States and moves to the US</li> </ul>
1973	28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Starts nursing job and takes ESL class</li> </ul>
1976	31	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Passes RN licensing exam and joins Korean Nurses Association of E city</li> </ul>
1978	33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Korea trip</li> </ul>
1990	45	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Becomes the president of Korean Nurses Association</li> <li>○ From 1990 to present, she has been actively involved in the nursing association as the president, chairman, adviser, and board member.</li> </ul>
1991	46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Graduates MSc in theology</li> <li>○ Becomes a board member in Korean-American FK center</li> <li>○ No accurate year information: her mother comes from Korea to help with housework and parenting and stays with her family until her mother dies.</li> </ul>

- From 1991 to present she has been actively involved FK center as a board president, vice board president, chairman of fundraising committee, and advisory board member.
- 2002 57**
  - Has surgery to remove breast cancer, 33 times chemo and radiation therapies
  - Leave of absence at work for 6 months for her treatment
  - Her son marries a non-Korean, American woman
- 2005 60**
  - Her oldest grand-daughter is born (her son's first child)
- 2008 63**
  - Her second grand-daughter is born (her son's second child)
- 2009 64**
  - Retires
- 2010 65**
  - Her daughter marries (she has no children)
  - She donates her pictures from Germany for the Korean history exhibition
- 2011 66**
  - Her youngest grand-daughter is born (her son's third child)
- 2012 67**
  - She is an advisory board member of Korean Nurse Association and an advisory board member of FK center

### Case Summary

Kyung-Mi was born in 1945 in south-east South Korea, the second daughter of nine children (one older sister, two younger brothers and five younger sisters). Her father was a head of township office (Myeon-Jang) and her mother ran a rice wine winery after her father resigned from Myeon-Jang. Kyung-Mi remembers her father as a loyal and responsible person regarding his work. Her father did not flee with his family in the Korean War because he had buried all documents which he thought might be used to kill innocent people by the North Korean army. Her family (her mother, older sister and younger brother, aunt and herself - her other siblings were not yet born) crossed the Nack-Dong river, helped by an official from her father's township office, and her father joined them after his work was done. When the war was over, her family returned to their hometown and she remembers the war and evacuation as a superable life subject.

Kyung-Mi was an effervescent child and had many friends. She was a leader of discipline department in her middle school and often talked about her wishes to go to America one day to her friends. She decided to enter a nursing high school in Seoul, which was a radical choice for teenage girl at that time. Her father disagreed with her decision because he did not want her to be far away from him and disliked the thought of her becoming a nurse; meanwhile, her mother supported her decision. Her mother had had no chance of an education when young because her father believed that women do not need to be educated, which was a common belief in the early 1900s. Her mother could not change her father's belief; however, she tried to do her best to educate her own children regardless of gender. Kyung-Mi's older sister was already studying in Seoul and so Kyung-Mi was able, with her mother's support, to go to the nursing high school in 1961, living with her older sister.

After her graduation, Kyung-Mi started work as a nurse in South Korea, hearing from her friends about their plans to go to Germany on the guest worker scheme. Kyung-Mi thought this program would be a great chance to travel abroad and a possible opportunity to continue her studies. Her mother supported her wish to leave for Germany; her father, however, wanted all of his children to live close by him. Because of her father's wishes, her older sister had to return to her hometown to help her mother's rice wine winery after her graduation, a decision her mother disagreed with. Her mother had progressive views regarding her children's education and jobs and supported Kyung-Mi's desire to go to Germany. Her older sister's return reduced Kyung-Mi's obligation regarding her father's desire and her mother and older sister thus helped Kyung-Mi's international migration.

Kyung-Mi went to G-city, one of major cities in North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany, in 1966. There were about 60 Korean nurses working in the same hospital and Kyung-Mi made five close friends among them, with whom she traveled and spent much time. At the beginning of her time in Germany, Kyung-Mi took German language courses provided by the

hospital in the mornings and worked in the afternoons. After her German had improved, she was able to work full-time. She reminisces fondly about this time, recalling that she had great benefits including laundry and cleaning services, and needed to focus solely on working while living in the dormitory. She traveled to several other countries in Europe with her friends in her free time. Kyung-Mi remitted money to support her younger siblings' studies, as many Korean guest workers did. Her mother accepted her help for her younger siblings, but refused extra help for the rice wine winery when the business was not so good. Her mother wanted Kyung-Mi to spend her money on herself instead of sending it all to her family.

In 1968, Kyung-Mi met her future husband, a Korean who was at the time a miner. He and his friends visited G-city to meet Korean nurses and he asked Kyung-Mi's friend to introduce her to him. They were engaged in December 1968 and married in June 1969. When Kyung-Mi told her parents about her marriage, her parents were shocked because she had decided upon marriage without discussion with her parents. Her mother and her aunts met her husband's family in Korea while Kyung-Mi and her husband were in Germany. After the meeting, her parents recognized her marriage. After their engagement, her husband moved to Y city, two hours away from G-city for his new job after his contract was terminated and Kyung-Mi went to Y city in April (or May) 1969 after her contract ended. She started a new nursing job in Y city and her daughter was born in the same year as her marriage. She was on the day shift and her husband was on the night shift at a factory, so that they were able to take care of their daughter and to maintain their work. After her son was born in 1971, Kyung-Mi was not able to work anymore, as she had to take care of two children. At that time, they were concerned that they would not be able to stay long term in Germany, legally. They would have been permitted to stay in Germany for a second three-year contract; however, due to immigration rules at the time, they would not have had the right to permanent residency in

Germany. They decided to come to the US, gaining permanent resident status before they entered the States.

Kyung-Mi and her family came to the US in 1972 and Kyung-Mi started work in a hospital in 1973. When she started work again, she had difficulties learning another new language and finding babysitters. Kyung-Mi and her husband worked two different shifts, as they had done in Germany, to take care of their children, and a friend's mother-in-law took care of their children during any gap hours. She also took English as a second language [ESL] classes outside her work. She relates that she felt an urgent need to learn English because her lack of fluency represented her biggest challenge at that time. She juggled her job, taking care of her children, and learning English.

When Kyung-Mi passed her Registered Nurse exam in 1976, she joined the Korean-American nurse association. She was actively involved in the organization's activities and became the president of the association in 1990; after that, she acted in addition as chairman, adviser, and board member. She also joined a Korean-American senior center a board member in 1991 and continued her involvement with the organization as board president, vice board president, chairman of the fundraising committee, and advisory board member. She narrates that her life was pretty successful because she did not live only for herself, but helped others, which contributed towards her maturity. In the early 1990s, she was very busy, not only due to her social involvement in the Korean immigrant community, but also starting a new course of study: Kyung-Mi gained her master's degree in theology in 1991. While she studied, her mother came from Korea to help with the housework, and her children helped her correct her English for her academic work. Her mother stayed with Kyung-Mi until her death.

In 2002, Kyung-Mi faced her health issue, cancer. She had to have surgery, chemotherapy and six months' radiation therapy, and had to leave work temporarily. She had two

different opinions from cancer specialists regarding treatment, but still found it difficult to make a decision in this regard. She relates that she was shocked and felt powerless when she received the diagnosis; however she tried to stay positive, had a healthy diet, and her work experience in medical settings was fairly helpful for her treatment process. She regularly undergoes health checks and has not had a relapse of her cancer for the last ten years. After her treatment was over, she returned to her work and worked until her retirement in 2009, aged 64.

Her son married in the same year she was diagnosed with cancer, and has two daughters and a son (aged 7, 4, and 1). Her daughter married in 2010 and has no children yet. Kyung-Mi spends time with her grandchildren daily, an activity which gives her much joy, and participates in a Korean traditional dance group. She continues to be involved in the Korean-American nurse association and the FK center. In addition, she organizes informal meetings with people who have lived in Germany as guest workers to share their stories, and is involved in several community activities related to sharing immigrants' history.

