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Ethnicity Toward Multiculturalism: Socio-Spatial Relations of the Korean Community in Honolulu, 1903-1940.

Youngmin Lee

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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ETHNICITY TOWARD MULTICULTURALISM:
SOCIO-SPATIAL RELATIONS OF THE KOREAN COMMUNITY
IN HONOLULU, 1903-1940

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in
The Department of Geography and Anthropology

by
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B.A., Seoul National University, 1986
M.Ed., Seoul National University, 1991
December 1995
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ABSTRACT

This research deals with the dynamic ethnic socio-spatial relations and the transformation of ethnic identities in the early-twentieth-century Honolulu, mainly focusing on the Korean community. Against the widely spread notion that the ethnic relations of Honolulu in those days were little associated with the racist ideology which was prevalent in the contemporary mainland cities, this research shows that white-supremacy ideology had exerted strong influence on the minority groups in Honolulu all the way through their immigration and settling-down process. Although Honolulu included a balanced population among several ethnic groups and thus had no ethnic division of "majority" and "minority" in numerical sense, it witnessed an unequal power distribution along ethnic lines and an application of mainland-style racialization or ethnicization to its social structure. Clear occupational stratification and residential segregation by ethnic groups in the early-twentieth-century Honolulu were nearly equal to situation in the mainland cities. On the basis of socio-spatial segregation, the dichotomized identity, "Local" versus "Haole," evolved. Non-white minorities not only had to compete with each other for limited urban resources or
employment opportunities, but also they had to negotiate a collective strategy to cope with an unfair social structure controlled by white supremacy. The coalescence of several ethnic groups into a "Local" identity was fostered by spatial propinquity of their residential neighborhood. Mixed concentration of non-white ethnic groups in a particular place contributed to the formation of a new pan-ethnic identity. The Korean community in Honolulu, most of whose members had been firstly imported to Hawai’ian sugar plantations within the context of colonial capitalism, went through the change of identity in adjusting to the ethnically divided social structure. When the community was incorporated into the Hawai’ian version of multi-ethnic identification process, "Local" versus "Haole," its members' identity as Koreans was also transformed into the identity as Korean-Americans, within the larger construct of "Local" identity. The transformed identity was a product of on-going inter-ethnic negotiation process embedded in the non-white multi-ethnic neighborhood.
American cities have been characterized by the existence of various immigrant ethnic groups from their inception. In the course of urbanization associated with the development of capitalism, American cities have been provided with the necessary labor force by foreign immigrants. The early arriving Anglo-European immigrants who had successfully accumulated large amount of capital, however, instituted the practice of socially defined and publicly sanctioned racialization and ethnicization of foreign immigrants, and thus most of the later arriving non-white immigrants entered this country under some forms of coercion or experienced harsh institutional racism and discriminatory access to labor market. In relation to this social situation, those immigrant groups from the different cultures have been incorporated into stratified social structure and spatial structure of ethnic residential segregation. Based on the interrelationship, the various ethnic subcultures in a city ultimately have come to be integrated into a particular pattern which forms the multicultural city of today.
Along with the huge influx of immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the immigrants' struggles for adaptation to the new environment as ethnic minorities have long been a contentious issue in social science. Immigrant groups, as mentioned above, have been implicitly recognized as supplying the needed cheap labor force on which American capitalism was based. On the other hand, they frequently became the target of attack by the host group because of their social pathologies and cultural disruption in the inner city areas caused by overcrowdedness and poverty (Ward 1989). The immigrants, who were reduced to the status of ethnic minorities when arriving on new soil, had to participate in the dynamic inter-ethnic cooperation and competition, especially for urban resources, but apparently under the condition of overt social stratification of ethnicity. Ethnicity may not have much significance among peoples living within their own countries, though it clearly becomes an issue in the new land of the immigrants' destination where the host and the immigrant groups contend for resources. Therefore, it is surely a product created through social interaction between groups with different cultures in the course of the expansion of world capitalism. That is, the concepts of ethnicity and race are the product of specific historical
and geographical forces, rather than biologically given ideas whose meaning is dictated by nature, or genetic origin (Jackson and Penrose 1993:1).

1. **Purpose and Scope of Study**

Based on the assumption of the general process of American urban development described above, this study, in relation to the Korean community, deals with the dynamic ethnic socio-spatial relations and the consequential transformation of ethnic identities in the-early-twentieth-century Honolulu which has been called an "ethnological museum" (Palmer 1972:103). Although Honolulu has shown some salient features clearly distinct from the other multicultural mainland cities in terms of the large number of Asian minorities and the ethnic hospitality for coexistence called "Aloha Spirit," its basic social structure has been hardly different from the mainland cities in the light of the prevalence of white supremacist racism and unequal occupational hierarchy. That is, my purpose and perspective in this research counters the popular view which regards the ethnic social relations of Hawai'i and Honolulu as very harmonious and cooperative one, and also as a kind of anomaly for which the general explanatory framework derived from the mainland multi-ethnic cities could not be applied.
On the contrary, multiculturalism in the city of Honolulu, in my opinion, seems to more clearly represent an appropriate focus for examining the general constrictive social conditions imposed on the non-white immigrants in the territory of the United States and the process of culture or social identity as place-specific at the turning period to this century. That is, Honolulu in the early twentieth century, I argue, was obviously an ethnicity-divided society marked by stratified class division by ethnic groups and by ethnically discriminatory labor market system in the same manner as in the continental cities.

To present the argument above, this research examines the process of the initial Korean immigration under the social environment of imperialistic world-capitalism and racist ideology, the role of the ethnic neighborhood in the specification of ethnic and class identity, its negotiation with the host society, and the consequent contribution to proliferation of multiculturalism in the city of Honolulu. This research is implemented with the perspective that ethnic or social identity as place-specific context is developed and continually reshaped by locally-based social interaction (Thrift 1983; Johnston 1991). In this context, one of the important purposes of this study is to discover the places of ethnic neighborhoods, with particular focus
on Korean community's spatial concentration, through which various intra- and inter-ethnic social relations were mediated.

Unlike European immigration groups on which many studies in social science have focused in terms of residential patterns and process and transformation of ethnicity (McQuillan 1993; Raitz 1979), scant attention has been paid to the same issues of the initial Asian immigration groups. This has been particularly true for the field of geography. Such a limited concern with the early Asian minorities in the geographic literature may be associated with their relatively small populations. Considering their widely spread spatial concentrations in the Hawai'ian Islands and the Western coast of the United States, however, the numerical smallness would not entirely account for geographers' limited concern. More basically, to my appraisal, it seems to reflect an older scholarly outlook in the social sciences, particularly within geography, to focus on the twin issues of "Americanization" and "assimilation."

That is to say, later arriving European immigrants have been regarded by the early arriving host group as the other "we," who would be eventually assimilated to the host culture. But Asian minorities have been thought of as
"they," a weird group unassimilable to the host society. In this context, Asian immigrants have been generally excluded from the main arena of academic research, and even in the limited number of studies, Asian immigrants have been viewed as passive actors forcibly operated on by the structural conditions of international and American capitalism (Cheng and Bonacich 1984; Daniels 1990), or as victims of the institutional structure of racial antagonism (Anderson 1991, 1988; Spencer 1966). Their active participation and contributions to the building of American society and economy have been implicitly underestimated in the research of social science, especially in geography. Given this tendency in mind, this study deals with the Asian immigrants during the first decades of this century, particularly the initial Korean immigrants, not only as victims of structural constraints but also as active actors with their own capacities to lift these constraints. Accordingly, this study seeks to contribute to the neglected topic within geography and associated fields concerning the initial stage of Asian immigrants within North America including its dependent archipelago, Hawai'i.

2. Multiculturalism in Hawai'i: Normal or Abnormal?

In contrast to the general process of American urban development stated above, some clear distinctions between
Honolulu and mainland cities stand out with regard to the very background of ethnic social relations. These salient features, which have arisen from Hawai'i's unique modern history, have exerted an effect on the particular pattern of ethnic identity formation and interrelation.¹ These peculiarities of the unique history in the early twentieth century are presented here.

First, no single ethnic group has occupied a numerically majority status, though political and economic power has been unequally distributed. Since it first appeared on the horizon of the Western World, Hawai'i has been a destination for Western missionaries and capitalists to achieve their goals (Sahlins 1992). Although never occupying the numerical preponderance in Hawai'i's population,² the white foreigners brought about an economic

¹ According to my own appraisal, these distinctive characteristics have been formulated through three stages of Hawai'i's modern history: (1) Pre-sugar period of first contact with the West, (2) multi-ethnic "industrial plantation" (Beechert 1985:79) period, and (3) post-plantation urbanization period. This dissertation mainly focuses on social ethnic relations in the post-plantation urbanization period which were formulated under the influences of the preceding historical factors.

² In 1900 right after Hawai'i was annexed to the U.S. territory, Caucasians of American and British stocks constituted only about 6% of the Islands' total population. Added by Portuguese, the population took up about 18%. Thereafter it gradually increased, but never exceeded 40% even today. If excluding the military population and their (continued...)
transformation of the Islands and consolidated political power over the native Hawai’ians. The "Haole" class, which was solidifying its economic and political hegemony through sugar plantation economy, searched for sources of sufficient and reliable labor from all over the world. It was unfortunate for the power-holding group that the native Hawai’ians had undergone sharp decline of population due to foreign-introduced fatal diseases. In addition, they were unsympathetic to capitalist values, because they were accustomed to subsistence way of life (Mejer 1987:183; Nordyke 1989:20-7). Partly for these reasons, the white capitalists turned their eyes overseas and thus many dependents, the white percentage of today's population declines to only 22%. For the details on demographic structure of white people, see E. C. Nordyke, The Peopling of Hawai’i, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), pp. 42-52.

\[\ldots\text{continued}\]

dependents, the white percentage of today's population declines to only 22%. For the details on demographic structure of white people, see E. C. Nordyke, The Peopling of Hawai’i, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), pp. 42-52.

3 This Hawaiian term, "Haole," combining two words "ha"(breath) and "ole"(without), means "outsider" or "foreigner" opposed to "Kanaka," meaning native Hawaiian. This term came to be a symbol for the Caucasians or Whites who were the first foreigner race to the Islands, irrespective of their ethnic origin. As all the outsiders at the initial time had white skin, the term also came to acquire a color connotation. Yet it usually has not covered Portuguese and people of Hispanic origin. For the identification and categorization process of Haole, see J. A. Geschwender and R. Carroll-Seguin, The Portuguese and Haoles of Hawaii: Implications for the Origin of Ethnicity, American Sociological Review 53(1988); E. Whittaker, The Mainland HAOLE: The White Experience in Hawaii (New York: Columbia University, 1986); A. Lind, Hawaii's People (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980), pp. 23-4.
Figure I-1
The Study Area-Honolulu, 1920
Figure I-2
Honolulu as viewed from Punchbowl Crater
(Photo taken by the Author on September 9, 1994)
foreign groups from all over the world have been imported to meet the need of labor in a plantation economy. These have included Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Spanish, German, Russian, Scandinavian, Filipinos, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, other Pacific islanders, and even African Americans. The Haole planters, however, did not allow a single group to numerically predominate in the labor force for fear of its development into an economic or political threat through class consciousness based on ethnic identity (Kirkpatrick 1987:300-1; Lind 1980:6). The number of each ethnic population was explicitly regulated so that no group could gain a numerical majority status. This balanced distribution of ethnic populations has constituted a fundamental and unique ingredient for urban social geography of Honolulu up to the present.

Second, a large labor force required by the development of sugar industry had been supplied mostly by the immigrants from Asian countries. Also it is noticeable that in contrast to the lumping conceptualization of "Asian American" in the mainland which ignores separate cultural traditions and social characteristics, no such concept of

---

"Asian American" has developed in Hawai'i.\(^5\) The reason of large amount of Asian workers being imported was that along with geographical proximity, docility and high productivity of Asian labor forces was deemed adequate to supply the planters' needs which had been frustrated by unavailability of native Hawai'ians and intractability of imported European laborers (Beechert 1990:165-8). As seen in Table I-1 and I-2, already by 1910, the Asian ethnic groups from China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines had combined to form more than half of total population in Hawai'i and a little less than half in Honolulu. Because of the numerical abundance of various Asian groups, there has been no lumping of these into an "Asian American" category.

In contrast, in the continental United States, white supremacy and the overwhelming numerical predominance of European whites have made conspicuous physical and cultural differences of small-population ethnic minority groups. According to the structuralist approach, the conspicuousness of minority groups is straightforwardly reduced into the process of racialization that was initially developed by the capitalist white group to

\(^5\) Conversely, all Whites except Portuguese in Hawai'i are lumped into one large category called "Haole," just as various ethnic groups originated in Asian nations are simply bundled into "Asian Americans" or "Orientals" in the mainland.
### Table I-1

Population by Ethnicity, Honolulu and Hawai'i, 1853 to 1920

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Ethnicity</th>
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<th>1910</th>
<th></th>
<th>1920</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>HL</td>
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<td>HL</td>
<td>HI</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>HI</td>
<td>HL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
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<td>9889</td>
<td>31019</td>
<td>7918</td>
<td>26041</td>
<td>7910</td>
<td>23723</td>
<td>8459</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(11.1)</td>
<td>(14.1)</td>
<td>(25.5)</td>
<td>(30.4)</td>
<td>(56.1)</td>
<td>(36.4)</td>
<td>(50.3)</td>
<td>(45.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haole</td>
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<td>7247</td>
<td>4208</td>
<td>16857</td>
<td>9458</td>
<td>22138</td>
<td>13306</td>
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<td>(58.1)</td>
<td>(58.1)</td>
<td>(56.1)</td>
<td>(56.1)</td>
<td>(60.1)</td>
<td>(60.1)</td>
<td>(60.1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>87</td>
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<td>15191</td>
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<td>22301</td>
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<td>27002</td>
<td>9978</td>
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<td>(25.2)</td>
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<td>(27.6)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27693</td>
<td>21674</td>
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<td>(35.6)</td>
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<td>Korean</td>
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<td>Filipino</td>
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<td>(3.7)</td>
<td>(3.7)</td>
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<td>Puerto Rican</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4890</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>5602</td>
<td>841</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(7.9)</td>
<td>(7.9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1050</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>9340</td>
<td>3887</td>
<td>13577</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>73137</td>
<td>11455</td>
<td>109020</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>191909</td>
<td>52163</td>
<td>255912</td>
<td>83327</td>
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<td>(44.7)</td>
<td>(44.7)</td>
<td>(44.7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1) Enclosed in parenthesis are the percentages of each group's Honolulu residents to its total population in Hawai'i.

2) HI=Hawai'i, HL=Honolulu

Sources: Nordyke 1988(Table 3-1), Lind 1980(Table 5), Schmitt 1977(Table 1.12), US Census 1920(Table 1,19,20).
Table I-2

Ethnic Constitution in Honolulu, 1853 to 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1853</th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawai'ian</td>
<td>86.3%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haole</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>23.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
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<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Absolute number of each group's population is shown in Table I-1.
justify the exploitation of labor power and unequal
treatment (Satzewich 1990:256; Bolaria and Li 1988; Bonacich
1979). In Hawai'i, however, each group had sufficient
numerical strength to keep an "institutional completeness"6
within its own society, whether social discrimination or
antagonism was harsh or not. Also the paternalistic
plantation system encouraged ethnic labor groups to build
up the isolated ethnic institutions in the segregated labor
camps along the ethnic lines (Takaki 1983; Mejer 1987:183-
9). As a consequence, the consciousness of distinctive
ethnic identity among Asian population became
pronounced (Hechter 1978). The ethnic segregation organized
by ethnic inequality in plantation states, as sociologist
Jan H. Mejer (1987:189) contends, might impede the

6 If an ethnic group has sufficient number of people,
it could create an institutionally complete set of
activities and services for its members. For example,
ethnic churches, newspapers, voluntary associations, and
businesses for ethnic products need a critical mass of its
population. Those institutions contribute to the
consolidation of ethnic identity by linking the group
together and keeping them from outsiders, and consequently
perpetuating the ethnic subculture. If residential
segregation is combined with "institutional completeness,"
it may function in favor of the members' pragmatic
interests in securing economic advantages within the ethnic
boundary. For more details, refer to R. Breton,
Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the
Personal Relations of Immigrants, American Journal of
Sociology, 70(1964), pp. 193-205; L. Driedger and C.
Church, Residential Segregation and Institutional
Completeness: A Comparison of Ethnic Minorities, Review of
development of working class consciousness. The divisiveness between ethnic groups, however, was not linked together with complete exclusiveness and animosity. In any case, each Asian group has kept its ethnic identity without reduction into the lumping concept of Asian American.

A third peculiarity distinct from the mainland cities is a sense of tolerance and mutual acceptance between ethnic groups. The local sense of mutual hospitality for coexistence may have derived from the native Hawai'ian legacy of "Aloha Kanaka" meaning the love of one's fellow human beings (Grant and Ogawa 1993:146-8; Okamura 1982:231). The so-called "Aloha Spirit" is said to have played a significant role in diminishing ethnic antagonism in Hawai'i. The native island tribes were willing to open their land to all visitors or settlers from outside and absorb everyone into "a community of mutual support" (Haas 1992:50). It is undeniable that this traditional Hawai'ian value helped the initial Westerners to peacefully settle on the Islands. However, according to sociologist Andrew Lind (1980:3), the values governing the relations between the "Kanaka," meaning native, and the "Haole," meaning foreigner, prior to 1850, were those of the marketplace and were independent of color prejudice or cultural values. In specific words, the Westerners, who wished to remain in the
Islands, had to honor the customs and practices of the native Hawai'ians, and the natives would not abuse the foreigners whose goods and services they wished to enjoy. That is, Lind regards ethnic tolerance and mutual acceptance as a by-product of the marketplace.

At any rate, congenial ethnic relations continued during the capitalist expansion period of sugar plantation economy when a variety of immigrant groups were imported for the plantation labor forces. Concerning this traditional cultural value applied to the Hawai'ian ethnic relations in the period of plantation economy, Grant and Ogawa emphasized the specific demography and political economy of the Island society as follows:

Certainly, as a tiny minority, the Caucasian race relied primarily on law enforcement agencies and their control over socioeconomic and governmental institutions to protect their interests—open violence against any one race was ultimately suicidal. For the non-Caucasian ethnic groups, the paternal nature of plantation society meant that one's economic survival depended fully upon the oligarchy. Public protests and mass meetings may vent internal community unrest, on an island where opportunities are limited, one quickly tempers rages in light of basic needs.7

(Grant and Ogawa 1993:147)

The particular ethnic multiculturalism in Hawai'i, in which one ethnic group acknowledged the others' way of life, gradually emerged under the plantation system. In the course of acting together with mutual give-and-take, the plantation laborers of various ethnic backgrounds continued to negotiate the ties of local identity by which cultural diversity can be maintained (Grant and Ogawa 1993:150). Associated with this social situation, the legacy of tolerance has often become a part of the social norms of ethnic relationships and thus led to the relative absence of collective violence in order to avoid "fouling the social nest" (Okamura 1994:6; Kirkpatrick 1987:314).

Based on these three distinctive features, Hawai'i has been long recognized as the harmonious multicultural society, where various ethnic groups have peacefully lived together. Obviously, the Hawai'ian case is not applicable either to an Anglo-conformity model or to a melting-pot theory. Especially, the relative absence of collective unrest and of racially or ethnically motivated violence has been considered to be as explicit evidence as to Hawai'i's differences from the mainland where social relations among heterogeneous ethnic groups have been confrontational.

According to Jonathan Okamura (1994:2), the view of harmonious ethnic relations dates back to the work in 1920s
by a pioneer sociologist in Hawai'i, Romanzo Adams, who characterized the Islands' ethnic relations as a "racial melting pot." Romanzo Adams, who was a student of Chicago school sociologist, Robert Park, diagnosed the social environment of Hawai'i in the early twentieth century as advances toward desegregation and racial amalgamation partly brought about by the widespread practice of racial intermarriage (Adams 1926, 1937). Thereafter, many notable scholars and administrators have followed his main arguments about equalitarian and harmonious ethnic relations as a distinguished feature of Hawai'i (Lind 1938, 1980; Gulick 1937; Wittermans-Pino 1964).

Yet, is not there a problem in identifying the Hawai'ian case as a paradise of ethnic relations or even as an "exporting principle of ethnic harmony to the mainland and the world" (Okamura 1993:3)? Is the Hawai'ian setting, especially the city of Honolulu, entirely free from the general process of immigrants' socio-spatial adaptations characteristic of the mainland? What resides inside this semblance of harmony and congeniality of ethnic relations?

Here I propose to examine the social circumstances of Honolulu in 1920s centering on the Korean community and what Romanzo Adams regarded as a "racial melting-pot," or a city of harmonious ethnic relations. By reinterpreting the
process of Korean immigration to Hawai'i and Honolulu in the particular social environment, and by reconstructing the differentiated social areas along ethnic and class lines in the early-twentieth-century Honolulu, I will re­ evaluate the argument that harmonious ethnic relations in Hawai'i originated from mutual acceptance and congenial interdependence and have continued through this century. Opposing the widely spread belief that Hawai'i's ethnic relations and Honolulu's social geography have been such anomaly that those could not be dealt with within the general framework of North American context, I argue that the Honolulu version of ethnic relations is not greatly different from the mainland one.