#### Discovering Structural Hypothesis: Handling My Own Life

Kyung-Mi's narration contains a narrative pivot of 'what I do.' It is important for Kyung-Mi to make her own decisions and to put those decisions into practice. This feature, brought to light through considering different ways of reading and interpretation, is evident from her first sentence in the interview and continues to the last.

*..... Well... Since I was young and my continual journey (Yes, Ma'am). The, When I went to Germany, because this is related to Germany (5-7).*

Kyung-Mi understands correctly that the question related to autobiographical narration. Her narration shows that she has a clear understanding that the interviewer is interested in

**her** life, not the wider story of a group of Korean guest workers. Kyung-Mi's narration indicates that she is the subject 'I', and the story is about her 'my.' In the English context, using clear subject and possessive case is not a particularly noticeable issue. Her narration can however be interpreted differently in the Korean linguistic context. Korean colloquial style often omits the subject; the first-person singular possessive 'my' is replaced by the first-person plural 'our'<sup>93</sup>. Despite this Korean linguistic quirk, Kyung-Mi expresses the principal agent in her story in the first person singular, which is often repeated in her later narration as follows:

*While talking on the phone, I said yes. But I worried about I do not know this person well after I hung up the phone. So I, in addition, (you) are not in the US and (I) could have contacted with many ways (to know you) in E-city, but (you) are in Germany which is far away. The reason why I said yes easily was that I want to help a person studying because I had so hard time to study. Anyway I, yes, myself living in this era, (I) cannot do that. So I called (you) back. So, I told (my husband) at home about my worry and (my husband) said 'if you worry about it, do not do it.' 'But I, I do not want to miss this chance to give benefit (to her) because of my doubt. What if (she) is a really sincere person (97-105).'*

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<sup>93</sup> It is still understandable to omit 'I' and 'my' in Korean context: 'Since young and continually journey.'

Kyung-Mi describes the situation regarding how she accepted the invitation to undergo an interview with the interviewer<sup>94</sup>. The most interesting factor here is the frequency of the first-person singular pronoun "I", denoting herself as the subject; meanwhile she omits the third-person pronouns (i.e. subject, object and possessive form) to describe her husband and the interviewer. Kyung-Mi repeatedly expresses the subject of her decision and actions, which is atypical of the general Korean colloquial style. On the other hand, her narration uses typical Korean linguistic characteristics in describing other people. The high occurrence of the first-person singular in her narrative is not simply a linguistic pattern, but acts as a pointer to what is most important in her life. She is the center of all her life actions, with a strong sense of possession of her own story; she has less interest in what others do than in what she does.

This character of leading her narration and circumstances is also embedded in the above narration regarding the situation arranging the interview. Kyung-Mi was asked to give an interview to a stranger whom she had never met and who lived in Germany. She could have refused the interview, as her husband suggested to her when she felt that she was not necessarily able to trust the interviewer. She allowed the interviewer access to herself by making the interview jump over the hurdle that she had set up, instead of letting the interviewer choose her and control the interview situation. The interviewer was asked to contact with Kyung-Mi's friend living in Germany in order to verify the interviewer's curriculum

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<sup>94</sup> When the interviewer contacted her on the phone, she was positive to have an interview. But she called back the interviewer in Germany and gave the interviewer a contact number of her friend living in Germany. Kyung-Mi wanted to make sure whether or not the interviewer is trustworthy. The interviewer contacted her friend to explain the interview aim and interviewer's background. After this confirmation process done, Kyung-Mi confirmed having an interview.



vitae. After that, Kyung-Mi allowed the interviewer to conduct the interview. She shifts her position from passive - being chosen - to active - making her own decision.

This pattern of making her own choices is evident from her first sentence, where she deliberately chooses to start with the story of her migration to Germany. Even if Kyung-Mi understands the interview question to be asking about her whole life story, she does not go for her family background or childhood. She jumps straight into her history of moving to and living in Germany, which she thinks is more relevant to the interview purpose. This might indicate that she has prepared her story in advance, guessing the intention of the interview, and wanting to express what she has prepared, which makes her more comfortable to start with. In other words, she may not want to be interrupted by others. Her narration, "*because this is related to Germany,*" shows her assurance regarding the purpose of the interview. Given that the interviewer does not ask a specific question regarding said purpose, she redirects it by reasoning that the story of her time in Germany is more relevant to the interview than other subjects. Her narration shows that Kyung-Mi does not hesitate to decide what to do, and leads the interview with her clear direction. In addition, her way indicates that she gives more importance of what she wants to do than to what others want to do. This pattern continues when Kyung-Mi asks the interviewer to conduct the second interview according to her own agenda:

*"I want to tell (you) how joyful my life is now (440)."*<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Kyung-Mi contacted the interviewer to suggest a second interview a couple of days after the first interview and she is the only interviewee among 23 cases who asked the interviewer for a second interview.

Kyung-Mi's narration shows her strong sense of possession of her own story and her decisiveness. She does not let the external environment force her to do things, but works actively to govern situations. She has clear desires and direction and sets her protocol to rationalize making her decision and acting. This pattern in her narration indicates the importance of 'what I do': 'what' means her desire; 'I' presents her authority on her action; 'do' includes her decision and acts for her decision. In other word, her narrative structure includes a precise subject of her desire, decision, and action; she can mediate them independently. This feature is more suggestive of an attitude of initiative, able to evaluate situations and to take actions by one's own agency (Cambridge online Dictionary, n.d.a), than of a dominant attitude, trying to become stronger, more powerful and more important than others (Cambridge online Dictionary, n.d.b). Kyung-Mi does not focus on her status to prove herself to be more important than others. Rather, her narration concentrates only on her decision and action. This narrative characteristic directs her structure hypothesis as **"the owner of my decision"**

#### Continual Interpretation of Structure Hypothesis

Her structure hypothesis might be considered with the concept of self-authorship<sup>96</sup>. Kyung-Mi's narrative pattern shows that she is not controlled by external factors and others, but she manipulates the external situation to tell her story (see Kegan, 1994: 185). Her value

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<sup>96</sup> Self-authorship is originally defined by Kegan (1994: 185) as an individual's ownership of the construction of her/his values, world view, identity, relationships and intrapersonal conditions independently. This concept is applied to understand Kyung-Mi's narrative structure instead of limited usage as implying a single phase of the self-evolution process.

system clearly dictates that she leads her story with minimum reliance on others, and she has a strong internal sense of direction. In addition, she is successful in convincing both herself and others that her choices are correct (i.e. reminding the interviewer about the purpose of the interview in order to start with her story in Germany; explaining to her husband why she did not intend to give up the interview). She wishes to develop reciprocal understanding with others of her decisions (see Baxter Magolda, 2008). This feature of self-authorship is repeated throughout her narration; the structure of her story is seen more clearly when arranged chronologically. The following analysis, focused on her recursive pattern, uses reconstruction to present both how her self-authored pattern evolved and some concepts related to self-authorship (Baxter Magolda, 2004, 2007, 2008, & 2014; Pizzolato, 2005, & 2007) are used to understand the case.

Her earliest childhood memory is about her father during the Korean War. When her whole family needed to flee before the North Korean army arrived, her father arranged her family's evacuation, but did not join the family due to his work. He believed that he, as a chief of township office, had to bury documents containing people's private information, which might be used by the North Korean army as a pretext to kill civilians. Kyung-Mi remembers that her mother asked Kyung-Mi to bring her father to her family, and all the family desperately asked him to join the together in fleeing the country. However, he would not go back on his decision. Fortunately, he joined his family safely after his work was done; she narrates, however, that she was scared not to have her father with her at that time. As she grew up, she narrates that she came to understand his decision differently, as the action of a loyal man, conscious of the responsibilities of his work. She comes to the conclusion that one can make a decision and that decision is unshakable when one has faith in it and the will to stick to it.

Kyung-Mi gradually practiced making her own decisions, when discordance arose between her mother's and father's opinions. This started from her high school experience.

Kyung-Mi was lucky to have had the chance to enter nursing high school in Seoul in 1961. Domestic migration for school from a small town (in the south of Korea) to Seoul required a lot of money and a strong desire for education on the part of the parents. Generally, it was preferred to give sons, rather than daughters, the chance of an education in the capital city. It was fairly progressive to send daughters to Seoul to study at that time, even if the environment was much more flexible for females than in the 1920s and 1930s, when her mother's chances of a decent education were scuppered due to the Confucian, male-centered culture. Her mother, who believed passionately that all her children should have the chance of a decent education, helped Kyung-Mi study in the nursing high school. However, her father disagreed with her because he was worried about Kyung-Mi living far away from him, and disliked her becoming a nurse. In the difficult situation of her father's disagreement, Kyung-Mi went to Seoul to study, supported by her mother.

Her domestic migration has two significant factors. First, the original reason for applying to nursing high school was not her will alone, but an external situation. Kyung-Mi relates that the nursing high school was her last chance of two to enter high school<sup>97</sup>. Her narration does not indicate any strong desire on her part to go to nursing high school or to Seoul, but shows the situation in which nursing high school was the only option for her high school

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<sup>97</sup> In the 1960s students had to take a high school entrance exam. There were only a couple of chances to enter high school per year. Usually the first entrance exam was for academic high school and the second exam was for vocational high school.

entrance. Her choice was more to do with getting her last chance to enter high school than with any fascination for the study of nursing or living in a capital city. The second factor, in this context, was Kyung-Mi practicing making her own choices regarding her study. Even had this choice not come to fruition (as might have happened without the support of her mother), she experienced success in making a major life decision through the exercise of her own free will. This experience is a trigger to develop her possession and authorship of her decision; yet external formulas also influenced her (Baxter Magolda, 2014; Pizzolato, 2005).

Kyung-Mi formed the ambition of working as a guest worker in Germany while she was a nurse in Korea. She thought it would be a great opportunity to travel and to study in a foreign country. With regard to this decision, her family's opinion structure was the same as for her high school issue. Her father, who had disagreed with her domestic migration, also opposed her international migration, whereas her mother once again supported her choice. Her father's opinion of her migrations can be inferred as grounded in a typical traditional Korean cultural attitude regarding daughters, whereas her mother was challenging and progressive as regards gender roles. Kyung-Mi's choice of Germany brought a debate between the father's traditional view and the mother's more modern perspective; once again, Kyung-Mi experienced the progressive side winning the debate, exactly as had happened with her choice of high school.

Her first international migration appears to show progress in evolving a sense of possession of her decision, when compared to the decision regarding her high school entrance. Her decision to work in Germany was not dictated by inevitable situations, but by her own will to experience a more 'exotic' life. Meanwhile, her parents took the same opponent and

supporter positions as they had at the time of her high school choice. Interestingly, her older sister, who studied and worked in Seoul with Kyung-Mi, decided to return to their hometown when Kyung-Mi decided to leave for Germany because it was what her father wanted. Even if her mother might have supported her sister in staying in Seoul to work, as she had supported to Kyung-Mi's migration, her older sister obeyed her father. Consequently, her older sister's return to their hometown lessened the sense of obligation that Kyung-Mi felt in respect of leaving her family. They chose opposite directions in the same situation. Kyung-Mi gradually developed her internal voice regarding what she wanted to do and listened carefully to it. In addition, she learned to accept support – the help of her mother and her older sister – in overcoming life difficulties such as her father's opposition to her leaving. In this situation, she is consistent in making her own decision with self-authored reason (Pizzolato, 2007); her first international migration: self-authored action (Pizzolato, 2007) brings a chance to extend her world view by practicing coordinating her internal voice and external world, called a crossroads (see Baxter Magolda, 2008 & 2014).

Her international migration symbolizes not only crossing a national border, but training herself to be less reliant on her primary family; even, for instance, marrying a Korean miner whom she had not even introduced to her parents beforehand. In her second year in Germany, Kyung-Mi notified her parents in Korea of her marriage without discussing it in advance, which shocked her family. There were no particular problems around her making her own decision regarding her marriage aged at 24; she and her husband followed an ordinary path through dating and engagement. However, making her decision without discussion with and permission of her parents was still radical in that period in Korea because marriage was considered not simply a personal matter, but a family matter in the traditional Korean culture.

Kyung-Mi's parents recognized her marriage after they met her husband's parents in Korea.

Her parents' approval gave her strong confidence in her decision because their recognition verified that her choice was good for her. Kyung-Mi made a decision based not on her feelings at that instant, but on the belief and discipline instilled in her through her parents; she mentally categorized her father as a responsible leader for the community and her mother as a supporter of all her children's education and careers and a progressive businesswoman in the 1960s and 1970s in Korea. In her mid-20s, Kyung-Mi experienced making a decision giving full weight to her responsibilities both to herself and to family and this pattern solidifies through her further biographical experiences.

Kyung-Mi and her husband decided to leave for the US in 1972, which her father was again opposed to. In contrast to many Korean guest workers emigrating to the US, Kyung-Mi and her husband arranged to get their legal status before entering the US, which allowed them the scope to choose their own place of residence. After she achieved her right of residence, she had to deal with two problems: the language barrier and finding a babysitter are repeatedly mentioned by Kyung-Mi. These two issues could not be controlled by her straight away because both required time to resolve satisfactorily. Language consists of culture and ways of living and thinking whilst interacting with people, and this takes a long time to improve. In addition, raising children while working without family help is not an easy matter to control. In other words, both problems were not issues that she could control and decide easily.

Kyung-Mi tried to overcome this 'out of control situation' (Baxter Magolda, 2007) by

actively learning English every day through ESL<sup>98</sup> and by seeking out help from her close friends and neighbors (i.e. she found babysitters in her landlord in Germany and her friend's mother-in-law in the US).

Since Kyung-Mi gained her license as a Registered Nurse in 1976, she became actively involved in the Korean immigrant community and became a leader in 15 years in a couple of organizations. She evaluates her active participation in community activity as related to her self-esteem: *"until now (I) was continually involved in our Korean-American Nurse association and it might be for (my)self-esteem. So (I) have worked until now and became a president, chairman and advisor (69-71)."* This might be paraphrased to say that getting involved in the Korean community gives her more a flexible environment to make decisions and take action than participating in the American mainstream. It might have been impossible for her to be free from linguistic and cultural barriers in interaction with American-born English native speakers, and this might have made her feel that she would lose control of being able to freely make her own decisions. Her activities in the Korean immigrant community, obviously, gave her more opportunities to express her opinions and to conduct 'what she wants and does.' While she added two more roles - one as a member of the community involved in various communal activities, the other studying her master's program - to those she already juggled (mother, wife, and nurse), she got help from her mother, who moved to the US to support her, and from her children, who helped correct her English for her studies. This

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<sup>98</sup> Kyung-Mi is one of few cases who attended ESL classes to learn the language. Most cases in this research project did not attend ESL or other English lessons.



indicates that Kyung-Mi has developed a life strategy of seeking help from her family, friends, and neighbors; such help gave her the possibility to make her own decisions by reducing impediments to making such decisions.

From her childhood in Korea to her first international migration to Germany, Kyung-Mi developed a strong sense of self-authorship. She was able to leave Korea because she believed that she herself had made the decision to do so. After that, the fact that she was far away from her parents, who in the Korean cultural context might have been assumed to have the right to make significant life decisions for her, positively influenced the development of her steady sense of self-authorship. On the other hand, her second international migration and rearing her children limited her freedom in respect of her decision making for a while. These two issues may be considered universal difficulties anyone can struggle with. However, these subjects were more significant to Kyung-Mi than they might be to others because they had the potential to shake the foundations of her biographical structure in reducing her ability to control making her own life decisions. In order to overcome these problems, Kyung-Mi actively confronts them by attending language classes and seeking help from her kinship and social circles. In addition, she finds a community with which she freely interacts without much in the way of cultural and linguistic impediment, and she can actively participate in making decisions for her community. The further away she is from her primary family (from her hometown to Seoul, to Germany, and to the US), the more she develops herself as 'the author of her own life' (Baxter Magolda, 2004: xix).