3. Organization and Method of Study

This research is broadly made up of two parts: (1) the immigration process of Koreans to Honolulu by way of Hawai'ian sugar plantations and (2) their making of an ethnic neighborhood and self-identification as a place-specific context in Honolulu. Preceding these main parts, the theoretical background on Asian ethnic minorities in the United States is discussed in Chapter Two, with attention paid to the different perspectives on international migration, ethnicity as a socio-cultural phenomenon, and ethnic neighborhood.
The first objective, which is handled in Chapter Three, is to reinterpret the initial Korean immigration between 1903 and 1905 within the framework of the capitalistic world economy around the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Through the reinterpretation, I intend to point out the limitations of the existing approaches which mostly dealt with the causes of immigration through the customary particularistic explanation of push and pull factors. This chapter, therefore, attempts to illuminate that the influence of imperial world-capitalism, particularly American imperialism, was stretched out over the Pacific Ocean covering both the Hawai'ian Islands and the Korean Peninsula so that the push and pull factors did not independently happen but were interconnected. Under the interconnected factors influenced by international dimension of imperialism, Korean migrant laborers made a valiant decision to leave the family- and place-bound Confucian society for a strange land. Along with such structural forces, the significance of individual level decision-making process in the international migration is also to be highlighted.

In Chapter Four, the characteristics of the Korean community are investigated with the particular focus on how
those characteristics facilitated or impeded the retention of their ethnicity in the course of adaptation to a new social environment. With the progress of time, the Korean community went through the fading-away of what is called "sojourner"\(^8\) spirit as their American-born descendants of second-generation grew up, but more fundamentally as Japan completed the colonization of their fatherland in 1910 where they had been supposed to return. So, it is important to explain why and how the community members transformed their identity from Koreans to Korean-Americans in relation to the changed social environment encompassing the Korean community in Hawai'i and Honolulu.

These two aforementioned chapters draw upon pre-existing studies, archival data like the ethnic church records, the ethnic newspapers, and city directories of Honolulu. Although almost all Korean first-generation

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\(^8\) According to the explanation by Paul Siu (1952:34), the so-called "sojourners" adhered closely to the culture of their origin and hoped to come back home loaded with great fortune. They were primarily concerned with economic success in the country of their sojourning, little caring for social status there. For more details, see Paul Siu, The Sojourners, American Journal of Sociology, 58 (1952), pp. 34-44; C. E. Glick, Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Immigrants in Hawaii, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980). It is reported that the Hawai'ian plantation immigrant laborers from East Asia continued to cling to this spirit of "sojourners" in American soil, and for this reason, they used to be attacked later by the mainstream society.
immigrants have already passed away, a small number of publications dealing with their life histories are available to assist in developing the general presentation of their immigration, living and working conditions, and identity transformation. That is, the historical change of the community characteristics and the re-invention process of ethnicity are reinterpreted on the basis of the existing researches and the secondary materials of interview and other ethnic data.

Chapter Four pertains to the examination of social stratification of occupational structure and the reconstruction of all spatially-based ethnic communities, including the Korean community, in the early twentieth-century Honolulu. The primary goal of this chapter is to demonstrate that unequal social structure and residential segregation were interwoven in 1920 Honolulu as much as in the contemporary mainland cities. Although the numerical quantities of population in Honolulu were balanced between several ethnic groups and thus there has been no ethnic division of "majority" and "minority" in numerical sense, power relationships among the ethnic groups were unequal. In this perspective, the power-holding Haole group, although never numerically predominant, applied the scheme of mainland-style racialization or ethnicization to the
ethnic social stratification in Honolulu, and the results were spatially expressed through residential segregation. In this chapter, the social geography of residential segregation in 1920 is reconstructed by making choropleth maps of ethnic population distribution. Index of segregation for each ethnic group is measured to estimate the extent of social segregation and location quotient is also calculated to reveal the spatial segregation of each ethnic group. These calculations are carried out based on a ten per cent sample of persons gainfully occupied which was collected from the manuscript schedules of 1920 Honolulu population census.

The last chapter of the main part in this study deals with the socio-spatial dynamics of the Korean community in particular. More detailed patterns and process of their occupations and residential distribution in 1910 and 1920 are scrutinized, and the process of ethnic negotiation emerging in neighborhoods is outlined. This objective is closely related with the eventual goal of this research which is to show that the time-honored dichotomized identities in Honolulu, "Local" versus "Haole," were formulated on the basis of the place-specific ethnic social

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9 For more detailed explanation of both statistical techniques, see Chapter V in this dissertation, pp. 152-4.
relations, and that the Korean community also actively participated in the evolution of the "Local" identity,\textsuperscript{10} the Hawai'ian version of multiculturalism. To meet the purpose of this chapter, all Korean people recorded in the manuscript schedule of population census in 1910 and 1920 were analyzed one by one with special attention to their occupations and residential addresses. Based on the reconstruction of the place-specific ethnic communities, this chapter attempts to find out the spatial origin of so-called "Local" identity and how the Korean community people participated in the process of developing their identity within the locality.

\textsuperscript{10} This term has been widely used in Hawai'i to represent the common identity of the people who are of Hawai'i. That is, the term is applied to the island-born members of ethnic groups so as to tell apart new immigrants. But its meaning is usually extended to bring together the non-Haole ethnic members born in Hawai'i in opposition to all Haoles irrespective of immigrant or Hawai'i-born Haoles. The notion of "Local" have been forged in the process of binding individuals of differing ethnicity into a greater social and cultural complex in which commonalities are emphasized and differences are disregarded. See J. Y. Okamura, Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Hawaii, in D. Y. H. Wu, (ed.) Ethnicity and Interpersonal Interaction: A Cross Cultural Study, (Singapore, 1982), pp. 231-3; J. Kirkpatrick, Ethnic Antagonism and Innovation in Hawaii, in J. Boucher, et. al. (eds.) Ethnic Conflict: International Perspectives, (London: Sage Publications, 1987), pp. 303-8.
CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHY OF IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY:
LITERATURE REVIEW

1. International Migration and Colonialism

Migration is broadly defined as the physical movement of an individual or group of people from one place to another (Johnston, et. al. 1994:380). The geographical movement of human beings is of great consequence in that it affects the population growth and structure which subsequently give rise to socio-cultural and economic changes in both the origin and destination areas. Migration acts as an agent of change of social relations in the place of destination, and thus migrants themselves are required to adjust to the new social structure (Hanson and Simsons 1968; Lewis 1982:23).

The most general scheme of spatial movement of population divides the influential forces into push and pull factors (E. S. Lee 1966). The push factors are negative factors that force migrants to leave their place of origin, while the pull factors are positive factors that draw them to a new destination in the expectation of improving their living conditions. Generally speaking, migration occurs when the combined forces of the two factors become stronger.
than the potential migrant's desire to stay at home. In addition to the factors, two other aspects are crucial to understanding the procedure of the migrant's decision-making: intervening obstacles and personal factors (E. S. Lee 1966; Woods 1982:134-42). Examples of intervening obstacles are high cost of transportation for long distance movement, increased psychic cost caused by unfamiliar custom, languages, and the lack of family and community ties in the new location, and legal restrictions such as immigration or immigrant labor laws (B. J. L. Berry, et. al. 1987:56-7). Ultimately, however, these various factors mentioned above are governed by personal factors which affect individual thresholds and facilitate or retard migration (E. S. Lee 1966:51).

Although a wide variety of cultural and political reasons encourages people to change their residence, economic motivation offers the most clear framework to explain the decision-making process of the potential migrants. From the level of individual migrants, migration is conceptualized as a cost-benefit decision in response to push and pull factors created at the origin and the destination points (Schultz 1962; Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969). That is, the potential migrant decides whether to migrate by comparing the expected costs of movement and
returns of earning. It is a kind of investment activity which requires a cost to be incurred and a return to be produced (Okun and Richardson 1961). This approach is criticized, however, because people cannot always make rational decisions based on precise information. The availability of jobs or labor demand may be more important than the amount of wages (Douglas Massey 1990).

In line with the cost-benefit explanation, the migration process can be described as an equilibrating mechanism of inequality between origin and destination. Interregional population movement is caused and promoted by the unequal development of capitalism in which developed areas demand low wage labors and underdeveloped area has the surplus potential labors. Based on the concept of dual economy of subsistence, an agricultural sector with underemployment and an industrial sector with full or near full employment, this model argues that migration occurs as people flow from the labor surplus to the labor deficit areas (Fei and Ranis 1961). The movement of migrants to the area of labor demand and the counterflow of their remittances and savings back to their home are expected to gradually bring about a spatial economic equilibrium. Also while the increased supply of workers to the high-wage destination mitigates pressure on wages there, the decrease
of workers in the low-wage origin gives rise to the increase of wage there. The process is thought to be socially beneficial since human resources are spatially redistributed according to the alignment of capitalistic spatial structure, and hence income will be balanced and inequality alleviated (Greenwood 1981). This positive expectations, however, is criticized by Todaro (1985:247-75) because migration might negatively affect both the sending and receiving societies. On the side of the sending society, the drainage of skilled workers by selective emigration can exacerbate the underdevelopment of the society. The damage by selective emigration may consolidate the unequal structure of capitalism. On the side of the receiving society, a rapid increase of population by the continuous supply of the displaced labor from underdeveloped societies may result in the increase of urban surplus labor or severe ethnic conflict.

In a broad sense, however, this framework of migration process stimulated by economic inequality between regions can be applied at the global level and to international migration. That is, push and pull factors, according to structural-historical approaches, do not incidentally happen in the separated places of origin and destination but are rather mutually interconnected under the world
system order (Cheng and Bonacich 1984). From Wallerstein's (1979) historical social science perspective, the last several centuries have witnessed an evolution of capitalist world economy as a single entity. Along with economic growth of mercantilism, many regions of subsistence economy have been colonized by European nation states, and in the meantime, the underdeveloped or peripheral areas have been so devastated as to uproot people from traditional economic pursuits.

The expansion of imperialistic colonialism encompassed the whole world by about 1900, geographically delineating the world into core and periphery zones. Capital was persistently concentrated in the core zones in its highest forms such as banking, the professions, mercantile activity, and skilled manufacturing, whereas surplus potential laborers continued to be created in the periphery zones by the breakdown of subsistence economy and the rapid increase of absolute population. The capital in the core was sometimes channeled into the periphery which was exploited by extensive cultivation of agricultural products controlled by colonial capitalists. In this process, some of the periphery areas became changed to semi-periphery ones to which capital became to some degree accumulated. Large amount of cheap, reliable labor forces was definitely
needed and introduced in the capital-invested periphery from other peripheries in the forms of slavery, serfdom, indentured labor, and debt peonage (Hugill 1988; Hugill and Everitt 1992; Taylor 1988). The colonial capitalists' operation of the plantation system was profoundly responsible for the recomposition of colonial population and ethnic cultural pluralism, especially in the Americas.

In the context of incorporation of world economy, the territorial expansion of colonialism had created large frontiers which functioned as marginalized peripheries within a national economy. In the case of the United States, so-called "internal colonies" were created within the economic frontier of American capitalism in the course of territorial expansion (Chan 1978). The internal colonies became the arena of competition for exploitation of resources through capital investment from the core. And poor immigrant laborers from the peripheries of the world economy, where imperialistic exploitation was in progress, were imported to fulfill labor shortage in the internal colonies. These immigrant laborers are generally called "migrant labors" because they temporarily search for better wages and more secure employment (Miles 1982). While some of them returned to their home countries after staying for a while in the destination region as "sojourners" (Glick 1980;
Siu 1952), many of them made their permanent residence in the destination region and consequently formed ethnic groups.

Asian immigrant laborers in the United States before World War II have been typically identified as sojourners who came here only to earn money with no intention to settle down (Gunther Barth 1964). However, quoting the higher ratio of return migration to home countries by European migrant laborers than by Asian migrant laborers, a renowned historian on Asian American immigration, Sucheng Chan (1990:38) maintains that the conceptualization of Asian immigrants as sojourners is a testimony to the unfortunate tendency of scholars and others to justify excluding Asians from immigrating altogether and from participating in American social political life. That is, Asian immigrants have been depicted as "sojourners" and clearly differentiated from Europeans as "immigrants" so they may be mostly excluded from the realm of immigration history. Nevertheless, the Asian "sojourners" managed to enter a new cultural context as "settlers," even in the face of overt racism and economic hardship. Whether they drifted into new place under the structural condition of international capitalism (Cheng and Bonacich 1984; Daniels 1990) or were continuously victimized by the hostile institutional
structure of racial antagonism (Spencer 1966; Daniels 1966; Kirkpatrick 1987), they must have perceived the new place of the so-called "internal colonies" as their new core to survive in. From the perspective of Asian immigrants themselves, the "internal colonies" were also frontiers where their goal of a better life could be achieved, irrespective of its peripheral location.

In addition to the economic determinants of migration, the migrant social network organized between the origin and destination is the bases for the social foundation of migration. This network is constituted by the sets of interpersonal ties through kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (MacDonald and Leatrice 1974). It is important to the potential migrants because it lowers the cost of movement and reduces the risk of uncertainty, and consequently giving rise to subsequent migration. In other words, the network plays the role of reducing the migration barriers such as physical and psychic distance, inaccessibility of information, etc. (Massey and Espana 1987; Douglas Massey 1990:68-70). Focusing on this process, Myrdal (1957) described it as "the circular and cumulative causation of migration" (quoted in Douglas Massey 1990:69). What is called "chain migration" is accelerated. The ethnic enclave, which is formed and maintained by the chain
migration, has been an important theme in immigration and ethnic studies.

2. Concepts of Ethnicity and Culture of Racism

Ethnicity can be broadly defined as "a kind of culture with which a number of people perceive themselves to be in some way united because of their sharing either a common background, present or future position, or a combination of these" (Cashmore and Troyna 1990:2). Deriving from the Greek "ethnos" which means heathen nations or peoples not converted to Christianity, "ethnic" currently refers to a group of people who share a common experience and origin (Li 1990:4). Hence, it is a matter of course that all humans belong to an ethnic group or another. But more significant in the study of ethnic relations is the conceptualization of "minority" group (Yetman and Steele 1975). Minority group status does not necessarily have to do with the population distribution among various ethnic groups, but it has more fundamentally to do with unequal power distribution between ethnic groups. The unequal inter-ethnic power relations have been strongly associated with the racist's belief in some ethnic members' belonging to inferior groups with undesirable cultural attributes. Institutionalization of the racist culture up to the mid-twentieth century allowed some groups to exploit and discriminate others designated
as minority, irrespective of numerical amount of population. Hawai'i's dichotomy of majority/minority is a good example of this type of ethnic relations (Kirkpatrick 1987).

As a process of self-conscious definition to tell a group apart from others, ethnicity tends to be intensified when people migrate to new place where they have to be relegated into minority status and subordinated to unequal treatment and discrimination. Racialization and ethnicization of new immigrants by the host society often prompts the consciousness of ethnic affiliation inside a group to be re-generated and solidified. Ethnicity is produced and evolved by the dialectic conjunction of the internal process of self-identification based on shared cultural heritage and historical experiences, and the external forces of categorization by racism or ethnocentrism. That is, ethnic groups identify their nature and boundary by themselves, and at the same time their identities are categorized by the outsiders. Regarding ethnicity formulated by the external process of social categorization (Jenkins 1994), more attention should be paid to the power and authority relations in the process. The external force, racism, refers to the assumption that social differences of people directly derived from
biologically given differentiation by discrete races and thus their cultures are inherently different (Jackson 1987a, 1987b).

The racist thought probably has its origin in the notion of a polygenist theory before the nineteenth century. Following this notion, humans were descended from different origins, and physically and culturally fixed and unchanging (Langness 1990:8). Thus, it was possible to assume that the physical and cultural capacity of human beings would be fundamentally different by races or ethnic groups. In addition to the polygenesis notion, nineteenth-century evolutionism was likely to contribute in part to the rationalization of the racist thought. This unilinear evolutionism stands on the belief in the monogenesis wherein mankind was regarded as homogeneous in nature and thus its culture could be changeable or perfectible (Applebaum 1987:6-36). Although rooted in the assumption of the intellectual equality or "the psychic unity of mankind" (Langness 1990:31), the unilinear evolutionism insisted that each race or ethnic group was in different stages of cultural evolution which was culminated by Occidental civilization. By putting the European culture on the top of the evolution sequence, it may have provided an academic legitimacy for scientific racism supported by
social Darwinism and eugenic notions of white racial fitness\(^\text{11}\) (Rich 1987:97).

Furthermore, this discourse of white superiority was likely incorporated into "assimilationism," which assumes that all ethnic minorities are supposed to be incorporated into the mainstream culture symbolized as the Anglo-Saxon/Christian/middle class American culture. As a matter of fact, however, non-white groups from non-European regions were not granted the privilege to enter the assimilation process, because they were classified as "unassimilable." Firmly grounded in ethnocentrism, the norm of assimilation into such Anglo-Saxonism acknowledged and encouraged the group of non-Anglo-Saxon Europeans to become Americanized as quickly as possible, whereas non-White immigrants, particularly Asian immigrants, were completely blocked from being Americanized and remained long time as "aliens ineligible for citizenship" until 1940s.\(^\text{12}\) They

\(^{11}\) For the restrictionists' anxiety about the damaging effects of continuous incompatible immigrants on the cultural unity of the United States and the established American heritage, and their accommodation of the science of eugenics and Neo-Lamarckian ideas to appeal to the public for the restriction of the unselective immigration, see David Ward, Poverty, Ethnicity, and the American City, 1840-1925: Changing Conceptions of the Slum and the Ghetto, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 142-7.

\(^{12}\) The Chinese Exclusion Act, the only legal discrimination that the naturalization of immigrants had (continued...)
were treated as being too different or too inferior to adapt to so-called American culture. Those who were classified as "unassimilable" were exploited and unequally treated under the justification of racism, which was, according to the structuralist argument, initially developed and propagated by capitalist employers (Satzewich 1990).

In sum, race or ethnicity should not be simply viewed as a given and immutable category. Instead, it should be seen as a product of racism originating in the Eurocentric world-view which was socially constructed and manifested in the progress of global expansion of imperialism (Okihiro 1994; Jackson 1987a, 1989). In this context, racialization or ethnicization is the more appropriate word in explaining ethnic relations and power relations of domination and subordination in the United States around the turning period to this century.

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12{...continued}
been prohibited based on racial background, was repealed in 1943. Along with the revocation, all other Asian immigrants also came to be eligible for citizenship. For more details, see Sharon M. Lee, Asian Immigration and American Race-Relations: from Exclusion to Acceptance? Ethnic and Racial Studies, 12(1989), pp. 368-90; Hyung-chan Kim, A Legal History of Asian Americans, 1790-1990, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994).
3. Ethnicity Fading-away: Assimilationism

In association with an immigrant group's transformation of its status into a permanent resident group and its establishment of an identification in a new land, the process of adaptation to the changing social environment has been one of the most important subjects in the study of urban ethnic relations. The wide variety of adaptive strategies among ethnic groups have enabled various kinds of symbolic metaphors to be presented: "melting-pot," "mosaic," "salad bowl," "rainbow," "symphony," and "kaleidoscope"(Fuchs 1990:276). None of them by themselves, however, are likely to speak squarely to the complexity of ethnic dynamics in the United States. These various metaphors can be accommodated into two principal theories of ethnic relations which seem competing but also complementary: assimilationism and ethnic pluralism.

Heavily influenced by the concepts of nineteenth-century evolutionism and the view of the French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, of society as an ordered system, assimilationism holds that ethnic groups in the United States are supposed to evolve toward assimilation into modern society, and consequently through the process, ethnicity is destined to vanish(Park 1950; Gordon 1964).
That is, the underlying assumption is that a migrating group tends to orderly accommodate to the culture of the host group, and meanwhile its ethnic identity is weakened more and more. Therefore, it can be defined as a homogenizing process of boundary reduction in a multi-ethnic society whereby "the biological, cultural, social, and psychological fusion of distinct groups creates a new ethnically undifferentiated society" (Barth and Noel 1972:336).

Robert Park (1950), who initiated the classical assimilation theory and the entailing Chicago school of urban ecology, maintains that a society will be increasingly unified in the process of a progressive and irreversible assimilation sequence. The sequence, called "race relations cycle," takes the form of "contacts" with other peoples, "competition" with them for jobs, "accommodation" to one another, and ultimate "assimilation." In his view, modern society, characterized by multi-ethnic cities, inexorably attracts tradition-oriented people and converts them from their custom-bond ways of life into civic-minded citizens of a new Occidental socio-economic order. The order, in turn, makes them change from a collective, family-based culture to an individualistic one in which human relations are shaped by
the struggle for scarce resources in a modern society (Lyman 1994:43-4). In Park's view, ethnicity is simply a traditional form of identification that was formed in a pre-urban setting. Therefore, as individuals who were once confined to what is called a "gemeinschaft" community become members of the urban "gesellschaft" society, they begin to contact with persons of different culture and thus the traditional distinctive ethnicity must be eventually lost in the course of assimilation.