Kyung-Mi was very much in the driver's seat of her own life, enjoying victory in her social life and getting her master's degree, until she was diagnosed with cancer. In 2002, she had to confront a situation regarding her health issue in which she was powerless: a situation

over which she had no control. However, as she had dealt with all her other life issues, she was not overwhelmed by the problem, but found alternatives to making her own decision regarding her treatment by getting two different physicians' opinions. After the treatment, her feeling of being out of control of the situation was gradually overcome by means of an anti-cancer diet and exercise, and she has maintained her healthy status without recurrence of the cancer for the last ten years. While she was in treatment, she only took a six-month leave and then worked six more years, retiring in 2009. Her phrase, *"(I think) it is just time to retire. (I) appreciate that (I) could work until 2009 and retired yes (216-217),"* presents one more instance of her pattern of making her own decisions regarding her life. Kyung-Mi did not let herself down even when confronted by disease; she fought against the disease and she decided the timing of her retirement not dictated by her health issues, but of her own free will: 'when to make something happen versus when to let something happen' (Baxter Magolda, 2008: 279).

Kyung-Mi spends her retired life doing what she wants. She starts a new activity, dancing, which she used to be good at and which she likes, and takes care of her grandchildren. Her way of narration contains a strong sense of authorship of her activity: *"It is joyful for me to do babysitter (for my grandchildren) (450-451),"* *"I originally loved to dance in primary and middle school. (457)."* Her choices of babysitting and dancing class were not driven by obligation or for show; she is the one making decisions for herself, not forced by

circumstances or by the wishes of others. In the lyrics of the song, Musical<sup>99</sup>: **“I should be the one who can handle my only life.”**

#### Case Structure: Handling my own life

Kyung-Mi's biography shows her pattern of initiative and control. External and environmental factors are the subjects which she can overcome, change and manipulate into turning to her advantage. This biographical pattern of initiative is fairly exceptional for a woman born in South Korea in the 1940s and growing up in the 1960s. Korean culture in that time placed high value on the traditional, Confucianism, collectivistic, and relationship-centered culture (Lee et al. 2006; Kim & Choi, 2014). A person, especially a woman, in the old Korean culture could have been restricted in making one's own decision merely for oneself.

Most decisions were thought of as matters which should be considered in interpersonal relationships according to in-group values. In addition, many women in this cultural context were given the role of sacrificing their individual destinies in order to maintain harmony in their family and community. Unusually, Kyung-Mi is not someone who sacrifices herself for her family; instead, she enrolls her family and neighbors as her supporters, extending her options to make her own decisions.

This feature, encompassing independence, being true to her desires, and making her own decisions, separated from her original family, is characteristic of western cultures (Kegan, 1996: 208). Her biographical structure of initiative could have been understood much more easily were she from an individualistic culture. Thus, in order to better understand her

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<sup>99</sup> This song was composed by lyricist Hae-Kyung Han and song writer Young-Hun Joo in 1996.

biographical structure, the following questions emerge: what does taking the initiative mean to her; how did she develop her self-authorship in a collectivistic society; and what is the meaning of a biographical structure of initiative in her international migrations?

It is significant that Kyung-Mi has the power over her own decisions regardless of whether they concern major or minor life matters. Major life decisions such as domestic and international migrations and marriage could have been understood as part of her evolution in balancing between leaving home and developing her own concept of self-authorship and psychological autonomy (see Kegan, 1996:185-186). However, her narrative pattern and biographical subjects show that she is obsessively attached to taking the initiative. For instance, she tried to control her cancer treatment plan by getting several professional opinions. In the one of the situations in which one feels most powerless, she did not give up the initiative as regards her health and decision making. In addition, Kyung-Mi even did not want to be in the passive position of being asked for a biographical interview. She converts the power structure regarding the interview situation by checking the interviewer's background and proposing the second interview herself.

The finding of her strong attachment to taking the initiative could be considered within a question of what such initiative means to her. She wants to be independent and not influenced by others in making her own decisions. She is more independent than most others who were born and grew up as women in the relationship-centered Korean culture. She showed more of a tendency to develop autonomy than most women while living in a culture which encouraged women to make their decisions based on others' needs. Actually, her decision-making initiative meets three out of four requirements in terms of autonomy as defined by Miller (1981). First, Kyung-Mi's life decisions are based on her own will and desire –

'autonomy as free action.' She focuses on what she wants to do and her decisions are not determined by external force. Second, Kyung-Mi shows a consistent attitude of being faithful to her own demands and desires while making a decision – 'autonomy as authenticity.' Her life path presents her domestic and international migrations based on her desire to have exotic life experiences and better life chances; in addition, other everyday life decisions include the un-failing desire to improve her sense of efficacy<sup>100</sup>; she values highly the power to lead her life as she wishes. Third, Kyung-Mi understands what results her decisions might bring and what alternatives she has in her decision making – 'autonomy as effective deliberation.' In sum, her decision-making pattern of initiative includes her free will/desire in the context of a consistent pattern of self-determination with consideration of the consequences of and alternatives regarding her decision.

These three features bring her biographical pattern of initiative close to as the definition of autonomy. However, the lack of the fourth sense of autonomy, 'moral reflection', provides a clear indication that her initiative pattern is not totally autonomous. Miller (1981) indicates that moral reflection in respect of autonomy means that an individual internalizes the moral values of society and shapes her/his own values according to those of society. As Kant indicates, reason is the main factor elevating human beings over any other species; autonomy is a core aspect of a human being practicing reason and can be seen as universal moral principle (Shin, 2010; Choi, 2010; Lee, 2016). In Kyung-Mi's case, she practices her free will more

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<sup>100</sup> Self-efficacy means that individuals believe that they have an ability/ capacity to overcome difficult and challenging issues (Bandura, 1994).

than she develops her sense of autonomy regarding self-determination throughout her life.

Her biographical structure of initiative can be defined as 'willfulness' based on her subjective values and choices instead of autonomy developed with objective, universal and moral rules (Shin, 2010).

Her willfulness-oriented initiative pattern still marks her as progressive and revolutionary in the cultural and biographical context, as compared to her cohort group of females who were born in the 1940s and grew up in South Korea. Kyung-Mi focuses on what she wants when making a decision; meanwhile, the majority of her cohort group members choose their life subjects in the context of their relationships. Ironically, Kyung-Mi's progressive characteristics were developed in a mostly female context. She was able to overcome traditional gender stereotyping with support from her mother, who had a strong desire for her children to receive a decent education regardless of gender. During her time in school and at work, she did not need to compete with males because she graduated from a women-only school and worked with nurses who were mostly female. Metaphorically speaking, Kyung-Mi is surrounded by a typhoon of traditional culture, but stands in the eye of the typhoon, where she can avoid keen competition with males and is not overwhelmed by obligations as a woman in the old Korean culture.

However, Kyung-Mi needs to deal with her father who consistently disagrees with her progressive life decisions and tries to keep her in his family nest. Her father symbolizes the old, traditional culture, attempting to limit her freedom and her domestic and international migration; a marker of old convention which interrupts her willfulness. Therefore, migration gives Kyung-Mi the freedom to focus on her desires and she faithfully practices her freedom of independent decision-making. As the song goes; "I should be the one who can handle my

only life,” Kyung-Mi lives her life for herself; her migrations can be construed as flowing from her biographical structure and, at the same time, as being influential in strengthening her biographical structure.

## CHAPTER 10. CASE COMPARISON

This paper focuses on the Korean guest workers in their secondary migration path in order to understand their life with its international migration. For this, six cases are interpreted and the case structures are revealed as shown on the Table 1.