The aim of assimilation should be to transform the immigrants to become an integral part of the Americanized community. Americanization was believed by some to be achieved by a "melting-pot" process in which all groups' cultures including the dominant host group are amalgamated into a new one. In reality, however, immigrant minority groups had little influence on the making of so-called Americanized culture. Although Frederick Jackson Turner, one of the early adherents of melting-pot philosophy, declared that "in the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated and fused into a mixed race" (as quoted in Postiglione 1983:17), some selected groups were totally excluded from taking part in the Americanization movement in the frontier as well as the other urban settings. The melting-pot theory has been more
a romantic vision than a reality throughout the history of the United States (Raitz 1979:83).

Besides the melting-pot theory, the "Anglo-conformity model," connected with the contemporary racism substantiated on the basis of nineteenth-century evolutionism, became prevalent throughout the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The idea stemmed from the evolutionary belief that the Aryan and Nordic races of Northwestern Europe were the most highly evolved superior ones, and consequently their culture, having been partially modified on the American soil, might well be a norm for other inferior groups to seek. It was commonly believed that the superior culture justifiably prevailed over the others. At the same time, the inferior cultural groups' continuous inflow posed a serious threat to the structure of American society (Postiglione 1983:14-6; Ward 1987:142-7). For the immigrants, to survive in the new land meant nothing less than to discard their heritage and to take on the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture. According to the view of the assimilationist, Milton Gordon, the hegemonic White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) middle class culture formed the reference culture against which immigrants were expected to measure their progress (Gordon 1964).
In this paradigm of assimilation, individual attainment through "human capital," such as motivations, values, relevant job skill, and language, is stressed because those are regarded as prerequisite for the progress to the melting-pot or Anglo-conformity culture, which is blind to ethnic diversity. That is, the individual cultivation of "human capital" facilitates the socio-economic attainment and also leads to the progressive weakening and ultimate disappearance of the primordial bond of ethnicity (Morawska 1990:189).

As stated above, the classic assimilation theory toward melting-pot or Anglo-conformity culture is too simplistic to be capable of accounting for the more complicated processes of the immigrants' and their descendants' adaptation. First of all, the process of assimilation and Americanization had been an explanatory framework only for white European immigrants (Glazer 1993; Ward 1989; Raitz 1979). As far as assimilation is concerned, although the degree of the particular contributions to the construction of the so-called Americanized culture is different even among the various European ethnic groups, the non-white immigrant groups of Blacks, Hispanics and Asians, or American Indians, however, were not granted a clear place in the Americanization
process at least until the mid-twentieth century (Glazer 1993; Sharon Lee 1989).

Second, the one-way and irreversible process of assimilation sequence should be reconsidered. Whereas some groups follow the exact route of the assimilation process and thus become like the dominant groups, others often jump stages, are retarded, or proceed in the opposite direction. The explanation to why the rapidity of assimilation is different by ethnic groups and why certain groups have been structurally excluded from the normal passage of assimilation has been ignored by the assimilationists. In the real world, ethnicity, which is anticipated by the proponents of assimilationism to disappear with the passage of time, still persists even from generation to generation in many cases. Hence, assimilation does not necessarily make ethnic people abandon their ethnic identity or affiliation (Fugita and O'brien 1991; Alba 1976; Glazer and Moynihan 1963). Even though some individuals are socially assimilated into the mainstream, more often than not, they still keep considerable residues of ethnic culture by continuously participating in the ethnic associations and social networks (Fugita and O'brien 1991).
4. Ethnicity Resilient: Primordialism and Structuralism

As a society constituted by immigrants, the United States has long embraced assimilationism as the unofficial national doctrine, but ethnic cultural diversity continues to stand out partly due to on-going influx of immigrants. In many cases, some groups have been highly resistant to Americanization and thus ethnic identity has persisted over even the third or fourth generation. Despite the creed of assimilation, it is recognized that American society is obviously composed of many ethnic sub-societies, and to the ethnic minority members, their own distinct subculture itself has constantly played as a strategic resource in adapting to a new world full of competition. In other words, the newly-coming minorities tend to start a new life on the basis provided by their own ethnic community which helps them to prepare for competency in the wider mainstream society. In this context, many minorities seek to maintain their cultural identity, and at the same time they try to participate in the various mainstream institutions. Especially, urban centers have been the magnetic field which attracts a large variety of differentiated people and unified them in some cases or separates them in other cases. Why and how have some ethnic groups' identities been quite tenacious or evolving into
new forms rather than fading away over time? It is necessary to investigate the structural factors that cause ethnic identity to be newly generated or resurgent.

The most simple but hardly verifiable approach to explain the retention of ethnicity is the primordialists' view that ethnic groups are intuitively bounded by shared ancestry and culture. Members are enabled to have a perception of community, and thereby satisfy the human essential need for "belonging" (Geertz 1963). According to anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1963:109), ethnicity is defined for some ethnic groups as a primordial attachment that is an ineffable "givens" stemming from being born in to a particular social patterns. He also contends that the general strength and the types of such primordial bonds differ from person to person, from society to society, and from time to time, but the attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural affinity than from social interaction. In his definition, ethnicity is the conception people ascribed as naturally or biologically defined rather than socially defined. That is, in a given people's view, primordial attachments are a kind of superorganic or given entity outside of individuals, and an entity created prior to their interactions (Eller and Coughlan 1993). Sometimes the ethnicity of primordial bond often remains so
"unmelttable" as to strongly affect several subsequent generations (Novak 1972). Nevertheless, the primordialist's framework, which takes it for granted that once established, ethnicity is made fixed as a permanent feature of any society, would not be able to explain that attributes of ethnicity often may be prescribed and changed by dint of social decisions. Externally-located processes of social categorization based on power and authority relations (Jenkins 1994) as well as internal process of group identification originating in the primordial bond must simultaneously work on the production or re-emergence of ethnic identity.

The other approach to explain ethnicity resilience is that ethnic ties are sustained and reproduced by rational interests (Olzak 1986; Bonacich and Model 1980; Yancey, et al. 1976; Glazer and Moynihan 1963). In other words, ethnic groups are conceived as interest groups, and to them ethnicity functions as an instrumental or situational means for mobilizing power. It contrasts sharply to primordialism wherein ethnicity is regarded as an end in itself or making its own dynamic. When socio-economic competition for resources becomes intense in the immigrants' destination, the ethnic groups attempt to organize and consolidate their ethnic identity in order to cope with the outer competitive
environment. The collective action is not only taken by the host group toward the new minority groups to secure the scarce resources, but also the subordinate ethnic group actively mobilize its people to effectively adjust to the harsh environment of unequal power distribution and the ensuing structural discrimination.

A typical explanatory framework for this confrontational ethnic relationship is "split labor market theory" (Bonacich 1972; Peck 1989; Schreuder 1990). This theory asserts that the occupations of modern society are divided into primary and secondary labor market sectors, and the ethnic characteristics of workers function as major determining influences in their admission to each sector. More specifically, power-holding majority groups take the most desirable occupations, whereas powerless immigrant minorities are confined into less prestigious and low-paid secondary labor market jobs. But what determines the characteristics of workers? Are those characteristics intrinsically given or socially prescribed? Regarding the underlying reason of labor market separatedness, sociologist Edna Bonacich (1972) vigorously argues that over the last century the white majority working class have turned to prejudice and discrimination to protect their own privileges because they feared the possibility of job
displacement and wage lowering by the immigrant laborers the capitalists introduced to maximize profits by curtailing labor costs. Accordingly, their efforts to restrict the access of minority laborers to high class jobs resulted in the so-called "split labor market."

The split labor market is in many cases sub-divided into smaller segmentations along ethnic lines (Schreuder 1990) effected by information flow in ethnic social network and the consequent chain migration. The ethnicization by the multiple dimensions of ethnic segmentation apparently reduces contacts between ethnic groups and brings about an intensification of ethnic organizations inside an ethnic group. Mutual inter-ethnic rejection results in in-group solidarity which provides members of the immigrant group with moral support and sometimes economic and political power (Yancey, et. al. 1976; Steinberg 1981). According to Michael Hechter (1974), when immigrant newcomers are forced into the peripheral minority under unequal treatment which blocks them from entering into the assimilation process, an "internal colonialism" is created by social or spatial segregation, and then, the newcomers tend to maximize ethnic self-consciousness and identity consolidation. In short, ethnicity is situationally recreated through the mobilization process. Moreover, based on the same context
of instrumental ethnicity, it is proposed that ethnicity is often used as a commodified resource in itself to be incorporated into the mainstream economy (D. O. Lee 1990), or considered as a political resource to resist to the oppression imposed by the dominant group (Breton 1990; Hechter 1982).

From this perspective, ethnicity is an emergent phenomenon, not a given fact of social life beyond the realm of human agency. It is seen as an explicit response to a specific social context rather than as an inherent characteristic of any social grouping. The character and strength of ethnicity vary place by place because specific historical conditions or contingencies impinge on how it emerges, and grows (Yancey, et. al. 1976). That is, ethnic identity is constantly remolded through intra- and inter-ethnic relationships dominated by the structural conditions of the host society. Ethnic groups in modern settings continue to recreate themselves, and thus ethnicity is continuously being reinvented in response to changing realities both within the group and the host society\(^\text{13}\) (Conzen, et. al. 1992). Therefore, ethnicity

\(^{13}\) The re-creation process of identity takes place irrespective of majority or minority groups. A noticeable research on the ethnicity mobilization by power-holding groups was done by sociologist, Richard Alba. See Richard (continued...
should be understood and examined in the process of contextuality in a place as a historically contingent phenomenon. In the invention of ethnicity, however, human beings are not likely to be passive recipients merely affected by the constraints of particular historical contexts, but rather active agents making or selecting among various strategies for adaptation.

The on-going supply of foreign immigrants and the retention or even strengthening of ethnic identity among ethnic groups have made the United States a society of ethnic pluralism. Presently multiculturalism has become the preferred term for such a condition. The term multiculturalism may have first gained acceptance after the Canadian government proclaimed it as an official policy in 1971, and in the United States the term has enjoyed widespread usage since the late 1980's. For example, a multicultural curriculum was first proposed for the New York schools in 1990 (Gleason 1992:48). In the Canadian

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13 (...continued)
Alba, Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). In this book, he argues that various European ethnic groups are being currently blended into one large white ethnic group through the making of new integrated identity. In addition to the processes of acculturation and intermarriage, he maintains, self-defining processes of ethnicization are responsible for the invention of an acquired sense of belonging which is greatly influenced by confrontation with the non-white immigrant group.
policy, all groups are encouraged to maintain their distinctive cultural heritages and all group members are recognized as having equal rights (Kobayashi 1993). In reality, however, multiculturalism remains an ideal. That is, two forms of multiculturalism could be differentiated based on how power is distributed: equalitarian pluralism and inequalitarian pluralism (Marger 1991:130-42). In the society of equalitarian pluralism, ethnic groups are allowed to retain their cultural distinctiveness and equally participate in a common political and economic system. In a society of inequalitarian pluralism, ethnic groups have unequal political and economic power distributed, and are socially or spatially segregated. The question of the maintenance or celebration of distinctive ethnic cultural heritages become secondary. Presumably, equalitarian ethnic multiculturalism on the way toward Americanization has become the societal objective of the United States.

5. Ethnicity and Ethnic Neighborhood

New immigrants in the opening decades of this century, regardless of being from South and East Europe or from Asia, had generally settled down in the neighborhoods of their own as soon as arriving. The production and the continued existence of such ethnic residential segregation
were partly due to their voluntary desire to keep their cultural orientations, partly to the authority of the host population possessing power, but mostly due to the interplay of both factors. In more recent cases of the post-1965 huge influx of immigration, similar situations have occurred. It is apparent that the ethnic neighborhood, no matter what causal factors have influenced on its formation, has functioned as a social structure which encourages the constituents to foster a sense of attachment to the ethnicity and the place.

"Neighborhood" can be defined as a district within an urban area wherein an identifiable subculture is built up to which the majority of its residents conform and thus set them apart from the rest of the city (Johnston, et. al. 1994:409-10). Apart from its boundedness by a sense of place, neighborhood is almost the same as the concept of "community," which is based on the residents' common ties and social interaction in a shared subculture which fulfil some common purpose or share some common interest between members (Davies and Herbert 1993:3-7). The concept of community does not necessarily require spatial clustering of members because the more essential things to bind the people together are thought to be the shared attitudes and behaviors, in other words "community without
propinquity" (Godfrey 1988:25). But the "placelessness" of community, as geographer Brian Godfrey mentions (1988:24-6), should not be overemphasized. In many cases, social ethnic groups constitute their identity on the basis of locality and spatial patterns and furthermore reciprocally affect social practices. Therefore, the significance of neighborhood or community of place should be recognized in the study of ethnic relations.

From the perspective of assimilationism, ethnic neighborhood is merely regarded as a spatial reflection of social differentiation, which tends to temporarily exist and eventually disappear under the goal of assimilation (Duncan and Duncan 1955; Duncan and Lieberson 1959; Taeuber and Taeuber 1965; Douglas Massey 1985; Massey and Denton 1987). This assimilationistic view on ethnic spatial segregation concludes that although the poor immigrants first gather in their ethnic neighborhood to take advantage of the social ethnic network facilitating cheap housing, nearby work places, and psychic comfort, the degree of residential segregation, as time goes by, would constantly decrease with the progressive residential mobility out of the segregated neighborhood accompanied by the members' improvement in their socio-economic position. That is, socio-economic attainment is one of the most
important dimensions of immigrant assimilation, and in the process of assimilation into a society that would be blind to ethnicity, the transitory ethnic spatial segregation would become progressively weakened and disappeared (Lieberson 1963). Accordingly, residential segregation shows the degree to which immigrant groups are integrated with the mainstream society. This view of ethnic neighborhood as the reflection of social difference seems to have its root in Robert Park’s (1924) contention that social distance could be transformed into spatial distance. He defined social distance as a degree of intimacy that a group of people are willing to establish with others, and further proposed that the higher the degree of social distance between two groups, the more physically separated are the two groups. According to his argument, spatial segregation is simply the product of social relations between groups.

Although it is the general trend that spatial segregation diminishes with the ethnic minorities' cultivation of human capital and the resultant socio-economic upward movement, certain ethnic groups remain persistently stable, or change relatively slow, or even somewhat increase the extent of spatial segregation (Kalbach 1990; Massy and Denton 1987; Uyeki 1980; Jackson 1981;
That is, contrary to the explanation of assimilationism, ethnicity does not usually disappear, but in many cases, it becomes resilient with the progress of time (Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Hirschman 1983; Novak 1972). Presumably, it demonstrates that other factors beyond individual "human capital" exert significant influence on the lives of ethnic group members. The resilience of ethnicity seems caused by the interplay of various factors such as cultural properties and socio-economic status of ethnic group members, the role of historical events, and also the segregated place itself of the ethnic group.

As geographers Morgan (1984) and Harris (1984) indicate, however, spatial structure or segregated place also plays an influential role on reinforcing and evolving the social structure itself like the growth of community consciousness and class formation by lessening the possibility of interaction and the potential conflict with the other groups outside the neighborhood boundary. That is, ethnic spatial segregation contributes to the reproduction of ethnic groups by creating contexts for preservation of a particular way of life and bases for action in the wider society (Boal 1987:103-4). A neighborhood, created by social residential segregation, tends to interrupt the social
interaction between social groups. Furthermore, institutionally complete set of activities and services in an ethnic neighborhood, or what is called "institutional completeness" (Breton 1964; Roberts and Boldt 1979; Driedger and Church 1974), assists in the maintenance of the ethnic subculture through enhancing the primordial ties of shared attitudes and behaviors. Institutional completeness also assists in developing a sense of place with the encouragement of an ethnicity-evolving or ethnicity-redefining process. Institutional completeness also enables the members to take advantage of pragmatic interests through securing economic opportunities within the ethnic boundary. In this context, residential segregation area, bounded by spatial propinquity and structured by institutional completeness, is perceived as an identifiable unit by both inhabitants and outsiders, even if neighborhood identities, boundaries, and even designations may be variously perceived among people and over time (Godfrey 1988:24-6).

6. Ethnic Neighborhood: Segregation or Congregation

With regard to the causes of spatial segregation, long-standing debates have been made around the dichotomy: voluntary congregation by choice and forced segregation by discrimination (Brown 1981). Some groups like Jews have such
a high proclivity toward internal ethnic cohesiveness to preserve their distinctive cultural and religious heritage that their spatial segregation remains quite stable (Waterman and Kosmin 1986). Residential clustering could facilitate the development of self-help ethnic social network to support themselves and thus consolidate ethnic cultural identity.

In relation to voluntary ethnic neighborhood, ethnic social networks, which were extensively formed between families and friends within an ethnic community, play an essential role of offering jobs and housing to new-coming compatriots (Bodnar, et. al. 1982). The process of ethnic social networking gives rise to the proliferation and consolidation of voluntary ethnic institutions, which in return serve as the internal structural conditions for the development of socially and/or spatially segregated ethnic communities. Such institutions as immigrant churches, ethnic schools, ethnic newspapers, and various fraternal, mutual aid associations, help the residents anchor their neighborhoods, so that those institutions function as the central points for the socialization of the ethnic residents (Marston 1988). That is, those institutions enable them to acquire the knowledge which is used to negotiate the world outside the ethnic neighborhood and at the same
time provide them with shared values and life experiences which subsequently help them to obtain ethnic solidarity and political consciousness. As such, the place does not exist simply as a physical container for social activity, but it reciprocally contributes to the construction of social structure.

In many cases, however, the spatial segregation of an ethnic group is primarily attributed to discrimination by majority group. Non-white ethnic minority groups, particularly before World War II, were perceived as unassimilable to the mainstream culture and were prevented from competing equally in labor market of the mainstream economy. Public racialism and discriminatory policy by state or local government coercively confined ethnic minority group members to an isolated area or "ghetto" (Anderson 1991). Also the discriminatory economic environment of a split labor market partly accounts for the genesis and sustenance of spatial segregation as an ethnic economic enclave (Bonacich and Modell 1980; Portes and Manning 1986). According to this structural approach as mentioned earlier, ethnic group members who are inaccessible to the mainstream primary labor market gather into economic niches where the majority members are reluctant to occupy. This economic segregation, generally
before and partly after World War II, was closely associated with the spatial segregation. In case of Asian ethnic groups, small businesses of certain trades and services have moved into economic niches which have subsequently solidified the segmented labor market where family members or fellow ethnics have been mainly employed (Goldscheider and Kobrin 1980; Bonacich and Modell 1980; Light 1980; Bonacich 1975; Lyman 1974).

Although generated by external exclusionary forces, the ethnic neighborhood further contributes to the members' cultivation of human capital which is essential for adjusting to the new social environment. That is, the neighborhood enclave can function as a nest where the members are provided with social capital of their own, and as a springboard which helps them to jump to the outer mainstream society with the cultivated human capital, but without losing ethnic identity (Zhou 1992). As such, residential segregation is not always the case of economic hardship and blocked mobility. While valid only for selected immigrant groups, the ethnic neighborhood as economic enclave might provide economic opportunities for co-ethnic members, at least during initial settlement. It could play the roles as "place of work" as well as "place of residence" (Portes and Jensen 1987).
Based on the criteria of choice or constraint and permanence or impermanence, Boal (1978) separated three kinds of ethnic spatial segregation: "colony," "enclave," and "ghetto." Enclave and ghetto have longevity of existence in common, but are differentiated by the criteria of voluntary congregation and external constraints respectively. By contrast, colony refers to a temporary existing port-of-entry for an immigrant ethnic group, which provides the members with a base for cultural assimilation and spatial dispersion (Boal 1987:109). For the most part, however, ethnic spatial segregation is formulated and maintained by the reciprocal influences of external forces of discrimination and internal forces of voluntary ethnic cohesion. It is virtually impossible to separate clearly the aforementioned three kinds of spatial segregation because various factors are compounded in the origin and evolution of spatial segregation.
CHAPTER III

IMPERIALISM, HAWAI'I, AND KOREAN IMMIGRATION

At the daybreak waiting for the serene undertaking
Innumerable thoughts are flowing in my mind
Sentiment of taking care of ancestors thrown away
Conjugal affection left in the mid of dream
Peoples' scorn could not be avoided
Sad tears get my handkerchief soaked
Gain and loss are as a matter of course for a manly man
I will come back with the body of great fortune'4

(Hong Ki Lee 1905)

1. Factors of Korean Immigration

Initial Korean immigration to Hawai'i predominantly consisted of sugar plantation laborers and their families imported during the relatively short time period between 1903 and 1905 and the would-be "picture bride" women subsequently arriving during 1910 to 1924. The total number of the immigrants is roughly estimated to be a little more than seven thousands in former case and somewhat less than one thousand in the case of "picture brides."'5 It is of

'4 This poem written in Korean is quoted in Tongshik Ryu, Hawai'i ui Hanin kwa Kyohoe (A History of Christ United Methodist Church, 1903-1988), (Honolulu: Christ United Methodist Church, 1988), pp. 27-8. The translation into English was done by the author of this dissertation.