Table 10.1. *Case structures*

Name	Case Structure
Eun-Kyung	Leaving like a wanderer but remaining a stranger
Hae-Sook	A life for others
Hee-Jin	Face reflected in a mirror
Kyung-Mi	Handling my own life
Kyung-Mun	Unfinished conflicts and continuing a trouble maker's story
Yong-Seok	A taste for making money

Each guest worker had different reasons to choose their migration paths between Korea, Germany and the US. Some migrants had to carve out their migration paths with more difficulty than others who had better vocational qualifications to fill the demand in relation to job shortages or were simply lucky that they fitted into the international and economical situations of sending and receiving countries better at the time of their migration. Chapters four through nine contain case analyses presenting each individual's detailed biographical path and reconstruction of case structure. In this chapter, these six cases are compared and contrasted considering their migration histories in the light of motivation, work, family, social involvement and biographical development within relationships and individually. By comparing their case structures this chapter concentrates on developing a new theory of their biography and migration as evidenced by their biographies. Based on the new theory, each case is typed by characteristics of their biography and migration.



### Motivation for Migration

The six research participants have very different motivations and situations to leave for Germany. Yong-Seok and Kyung-Mun chose to go to Germany because they could not overcome the gap between actuality and their desires regarding employment. Both of them tried to develop their educational background to enter two-year college, which was not good enough to have the good job and life chances they desired in Korea. Neither wanted to be a blue-collar worker, which would have presented them with more job opportunities, nor were they able to aspire to be white-collar workers due to their insufficient academic achievements. However, they decided to work as coal miners, a blue-collar occupation, in Germany, with a decent expectation of earning good money and experiencing living in a more advanced country.

In a similar way to the cases of the men, Eun-Kyung needed to make a breakthrough from her reality. She graduated from a prestigious high school, but felt that she could never achieve a good career in Korea as a woman. In addition, she wanted to escape from her birth family, which she felt never included her. In order to leave her family, she had two options: either to marry or to go to Germany. She chose the farthest place she could go - Germany. Hee-Jin went to Germany because the guest worker path was the one that most of the members of her cohort group wished to follow; Kyung-Mi left for Germany with the expectation of having exotic life experiences and a possible chance to study. While these five cases chose to go to Germany for their own futures, Hae-Sook's motivation was for her family, particularly for her father. She thought that she could make her father happy by sending money from Germany.

The secondary migration path was chosen in line with their biographical structures. Since they had experienced a first international migration, they had a better idea of living abroad than before. Furthermore, the Korean economic and social situation had not changed

in three years, which discouraged some Korean guest workers from returning to Korea. Yong-Seok, Kyung-Mun and Eun-Kyung thought that they could not earn as much money as they made in Germany if they returned to Korea. While working in Germany, Yong-Seok learned that he could make a good money as a blue-collar worker and wanted to develop his experience to make more money by moving to the US. Kyung-Mun realized that he could be a true trouble-maker, gaining more attention from others than he could have in Korea. The secondary migration gave him more attention from people than ever. Eun-Kyung had a fear of returning to Korea because she did not have any hope of a career there and did not want to return to her family. In addition, she was also dissatisfied with her vocational conditions in Germany. She left for Canada first and then went to the US to marry her husband. Hee-Jin's secondary migration was decided in order to maintain her 'social face'. After she found out that her fiancé had left her while she had traveled to the US to meet him, she remained in the US to avoid the shameful situation of having to bring bad news to her Korean family and friends. The above four cases went to North America directly from Germany after their initial contracts were ended; Hae-Sook and Kyung-Mi took different paths. Hae-Sook returned to Korea after her three-year contract. She had never enjoyed living in Germany and did not want to leave Korea again. However, her husband, whom she married after she returned from Germany, wanted to move to the US and so she followed him there. Kyung-Mi, however, attempted to get permanent residence status in order to settle in Germany. After seven years' attempting to gain legal status in Germany, she realized that she could not control her immigrant status in Germany. She and her family moved to the US, which gave her permanent resident status even before she entered the country.

### Migration and Work

All the cases developed their international migration path through work. As the title of the guest worker program suggests, they could go to Germany for a job; it was mostly the

case that Korean men worked as coal miners and women as nurses in Germany at the time. Hae-Sook, Hee-Jin, and Kyung-Mi had gained nursing degrees in Korea, which it easier for them to get a nursing job in their secondary migration than for Eun-Kyung. Three of them only needed to take the Registered Nurse exam in the US; meanwhile, Eun-Kyung had to go to nursing training and classes in Canada and the US to qualify for the exam. In contrast to the female cases, Yong-Seok and Kyung-Mun had no universally-recognized professional skills. They worked respectively as a factory worker and a laborer at the beginning of their time in the US; then later owned their own businesses.

It was not only the differences between professional and non-professional skills which influenced the differences between the biographies of males and females, but also the fact that each subject has a different interpretation of the meaning of work. Eun-Kyung and Hae-Sook see their work as labor rather than as a profession. Even if being an RN is a socially well recognized job with a good salary, the work is a bread-and-butter means to feed their family to Eun-Kyung and Hae-Sook. On the other hand, work for Hee-Jin is a positive resource to gain a sense of achievement and reputation. She has good self-confidence as a nursing professional and thinks that people give her credit because she works at a prestigious hospital in her community. Kyung-Mi also recognizes her nursing job as a profession and shows high self-efficacy in being able to work as a medical professional. All the female cases worked as nurses from their 20s and they were/are engaged in the mainstream American workplace. Interestingly, none of them narrates any personal relationship and friendship with their non-Korean co-workers. Work is either a means of survival (Eun-Kyung and Hae-Sook) or a source of gaining self-efficacy (Kyung-Mi) and a sense of achievement (Hee-Jin).

Yong-Seok and Kyung-Mun were in a different position from the female subjects regarding work. Both of them had to start from being a laborer in Germany and the US, but ended up having their own business. In addition, when they ran their businesses, they mostly

worked in the Korean community for Korean-American customers with Korean-American employees. Work to Kyung-Mun means nothing special; it just brings in money to maintain his everyday life. He had a cleaning business in which he only worked at night in order to spend his daytime participating in social activities in the Korean-American community. For Yong-Seok, he accumulates know-how to make money through his work. He learned that a blue-collar worker could make decent money through his jobs as a full-time coal-miner and part-time farmer in Germany; he applied the life lesson to make a lot of money once he migrated to the US. Work was not a means to improve his self-esteem or self-confidence, but a resource to make him rich. For this reason, Yong-Seok did not care to be a white-collar worker or to show off his social status through his work, as the result of his work, money, could bring him self-satisfaction and sense of achievement. This is the reason why he still works as a handyman to fix his rental properties.

### Migration and Family

Family, especially family of origin, is a significant life influence in formulating each subject's biography and developing their migration paths. Eun-Kyung and Hae-Sook have the thorniest issues in terms of family. First, Eun-Kyung was raised, with her half siblings, by her step-mother. She had only a few clues regarding her biological mother, and her older sister, who was also the daughter of Eun-Kyung's biological mother, did not live with Eun-Kyung. Her dream of leaving home was reinforced when she felt repressed in terms of finding information about her biological mother and was discriminated against in favor of her half siblings. Her family circumstances encouraged her to get into the habit of adopting a forward-looking attitude instead of investigating her origins and confronting the oppression she experienced from her family. She had a family, but felt as though she had none; she had a home (Heimat), but felt as though she had none (Heimatlosigkeit). The further she journeyed from her origin, the more she felt the Heimatlosigkeit life style as a wanderer and a stranger. Hae-

Sook was also caught in a snare of family. She longed for her father's care and love, which had never been given to her. In order to be recognized as a good daughter to her father, she did many things, including going to Germany, for her family. She never wanted to leave her home country, Korea, but she underwent a secondary migration for her husband. While she and her husband settled in the US, her son was taken care of by her parents in Korea, which could have resulted in the failure to build a strong bond between mother and child. Hae-Sook devotes herself to her family even to the point of undergoing two international migrations which she did not want; nevertheless, she felt that she never succeeded in being seen as an important person to her beloved father and son. Family is a subject of particular significance to both Eun-Kyung and Hae-Sook, but in fundamentally contrasting ways: Eun-Kyung wants nothing more than to escape this subject, while Hae-Sook can never get close enough.

Family is, metaphorically speaking, a form of biographical soil to Hee-Jin and Kyung-Mi in which to grow their biographical structures; meanwhile, it is a biographical trap for Eun-Kyung and Hae-Sook. Hee-Jin inherited a feature of gaining 'social face' from her family and her biographical structure was also influenced by her relative position among her siblings and the social context. Since she highly valued the opinions of others, she worked hard to gain and to maintain a good reputation in the eyes of the world. In a similar manner to Hee-Jin, Kyung-Mi's strong desire to maintain control of her own decisions developed based on her family's values and structure. In addition, Kyung-Mi recognizes her family as her supporters in being able to extend the degree of her freedom to make her own decisions, instead of sacrificing herself for her family as most women in her cohort group were forced to do.

Yong-Seok and Kyung-Mun show qualitatively less significant interest in and quantitatively less time spent on narration regarding their families than the female subjects. Yong-Seok's narration regarding his family indicates more a business relationship rather than an intimate bond, with the exception of his relationship with his mother. His marriage was based

not on love but on a transaction in which he proved his wealth by showing his saving account to his wife and his wife proved herself by getting legal status for him. In addition, he describes his children mostly in terms of their vocations and academic background; his children are the next generation, who will inherit from him. Family means to Yong-Seok an economic community for the purpose of making money and transmitting the fruit of his work from himself to the next generation. Kyung-Mun, too, does not value his family based on intimacy and love. He barely describes either his family of origin or his children. He regrets having deserted his pregnant German girlfriend in Germany; but he has never helped and met his daughter in Germany; he did not contribute to the raising of his two sons, which caused his first wife to divorce him. He evaluates his second marriage as having been pretty good, but it ended with the death of his second wife; and was satisfied with his third marriage. He says that he and his second and third wives got on well based on a common interest in participating in community activities.

### Migration and Social Involvement

Social involvement means participating in social and community activities outside of work. In broad outlines, most male interviewees (14 male research participants) show more interest in community activities than most female interviewees (10 female participants). The two male cases analyzed in this dissertation have been actively engaged in social involvement in a similar fashion to the all the other males interviewed. Among the four female cases, Hee-Jin and Kyung-Mi were involved in several community activities; whilst Hae-Sook and Eun-Kyung are not interested in social involvement. Each case shows a different degree of participation in social and community activities, but all the cases show a high correlation between their active or less active social involvement and their biographical structures.

First, as less active participants, Eun-Kyung and Hae-Sook do not indicate a great interest in their social involvement. Both of them have to deal with bulk of responsibility as regards taking care of their families financially; their personal family matters are more significant than participating in the community. On the other hand, the other four subjects actively participate in social activities; all of their involvement relates only to the Korean-American community; their social participation reflects each subject's biographical structure. Yong-Seok's social involvement is a part of his business. He reinforces his inclination to making money through his social participation and the reputation which he earns from his social involvement brings him another resource to make more money. For Kyung-Mun, social involvement is a great way to gain attention from others. In his early life path in Korea and Germany, causing trouble was his way to get people's attention, but later he learned that he could get more attention by engaging in diverse social and political issues regarding Korea and the Korean-American community in the US than by just causing trouble. His 'trouble-maker' biographical feature has been strengthened and legitimated through his social activities. Kyung-Mi's social activity of involvement in the Korean-American nursing association and a Korean-American senior center help her improve her self-efficacy. She can handle things better in the Korean-American community than she could have done in the American mainstream. For Hee-Jin, social involvement is related to maintaining 'face'. Members of the Korean-American nursing association recognize Hee-Jin's social achievement as a nursing professional; her social engagement gives her a positive reputation in the community.

#### Migration, Relationship, and Self

Relationship with others is one of core elements in formulating each individual's biography. As might seem obvious, the narrations indicate in every case the significance of relationships in their biographies and migration paths. In addition, the interviewees' understanding of relationships is strongly connected to the formulation of their biographical structure.

The following analysis includes how each subject understands relationships with others in their biographical context, based on finding points of similarity and also the uniqueness of each case.

Four subjects, Hae-Sook, Hee-Jin, Kyung-Mun, and Eun-Kyung, consider relationships with others more significant than do Kyung-Mi and Yong-Seok. First, Hae-Sook, Hee-Jin, and Kyung-Mun develop their biographies relying on external elements such as recognition by family (Hae-Sook), gaining ‘social face’ (Hee-Jin), and getting attention from others (Kyung-Mun). Hae-Sook’s understanding of relationships is oriented to the Korean Confucian and collectivist view in depending upon her primary group, family (see Gelfand & Triandis, 1996; Park, Rehg, & Lee, 2005). She could have been independent, with her vocational skills and economic ability, but she has adhered to Sam-Jong-Ji-Do to follow her father, husband, and son. Hee-Jin’s biography assonates with social identity theory, which posits that an individual belonging to a particular group is motivated to become a good group member by developing a self-identity which can be accepted by the group because it is motivated by the values common to that group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Jetten, Postmes, & McAuliffe, 2002). Hee-Jin internalizes her family’s values on life; saving ‘face’ and maintaining good self-presentation is developed as her center axis in defining who she is. Kyung-Mun has devoted his time to standing in the middle of trouble. He shows his strong “feeling of involvement in others’ lives” (Hui & Triandis, 1986: 231). That feeling, in a collectivist culture such as Korea’s, allows him to make trouble, thus gaining attention from others, in the course of helping others. These different features of cases emphasize the fact that each case depends heavily on relationships and the opinion of others in defining the self; this is an allocentric orientation in which reference groups and community are absolutely necessary to the construction of the individual identity (Hui & Triandis, 1986; Triandis, 2001).



Eun-Kyung, in the same way as the above three cases, relies on relationships to develop her identity. However, in contrast to them, her attachment to defining herself by means of her relationships goes in the opposite direction. The other three cases attempt to gain the love, respect and attention of others to develop their biographies; meanwhile, Eun-Kyung attempts to escape from her relationship with her family, which had an immense influence on her migration path. Eun-Kyung has a never-ending battle against the ‘hereditary ghost’ of knowing that she was separated from her biological mother at the very beginning of her life and that she will never know her. Her unrevealed origin prevents her completing her self-definition and will not liberate her to fight against the ‘hereditary ghost.’ Moreover, her step-family in Korea represents another relationship trap from which she wants to escape. She never gained a sense of homogeneity from her primary family and always wanted to escape from her step-family and origin. Even though the impulse in respect of relationships varies between positive (Hae-Sook, Hee-Jin, and Kyung-Mun) and negative (Eun-Kyung), the mechanism they use of understanding oneself through the prism of their relationships is similar.

The feature noted in the above four cases regarding self-definition in terms of relationships is more typical in collectivist cultures. On the other hand, Yong-Seok and Kyung-Mi show aspects of self-definition which differ from the norm in collectivist culture. Both subjects’ biographical structures include idiocentric features (see Triandis, 2001)<sup>101</sup>, independence from and distance from relationships with others. In both cases, the individual’s life

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<sup>101</sup> Triandis (2001) explains Allocentrism and idiocentrism with understanding of collectivism and individualism. He defines that an individual oriented to allocentrism considers relationship with others and in group; meanwhile, an idiocentric person priorities her/his values and goal in making decisions and regarding behaviour.

goals have precedence over relationships; they use their relationships to fulfill their desires. In Yong-Seok's case, his major desire and life goal is to accumulate wealth; for Kyung-Mi it is to control her decision-making. Both of them are not willing to sacrifice themselves for their relationships, but persuade others to support them throughout their biographies and migration paths.