'5 Opinions are quite divided on the actual number of Korean immigrants during that period. For the summary of various opinions, see Y. H. Son, Early Korean Immigrants in America: A Socioeconomic and Demographic Analysis, Korea (continued...)

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great consequence that it marked the first emigration from Korea to the Occidental society officially authorized by the Korean government.

Seen from the situation of individual immigrants, it must have been a hard decision for them to immigrate to a foreign country, especially when it was physically so far from home, perhaps never to return. Moreover, to the people who had been rooted through successive generations in the secluded kingdom which clung to the traditional principles of the Confucian way of thought greatly emphasizing filial piety and ancestor worship, leaving home and deserting the graves of parents and ancestors must have been almost unimaginable. But it did happen by dint of complex factors.

Most of the studies on the initial Korean immigration deal with the causes of immigration through the customary explanation of migration: push and pull factors (Patterson 1988; Son 1988; Bong-youn Choy 1979; Warren Y. Kim 1971). First, the studies cite the push factors at the point of origin such as the consecutive wars between foreign powers on the Korean soil, the recent series of ecological disasters of severe drought and floods, and the resulting famines and widespread epidemics, all combining into socio-

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economic disruption. Second, the growing demand of labor force in Hawaiian plantations accompanied by the rapid growth of sugar industry in Hawai'i and the concomitant threat of numerically dominant Japanese workers' labor monopoly in plantations are suggested as pull factors. And the endeavors of several American diplomats and Protestant missionaries working in Korea to assist the plantation capitalists' intention to import cheap and docile Korean workers are emphasized. In addition, personal aspirations of the potential immigrants are described as supplementary reasons for the immigration. These include the desire of the immigrants for making quick fortunes, gaining a Western education for themselves or for their children, obtaining religious freedom of Christianity from the obstinate Confucian society, or implementing a nationalistic movement to resist imperial Japan's colonization of Korea.

These explanations are generally appropriate in pointing out the direct reasons for immigration, particularly in terms of individual decision-making. To be sure, the individual potential emigrants, who faced with the unfavorable push factors home, made the brave pioneering decision to emigrate to the distant Western country in the expectation that the earnings achieved in that country would be enough to satisfy their aspirations.
However feasible the push and pull factors are in outlining the individual level decision-making of the overseas migration, to make a simple list of socio-economic factors in origin and destination and of personal motivations have clear limitations in illuminating the background structure where the factors were unfolding.

During the period of imperialistic expansion in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the early stages of global capitalism were incorporating almost the whole world into single system in such a fierce manner that the Korean Peninsula and the Hawai'ian Islands were already under its influences. In this context, the push and pull factors, if considered from the global scale of the capitalistic world-system, did not independently happen but were interconnected. Therefore, rather than offering particularistic explanations for social change in each country and the personal goals of the potential immigrants, which probably show only a partial view of the causes, it is necessary to present a macro-scale analysis of the international dimension of imperialism and of American domestic capitalism in order to understand the very background from which the factors themselves originated.
2. Intrusion of Imperialism to Pre-sugar Hawai'i

European imperialism, which had entered into an overseas expansion since the "Age of Discovery" in the fifteenth century, eventually came to claim most of the world in the early twentieth century. The global territorial expansion by the imperial powers would have been impossible without the industrial revolution in Great Britain and later in other Western European countries which triggered the transformation of the economic system from feudalism to capitalism. The accumulation of wealth through commerce or trade became the first aim of the European nation-states, and resulted in keen competition between the states for the colonization of underdeveloped but resource-rich portions of the world. The colonized areas served not only as secured sources of raw materials for domestic use or international trade by European countries but also as exclusive markets for commodities manufactured by them, and sometimes as the places where surplus capital could be invested by the European adventurous capitalists. In the meantime, the areas of domination and subordination, the so-called "core" and "periphery," respectively, became more

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16 According to one estimate, in 1914, 84 per cent of the land surface of the world was covered with Europe and its possessions. See J. P. Dickenson, et. al., A Geography of the Third World, (London and New York: Mathuen, 1983), p. 28.
and more interdependent, but unevenly developed. In this context of an imposing capitalistic economy, the imperialistic framework of commerce based on market system disorganized the traditional economic structure in the colonized subordination areas, which previously had been embedded in self-production for subsistence and small-scale local trade.

The United States was at first colonized by Great Britain as a periphery to supply food and raw materials. The northeastern United States, especially port cities, functioned as the outposts under the direct control of the British military authority. Even after establishing a new politically independent nation, the United States was still under British economic hegemony. After the Civil War, however, the U.S. northern states, where capital had been accumulating, transformed its status from the periphery of the global colonial capitalism into the core of the newly created system of American national capitalism (Hugill 1988). Thereafter, it vigorously embarked on making the American South and West subject to an internal colonization. That is, the independent political power of the northern states detached the American South from the British periphery through the Civil War and transformed it into an internal periphery of its own. Furthermore, with
the continuous expansion of internal colonies to the American West under the banner of "Americanization" of the frontier, it drove the native Americans into reservations and eventually unified national capitalism over the whole continental United States.

It is worthy of notice that just as racist ideology, in the guise of "Americanization," intervened in the process of American internal colonization and in the subsequent matters of immigration and ethnic relations, so the Western imperialistic overseas expansion progressed with the support of an ethnocentric ideology of racism based on social Darwinism. That is, The Western imperialists thought of the penetration of their imperial power into the colonized areas as a kind of "Manifest Destiny" (Buck 1993:59) to enlighten the non-white inferiors. So the greedy territorial expansion to politically and economically conquer and control the peripheral areas was rationalized and often beautified in the name of "explorer" or "pioneer." This global or national expansion of Western colonial capitalism might have been impossible without a strong military and especially naval power. The advanced technology and science in Western society apparently nourished the military apparatus.
Upon the conclusion of national colonization, the United States began to take part in the competition for global-scale expansion of colonialism. Especially the Pacific islands and the centrally-located Hawaiian Islands enticed the U.S. imperialism, which wanted to make inroads into Asia. The Hawaiian Islands, due to their strategic location, had been already exposed to western imperial powers and Christian missionaries since 1778 when the British explorer, Captain Cook, arrived and named it the "Sandwich Islands" (Nordyke 1989:16). Soon after Captain Cook's arrival, the Islands became gradually incorporated into the periphery of the global system of imperial European expansion based on mercantilism and later capitalism.

Although the Hawaiian Islands had already functioned as a mercantile maritime center in the maintenance of the triangular trade of fur between the Pacific Northwest, China, and New England since the late eighteenth century (Beechert 1991:23-5), sandalwood was the first lucrative raw material that Western mercantilists extracted from the Hawaiian Islands and shipped to China. To effectively manage the exploitation and trade of Hawaiian sandalwood, the mercantile firms in the British colonial outposts of Boston and New York sent agents to Honolulu in
the early nineteenth century. When sandalwood forests were nearly exhausted in the 1830s, a whaling industry, also primarily led by American businessmen, became the second enterprise to attract Westerners' interest. Honolulu and the port cities in the Islands played a role as ports of call for whaling ships going to the Japanese whaling grounds and for trade ships to Asia. Meanwhile, on the basis of trading with sandalwood merchants and later with whalers, Hawai'i's economy was transformed from subsistence to mercantilism.

In the middle of political and economic struggle of Western powers to dominate the Hawai'ian Islands during the nineteenth century, the United States, although preoccupied with the development of internal national capitalism, gradually strengthened its imperial power over the Islands. Moreover, the ruling monarchs of the Islands, who were displeased with the military pressure and occasional plunders by the other imperial powers' (particularly British and French), trusted the American missionaries owing to their peaceful activities and furthermore granted them important roles in their governments such as cabinet ministers (Haas 1992:6). Under this amicable atmosphere, pioneer American capitalists could easily land in the Islands with the help of the American missionaries and
began to seek for profitable objects for investment following the collapse of the whaling industry in the Pacific.

3. American Imperialism and Sugar Industry in Hawai'i

Coincidentally, in the United States, there was a great demand for sugar, especially in the Western coast areas whose economy was rapidly flourishing because of the California gold rush and the subsequent development of local capitalism in the mid-nineteenth century. Hence, to the existing and forthcoming capitalists in Hawai'i, it was certainly the best decision to invest in the sugar industry. Moreover, due to the American Civil War, there were problems with the production and supply of sugar to the American markets from the American South, the only mainland supplier, and accordingly the expansion of the sugar industry in Hawai'i was spurred. In the capitalists' venture of making Hawai'i into the land of sugar plantations, the missionaries, who came predominantly from American New England, made a partial contribution. Their participation in the venture, either as direct investors or as tacit advocates, was partly because they needed to become economically self-supporting to cope with diminishing financial support from the mainland.
Along with the favorable social conditions both in the Islands and in the mainland, the Hawai'ian Islands also had favorable ecological conditions for sugarcane cultivation. The existence of large land tracts convertible to agricultural fields and of a warm climate were enough to facilitate mass production of the crop.

These excellent social and physical circumstances were further assured by the diplomatic agreement of the "Reciprocity Treaty" in 1876 and its renewal in 1886 between the U.S. Congress and the Hawai'ian legislature, which enabled the Hawai'ian-grown sugar to compete in American markets by removing tax barriers in trade. As a consequence, sugar became the mainstay of the Islanders' economy up to the middle of this century. It can be safely said that the modern history of Hawai'i has unfolded in close association with the sugar industry.

At first, the plantations scattered in the Islands were in sharp competition with each other, and whole sets of relating businesses operated independently. In the sugar boom period of the 1860s, however, planters created the agency system responsible for financial, purchasing, and marketing matters to bring more efficiency in management. Later, nearly all plantations were organized under five
sugar agencies, the so-called "Big Five." The "Big Five" nearly monopolized the sugar industry and thus soon became the dominant economic power in Hawai'i in the early twentieth century. Furthermore, the oligarchic "Big Five" continued to expand the economic hegemony over almost all businesses in the Hawaii'ian Islands such as the trans-Pacific and trans-Islands transportation system, various tourist enterprises, major utilities, financial institutions, the daily press, and even many other smaller businesses (Takaki 1983:20). Interestingly, it was the second-generation Haoles of American missionaries that constituted the inner elite within the oligarchy of the "Big Five" (Fuchs 1961: 22-3).

The only obstacle the colonial capitalists had to overcome for developing an oligarchic sugar industry was the shortage of labor. As the growing number of Westerners,

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called Haoles, came to the Islands with the booming trade business in the pre-sugar period, various epidemics were introduced and prevailed among the native Hawai'ian people in the first half of nineteenth century, and consequently the absolute number of native Hawai'ian population dwindled. To make matters worse, the gold rush in early nineteenth-century California instigated many native Hawai'ians to emigrate. According to Beechert (1991:56-7), the outmigration of the native Hawai'ian people, although the number was not large compared to the numbers going to California from all sources, significantly exacerbated the population constitution of Hawai'i where many natives were dying out because of the fatal foreign diseases. Also the native people's unfamiliarity with the Calvinist notion of work or unsympathetic attitude to capitalistic labor relations influenced the planters' dissatisfaction with the natives as plantation workers (Mejer 1987:183). The natives, who had been accustomed to a subsistence economy, did not comprehend why they had to work hard for regular hours for somebody else. Eventually, the planters turned their eyes overseas for would-be reliable workers under the agreement with the Hawai'ian King, who worried that the population of his subjects was rapidly declining (Geschwender 1981).
The first attempt made by planters was the importation of European laborers, but the results were disappointing due to the fact that the price to import the white laborers was too high and also the laborers immediately resented the harsh working condition in plantations and returned home, or embarked on businesses themselves instead of continuing as low-paid plantation workers.\(^1\) The planters then turned to Asia for cheap and docile labors, and found Chinese able to meet their demands. As is well known, China had already by the mid-nineteenth century been relegated to a semi-colony by the Western imperial powers, and the people, who were experiencing extreme social and economic deprivation in their home land, began to be imported and exploited as valuable labor forces in the other colonies of Hawaiian plantations.\(^1\) Around 50,000 Chinese, mainly as contract

\(^{19}\) Besides about 12,000 Portuguese imported between 1878 and 1887, The Spanish, the Scandinavians, the Germans, the Galicians, and the Russians were imported as plantation laborers during the turning period of this century. See L. H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, "Hawaii the Excellent": An Ethnic and Political History, (Honolulu: The Bess Press, 1961), pp. 52-6.

\(^{19}\) In 1881, the government of Ch'ing China officially prohibited its people from emigrating to Hawai'i in response to reports of mistreatment and exploitation of the Chinese plantation workers (Nordyke 1989:56). But the central government, seriously battered by consecutive attacks of the Western imperial powers, was almost losing the ruling authority over the whole territory. Especially, southeastern China surrounding Guangzhou, which had (continued...)
laborers, were imported in Hawai'i during the last half of the nineteenth century (Chan 1991a:27). But an anti-Chinese movement soon became prevalent, and the Chinese Exclusion Act was ratified in the mainland in 1882. This act was applied to the Hawai'ian Islands as soon as the Islands were officially annexed to the territory of the United States in 1898. Although the planters in Hawai'i were quite dissatisfied with the Act because Chinese were a good labor resource, they could not help but accept the mainland version of legally approved racism after the annexation.

Next, Japanese immigrants began to fill up the vacancy caused by the application of the legal exclusion of the Chinese to the Hawai'ian Islands. Moreover, the existing Chinese plantation laborers swiftly moved out to the Hawai'ian urban areas like Honolulu and Hilo or moved over to California in the later years of nineteenth century. In this condition, approximately 200,000 Japanese arrived on

19(...continued)

historically functioned as a window for Chinese interaction with the outside world and embracing many foreign enclaves then, was little affected by the central government of Ch'ing China. Most of Chinese emigrants in the nineteenth century came from the geographically concentrated area in southeastern China, and the same trend continued even after the governmental prohibition in 1881. For the details on social background of Chinese immigration, see Robert G. Lee, The Origins of Chinese Immigration to the United States, in Chinese Historical Society of America(ed.), The Life, Influence and the Role of the Chinese, (San Francisco, 1976), pp. 183-93.
Hawai'ian soil between 1885 to 1924 (see Table V-5), and already in 1902, just a year before Korean workers were introduced, Japanese workers made up 73.4 per cent of total plantation workers (Takaki 1983:28).

As the Japanese in Hawai'i were increasing in numbers, the consciousness of the alleged threat among White dominant people, the so-called "Yellow Peril," became intense. The situation became further intensified when the numerically overwhelming Japanese workers in plantations

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20 The racism of anti-Orientalism began as soon as the Chinese entered the American West in the mid-nineteenth century. Partly due to their tendency to keep their own cultures and the concurrent ignorance of Western customs, they were regarded as inscrutable dirty people unassimilable to American culture. Similar negative stereotypes were shifted to the later Asian immigrants, particularly Japanese immigrants. As time went by, the Asian people attempted to get out of the low class jobs for which they were introduced, so that they were resented as "potential competitors." The anti-Asian movement became more vehement and consolidated into the legal restrictions on their activities and further immigration. For more details, refer to J. tenBroek, et. al., Prejudice, War and the Constitution, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Y. H. Son, Korean Response to the "Yellow Peril" and Search for Racial Accommodation in the United States, Korea Journal, 59(1992), pp. 58-74; G. Y. Okihiro, Cane Fires: the Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), pp. 84-98. Furthermore, the rapid growth of Japanese imperialism at that time gave impetus to the existing consciousness of a Japanese threat. The military power of imperial Japan, which had been made to open to the Western world by the United States itself, became strong enough to startle the white dominants. Unfortunately, the surprise and suspicion were substantially cast upon the Japanese immigrants living in the United States territory.
tried to unionize their labor forces to get higher wages and better working conditions. This kind of cohesive power by the ethnic group triggered the public misunderstanding that they were loyal only to their mother country and intended in the long run to have the Islands dominated by Japan. From the perspective of Americanization, to be sure, it was a kind of crisis, and thus the Haole group considered the annexation of the Hawai'ian Islands to the United States as the only means to cope with the threat. For the planters themselves, who definitely depended on the imported Asian laborers for the management of industrial plantations, the best way to exterminate the threat by Japanese workers was to import more docile trouble-free, scab laborers. As far as these conditions concerned, Korean workers were certainly second to none because of the volatile phenomenon of ethnic hatred between two peoples, which was being intensified by Japanese inexorable attempts to colonize the Korean Peninsula at that time.

As mentioned earlier, approaching the consolidation of its political and economic control over the whole mainland, the U.S. government became more and more inclined to partake in the rampant competition of territorial expansion of Western imperialism especially in the Pacific Asia. Because of its late participation, however, there were not
many portions left for it to advance into except the scattered small Pacific islands and some of the Pacific rim areas. In order to advance into the Pacific and Asia and thus to obtain markets for American products and resources for trade, the prerequisite was to set up a foothold right in Hawai'i, already a very valuable geo-political point as a naval outpost. This ambition of the mainland United States government squarely corresponded with the sugar capitalists' and other Haoles' desire in the Islands. That is, the American Whites in Hawai'i wanted it to be incorporated into the United States as well, which would enabled them to secure their profitable businesses. In this background, negotiations between the Hawai'ian Kingdom and the U.S. government, which were greatly affected by the capitalists' elaborate intervention and the missionaries' implicit agreement, proceeded in favor of U.S. imperialism. In the meantime, the sovereignty of the Hawai'ian Kingdom became gradually jeopardized.

The first official accomplishment of U.S. imperialism in Hawai'i was to acquire permission to exclusively use Pearl Harbor in 1887. Since the ceding of Pearl Harbor to the United States was achieved in return for the renewal of the preceding Reciprocity Treaty (Buck 1993:75-6), the capitalists also continued to enjoy the privilege of
supplying their sugar to the mainland markets duty free. The inexhaustible efforts by the planters and other Haoles to ensure their advantages increased, and eventually the Hawai'ian monarch was overthrown in 1893 with the help of the military threat of the American naval force. Following a period of provisional government, the efforts were concluded with the annexation in 1898. During this period, furthermore, the United States won the war against Spain, and as a result, it came to possess the other territories in the Pacific Ocean such as the Philippines and Guam (Buck 1993:76). American imperialism in the Pacific was now ready to thrust further into Far East Asia.

4. Imperial Powers' Invasion to Korea

Before forced to open its doors, Korea had been long kept in seclusion, as so-called "Hermit Kingdom" or "Hermit Nation" (Griffis 1905), and away from Western contacts within the sphere of the East Asian world order. Korean international relations had been almost completely confined

21 Already in 1887, the same year of the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, the Islands' elite members including second-generation missionary families, planters, and sugar and trade agents forced the Hawai'ian King, Kalakaua to sign a new constitution. The so-called "Bayonet Constitution" reduced the monarchy's powers particularly concerning the Haole elites' plan of economic and political expansion. See E. Buck, Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), p. 76-8.
to neighboring China and Japan, and the people outside this small cosmos and even Japanese were looked upon simply as "barbarians."

This time-honored Sino-centric system of the East Asian world order began to be disturbed by Western imperial powers from the mid-nineteenth century. Witnessing Ch'ing China's humiliating yielding to Western "barbarians" since the defeat of the Opium War in 1842 and Tokugawa Japan's swift adoption of Western civilization since the 1850s, which was identified as the act of "traitor" (Yur-Bok Lee 1988:11), the Korean dynasty was shocked, and it was more determined to consolidate its policy of isolation in the face of the Western powers' repeated request for trade and other purposes.

Against the strictly closed Korea, several Western powers started to depend on military forces from the 1860s. Noticeable is that the second Western military attack in modern history of Korea was made in 1871 by the U.S. Asiatic squadron. Five years before, an American merchant ship, the General Sherman, was destroyed by miscommunication with the natives on the Taedong River below P'yongyang. This event was used as a pretext to attack Korea in order to force it to open its ports to trade (Ki-baik Lee 1984:264-6). The time of attack is of
significance in that the United States had just finished the Civil War and was concentrating her energy on the completion of the internal colonization of the American South and West. Earlier in 1854, the United States became the first Western nation to sign a commercial treaty with Japan. These successive events attest that the United States was already by then making continuous attempts to advance to Far East Asia, in competition with rivaling Western imperial powers.

Contrary to the incessant efforts by Western powers, it was imperial Japan that made Korea first open her door to the outside. The Japanese leaders in the mid-nineteenth century, who were convinced that the Western imperial powers were too strong to repel and that Westernization would bring many benefits to their country, voluntarily opened the door, and soon began to modernize their country through the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Thereafter, the Korean Peninsula inevitably became the first target for her attempt to emulate other imperial powers by getting out of geo-political limitation of its insularity. More than any other Western powers, Westernized Japan had by far more interest in the feeble Peninsula owing partly to its geo-political importance as a bridge to the Asian continent and partly to its value as an economic subordinate to Japan's
nascent capitalism. Japan, armed with modern technology and imperialistic ambition, was no longer a friendly neighboring country to Korea.

In this situation, Korea eventually knelt down to Japanese imperial power and was forced to sign the "Treaty of Kanghwa" with Japan in 1876, symbolizing the lift of Korea's seclusion policy. From then on, the Korean Peninsula was inundated with a flood of Western imperial powers, and the Korean royal government could not avoid signing similar treaties with them one by one. Yet the treaties did not necessarily mean that Korea would be incorporated into the international politics and economy with equal treatment and position. On the contrary, the treaties, which included many articles of unequal relations, prompted the outside powers to intensify the economic exploitation of the Korean Peninsula. Various kinds of economic privileges were forcibly distributed one by one to the treaty nations like concessions of natural resources, monopoly of modern businesses, and so on. In the meantime, the economic and political autonomy of the Korean royal government was gradually weakened. Also the imperial powers' economic activities through the introduction of their capitalistic products and the importation of raw
materials considerably devastated the traditional economic structure of Korea (Tae-Erk Kwon 1990).

Japanese influences on the social and economic disruption of Korea were overwhelmingly stronger than those of any Western imperial powers. Japan's predominant position in Korean affairs was already guaranteed at the beginning of the formal relationship. That is, one of the articles in the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876 secured the most-favored-nation treatment of the Japanese over any of the Western powers (Ki-baik Lee 1984:268-71). Thereafter, Japan aggressively tried to expand her influences on the Korean Peninsula with the final goal to have it under her exclusive domain. As a matter of fact, nearly all of the contemporary devastating wars and other events surrounding the Korean Peninsula were triggered by, or at least involved with, imperial Japan. Those successive incidents gradually weakened the Korean government and relegated the people to social disruption and impoverishment. As will be explained later, Korean immigration to Hawai'i, which the Korean king approved partly with a hope of restraining Japanese pressure by gaining a United States' interest in Korean affairs, was abruptly terminated by the power of imperial Japan.
One of the significant agreements in the treaties with the imperial powers was to open several ports such as Incheon (then called Chemulp'o) and Pusan. Through the agreements, the imperial powers could establish their own extraterritorial areas and outposts in these port cities to allow the capitalistic market economy to penetrate the backward rural areas. Hence, these treaty ports and the capital city, Seoul, were abundantly influenced by Western civilization and modern technology which were attracting not a few Korean people longing for enlightenment. Also the cities, where international trade was being carried out and modern commercial businesses flourished, seems to have played a role of gathering the poor people in search of employment and better lives. Most of them were former peasants driven out of the rural areas of traditional economy which were being ravaged by the penetration of Western but mostly Japanese capitalistic economy.

Along with the imperial political powers, Western Christian missionaries, especially American Protestant missionaries, swarmed through these treaty ports into the Peninsula in practice of the so-called "Manifest Destiny." The poor, ex-peasant urban dwellers as well as the intellectuals ready to accept Westernization or modernization residing in the treaty ports must have been
easy targets for the missionaries to aim at. In fact, more and more people in the treaty ports were converted to Christianity as their own society became more severely distraught by its entanglement in Western imperialism and especially by the intensifying Japanese political and economic oppression. As will be discussed later, it was the American missionaries at the port cities that played a critical role in Korean immigration to Hawai'i. The initial Korean immigrants were predominantly made up of these ex-peasant urban laborers and enlightenment-wishing people who had been already exposed to Christianity.

The American missionaries in Korea did not merely focus on spreading the doctrines of Christianity and proselytizing the heathens. More often than not, they strongly requested the U.S. government to intervene in the power struggles surrounding the Korean Peninsula to secure their activities in evangelizing the "benighted" Asian people (Oliver 1993:56). In the same manner as in Hawai'i, the missionaries were ready to pave the way for the United States' expansion of economic and political interest in Korea. Moreover, the Korean King, Kojong, and some of his bureaucrats, who were in favor of the benevolent, non-aggressive activities of American missionaries, frequently encouraged the United States to interfere in the turmoil of
political struggles surrounding the Korean Peninsula. Probably, they hoped the United States could protect the weakening nation from being torn down by other aggressive imperial powers such as Japan, Russia, Great Britain, and France. Actually, Kojong employed some American missionaries or diplomats in his royal government as consultants for his nation's foreign relations, and tried to attract the attention of the United States through these American employees.

In spite of the missionaries' or diplomats' continuous solicitation and the Korean government's desire, the United States government was quite reluctant to get involved in the complicated political affairs of Korea. Although the United States signed the "Treaty of Amity and Commerce" (called the Shufeldt Treaty) with Korea in 1882,

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22 This was the second treaty for Korea to sign with foreign imperial powers. The Korean government put a great significance on Article I of the Treaty providing that if a party should be treated "oppressively or unjustly" by a third nation, either party would intervene to help the other to get over the treatment. According to Yur-Bok Lee (1988:25), the Korean government must have thought of this article as a legal obligation between two parties, whereas the United States thought the statement of the article merely to be a general diplomatic sign of friendship without legal obligation. For more details on the treaty and the different interpretation of two nations on the treaty, refer to W. Patterson and H. Conroy, Duality and Dominance: A Century of Korean-American Relations, in Yur-Bok Lee and W. Patterson, (eds.) One Hundred Years of Korean-American Relations, 1882-1982, (University of (continued...)}
it held aloof from the fervent struggles for political hegemony over the Korean Peninsula, especially between the contiguous countries: China, Russia, and Japan. One of the reasons why the U.S. government was relatively indifferent to Korean affairs came from its recognition and admiration that Japan quickly became the only Westernized Asian country armed with tremendously increasing military power. The United States understood that it had better focus on "Pacific Imperialism" rather than getting entangled in truculent political contention over the small peninsula. It is easily speculated that the United States was far less concerned with the distant peninsula than were the ambitious adjacent countries such Japan and Russia to whom Korea, however, presented vital meanings as a land-bridge or foothold-to-ocean.

The U.S. attitude of acknowledging the domination of Japan over Korea was also partly associated with the threat by the expansion policy of Russian imperialism. The Ch'ing China, already pounded by Western powers in the mid-nineteenth century and nearly eliminated from the international competition of imperialism since its defeat

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in Sino-Japanese War in 1895, could no longer be a significant threat to the United States or to the other Western imperial powers. But Russia, the largest continental power, might become a serious danger to the United States in her striving for the consolidation of "Pacific Imperialism." Imperial Russia continuously tried to advance southward and to secure an ice-free port on the Korean Peninsula as a foothold toward the Pacific Ocean. Thus, the United States was convinced that Japanese strong political hegemony in the Peninsula could adequately check the Russian ambitious policy of southward movement. In short, covert negotiations for sectional subdivision of the subordinate area were commonly made in the midst of the imperial rivals' struggles, and Japan was tacitly and sometimes explicitly allowed to be in charge of the northeastern area of continental Asia.

A typical official agreement on the imperial powers' areal subdivision was the "Taft-Katsura Treaty" between the United States and Japan which was concluded in 1905 right after Japan had won the Russo-Japanese war (Ki-baik Lee 1984:309). The main point of the treaty was that Japan would not interfere in the United States' colonization of the Philippines, and in return the United States would approve Korea becoming a Japanese protectorate. Needless to
say, the treaty encouraged Japan to compel the hapless Korean government to sign the "Protectorate Treaty" (called the *Ulja Joyak*) in the same year with the "Taft-Katsura Treaty" (Ki-baik Lee 1984:307-13). After the forcible "Protectorate Treaty," the Korean government was deprived of her sovereign power in foreign relations by imperial Japan. Now Japan was in charge of all political diplomatic affairs concerning Korea, and it was internationally recognized that Korea would and should be subjugated to Japan. It was this very year that Korean immigration was halted in its infancy by Japanese protectorate policy.

It is interesting to note that the ideology of racial discrimination must be recognized as a cause of the fall of Korea to Japan (Oliver 1993:93-4). Obviously, imperialism at the turning period of this century was greatly supported by racism based on social Darwinism. Despite the general thought of racism or derision of so-called Orientals, however, Western powers were deeply impressed and to a

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33 The racist ideology that non-white races are retarded in evolutionary process and thus inferior, had been directly applied to the international policy of Western imperial powers. The former U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt, one of the leaders of Western imperialism, proved it by saying that it was "of incalculable importance" that lands inhabited by "red, black, and yellow aboriginal owners" should become the heritage of the dominant world races. See R. T. Oliver, *A History of the Korean People in Modern Times: 1800 to the Present* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993), p. 93.
degree felt threatened by Japanese voluntary prompt
Westernization or modernization. To be sure, Japan's swift
transformation was enough to make the Western powers look
upon Japan as an exception to their destiny to conquer
inferior non-white races so as to help them to become
enlightened. By contrast, Korea was thought to be inferior
and even unable to control its own destiny. Such widespread
recognition of Japan's role in Korea among international
powers at that time is well shown by the statement of a
contemporary German geographer, Ferdinand von Richthofen:

Korea will not be able to rise of itself; the
talent for commerce and the spirit of enterprise
are lacking, and the country lies helpless in the
network of foreign relationships that has been
being spun. The Chinese yoke, which could be
renewed, is......light, it is true, but it would
not help the inhabitants on. It is, however,
conceivable that the influence of a country that
is as active as Japan, if exerted with wisdom and
fairness, could lead to the development of
resources, the restoration of industries and to
the material and spiritual improvement of the
population. This conjecture is supported by the
glowing report of a British customs official on
the onset of Japanese colonization in southern
Korea. If Japan should play a role in the
administration of the country, it would......be a
new Japan that, as the conduct of the current war
shows, has adopted not only the material
advantages, but also the humanitarian ideals of
European civilization.24

24 This statement is quoted in Hermann
Lautensach(Translated in English in 1980 by Eckart Dege and
Katherine Dege), Korea: A Geography Based on the Author's
(continued...
The American public and official opinions on Korea were almost the same as those of the Europeans. The gist of the opinions was that Korea should be a protectorate of imperial Japan because its weak and incompetent government was not capable of ruling itself. Imperial Japan was regarded as the best country to protect and improve the life of the Korean people. As such, Korea as an independent nation was ignored and derided in the international community, and moreover, its eventual subordination to imperial Japan was generally recognized as unavoidable for the future of Korea.

5. Recruitment Process and Troubles

As discussed above, the initial Korean immigration to Hawai'i was propelled under the circumstances of the expanded capitalistic world system supported by imperialism and only two and a half years later suddenly ceased by

\(^{24}(...continued)\)

Travels and Literature, (Germany, 1942), p. 36.

\(^{25}\) This American opinion was greatly influenced by the only voluminous book on Korea at that time, Corea: The Hermit Nation, written in 1882 by William E. Griffis who worked as a teacher in Japan during 1870 to 1874. However, he had never visited Korea while in Japan or in America. He wrote the book solely based on information available in Japan and on the distorted Japanese perspective. For the details on his position in writing the book, see R. T. Oliver, A History of the Korean People in Modern Times: 1800 to the Present, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993), P. 57-9.
imperial Japan. Most of the immigrants were poor people exploited by the foreign imperialistic capitalism and by their incompetent corrupt government. To the poverty-stricken people, the emigration to Hawai'i might have been a tempting option. Nevertheless, Hawai'i was too far from their home of traditional Confucianism and moreover, was the land of Occidental culture.

To be sure, this emigration was basically different from the contemporary mass emigration of Korean people to the conterminous Manchuria and the maritime provinces of Russia, even if the motivations to get out of socio-economic deprivation at home were the same. In contrast to the emigration to Manchuria and Russia where the intending migrants could just walk over the boundary without any governmental authorization, some important steps for the emigration to Hawai'i had to be taken to entice the people of Confucian culture and to get them to the destination. Without the actions of some significant individuals, it might have been impossible for them to cross the Pacific.

Most noticeable in the process of Korean emigration to Hawai'i were the activities of Horace Allen, an American

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Horace N. Allen was the first American missionary in Korea sent by Presbyterian denomination in 1884. But he entered this country as physician to the American legation, not as a missionary, because Christian activities were (continued...
missionary as well as later the American minister to Korea. Since his arrival in 1884 immediately after the "Shufeldt Treaty" between Korea and the United States, he had made continuous efforts to have the U.S. government more involved in Korean politics and to increase the Americans' economic interests in that country. As a personal physician and unofficial adviser to the King Kojong, he was greatly trusted by the king and the pro-American bureaucrats, and for this reason, he played the role as the most significant mediator between two governments. Even though the U.S. government reluctantly participated in the imperial powers' competition in Korea, it was owing to his intimate association with King Kojong and his adherents that relatively more concessions and franchises were granted to American businessmen (Arnold 1976). In this context, Korean immigration to Hawai'i was made possible by King Kojong's acceptance of Allen's suggestion which was made at the instigation of the Hawai'ian Sugar Planters'

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Association (HSPA). With the help of Allen's recommendation, the project of immigration was realized in the form of a franchise granted to an American businessman, David W. Deshler.

The authorization of King Kojong, who was concerned about his subjects' misery brought about by a recent series of natural disasters, was also influenced by Allen's flattery persuasion that he might be proud to send his subjects to an American land that the Chinese were not allowed to enter since Hawai'i's annexation to the United States in 1898. One of the most desiring aims that King

27 Allen, although arriving at Korea as the first American missionary sent by American Presbyterian denomination, was likely more concerned with his role as a political pioneer representing the U.S. government and her citizens in Korea. His transmuted ambition came into full effect when appointed the American minister to Korea in 1897. This appointment was made possible by the help of Ohio State governor, George Nash, who was a close friend of the U.S. President, William McKinley. Allen, who was also from Ohio, was already acquainted with George Nash. David Deshler, who was granted the immigration franchise, was George Nash's beloved stepson. When Allen was requested to help with the project of Korean immigration to Hawai'i by the Hawai'ian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA), he seemed to consider it as a good chance to return George Nash's favor, besides other objectives mentioned earlier. Also already before the immigration franchise, Allen had helped Deshler to secure the Unsan gold mining concession and to make an immense profit. David Deshler came to take care of the profitable monopolized businesses thanks to the political connection. For more details on Allen's political and economic ambitions in Korea through the connection to American politicians, see Dean Alexander Arnold, *American Economic Enterprises in Korea, 1895-1939*, (New York: Anro Press, 1976), pp. 75-8.
Kojong pursued was to get his country out of the traditional suzerain-dependency relation with China and make it strongly independent (Yur-Bok Lee 1988). Consequently, the immigration might have pleased him. That is, King Kojong seemed to conceive that the immigration would somewhat relieve the economic distress of his people and simultaneously heighten the position of Korea in international political relations. At the same time, King Kojong and Allen himself, considered the possibility that granting the franchise of Korean labor export to Hawai‘i to an American businessman would increase the U.S. government's economic and political interest in Korea (Patterson 1988:42-3).

Right after King Kojong's approval of the franchise, *Suminwon* (Bureau of Emigration) was established for the purpose of issuing passports to the intending emigrants. Actually, however, the governmental bureau was never anything but the name and disappeared in a year. All of the work relating to the immigration, even the passport duties,

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28 Interesting is that the literal meaning of "Suminwon" is "People-easing Bureau." It can be sensed through the name that the Korean king and the bureaucrats were gravely concerned over their people's economic suffering. It is quite obvious that they thought the immigration would mitigate their people's predicament by moving themselves to the wealthy land and by sending some of their earnings back to their family home.
was being taken care of by the *Tongso kaebal hoesa* (East-West Development Company)\(^{29}\) which was established by David Deshler. Adding to this recruiting company, he set up a bank in Incheon, called "Deshler Bank," to deal with the financial matters of the project. The bank, which was operated solely through the deposit of HSPA (Hawai'ian Sugar Planters' Association), appeared to confine its business to the immigration projects like loaning money to the imminent immigrants, because the aspiring Korean immigrants were too poor to afford the steamship fare and the other incidental fees (Bong-youn Choy 1979:93-4).

One of the indispensable works that the Deshler's Bank took care of was to temporarily lend so-called "show money" or "pocket money" to the departing immigrants. This money was required, during inspection at the Honolulu immigration office, to prove that they were not contract laborers but free immigrants. That is, one of the United States

\(^{29}\) The headquarter of the company was located at Incheon (Chemulp'o), and the branch offices were set up at the other major port cities and the traditional inland primary cities such as Seoul and P'yongyang. As discussed above, those cities were early exposed to Western culture and economy, and accommodated many economically distressed people and Westernization-intending intellectuals. For detailed distribution of the cities where recruiting offices were established, see W. Patterson, *The Korean Frontier in America*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), p.10; S. Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991a), p. 15.
immigration laws which now applied to the new territory, Hawai'i, forbade the immigration of contract laborers or indentured laborers. Showing at least 50 dollars to immigration officer was acknowledged as testimony of their being free immigrants capable of supporting themselves. But the Korean immigrants were not able to secure such large sum by themselves, so they borrowed the required amount from Deshler Bank in Korea and returned it to Deshler's agent right after passing the immigration inspection (Patterson 1988:99-100). Although the formal paper work of signing for work in plantations was made after passing the immigration inspection and immediately returning the "show money," strictly speaking, it was illegal because the immigrants were recruited in Korea on the condition of working in plantations. The "show money" was just a gimmick.

Recruitment of immigrants proceeded through posting advertisements in port cities or big inland cities on stations, market-places, or on busy streets, and through Deshler's employees' personal contacts with the populace. One of the recruit advertisements posted on August 6th, 1903, which was written in Korean, read as follows:

Announcing on behalf of the government of Hawai'i
To anybody who eagerly hopes to move to the Hawai'ian Islands either alone or with his
family, convenient help will be provided.

- Mild climate without severe heat and cold is suited to human nature.
- All islands have schools where English is taught with no school fee required.
- It is easy for farm laborer to get a job all year around, and particularly the well-behaved and sound-body laborer can more easily obtain a good long-lasting job, and all of them are protected by American law.
- Monthly payment is 15 U.S. dollars (roughly equal to Japanese 30 won; Korean 57 won), and working is for 10 hours a day and 6 days a week with Sunday off.
- Employer provides laborer with housing, firewood, drinking water, and medical coverage.

Taehan jekuk (Korean government) has given the authority to post this advertisement.

Honolulu,
August 6th, 1903

Announced by Teodore F. Lansing, immigration commissioner and advertisement-agent of Great U.S. Territory of Hawai'i.\textsuperscript{30}

As such, this advertisement of working and living conditions in Hawai'i was exaggerated enough to engage the attention of large amounts of poor, potential emigrants. But Deshler's and his employees' endeavor at recruitment had not obtained a satisfactory result until some American missionaries actively intervened in the project.

\textsuperscript{30} For the original description written in Korean, see Byung-seok Yoon, \textit{Kukoe Haninsahoe wa Minjok Undong} (Overseas Korean Community and Nationalistic Movement), (Seoul: Ilchokak, 1993), p. 238. This translation into English was done by the author of this dissertation.
The realization of Deshler's enterprise was significantly influenced by the Reverend George Herber Jones, whose Korean name was Jo Won-si, pastor of "Chemulp'o Wesler Memorial Church" (now called "Naeri Methodist Church") in Incheon,\(^{31}\) and also a friend of Horace Allen, the American minister to Korea (S. Y. Choe 1959:165-8). Greatly moved by Reverend Jones' vigorous persuasion to go to the Christian land, Hawai'i, many of his congregation members applied and thus comprised about a half of the first shipload of emigrants. In fact, many interpreters and other employees for Deshler's Tongso kaebal hoesa (East-West Development Company) were among

\(^{31}\) The city of Incheon (then called Chemulp'o) was a significant place not only as the first treaty port to accommodate Western culture but also as the seminal core point of the Korean Methodist mission (Northern Methodist Mission of the United States). According to Roy E. Shearer (1966:171-2), twenty two among the mission's total of seventy communicants in Korea in 1890s were acting in this city district. This Methodist church, which is the second oldest Methodist church in Korea, started in 1885, but its chapel - named "Chemulp'o Wesler Memorial Church" - was first dedicated in 1894 and moved to the present location in 1901. Currently the church is called "Naeri Methodist Church." During the formative years of the Methodist mission, it had been considered the "banner church" of the Korean Methodist Mission. In the city, Methodist denominations are still most prevalent and influential in the present time, and so is the Church. For more details, see K. P. Hong, *Naeri Baeknyunsa (A Centennial History of Naeri Church)*, (Incheon, Korea: Samyoung Insoesa, 1985); R. Shearer, *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966).
Figure III-1
Incheon City, Korea
(Photo taken by the Author on January 15, 1995)
Figure III-2
Naeri Methodist Church in Incheon, Korea
(Photo taken by the Author on January 15, 1995)
Reverend Jones' congregation. Furthermore, his active participation in the Deshler's enterprise contributed to the attraction of other Korean Christians in different denominations, which caused the other Western missionaries to complain that the number of their church members were dwindling (Hong 1985:142). According to Bernice Kim (1937:37), even if a somewhat exaggerated account and depending on an unclear source, with each shipload of immigrants there was a Korean Methodist minister. In any case, Christianity must have overwhelmed Korean immigrants through the long passage over the Pacific and during the on-going life in the new land.

Reverend Jones' influences were not limited to the emigration process in Korea. He handed some leaders of the immigrating group introduction letters to the Superintendent of Methodist Missions in Hawai'i (Patterson 1988:49), so that they would be favorably treated by the American Methodist mission there. The former members of Jones' church set up the first Korean church, with the help of the American Methodist Missions in Hawai'i, and thereafter the Korean Protestant churches scattered in Hawai'ian plantations have played a central role in the
Korean community in Hawai'i. Later he visited the Korean immigrants in Hawai'i on the way back to Korea after a leave in the United States, and then depicted the Islands as a paradise where the immigrant Koreans managed to live good economic and religious lives (Jones 1906).