The detailed analysis of these six cases throughs up both similarities and particularities; the evolution of the biographical structure in each case in relation to self-development and relationships falls into two types. The first type involves **interpersonal biography development**; the second, **intrapersonal biography development**. Interpersonal biography development means that a narrator values interdependence and relationship-centered features in the formulation of their core axis of biography. Cases of this type make life decisions and migrate to different countries dependent totally on their relationship with others. Intrapersonal biography development, however, implies that the narrator builds their biographical structure whilst remaining independent and focusing on their own needs and desires. Independence, to these cases, means that they make their life decisions and undergo their international migrations in order to fulfill their own desires, rather than attempting to satisfy others or to gain attention from the external world.

#### Migration and Biography: Biographical Gravity Structure

The analysis of these six cases is reframed to conduct minimum and maximum comparison within the categories of motivation for migration, work, family, social involvement, self and relationships, which were emerged as common narrative topics in the case analyses. These categories help to clarify the similarities and differences between the cases; their properties and dispositions are usefully framed in this way. This highlights the uniqueness of each case, but the fundamental question remains: 'what exists beyond the case's uniqueness.'

The focus of the research was continually recalibrated in order to find a core structure among the biographical structures of the cases through the comparison process. One thing that does not change among the six cases is that the subjects have biographical structures which remain consistent both before and after their international migrations. The subjects' experiences of migration do not change their biographical structures; thus, the subjects examined in this dissertation do not experience changed biographical identity via international migration. Their biographical structures remain consistent throughout the course of their lives, independence of time and space.

The interviewees were naturally influenced by particular places<sup>102</sup> (for instance, 1. South Korea, 2. Germany, and 3. the US) and times (1. between the late 1940s and the 1970s, 2. between the 1960s and the 1970s, 3. between the 1970s and now); this constitute macrostructures in which they must of necessity exist (see Lizardo, 2004). Each case, experiencing a similar macrostructure, develops a complex connection between external/objective structures and internal/unique dispositions with regard to the interpretation of such structures (Bourdieu, 1996a: 38). Finally, they gradually internalize certain perspectives, values, social roles, and rules of society; chapters four through nine indicate the unique biographical development<sup>103</sup>. Since the biographical structure is established mostly in Korea between birth and

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<sup>102</sup> 'the structural history of objective structures' by Lizardo (2004: 394)

<sup>103</sup> There is a good example to show how each individual formulates her or his biography uniquely to interpret her or his own environment. When Kyung-Mi chose to leave for Germany, Kyung-Mi's older sister decided to return to her hometown as her father wanted her to do. The different choices of Kyung-Mi and her older sister explain that each of them interprets given situations differently under the same conditions of their father's strong desire to keep his children closer to him and their mother's active support in providing better vocational and study chances in the capital city than they could have

early adulthood, the biographical structure becomes an intrinsic attribute of the self. This intrinsic structure leads to the cases' migration paths to Germany and the US; it has remained the core decision-making process for each case while their habits, languages, locations, etc. in receiving countries have been changed.

This coherent biographical structure can be understood by applying Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* as

A system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (Bourdieu, 1990: 53).

Each case was born with manifold possibilities for the future. However, in reality, the realization of the infinite possibilities to execute action is limited by the different environments surrounding the cases. First, the subjects attempt to recognize what the structures are in which they are located; then they learn a way of understanding and interpreting such given structures by interacting with others. Each case lives in 'structured structures (objective field, space, society)' which influence 'structuring structures' of biography (see Bourdieu, 1990: 53; Bourdieu, 1996b). Later, these 'structuring structures' become 'structured structures

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had in the small town. Her older sister chose the obligation symbolizing taking a role of a dutiful oldest child as her father's will; meanwhile, Kyung-Mi only listened to her mother in order to rationalize her departure to Germany. This presents that each individual even from the same family background has a different way of interacting and understanding external world, so that a person can create a unique biographical structure.

(biographical structure)' to influence the development of 'structuring structures (migration life)' in a sequence of everyday life (see Swartz, 1997:100-106). Through these processes, each case's biographical structure is formulated and the formulated biographical structure promotes cases' migration paths.

It might seem contradictory that people who have undergone multiple-international migrations can maintain a coherent biographical structure because this employs coexistence between continuity and discontinuity, sameness and difference, changed and unchanged life subjects. The research participants were exposed to many experiences by living in three continents which they could not have had if they had never left their motherland. They had to change their lifestyles in new lands; whilst their opportunities multiplied, they ran the risk of being ostracized as 'other.' While circumstances changed around them, the subjects themselves do not change; the "paradox of permanence within change" (Chandler, 2000). They keep unchanged the 'me' which has been gradually developed until adolescence<sup>104</sup> or shortly after; this biographical coherence functions as a lighthouse to help navigate the individual's life in different times and places (see Chandler et al., 2003; Dilthey, 1926 as cited in Habermas & Köber, 2015).

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<sup>104</sup> This early part of life time is the most important period to formulate one's identity because adolescence is the only period to pre-reflect self-definition as an extension of the past, a child (Habermas & Köber, 2015: 151).

This consistence of biography can be named, metaphorically speaking, as the **biographical gravity**<sup>105</sup> **structure**<sup>106</sup>. Gravity is defined as “the force that attracts a body toward the center of the earth, or toward any other physical body having mass” (Google online dictionary, n.d.). All bodies with mass live with gravity every day, but no one notices it because it is so natural; an invisible and innate law of nature. All human beings develop their unique biographical structures, but many of them do not notice what their biographical structures are. Experience and memory are analogous to the mass of each body. If an individual had not had both experiences and the memory of such experiences, she or he could not have developed their biographical structure. An individual develops her or his biographical gravity structure with a lot of life experience by undergoing trial and error. Just as gravity itself pulls mass towards the ground, the biographical gravity structure directs each individual’s life. Once each individual biographical gravity structure has been established, it applies to the rest of an individual’s life, transcending time and place.

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<sup>105</sup> There are researchers who apply the center of gravity to understand self (Dennett, 1992), psychological point (Sebo, 2013), and migration (Hägerstrand, 1957). In this dissertation, the concept of gravity is used to understand each case’s pattern to have coherent biographical structure in different places through migration path.

<sup>106</sup> Biographical gravity does not exist in quite the same way as the immutable laws of actual gravity.

## CHAPTER 11. CONCLUSION

International migration in this dissertation is viewed as a major life decision which does not happen accidentally or totally independently, but needs to be understood as a continual subject in one's biographical context. Some people choose international migration, but others decide to stay in their original countries even under similar social, economic, and political circumstances. The different choices made by each individual appear to have been based on unique and personal characteristics as regard international migration; this dissertation aimed to reveal each individual's unique way of dealing with their migration experiences. Furthermore, this research covers not only the analysis of the uniqueness of personal experience, but also the reconstruction of the meaning of migration within each individual's biography.

This dissertation, in common with other biographical studies (e.g. Kontos, 2004; Schütze, 2006; Kazmierska, 2006; Kazmierska, Piotrowski, & Waniek, 2012; Inowloki, & Riemann, 2012; Schütze, Schröder-Wildhagen, Nagel, & Treichel, 2012; Tsiolis, 2012) describes in-depth interpretations of migrants' biographies; each individual's biography is analyzed independent of theoretical premises or assumptions based on existing relative references. Instead, this research starts with the open question 'Who leaves for a new land?'. This question contains two subjects: biography and international migration. 'Who' indicates an individual's identity or a case structure which has been developed in individual's biographical context; 'leaves for a new land' refers to actual actions by the individual in coming to her/his decisions regarding international migration. These two subjects form the central axis of the inquiry into the meaning of international migration in a biographical context.

The research focuses on the biographies of Korean-Americans who left Korea for Germany between the 1950s and the 1970s through the guest worker program in Germany, and

who then migrated to North America. These people have experienced the crossing of continents from Asia to Europe and then to North America. That means they left the life to which they had previously been accustomed in Korea and Germany behind when heading for the US. The continuity of their lives has indisputably been broken by their international migrations; they had to confront several transitions, moving in each case from the familiar to the unfamiliar. These transitions can be interpreted by different individuals as a loss, as Arendt (1943; Finkelkraut, 2000: 100)<sup>107</sup> describes, as a gain, or as a completely unique experience in their multiple international migration paths.