In this background, except for some who failed to pass the physical examinations and had to return home, more than seven thousand Koreans were permitted to immigrate to the Hawai'ian Islands from December of 1902 to May of 1905. The immigrants mainly consisted of various poor people such as port coolies, odd-jobs laborers, peddlers, servants, mining workers, and the like (Bernice Kim 1937:85-6). As stated earlier, most of these poverty-stricken people had to be driven to urban areas from their rural homes which were

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Whereas American missionaries in Korea were mostly in favor of the emigration, some Presbyterian members centering on Reverend Samuel H. Moffett in P'yongyang argued against the project. The Presbyterian missionaries argued that Deshler's project violated the American immigration law prohibiting the importation of contract laborers, and they worried that the Korean immigrants would suffer ill usage or be demoralized. Also they complained that the promising young men to serve in the Christian mission drifted out of Korea to Hawai'i. Their objection was partly related to denominational jealousies and jurisdictional disputes. They seemed to be concerned about the likelihood that their members might transfer allegiance to the Methodist Church in Hawai'i where at that time Presbyterians did not work. See K. P. Hong, Naeri Baeknyunsa (A Centennial History of Naeri Church), (Incheon, Korea: Samyoung Insoesa, 1985), pp. 142-4; W. Patterson, The Korean Frontier in America, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), p. 72-7.
being ruined by imperial capitalism and feudalistic exploitation of their deteriorating royal government. Along with this ex-peasant group, some minor government clerks, discharged soldiers, and a tiny number of political refugees and students drifted out to Hawai'i (Son 1988:35-7).

Many of them crossed the Pacific with a sojourner's intention of coming back after accomplishing their task of earning a great fortune, but, as historian Sucheng Chan (1990:49) pointed out, not a few Korean immigrants also intended to become permanent settlers in the new overseas land. Nearly 10 per cent of total immigrants were women and about 8 per cent were children accompanied by the head of family. This relatively high ratio of the accompanying family members was in contrast to Chinese and Japanese

33 Their primary purpose in crossing the Pacific was, of course, to improve their economic condition, but also the aspiration for western culture partly motivated them to immigrate to Hawai'i. In contrast to Japanese or Chinese immigrant groups to Hawai'i, Korean groups appeared more concerned and ready to accommodate the anti-Confucian western culture. According to Bernice B. H. Kim, The Koreans in Hawaii, (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1937), p. 86-7, many of departing male emigrants cut their "topknot" off, which was an important symbol of Confucianism, and discarded their Korean costumes for American dress. This can be in part understood from the fact that most of them were urban dwellers in treaty cities where they were already exposed to the convenience of Western material culture and the rationalism of Christian ideology.
groups which overwhelmingly consisted of single male sojourners. Of seven thousand Koreans that came to the Hawaiian Islands, only around one thousand people returned home. In several years, another one thousand people moved further to the mainland to seek for better jobs after being released from the plantation contract, and the rest, in the end, set roots down in Hawai'i.

The initial Korean immigration, clearly characterized as an international labor movement in the capitalistic world system, was suddenly ended in 1905 with Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War. Due to the victory, imperial Japan strengthened her domination over the Korean Peninsula by establishing a protectorate. Now internal administration as well as diplomatic affairs of Korea came under the Japanese resident-general's control.

Under the forcible control of the Japanese resident-general, prohibition of Korean emigration to Hawai'i was officially ordered by the nominally independent Korean government in 1905. With regard to Korean immigration to Hawai'i, Japan was concerned that the Korean laborers in Hawai'i would come in conflict with Japanese laborers, and especially feared that striking Japanese plantation workers would be replaced by the imported Korean workers.
Also the news from Mexico, to which about one thousand Koreans emigrated in the spring of 1905, urged the Korean government to accept the Japanese anti-emigration policy. Upon hearing that Korean workers were working under slave-like circumstances in sisal plantations in Yucatan, Mexico (Patterson 1993; W. Kim 1971:14-20), the Korean government attempted to halt the emigration to that country. But the Japanese government, who had seized full authority over Korean foreign relations by the "Protectorate Treaty," exerted pressure on the Korean government to terminate the emigration both to Mexico and to Hawai'i. Now the Korean immigrants already in Hawai'i, without further additions to their numbers and without any protection from their mother country, were left to manage on their own in the new land.
CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF KOREAN-AMERICAN IDENTITY: INTERPRETIVE APPROACH TO TRANSFORMATION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

The sugarcane fields were endless and twice the height of myself. Now that I look back, I thank goodness for the height, for if I had seen how far the fields stretched, I probably had fainted from knowing how much work was ahead. My waistline got slimmer and my back ached from bending over all the time to cut the sugarcanes. Sometimes I wished I was a dwarf so that I would not have to bend down constantly.

(From "the Autobiography of Anna Choi," as quoted in Bong-youn Choy 1979:321)

1. Characteristics of Korean Immigration Group

Comparing with other Asian immigration groups, several peculiarities are worth noting in discussion of the early Korean immigration. First of all, as stated in the former chapter, the Korean immigrants left their home country which was under economic exploitation by imperial powers and politically on the verge of subjugation by Japan. They decided to cross the Pacific with a primary desire to get out of impoverishment caused by the economic disaster but with probably less strong nationalism. All the way through the subsequent period in the new land, however, they had never completely freed themselves from the influence of the political situation of their native country. Broadly
speaking, their spiritual orientation to home remained strong.

Especially for the first-generation immigrants, the spatial movement to a strange land did not mean complete severance from home place. Many of them got aboard the immigration ship with the purpose of eventual returning home after short period of hard, condensed work to amass sufficient fortune. But, Japan's annexation of the Korean Peninsula virtually meant disappearance of the home where they were supposed to return. They were forced to be a kind of unintentional political refugees. To make matters worse, the diplomatic weakness and the later total break-down of Korean government caused the Korean immigrants to be more mistreated by the destination government than the other immigrants from sovereign nations whose government could actively affect in defending their peoples' interests in the new land (Chan 1990).

Secondly, even if having the general characteristic of sojourners' and bachelors' society in common with other Asian immigration groups, Korean immigration group also included relatively high proportion of "settlers." From the very beginning, more than a few Korean immigrants wanted to organize themselves as permanent residents in the new land. This tendency is appropriately revealed by the fact that
among total Korean immigrants numbered approximately seven thousand, more than one thousand people were married women and children accompanied by male migrant laborers who were bound to work in Hawai'ian plantations (Chan 1990:49). It is highly probable that the overseas movement of whole family members was made with the intention to put down roots in the destination of immigration. As will be discussed later, those Koreans who had intended to permanently settle escaped the first working place, sugar plantation, as swiftly as possible to seek for better means of livelihoods in the other parts of the "land of opportunity."

A third peculiarity for Korean immigrants pertains to their heterogeneity of social backgrounds and geographical origins. In contrast to the Chinese and Japanese immigrants who came from the small limited areas in the origin and whose occupational background was predominantly confined to peasantry, most Korean immigrants were from widely scattered urban areas in the Korean Peninsula where they were mostly occupied in various kinds of urban blue collar jobs (Son 1988). Within the urban environment, the prospective Korean immigrants had been much more exposed to Western cultures and Christianity. This urban experience in the origin perhaps contributed to the later exodus of Korean workers from Hawai'ian plantations to urban areas at
a quickest pace within shortest period among all plantation laborer groups in Hawai'i (Lind 1980:59-60). They, already somewhat accustomed to Western culture in Korea, could probably make a relatively smooth adjustment to the American way of life and could achieve rapid social upward mobility in succeeding decades. Presumably, among East Asian nations at the turning period of this century, Korea must have been the most conservative nation. Among East Asian immigration groups to Hawai'i, however, Korean immigration group was the least conservative one in terms of rapid adjustment to the new culture. Pre-immigration social conditions at home must have importantly influenced the Korean immigrants' social attitude and cultural adaptation in the new setting.

Lastly, the influence of Christianity on the initial Korean immigrants should be given attention to. To be sure, there were various kinds of traditional religion still prevalent in those days on the Korean Peninsula such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Shamanism, and so on. Although the newly coming American Protestant missions were tenaciously attempting to extend their influence deep inside the country, their activities were generally concentrated on the urban areas which contained large number of uprooted
ex-peasants from the rural areas. As explained before, the rural area was being exploited by Western imperial powers and by their own incompetent royal government. Christianity easily appealed to those wretched people in need of economic assistance and psychological consolation. Furthermore, some of influential American missionaries as discussed in the previous chapter, enthusiastically encouraged their congregation members to go to the land of opportunity and to participate in evangelizing the American frontier. These Christianized Korean immigrants came to Hawai'i as permanent settlers rather than as sojourners, and played a leading role both in consolidating the identity as Koreans and also in regenerating the identity as hyphenated Americans, namely, Korean-Americans.

These unique clusters of characteristics brought from home, as mixed with the social conditions of the receiving place, Hawai'i, differentiated the Korean group from other East Asian immigration groups in terms of socio-cultural

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34 Around the first years of this century when the initial Korean emigration to Hawai'i took place, only about one hundred thousand Korean people were proselyted to Christianity out of total population of eight million. See W. Patterson, Upward Social Mobility of the Koreans in Hawaii, A paper presented at the Center for Korean Studies Conference on "Korean Migrants Abroad," (Honolulu 1979). Although this is regarded as a relatively big success in the Christianity missionary history in Asia, it also shows that the country was still overwhelmed by other traditional religions and those influences.
adaptation in the new land. During the first quarter of this century, Korean immigrants to Hawai'i, as in the same way with the cases of other contemporary non-white immigrants, could be presumably defined as Koreans, not as Korean-Americans. The consciousness of "sojourners" seems to have been widely spread among the poverty-stricken Korean immigrants at first. As the amount of second-generation descendants increased in their community, however, the development of identity as Korean-Americans became gradually acknowledged by the most constituents of Korean community. The first-generation Korean immigrants' spirit of sojourning was being gradually disappeared as their children were growing up, and also as their fatherland was still stuck in the domination of Japanese colonialism. This chapter attempts to explain how and why identities as Koreans and as Korean-Americans persisted and changed in relation to the new social environment of Hawai'i and Honolulu.

2. Identity as Koreans Persisted

2.1. "Sojourning" Mentality

In the research of ethnic relations of the early Asian Americans, their "sojourning" mentality has been frequently regarded as one of the most differentiated characteristics (Glick 1980). To be sure, many Asian
immigrants' primary goal in coming to Hawai'i was to earn plenty of money and take it back home. Of course, the same was applied to many of Korean immigrant laborers in Hawai'i. One of the Korean immigrants, Mr. Hong Ki Lee, composed a poem the night before the departure of his immigration ship in 1905 with the eruption of sad mentality as written in the head of Chapter III. In the poem, well depicted are the sense of sin of deserting the ancestors' graves in the Confucian society, the sorrow of farewell to the beloved family, and the strong determination to come back with success.

As sojourners or temporary migrants, the Asian immigrants including Korean immigrants perhaps pictured to themselves that there would be no need to enter the mainstream culture at the destination place through integration or assimilation. Their roots were still alive back in their home and their future would be there, too. Hawai'i fascinated them simply as a land of working for economic success, not as a land for settling down for their future.

The sojourning orientation of Asian immigrant laborers, to be sure, was partly responsible for their later diverse experiences of adversities in adapting to American society (G. Barth 1964). That is, the sojourning
mentality which many Asian laborers had in common could not be compatible with the American norm, "assimilation" or "Americanization." It is no wonder that those who were clinging to old country's culture were considered by the host society to be "unassimilable" race and thus antagonism toward the "Orientals" was widespread. Therefore, the sojourning mentality, which was believed to be developed by the "Orientals" themselves, was commonly presented as a basic cause of anti-Oriental atmosphere prevailing in the mainstream society.

This sojourning discourse, however, was not formulated solely by the Asian migrant laborers themselves. From the perspective of planters or Haole elites who imported the laborers, economic value of the immigrants was the only consideration for the purpose of making maximum profit in their businesses. Tractability and strong body condition were thought of as the most desirable factors in selecting the foreign laborers. Regarding such objective, the head of the Hawai'ian Sugar Planters' Association asserted in 1910 as follows; "Up to the present time the Asiatic has had only an economic value. (...) So far as the institutions, laws, customs, and language of the permanent population go, his presence is no more felt than is that of the cattle on the ranges" (Fuchs 1990:114). The "Asiatic" was thought of
by power-holding Haole group just as "the cattle on the ranges" or "primary instruments of production" (Fuchs 1961:49). Also Hubert Howe Bancroft (1912:345-74, as quoted in Daniels 1974:453), the premier historian of California, justified the Asian laborers in those days as "aliens" or "sojourners" saying as follows; "We want the Asiatic for our low-grade work, and when it is finished we want him to go home and stay there until we want him again." Therefore, it was natural that they preferred young male laborers having economic value, and consequently the Asian migrant laborers' society mainly consisted of bachelors. The Haoles' capitalistic intention certainly offered the very first motivation for the sojourning mentality of Asian immigration groups. Despite the Haoles' original contribution to the fabrication of the "sojourners" ideology, they used it in later time as a justification for Anti-Asian prejudice and discrimination.

Given this background, ethnic identity as Koreans in Hawai'i was developed under the conditions of the voluntary sojourning mentality of themselves as well as their inaccessibility to the mainstream society forcibly imposed by Haole racial supremacy. These conditions, to be sure, made them consolidate their own identity as Koreans by transplanting the socio-cultural values of their old
country to the new land with little transformation. Their mental orientation as Koreans, not as Korean-Americans can be partially fathomed through the following reminiscence of a well-known Korean-American professor of Asian American studies:

Why did my parents talk so much about Korea? After all, they both lived most of their lives in the United States. Why didn't they take on an "American" identity? My mother grew up on the plantations and tenant farms of Hawai'i and California. Although she did not visit Korea until she was in her 60s, she considered herself a Korean. My father came to Chicago as a foreign student in 1926. He lived in the United States for 63 years. My parents didn't embrace an American identity because racism did not give them that choice. My mother arrived in Hawai'i as an infant in 1903, but she could not vote until she was in her 50s, when laws prohibiting persons born in Korea from becoming naturalized U.S. citizens were overturned. My father never became a U.S. citizen, at first because he was not allowed to and later because he did not want to. He kept himself going by believing that he would return to Korea in triumph someday. Instead, he died in Oakland at 88, and we buried him in Korea in accordance with his wishes.

("They Armed in Self-Defense" by Elaine H. Kim; from Newsweek: May 18, 1992, p.10)

2.2. "Divide-and-rule Management Policy"

The other obvious contributor to the persistence of identity as Koreans was the "divide-and-rule management policy" in sugar plantations by HSPA(Hawai'ian Sugar
Planters' Association). In order to maximize the economic utility of the imported laborers and to thwart their efforts to organize pan-ethnic labor movement (Geschwender 1981), planters devised and managed a unique system of labor regimentation based on ethnicity which fostered ethnic separatedness and competition. In accordance with different nationalities, newly-arriving plantation workers were normally accommodated in designated residential camps which were, in some cases, demarcated by a cane field. The ethnic residential segregation in plantation was explicitly indicated by the place names such as "Chinese camp," "Japanese camp," "Korean camp," and the like (Grant and Ogawa 1993:143-5; Lind 1938:308). In the working field, too, labor forces were often segmented along ethnic lines in order to raise their labor productivity by promoting the competition between ethnic groups. The ethnically segmented labor forces were usually supervised by the lunas (foremen) of different race, mostly by the lunas of Portuguese or Haole background. Also wages and opportunities for promotion were so discriminatedly applied to different ethnic groups as to make a contribution to the maintenance of isolated identity (La Croix and Fishback 1989).

The divide-and-rule management policy was carried out within the fence of the ideology of "paternalism."
According to the paternalism, the "Asiatic" plantation laborers were considered to be members of inferior childlike races necessitating a sort of parental care. Haole planters thought that they were doomed to be in charge of the role as parents. This parents-children relation was set up on the basis of the racist belief in a "destiny" that Haole people as members of a strong race should give "mercy" to inferior races so as to spread the "Caucasian civilization" in Hawai'i (Takaki 1983:66). In other words, they believed that the Caucasian race more advanced in evolutionary process was endowed with the authority to exercise supervision over the less advanced races and at the same time, was given the obligation to take care of them. 

Despite the paternalistic destiny of spreading the white civilization, however, there was apparently little intention of planters and Haole elites to get the

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Interesting is that environmental determinism was combined with the "merciful destiny" in order to justify the Haole group's social domination over Asian laborers in paternalistic plantation system. That is, Caucasians were thought to be constitutionally and temperamentally unfitted for labor in a tropical climate like in Hawai'iian plantations, and so they had to be the directors. On the contrary, Asians and brown men were presumed to be peculiarly adapted to the exactions of tropical labor, and thus were suitable to serve as satisfactory and permanent field workers. See R. T. Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), p. 66.
"childlike" people incorporated or assimilated into their mainstream culture. On the contrary, a strong sense of ethnicity and nationalistic consciousness of immigrant laborers were strategically encouraged by planters for the purpose of making the workers ethnically divided, and thus making them more industrious and obedient (Takaki 1983:66-75). Plantation workers' inclination to "Americanization" did not please the planters at all, because they were anxious that it might cause labor shortage by the workers' departure from plantation or it might touch off labor unrest by their labor union organizing. As such, plantation society was managed with very limited connection to the outside world. Furthermore, the ethnically divided residents in the plantation society could not easily communicate with each other sometimes due to language barrier, and in other times, due to nationalistic motives. Taking advantage of the inter-ethnic rivalry, planters could effectively break up labor strikes of an ethnic group simply by replacing them with other ethnic group members.

Korean workers were typical of the case. They were originally imported by the planters who intended to frustrate the Japanese laborers' efforts to organize their labor power. In this background, the Korean workers were frequently utilized as strike-breakers or scabs against
Japanese labor movements. The already existing ethnic prejudices and antagonism between two peoples were purposefully utilized by the planters in the cases of the small-scale Japanese strike in 1904 on Waialua Plantation as well as the large-scale pan-Islands strikes led by Japanese workers in 1909 and 1920 (Reinecke 1966). Furthermore, sometimes due to great financial rewards, but more basically due to the nationalistic animosity against imperial Japan, the Korean laborers themselves helped the Hawai'ian Sugar Planters' Association to counteract the Japanese strikes by voluntarily organizing themselves into a body of strikebreakers (Moon 1976:290-2). In this segregated social and physical environment of limited contact with other ethnic groups, each ethnic group was able to keep exclusive the ethnic community of its own within plantation camp.

The imported plantation laborers could not, however, be completely isolated from outer society to the extent that they could not compare the poor working and living conditions of plantation with the conditions outside. Accordingly, as the immigrant laborers were gradually awakened to the American way of labor relations, the planters who desired to pacify the labor unrest in plantation began to feel the need to gratify the laborers'
demands. Henceforth, the planters gradually offered them welfare programs and permitted their own cultural and religious activities to be enjoyed in the camps. These paternalistic benevolence, in a sense, was considered by planters a "sound investment" in that to make the workers happy in communal life would bring profitable result of production through more industrious and faster work (Aller 1957:33).

In each separated ethnic camp, various kinds of ethnic festivals were celebrated as in the mother countries, such as the festivals of Chinese New Year, Japanese Obon, Korean Chuseok, and Filipino Rizal Day (Takaki 1989:155-76). Ethnic religious activities were also supported by planters who became finally aware that ethnic religious institutions would be very useful for fulfilling the immigrant laborers' spiritual requirement in the foreign place of hardship and thus could act as a peaceful arbitrator between planters and laborers.

2.3. Ethnic Voluntary Organizations

In the case of Korean camps, Protestant churches were exclusively playing the religious role for Korean workers and their family. Nearly a half of the first shipload of Korean immigrants, as stated in the preceding chapter, had been already converted to Christianity in Korea, and they
initiated the first Christian worship which was held at Mokolia plantation in Oahu Island on July 5, 1903 (Warren Kim 1971:28). Also some of them organized the "Korean Methodist Mission" first in Honolulu on November 3, 1903, and started the worship one week later, with the support of the District Superintendent of the Methodist Church (Ryu 1988:34; W. Kim 1971:31-3). From then on, Protestant Christian missions diffused to every corners of the Hawaiian Islands where Korean immigrants resided. According to the estimation by Hyung-chan Kim (1977:50), there were thirty-nine Korean ethnic churches scattered in the Territory of Hawai'i with the approximated total number of twenty-eight hundred proselytes up to 1918. For the Korean workers who had been already converted before arriving in the Hawai'i Islands as well as for their non-Christian compatriots, the ethnic Protestant churches must have functioned in favor of consolidating an ethnic group.