Given that the meaning of transition could differ greatly between the participants, this research began to interpret each individual's whole life story. Each case was analyzed firstly in a purely biographical context; further analysis revealed individual decision-making patterns which influenced their individual international migrations. While each subject's biographical structure is uncovered and interpreted, the core pattern of each individual's biography and migration emerged. After analyzing each case's uniqueness, the six cases were compared to look for any meaning or relevance beyond the individual uniqueness.

The result shows that each case developed a unique biographical structure, and there does not appear to be much similarity between cases. As everyone has a different family background, childhood, and personality, their biographical structures are personal and unique. However, one common factor was found: each subject's motivation and action for multi-international migrations were chosen based on biographical structure. The research

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<sup>107</sup> We lost our home, which means the familiarity of our daily life. We lost our occupation, which means the confidence that we are of some use in this world. We lost our language, which means the naturalness of reactions, the simplicity of gesture, the spontaneous expression of our sentiments (Finkelkraut, 2000, P. 100).



participants' biographical structures generally develop up until early adulthood; such development would have mostly taken place in Korea for the research participants. Once the biographical structures were developed, decisions regarding migration were made in order to either maintain or reinforce their biographical structures. Although the extent to which they did so differed widely among the cases, all of them made their migration decisions relying on biographical structure cases (in the cases of Eun-Kyung, Hae-Sook, and Hee-Jin, to continue; in those of Kyung-Mun, Yong-Seok, and Kyung-Mi, to reinforce). This shows that the subjects retain the continuity of their biographical structure throughout many experiences of discontinuity caused by migration from their origins and familiar environments. This dissertation defines this finding as biographical gravity structure: Each case's choice of migration arises from the biographical structure which has been formed by each case as with the inexorable power of gravity.

There are many approaches within existing research to questions relating to migration: why international migrants left for a new country; and how they have settled culturally, economically, and socially in the new land. Related studies have attempted to find the answers with various ways and perspectives which can mostly be categorized by either the micro or the macro view in attempting to answer these questions. Many of those taking the micro approach assume that migrants may have some issues in defining their belongingness (e.g. Morrice, 2016; Coutin, 2017) and ethnic identity (e.g. Farver, 2007; Cross Jr et al, 2017), and in experiencing a shift from old to new identities before and after migrations (e.g. Garza-Guerrero, 1974; Ward & Styles, 2003). Some studies with the macro view presuppose that external factors such as economic, social, and political motivations (perhaps viewed through the lens of Marx, Durkheim, or Weber) are major elements in migrants' motivation, acculturation and adjustment processes (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008; Solomos, 2010). And some concepts,

for instance, transnationalism (e.g. Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002; Vertovec, 2004), are applied to migration research both in micro and macro views.

In this dissertation, however, there arise no significant findings related to shifting of ethnic or personal identity before and after international migrations, nor to suffering to gain a sense of belongingness<sup>108</sup>. External factors (e.g. the guest worker program, the immigrant ban in 1972 in Germany, and immigration reform in 1965 in the US) provide possible circumstances which pull and push the research participants between three countries. Nevertheless, the finding shows that the external elements are merely a part of the mechanisms which pull and push the cases to migrate. The fact that only 11,000 people among thousands of young Koreans chose the first migration to Germany and only a third of that 11,000 decided on a second migration to the US, despite the fact that the same international circumstances applied to them all, may support the finding that external factors may not be the main control key to the cases' biographical decision.

The finding also is different from other research (e.g. Robert, 2010; Yang, 2010, 2013; Yi, S-H., 2013) analyzing the group of Korean migrants who left Korea via the guest worker program in Germany. Some studies of those Korean migrants who remained in Germany focus on individuals' changes of perceptions as regard gender and identity (Yang, 2010, 2013), the feminist perspective (Yi, S-H, 2013), or identity as a Korean-German (Robert, 2010). Some of these studies, however, may unconsciously fall into the trap of selective analysis of

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<sup>108</sup> There are some studies (e.g. Agozino (2000); Timotijevic & Breakwell (2000)) to discover no remarkable difference in terms of developing new identity after migration in biographical contexts, but such researches did not pay attention to that part of their identities which remained unaltered.

the raw biographical data to confirm with conscious or unconscious assumptions made by the researchers in their formulation of the research questions, thus introducing bias<sup>109</sup>.

Other research, for instance, Yi (2005) shows, in the opinion of the writer, a clearer analysis of data through the use of inductive logic than the studies mentioned above. Yi (2005) indicates that certain Korean migrants in Germany are actively socially involved and that their strong interests in social issues are connected to their biographical background. The limit on that study, however, is that the results do not include in-depth interpretation of the meanings of her findings, but simply describes the facts found in biographical data. In contrast to the above studies, Garz, Jung, & Lee (2014) and Garz (2015) contain results with fluent interpretations of the meaning of biographical narrations. These studies take an inductive approach to Korean migrants' biographical data; therefore, the subjects: religion, religiosity, and transnationalism in Korean migrants living in Germany and the US (Garz, Jung, & Lee, 2014), and the meaning of home to those returning from Germany to Korea (Garz, 2015) are revealed and reconstructed. Despite having different research targets<sup>110</sup> from this

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<sup>109</sup> It is needed to have a research purpose which can be influenced by certain theories and concepts in conducting the research. However, researchers applying qualitative method and biographical study need to be very careful to maintain a balance between having research purpose and doing inductive approach. If losing the balance, the researchers' perspective developed by certain theories may affect merely to verify the theories and concepts. That may be applied to present certain narrative topics selectively (e.g. Breckner, 2000; Gońda, 2015; Nowicka, 2013), which can interrupt to reconstruct authentic meaning from the biographical data.

<sup>110</sup> The research target in Garz' study (2015) is the returners from Germany to Korea after spending several decades in Germany, or the research by Garz, Jung, & Lee (2014) includes only a single case of the secondary migration.

dissertation, the research mentioned can provide significant insight into understanding migration decisions and their meaning in individual's biographical context.

In spite of much research in the field of migration and biographical study, only a few studies attempt to reveal the authentic meanings of international migration in a biographical context; even fewer focus on the secondary migration path of Korean migrants from Korea to Germany, and to the US. This study firstly interpreted each research participant's biography and then compared all the cases to look for similarities and/or differences. The result indicates that continuity of self holds across all the different countries. Each individual's life experiences contribute to their unique biographical gravity structure, which pulls or pushes each individual to cope with their life experiences during multiple migrations using a consistent mechanism of decision making: the 'me' that remains consistent despite ever-changing location. This finding may only reiterate the old saying that what is learned in the cradle is carried to the grave. Nevertheless, this common-sense observation can perhaps lead to a turning point in thinking outside of box regarding international migrants. This observation may break a routine of migration study with the other common-sense in which international migrants have changed many things including identity and sense of affiliation.

Whilst those migrants studied undeniably changed locations, they may or may not have changed themselves accordingly; retaining their essential self, some change to suit the circumstances, others stay the same. Locations may bring changes to an individual's language, lifestyle, and foods, but may not change the deepest aspects of an individual's core identity / decision-making structure. This may be described as 'Wherever you go, there you are'<sup>111</sup>.

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<sup>111</sup> This is the famous saying by Confucius (551-479 BC) (Barry, 2014; Quora, n.d.) and the book title by Kabat-Zinn (2005). This expression is used only literally to accentuate the finding in this dissertation.

Wherever the Korean migrants go, there they are by dint of their continuity of self. Wherever they go, there they are because their biographical gravity structure pulls them to maintain who they have been. A new land may indeed be an incredibly strong influencing factor, able to change many parts of an individual's life, but their biographical gravity structure appears to be strong enough to cross continents again and again holding the individual's sense of self sacred in a changing world.

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24. 07. 2018

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