36 In addition to this oldest Korean church in Honolulu, currently called the "United Christ Methodist Church," two other Protestant churches have dominated the religious and social life of the initial Korean immigrants and their descendants down through the present time. The "Korean Episcopal Church of Hawai'i" was organized on January 10, 1905, and the "Korean Christian Church" of independent denomination was set up by the first president of liberated South Korea, Syngman Rhee and his followers on July 29, 1918. There were no other churches established in Honolulu until 1974. For the brief summary of the churches, see Warren Kim, Koreans in America, (Seoul: Po Chin Chai Printing Co., 1971), pp. 31-4.
tie by providing them with the space for ethnic social life.\textsuperscript{37}

In addition to the role of providing the community members with the opportunities for sharing the traditional cultural values and for solidifying group ties, the churches were also in charge of some educational functions for the members. The churches strove to reduce the illiteracy rate by providing special language classes for the illiterate adult Korean workers. The churches also operated Sunday schools after Sunday church service and several official Korean ethnic schools to cultivate among their children a nationalistic consciousness and identity as Koreans (Houchins and Houchins 1974:563-5).

Another noticeable phenomena in the ethnic communities of plantations which was made possible by the divide-and-rule management policy was the flourishing of ethnic self-

\textsuperscript{37} Strong popularity of Protestantism among Korean immigrants in Hawai'i can be illuminated by the fact that there had been no other kinds of religious institution established in their community until 1982, when the first Korean Buddhist temple, "Tae Won Sa," was erected. The Buddhist congregation was at first organized in 1975 by some of the new-wave immigration group after 1965 when immigration restrictions were relaxed by the revised U.S. Immigration Law. See Tongshik Ryu, \textit{Hawai'i ui Hanin kwa Kyohoe} (A History of Christ United Methodist Church, 1903-1988), (Honolulu, 1988), p. 320. Unlike the new-wave group which brought various sorts of religion with them, the initial Korean immigration group coming before the mid-twentieth century had been almost exclusively under the influence of the Protestant churches.
governing organizations. Each ethnic community as an exclusive sub-society within plantation was given the authority to control and serve its constituents in order to facilitate the order of community, the protection of their interests, and the promotion of inter-personal assistance. Korean workers set up a peculiar organization, called "Dong-hoe" or village council which was transplanted from the traditional village system of rural Korea. Every plantation where more than ten Korean families constituted an ethnic sub-society embraced the self-governing institution, "Dong-hoe." It functioned as a quasi-legal agency to manage the Korean community (Son 1991:353-61; Choy 1979:99-100). On the basis of the self-regulating organizations localized in the ethnic plantation camps, more politically oriented organizations covering the scattered Korean camps could be also prospered. For example, the "Sinmin-hoe" (New Peoples' Society), which was the first political organization in the Korean community of Hawai'i, made substantial efforts to organize a Korean overseas nationalistic anti-Japanese movement, in addition to functioning as a fraternal organization.  

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38 Since Sinmin-hoe (New Peoples' Society) had been formed in August 3, 1903, plenty of other political organizations proliferated with various kinds of names: Ewa Chinmok-hoe (Friendship Society of Ewa), Waipahu Kongdong-
With the increase of imperial Japan's threat to subjugate Korea especially after 1905, the scattered village councils and the political organizations began to more actively promote the constituents' nationalistic spirit. At the same time, the leaders of Korean community began to realize the pressing need for a strengthened grand political association so as to make the political activities for the mother country more effective. The first umbrella association to consolidate the scattered community- and political organizations in Hawai'i was the "Korean Hapsong Hyop-hoe" (Korean United Federation or the Korean Consolidated Association) formed in 1907 (W. Kim 1971:50-1). Under this umbrella association, forty-seven branches were established in all the major islands with a total membership of over a thousand paying per annum dues of $2.25 (S. L. Yang 1978:17). This new association, however, had the authority confined to the Korean

38 (...continued)
hoe (Co-operation Society of Waipahu), Chagang-hoe (Self-strengthening Society), Noso-Tongmaeng-hoe (Old-Young United League), Uisung-hoe (Justice Achievement Society), Silchi-hoe (Practical Society), Puheung-hoe (Reconstruction Society), Junheung-hyuphoe (Lightening Flourishing Association), and so on. In many cases, however, the political organizations were based on the plantation self-governing community organizations so that it was hard to clearly differentiate from each other. For a detailed explanation on various kinds of Korean community institutions, see Warren Kim, Koreans in America, (Seoul: Po Chin Chai Printing Co., 1959), pp. 28-71.
immigrants inhabiting the Territory of Hawai'i, and thus it was absolutely needed to combine with the mainland counterpart, "Konglip-Hyuphoe" (Korean Mutual Cooperation Federation), which had been established already in 1905 with its headquarter in San Francisco (Warren Kim 1971:51-2).

In the end, the two political Federations were merged in 1909 into a true grand umbrella association, the "Tae-

39 The urgent efforts to make the grand association were greatly accelerated by an important patriotic incident which occurred in the early that year. That is, Durham White Stevens, an American diplomat in Korea who was carrying pro-Japanese propensity, was assassinated by In-Whan Jang, a Korean immigrant, in San Francisco. Stevens had been at that time working as an advisor to the Foreign Affairs Department of Korean government on the recommendation of Japanese government. On the way to Washington D.C., he stopped in San Francisco and made remarks in the San Francisco Chronicle (March 22, 1908) to deride the integrity of the Korean people and moreover to justify the Japanese rule over Korea, despite his position working for Korean government, by comparing the Japan's role with the contemporary United States' role in the Philippines. The Korean immigrants, infuriated by his derogatory remarks, immediately called a meeting and demanded a public retraction of his statements, but he arrogantly refused. In the next morning, he was attacked by two young Koreans, and one shot him to death. For the united effort to support the defense trial for the compatriots, it was desperately needed to organize an umbrella association. The Korean immigrants throughout the United States made sincere efforts to help the compatriots by raising a great amount of fund and by persuading American society to understand the inevitability of the incident. Their efforts resulted in making him avoid guilty of murder in the first degree on January, 1909. After one month from the sentence, the Tae-hanin Kungmin-hoe (Korean National Association of North America) was officially (continued...)
hanin Kungmin-hoe" (Korean National Association of North America), for the primary cause of the effective resistance against and the eventual overthrow of the Japanese colonial regimes in Korea. Thereafter, this organization played the central role in the Korean nationalistic movement in North America. Almost all Korean immigrants in Hawai‘i, the mainland United States, and even Mexico and Cuba joined the Tae-hanin Kungmin-hoe and made significant financial contributions to its activities.

Many of the ethnic voluntary organizations had various kinds of periodicals and newspapers published as their bulletins. In compliance with the cause of the organizations, most of their publications put more emphasis on the promotion of nationalistic spirit for the liberation of Korea. For the purpose, the publications were mostly filled with political things like democratic ideals, directions for nationalistic movements, news on Korea and East Asia, and the like. Yet a very small portion of the publications carried news on the immigrants' activities and information on adaptive strategies in the new land. It goes without saying that those circulations of the voluntary

\[39\text{...continued}\]

associations, as agents of ethnic social network, made great contribution to the persistence of ethnicity as Koreans by strengthening the ethnic group ties.

In sum, the mental orientation toward their mother country had constituted the basic frame of the social lives of particularly the first-generation Korean immigrants. The precarious political situation of Korea obliged the immigrant workers in Hawai'i to continue adhering to the identity as Koreans, and coincidentally the particular conditions in Hawai'ian plantations like the divide-and-rule management policy furnished them with an ideal seedbed for the maintenance of the identity as Koreans. To the first-generation migrant laborers who left Korea with sojourner's intention, the most significant was probably the continued existence of their mother country. Unfortunately, however, their fatherland disappeared, and thus they had nowhere to return. In the meantime, they had to also concern themselves with adapting to the very circumstances where they were now living. As time went by, the attempts to settle down began to be substantiated under the influences of two factors: the growing-up of their born-in-American descendants and the influx of would-be "picture brides" from Korea. As the children of second-generation were getting older through American education
and also, as many bachelors who had been immersed into sojourners' mentality managed to build up a family through picture marriage, the first-generation immigration workers' world-view was transformed. That is, in response to the changing social environment surrounding themselves, the ethnicity as Koreans was naturally required to shift into the ethnicity as Korean-Americans.

3. Identity as Korean-Americans Evolved

Ethnicity, if incorporated into a bigger society, tends to be transformed in its original shape and character. Ethnic groups in newly changed spatial and temporal settings are constantly recreating themselves, and ethnic identity is continuously being reinvented in response to changing realities both within the group and the host society (Conzen, et. al. 1992). The Korean immigrants, as the status of majority in their homeland was reduced to the status of minority in the new land, had to learn to live as an ethnic minority. That is, ethnicity means not only being a member of a certain ethnic community in the new land, but also coming to be reduced to a subordinate position within the wider society. In this background, the Korean immigrants in Hawai'i, whether they were going to settle down permanently or would go back home soon, had to develop adaptive strategies to live as members
of an ethnic sub-society included in the larger host society.

3.1. Christianity and Acculturation

The leading role in familiarizing the Korean immigrants with the social conditions of host society was apparently played by Korean ethnic Protestant churches. As stated before, the initial Korean immigrant group contained relatively high ratio of permanent settlers\(^{40}\) who were predominantly made up of Christian family. Many of them probably thought their destination as a new home on which their future would rely. They were willing to be Americanized and ready to work for Christian duty in Hawai'i even before leaving the "Hermit Kingdom."

Corresponding to their intention, no sooner did they arrive in the alien land than organized a Protestant chapel and tried to evangelize the other compatriots.

\(^{40}\) This is indicated by the statistics on returning migration. Among three East Asian immigrant groups in Hawai'i, Korean group had the least proportion of returnees to home country. That is, less than 20 per cent (about 1,300) of the total number of Korean immigrants (about 7,000) went back to the origin until 1915, while Chinese group and Japanese group had far more ratios of return migration, about 50 per cent and 54 per cent respectively. See R. Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii: A Study of the Mutually Conditioned Processes of Acculturation and Amalgamation*, (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1937), pp. 31-2; W. Patterson, *The Korean Frontier in America*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), p. 172.
The spread of Christianity among Korean workers was rapid enough to arouse the interests of planters and other Haole group. It is highly probable that Korean immigrants' adherence to Christianity positively appealed to the host society, and thus functioned in favor of their adaptation to the society. Many supports were frequently granted for their evangelical duties and even other general activities by planters and American missionary institutes (Takaki 1983:107-8). In this process, Korean immigrants' general tendency of gravitating to the Christian churches was more intensified. As Son (1991:345) pointed out, conversion to Christianity was thought by the Korean immigrants themselves as a means to facilitate their acculturation in the new land. They were likely to expect the conversion to Christianity to encourage the host society to accept and secure their efforts to settle down in the new land. As a bridge between the Korean community and the mainstream society, the Korean churches were like a springboard to help the members leap off to the wider society. The Korean ethnic churches were neither limited to the role for religious ceremony nor limited to the role of offering psychological peace of mind to the participants. The churches provided a means whereby various kinds of information like adaptive strategies in the wider society
Table IV-1

Korean Population in Hawai'i and Honolulu by Age, Sex, and Marital Status (1910)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Hawai'i</th>
<th>Honolulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(in parenthesis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;15</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>296(295)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>336(281)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1883(881)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>1110</td>
<td>1030(348)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>288(76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>84(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65&lt;</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4533</td>
<td>3931</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Enclosed in parenthesis are the numbers of unmarried people.
Source: U.S. Census 1910 (Table 15), Manuscript Census of the City of Honolulu 1910.
Table IV-2

Korean Population in Hawai'i and Honolulu by Age, Sex, and Marital Status (1920)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Hawai'i</th>
<th>Honolulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;15</td>
<td>1411</td>
<td>730(730)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>130(109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>369(192)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>1461</td>
<td>1324(714)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>701(363)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>194(97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65&lt;</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>40(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4950</td>
<td>3498</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Enclosed in parenthesis are the numbers of unmarried people.
Source: U.S. Census 1920 (Table 1,10,12), Manuscript Census of the City of Honolulu 1920.
were exchanged or educated. In the course of face-to-face interaction in the ethnic churches, the ethnic members probably developed ideas and knowledge that could be utilized to negotiate the world outside the ethnic neighborhood.

3.2. "Picture Brides" as Settlers

On the transformation of ethnicity from Koreans to Korean-Americans, a striking influence was probably exerted by the influx of would-be "picture brides." Since the first "picture bride" arrived in 1910, nearly one thousand Korean

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41 Although cynically depicted as "uncivilized" by mainstream public opinion (E. S. Yang 1984:7), the picture marriage system was a very common custom in Korea and Japan at that time and is still popularly practiced there today. Usually a family friend or relative plays the role of go-between, called nakodo in Japanese and Joong-mae jaeng-i in Korean, who investigates in advance the personal and family characteristics of the prospective bride and groom, and negotiates between the two families. In the process, photographs were simultaneously exchanged because of long distance or lest the persons concerned should be embarrassed in case of rejection by either party's family. The basic process was used by the Korean community in Hawai'i. Unfortunately, however, it was frequently the case that the go-between and the prospective groom in Hawai'i were not truthful with the prospective bride in Korea. The bachelors overbeautified Hawai'i as a kind of paradise and very often they hid or exaggerated the real economic conditions of themselves. Furthermore, in many cases, the old bachelors misrepresented their real age by sending a photo taken when they were much younger. For more details, see A. Y. Chai, Women's History in Public: "Picture Brides" of Hawaii, Women's Studies Quarterly, vol. 1 & 2 (1988), pp. 51-62.
women,\textsuperscript{42} in their ages of between eighteen and twenty-four, had come to Hawai'i for the pre-arranged marriage through 1924 when all official immigration from Asian countries to the United States territory was prohibited by the Oriental Exclusion Act.

The picture brides consisted of adventurous women full of pioneering feminist spirits. Just as the preceding immigrants who had intended to permanently settle down in Hawai'i had been greatly influenced by American Protestant missions and their culture, so the picture brides exposed themselves to Christianity and Western culture in Korea, and thus they got much knowledge of Western society. Enlightened by the outside culture, many of them became dissatisfied with the strict constraints imposed on themselves as women bound by the traditional Confucian customs. This displeasure was gradually taking shape toward longing for Hawai'i which, they conjectured, would guarantee freedom from Confucian social and cultural oppression. Picture marriage was a timely way to be able to

\textsuperscript{42} The opinions on the exact number of "picture brides" from Korea has been divided according to what source data were used. For a detailed discussion on the different opinions, see Yong-ho Choe, The Early Korean Immigrants to Hawai'i: A Background History, in M. Shin and D. B. Lee, (eds.) Korean Immigrants in Hawaii: A Symposium on their Background History, Acculturation and Public Policy Issues, (Honolulu, 1978), pp. 9-12.
make their dream come true. Based on this attitude, they made by far greater efforts than the earlier immigrants in acclimating themselves and their family to the new culture of Hawai‘i.43 Along with this feminist consciousness, the sweeping economic deprivation and political oppression by Japanese colonialism, and the anticipated religious persecution under the Japanese colonization, prompted them to make such a brave decision to cross the Pacific (Chai 1992:125-7).

The most underlying contribution of these women to the existing Korean community was to give stability to the community by alleviating the severe imbalance of sex ratio prior to 1910. The change of population structure caused by the introduction of picture brides is clearly shown through Table IV-1 and IV-2. In 1910 when picture brides just began

43 An interesting evidence of the orientation to Americanization of the Korean picture brides as well as the preceding female immigration group is that many of them used American given names in filling out American documents, although they still used the original Korean ones within their own community. According to my analysis of manuscript schedules of Honolulu population census in 1920, more than 30 per cent of born-in-Korean women were using American given names. This characteristic of Korean women's attitude is clearly contrasted to the other groups of East Asian women, almost all of whom retained the original ethnic given names whether in their ethnic sub-society or in the mainstream society. This contrast partly demonstrates that whereas the other East Asian female immigration groups were quite reluctant to be involved in the host society, the Korean women group were more interested in taking part in the host society.
to arrive, the whole Territory of Hawai'i contained total number of 4,533 Korean ethnic people whose sex ratio was 653 men for every 100 women. More extreme disparity was found on the marriageable age category between mid-20s and early 40s: 1,486 men for every 100 women. This severe sex disproportion in the Korean community of Hawai'i became reduced to 241 males for every 100 females in a following decade under the influence of the influx of picture brides. In the category of marriageable age, too, the severe imbalance shrank to the ratio of 541 men for every 100 women. Accordingly, no wonder is that the population of young age group under 15 increased more than double during the same time interval.

"As shown in the table IV-2, picture brides were so young in their late teens and twenties that age difference with their husbands was generally very wide, sometimes reaching as much as 30 years difference. Besides the picture brides' positive contribution to Korean community, some adverse side effects resulted from the wide age difference. One of the effects was that Korean group then had the highest divorce rate of all ethnic groups in Hawai'i during 1910s and 1920s (Adams 1937:214). The severe age difference, even if not solely responsible for the highest divorce rate, must have to great extent influenced on the rate. For more details on the side effects and the picture brides' reaction to the age difference, see Eun Sik Yang, Korean Women of America: From Subordination to Partnership, 1903-1930, Amerasia, 11(1984), pp. 1-28; A. Y. Chai, Picture Brides: Feminist Analysis of Life Histories of Hawai'i's Early Immigrant Women from Japan, Okinawa, and Korea, in D. Gabaccia, (ed.) Seeking Common Ground: Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Women in the United States, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 123-38."
Of course, as discussed in the previous chapter, the initial Korean immigration group coming between 1903 to 1905, if compared with other East Asian groups, included relatively high proportion of permanent settlers in the new world who were accompanied by their family members. But still a greater number of single male workers in their age of twenties to thirties came over to Hawai'i as sojourners with the hope going back home after earning a big fortune. Because of the enormous amount of young and old bachelors, the Korean community in the formative years had the similar negative characteristics of sojourning-oriented bachelors' society like that of the contemporary Chinese or Japanese community. Such bachelors' group was not much interested in accommodation to the American society and very often engaged in social deviant behaviors, specifically such as heavy drinking, gambling, opium-smoking, physical violence, and adultery. To make matters worse, their home country was annexed to Japan so that they were forced to be stranded in the sojourning land. The political situation of Korea as well as meager incomes in the "dreamland" crushed their dreams of returning home to pieces. In this frustrating situation, the picture marriage system, to be sure, encouraged the old bachelors to start over in the land with the changed hope as settlers.
The prevalence of picture marriages made a significant consequence in the residential pattern of Korean community in Hawai'i. That is, urbanization process of the Korean immigration group, which had proceeded faster than any other ethnic groups prior to 1910 (Lind 1938:254), was more accelerated with the introduction of picture marriages (E. S. Yang 1984:9). The bridegrooms did not want to disappoint the just-arriving picture brides by keeping them confined to the hard working and living conditions on the plantations. Now they were required to seek better economic opportunities in order to secure the newly-composed family. The easiest option they could take was probably to move to urban centers in the Territory of Hawai'i, especially the booming city, Honolulu, which could offer opportunities for higher wage and much availability of various jobs since it started economic growth after World War One. Utilizing their small capital amassed by the personal savings or the peculiar credit-rotating system, Kye,45 they could launch

45 This cooperative financial support system which was brought from Korea and which was very similar with the Chinese woi and the Japanese tanomoshi, has significantly enabled Korean immigrants to accumulate a large amount of money which was needed for various big events. Once a network is organized by ten to twenty peoples, individual members contribute a certain amount of membership fees every month to a common fund, the total assets of which are distributed to all members of the loan club one by one. The first member who uses the fund would repay the loan plus (continued...)
into new urban life with their family. As such, the influx of picture brides played a critical role on the secondary migration of the Korean immigrant group.

Table IV-1 and IV-2 show that the general trend of Korean urban migration to Honolulu was correlated with the increase of picture brides or the constitution of family. That is, sex imbalances in marriageable ages of 15 to 44 in 1910 were 1,121 men for every 100 women in the whole Territory of Hawai‘i and 492 for 100 in Honolulu. The disproportion of sex ratio was apparently less extreme in the urban center. A decade later, sex imbalances in the same marriageable ages became greatly mitigated owing to the influx of picture brides: 405 males for every 100 females in the whole Territory of Hawai‘i and 266 for 100

45{...continued}

interest, and then the fund would rotate to next members who have the interest to repay decreased each time around (Takaki 1989:275-6; Chai 1992:130). It could be sometimes highly risky because it is absolutely based on the interpersonal trust on mutual obligations and communal control within the ethnic community. Nevertheless, the participation in the kye entitled the members to be able to access to a large sum of money. In fact, for many reasons, it was and even today it is almost impossible for poor East Asian immigrants to turn to banks or other financial institutions in the mainstream society in opening a new business in such a short time (Hraba 1979:336-7). It is the provision of critical amount of capital through this informal cooperative quasi-banking system that has been greatly responsible for the quick opening of self-employed small businesses not only by the old but also by the present East Asian immigrants.
in Honolulu. In the same way with in 1910, Honolulu in 1920 embraced relatively more females than the whole Territory. In other words, the Korean community in Honolulu had a more balanced sex ratio, which suggests that relatively more family groups resided in the city area rather than in the rural plantation area.

As will be discussed in Chapter VI, many new Korean urban dwellers managed to find employments in the pineapple canneries and Honolulu Harbor, and some of them, although showing weaker tendency than Chinese and Japanese groups, ventured into self-employed small businesses which were mostly operated by family members (Pai 1989). The picture brides made incalculable financial contributions to family management sometimes as an wage-earner employed outside of domestic duties, in other times as a co-worker in the family enterprise. Moreover, the customary women's work of housekeeping and taking care of children were almost always

46 The initial Korean immigrants in Hawai'i were generally far behind the other East Asian workers in the accumulation of savings so that they took longer time to get out of a bare subsistence level. This fact seems considerably related with their enthusiastic financial support for the liberation of their mother country. Large financial contributions to various Korean overseas nationalistic organizations, called "duty money," were in many cases voluntarily but sometimes forcibly made. For more details, see Lee Houchins and Houchins Chang-su, The Korean Experience in America, 1903-1924, Pacific Historical Review, 43(1974), pp. 560-2.
left to the women like in the Confucian world of the mother country (Chai 1992:130). For the Korean picture brides, emigrating out of the traditional Confucian society did not necessarily allow them to get out of the gender role of subordination. Their role in maintaining household duties and family solidarity was, on the contrary, intensified in the new world, and furthermore a new role of contributing to the family's financial support was added (E. S. Yang 1984).

3.3. Influences of Born-in-Hawai‘i Descendants

With a considerable number of picture brides introduced, the Korean community which had been stagnated since 1905 began to grow in size again. The growth of Korean community resulted not only from the addition of the picture brides themselves, but also from the increase of the Hawai‘ian-born children of the brides. The appearance of sizable number of second-generation Korean-Americans, to be sure, must have exerted great influences on the existing Korean community. The second-generation group's stimulus to the first-generation Koreans and their response probably started with the Hawai‘ian native children's reluctance to accepting identity as Koreans in the manner of their parents, who were immersed in the nationalistic issues for their fatherland's liberation. By sending their
children to Korean language schools established in the ethnic plantation camps or operated by the Korean ethnic churches, or by instilling the traditional Korean values and ideas to their children in home, they strove to make the Hawaiian-born children hold on to their identity as Koreans. Nevertheless, it was unfortunate but unavoidable that the "hyphenated Americans" who were educated in the American soil had very weak understanding of the solid identity of their parents' generation as Koreans, and consequently the generational gap widened as they grew up. They were already legally and spiritually attached to Americans.

However, the situational differences between the two generations did not always resulted in conflicts. Most parents could not help but acknowledge their children's status neither as complete Koreans nor as complete Americans. Furthermore, the first-generation native Koreans who nearly gave up coming back to the fatherland must have become more and more concerned than ever about their children's and also themselves' social and economic status in the new land. In the end, they began to consider their and their children's future to be in America, not in Korea.

Paralleling the first-generation parents' desire to insinuate Korean culture into their children by education
in the ethnic community, they were also eager to see their children secure a formal education in the host society, which they thought would be the best way to succeed. The active orientation to education derived from the traditional Confucian culture in which the utmost esteem was placed on education in rearing children. Although the Confucian value of high regard for education was also found among other East Asian communities, Korean community accomplished more impressive results in terms of children's education. That is, the group of second-generation Korean descendants was most highly ranked in terms of schooling duration and also in terms of advancement to professional occupations among all ethnic groups including Haole group (Lind 1938:262; Patterson 1979). This seems to have been associated with the peculiar characteristics of the first-generation parents group, as Patterson speculated (1979), such as relatively higher rate of educated people and the non-farming occupational background. These backgrounds of parents' group presumably functioned as influential factor in the formation of their ardent wish for children's education.

The great concerns with children's education for Americanization might be partly indicative of the gradual transformation of identity in Korean community from as
temporary settlers or sojourners to as permanent settlers. Since family cohesion was another important cultural value in the Korean sub-society, most family members tried to compromise the differences in identity formation. Parents was willing to make sacrifice themselves to children's future, and children returned their parents' sacrifice with fast accommodation and upward social mobility in the mainstream society. In the course of such efforts of two generations, continuous reasonable negotiations must have been made so as to evolve eventually into a transformed identity which could be cherished by all members.

3.4. Identity Transformation and Secondary Migration

To the initial Korean immigrants who were forced to or voluntarily disposed to turn their status of residence into settlers, it was no wonder that plantation could be no longer the so-called "land of opportunity." In addition to the existing obligation of being involved in the nationalistic activities as political exiles in order to get back someday to the fatherland, the constitution of family brought a new kind of obligation of taking good care of their own families. In this background, they left sugar plantation, their first working and living place in the new land, as swiftly as possible.
New destinations for which the former plantation workers could have headed were among three options: (1) to return to Korea, (2) to go on further to the American mainland, or (3) to move into the urban centers in Hawai'i, especially to the city of Honolulu. Return migration of Korean immigrants between 1905 and 1916 amounted to total number of 1,304, but only 136 Koreans went back home after 1911, one year after annexation of Korea by Japan (Beechert 1985:132; Hawai'i Board of Immigration 1907:25-6; U.S. Department of Labor 1916:45). There is no doubt that the change of political situation in the mother country reduced the amount of returnees and made many of them select the other two options.

During the same period above, a total of 1,059 Koreans chose to go further east to the continental United States, mostly to California (Beechert 1985:132; U.S. Department of Labor 1916:45). They were attracted by the information circulated through their community network of better employment opportunities in the mainland such as in railroad construction, 47 fisheries, or the mines. The

47 Actually, it is reported that an American railroad company set up an agent office in a Korean hotel in Honolulu in 1905 and inserted advertisements in Korea ethnic newspapers to recruit 5,000 workers (Houchins and Houchins 1974:549). This kind of recruiting activities were very common then in Hawai'i to fill up the labor shortage (continued...
amount of Korean peoples' secondary migration to the American West, however, suddenly decreased from 1907 when an Executive Order was proclaimed by President Theodore Roosevelt to check transmigration of particularly Japanese and Koreans from Hawai'i to the mainland (Chuman 1976:30-3; Houchins & Houchins 1974:555-6). Thereafter, the Korean workers who wished to get out of plantation were stranded in the Territory of Hawai'i, and thus the only option given to them was the cityward migration within the Territory.

Besides the total number of 2,500 Koreans who left Hawai'i for Korea and the U.S. mainland, the remaining 5,000 Korean initial immigrants in Hawai'i also left plantations for the urban centers in Hawai'i more swiftly than any other ethnic immigrants did (Lind 1938:254). The number of Korean workers employed in sugar plantations in 1905 amounted to 4,619, but it sharply dropped to less than half (2,017) only five years later (Hawai'i Bureau of Labor 1906:48 and 1911:37). In 1922 and 1932, only 1,170 and 442 Koreans respectively still remained in the employment of

47(...continued)
in the mainland United States, especially in California, and thus large amount of Asian workers drifted there. The mass secondary migration of Asian laborers to the mainland aggravated the racism toward Orientals, so-called "Yellow peril." The Executive Order in 1907 was proclaimed in this background. See F. F. Chuman, The Bamboo People: The Law and Japanese Americans, (Del Mar, California: Publishers, Inc., 1976).
plantations (Lind 1980:82). It is unknown exactly how many of those departees drifted into urban centers in Hawai'i, yet the general trend of Korean workers' cityward migration could be grasped through the increase of Korean people in Honolulu in several decades (Table I-1, I-2, IV-1, IV-2).

These Korean peoples who moved to urban centers now faced and handled different types of social environment which they had not experienced in the previous paternalistic plantation life. Even if Korean immigrants were mostly from urban areas of their mother country and thus at least conversant with urban way of life, the American city like Honolulu might have had totally different meanings to them. In short, it became necessary for the new urban dwellers to develop compatible adaptive strategies to cope particularly with severe competition in the urban multi-ethnic environment, and with unequal distribution of urban resources and economic opportunities in the environment of racism. The pioneering maneuver for urban lives had to start over again on a new stage.
CHAPTER V

ETHNIC PLURALISM AND SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION: A SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF HONOLULU IN 1920

Place is conceived of not as a featureless landscape on which events simply unfold, but as a series of spatial structures which provide a dynamic context for the processes and practices that give shape and form to culture. (Peter Jackson 1989:48)

This chapter is concerned with the fundamental contours of ethnic residential segregation as an evidence of social stratification by ethnicity as well as the reciprocal influences of ethnic residential segregation and ethnic social identification process in the city of Honolulu. It is based on the theoretical assumption that social ethnic inequality in a city is closely related to the geography of the urban residential structure. Unfortunately, few detailed studies have been done on the social geography of Honolulu at the turning period of the twentieth century as well as in the present time.\(^{48}\) The

\(^{48}\) There are a few studies dealing with the subject of residential segregation in Honolulu with the context of assimilation like A. Lind, An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii, Ph.D. dissertation, (University of Chicago, 1938); D. Y. Yamamura and R. E. Sakamoto, Residential Segregation in Honolulu, Social Process in (continued...)

150
scanty attention paid to socio-spatial inequality of Honolulu has been probably influenced in part by the erroneous general recognition of Hawai'i as an ideal place of harmonious ethnic relations with little discrimination and conflict.

To uncover the social segregation by discrimination in the early twentieth century Honolulu, this chapter attempts to reconstruct the social geography of residential segregation in Honolulu during the 1920s. Specifically, I want to show, first, the development and the characteristics of Honolulu multi-ethnic population at the turning period of the twentieth century; second, to demonstrate the patterns and trends of basic social areas among various ethnic groups as well as occupational groups

48 (...continued) 
Hawaii, 18(1954), pp. 35-46; R. E. Sakumoto, Social Areas of Honolulu: A Study of the Ethnic Dimension in an Urban Social Structure, Ph.D. dissertation, (Northwestern University, 1965). On the assumption that residential segregation is an indicator of race relations in the progress of assimilation, they proposed that clear and persistent trend has been toward still further residential diffusion and toward a community in which people are little concerned about the ethnic origins of their neighbors(Lind 1980:71). Without considering the structural barriers encompassing minority groups, they put stress on the internal forces of ethnic segregation which were weakened with the progress of time. But one of the researches observed that residential segregation was still high even in 1950s and ethnicity still remained the more important factor in its segregation(Yamamura and Sakumoto 1954:46).
as a testimony to the on-going social and economic
discrimination against non-Haole groups; and third, to
estimate what was responsible for such spatial separation,
that is to say, which factors were the predominant,
external involuntary forces or internal voluntary forces,
in the creation and sustenance of residential segregation.

For the objectives, a ten per cent sample of people
gainfully occupied was collected and analyzed from the
manuscript census of 1920. In spite of containing an
abundance of minute local historical information (Eshima
1988), unfortunately, the manuscript census data are
required to be kept confidential for seventy two years.
Thus, 1920 manuscript schedules of census data are the
latest ones available for the public. It clearly shows the
individual-level information on ethnicity, occupation, and
even residential location which makes it possible to
reconstruct the social geography of the city. The \textit{index of
segregation} for each group is measured in this paper to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{footnotes}
49 Extended from the index of dissimilarity (Id) which
indicates the percentage difference between the
distributions of two component groups of population, the
index of segregation (Is) is computed as the percentage
difference between one group's distribution and that of the
rest of the population. The indices vary from 0 to 100
indicating the percentage redistribution of a group members
which is required for having the same distribution as the
rest of population over a set of districts. It means that
\end{footnotes}
\end{footnotesize}

(continued...)
estimate the extent of social segregation and residential differentiation of particular groups in the urban area of Honolulu. Forty six enumeration districts of Honolulu are used as the spatial unit of measurement for the index. Along with this measurement, the more simple method of location quotient is also calculated to show the distribution of the segregated sub-areas and the extent of concentration of a certain group within the areas.\(^5^0\) While

\[ \text{Id} = \sum |X_i - Y_i|/2 \]
Where Id: index of dissimilarity.
\[ X_i: \% \text{ of } X \text{ population in area } i. \]
\[ Y_i: \% \text{ of } Y \text{ population in area } i. \]

\[ \text{Is} = \text{Id}/[1-(\sum X_{ai}/\sum X_{ni})] \]
Where Is: index of segregation.
Where \( \sum X_{ai} \): total number of a sub-group in a city.
Where \( \sum X_{ni} \): total population of a city.


\(^5^0\) This is the measurement of dividing the ratio of a particular group's population to total population in any sub-area by the ratio of the group's population to total population in the entire city. In other words, it indicates the relative concentration of a group's population within (continued...
index of segregation is useful to estimate and compare degrees of spatial separation of a particular group from the rest of the population in the city, location quotient is appropriate for identifying the detailed spatial distribution and concentration of a group's population among the entire enumeration districts of the city.

1. The Honolulu Context

The urban bases of the modern metropolitan city, Honolulu, began to take its shape between 1910 and 1930. The population of Hawai'i continued to increase with the enormous expansion of sugar industry and correspondingly it led to the urban growth of Honolulu. A large number of

\[ LQ = \frac{S_i}{N} \]

Where LQ: location quotient.
Si: % of a group's population in area i.
N: % of a group's population in the city.

Table V-1
Sugar Production and Employment, 1880 to 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>3440</td>
<td>10243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>9168</td>
<td>17895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>238.3</td>
<td>18800</td>
<td>36050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>402.3</td>
<td>28426</td>
<td>43917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>348.5</td>
<td>58056</td>
<td>43371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>546.7</td>
<td>37420</td>
<td>51837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>30423</td>
<td>35062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>509.7</td>
<td>63555</td>
<td>19340</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1) Unit of Production is 1,000 tons.  
2) Unit of Value is $1,000 based on current dollars.  
Sources: Schmitt 1977(table 13.17; 13.18), Beechert 1985(table 10;17)
Table V-2

Sources of Hawai'i Income by Industry, 1900 to 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sugar &amp; Pineapple</th>
<th>Defense</th>
<th>Tourism</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>27 (96%)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>43 (93%)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>98 (93%)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>94 (93%)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>89 (76%)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>4 (4)</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>226 (44%)</td>
<td>147 (29)</td>
<td>29 (5)</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>237 (6)</td>
<td>351 (19)</td>
<td>131 (7)</td>
<td>1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>326 (7)</td>
<td>639 (14)</td>
<td>595 (13)</td>
<td>4427</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1) Unit is 1 million dollars.
2) Parenthesized figures are percentages of the total.
Source: Haas 1992 (table 1.5)
Table V-3

Longshore Employment in Hawai'i, 1900 to 1940

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>877 (2 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1580 (8 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1576 (1 woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2162 (4 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1378 (5 women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Beecher 1991 (table 8.1)
Table V-4

Annual Volume of Building Construction in the City and County of Honolulu (Oahu Island)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Permits</th>
<th>Valuation</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Permits</th>
<th>Valuation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1,450</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>2,350</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>2,090</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,550</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>2,040</td>
<td>5,081</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>3,143</td>
<td>6,222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3,239</td>
<td>5,866</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>3,783</td>
<td>5,643</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>4,078</td>
<td>8,611</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>3,521</td>
<td>5,733</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>3,637</td>
<td>6,398</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Unit of Valuation is $1,000.
Source: U.S. Congress, House. 1945. Committee on Naval Affairs. 75th Congress. 154. p.315
immigrant plantation workers left for Honolulu or the West coast of the United States soon after the expiration of their contract to find better means of livelihoods, while planters persistently imported immigrant labors from foreign countries to make up for the deficiency incurred by out-migration of the plantation workers. At the same time with the increase of total population of Hawai'i by foreign immigrants, the immigrant labors' secondary migration out of plantations caused Honolulu to become a big cosmopolitan city where various different ethnic groups got along together already in the early present century.

The plantation economy was closely linked with the urban growth of Honolulu prior to World War Two. The sugar industry peaked from 1910 to 1930, and in the subsequent periods, it has gradually decreased and has been replaced

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51 As general U.S. laws were applied to the Territory of Hawai'i since annexation of 1898, a new immigration law which U.S. Congress enacted in 1924, also came into force in Hawai'i. One of provisions of this law pertains to inhibiting the aliens ineligible to citizenship from immigrating to this country, targeting oriental immigration. After the year, virtually suspended was the labor importation by planters from Asian nations except Philippine. Only Filipinos were allowed to enter Hawai'i as plantation labor because their country was subject to the United States in those days. After 1932, however, their immigration had been almost discontinued till after the end of World War Two due to Economic constraints in the Depression of 1930s. See Hyung-chan Kim, *A Legal History of Asian Americans, 1790-1990*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994).
by other industries of defense and tourism (Table V-1 and V-2). Up to around 1930, the sugar and pineapple industries had accounted for more than 90 per cent of total Hawai'i income (Table V-2). Various kinds of employment with linkage to the plantation production had formed the foundation of the pre-war urban economy of Honolulu. Honolulu was the most important trade port in Hawai'i for exporting the plantation products and for importing the necessities. In Table V-3, the period of 1920 and 1930 shows the largest longshore employment in Hawai'i before World War Two, most of which undoubtedly must have worked in the primary entrepot, Honolulu. It surely indicates that the trading business in Honolulu was most actively in progress during that time, which probably positively affected the growth of the other part of urban economy and employment.

Another evidence of rapid growth of Honolulu in terms of urban economy, is on Table V-4. In the city and county of Honolulu including Honolulu city and Oahu Island, the building construction, which quite properly reflects the conditions of urban economy, had steadily increased in the number of permit and valuation, and reached the highest point at the end of 1920s. Afterwards, the city went through the downturn of economy of the Great Depression and World War Two. In this context, the investigation of 1920's
social geography of Honolulu is particularly meaningful in that it shows the bases of ethnic relations in the formative period of modern Honolulu. Of course, this initial social and economic configuration of Honolulu has been transformed since then, yet the fundamentals are persistently existing.

2. Ethnic Constitution to 1920

As mentioned above, given the assumption that the sugar industry was predominantly responsible for the economy of Hawai'i before World War Two, the urban economy and employment of Honolulu was either directly managed by or partly dependent on sugar production. Back in 1853, however, the Islands were still dominated by the overwhelming majority of native population, and barely 10 per cent of total Hawai'i population was constituted by foreign immigrant groups of Haoles, Portuguese, and Chinese. By the end of the nineteenth century, these foreign groups as well as the native group were principally concentrated in Honolulu, the primary trading center which had already achieved prominence as a gathering port for whaling ships or a stepping stone to Far East Asia for mercantile trade (Beechert 1991). These functions of Honolulu induced the continuous urban migration, and consequently the total population of Honolulu increased by
161 per cent during the last half of the nineteenth century.

Table I-1 shows that both Hawai'i and Honolulu had witnessed steady increase in absolute number all the way through to 1920, but between 1896 and 1910, there was a relatively slight decline in the proportion of Honolulu's population: 27.4 per cent in 1896 to 27.2 per cent in 1910. It illustrates that the secondary migration from plantations to the urban area was overshadowed by the initial immigration of foreign laborers to rural plantation areas in Hawai'i. It means that although the urban economy of Honolulu made progress in steady phases, it was still overshadowed by the rural plantation economy. It is suggested that full-scale development of the sugar plantation economy began during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which is designated as the era of "industrial plantation" by Beechert(1985:79-117), and also it was greatly accelerated by annexation to the U.S. territory in 1898. After 1910, Honolulu had come under

52 The development of sugar industry in Hawai'i was closely related with imperialistic expansion of the United States. Planters in Hawai'i were eager to supply their products to the continuously expanding American market, but had disadvantage to pay large amount of duty. The United States, which already had sufficient sugar produced within the mainland and also supplied from the nearby Caribbean, (continued...)
rapid growth of population not only in absolute number but also in the proportion of urban population to total population of Hawai'i. It coincided with the stable increase of the Islands' sugar industry and the resultant growth of the urban center, Honolulu. In addition, as the urban growth of Honolulu progressed, the independence of urban economy began to be evolved, gradually getting out of the narrow economic base of the sugar industry.

Most ethnic groups, except Haole, had generally increased in the ratio of Honolulu residents to their total population of Hawai'i all the way through the time span of Table I-1. To the former plantation laborers imported from

52(...continued)
was less interested in Hawai'i's capacity of sugar production than in its geo-political significance. The desires by the two sides were combined into the conclusion of the "Reciprocity Treaty" in 1876 which permitted the grown-in-Hawai'i sugar to be exported to the American market duty-free and in return, permitted the United States exclusively to use Pearl Harbor as a military base. Thereafter, Hawai'i witnessed the swift growth of sugar industry and was transformed into an economic colony of the United States. Their effort for mutual interests was culminated to the annexation of the Hawai'ian Islands to the U.S. territory in 1898. Planters no longer had to worry about precarious maintenance of duty free exportation frequently challenged by the opposition of mainland sugar producers. Also the United States came to secure the most strategic military point in the middle of the Pacific. For more details, see N. Kent, Hawaii: Islands under the Influence, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983); E. D. Beechert, Working in Hawaii: A Labor History, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), pp. 79-117.
foreign countries, moving to and seeking for better life condition in Honolulu was one way they could choose besides two other ways of returning home country or moving further to California after the expiration of contract with plantation. In case of Haole group, a high percentage of the urban population had remained constant since the very first time because the group had been in charge of colonization of the Islands at the city.

In 1920, there were eight major ethnic groups constituting more than one per cent of Honolulu population (Table I-2). Native Hawai'ian group had remained so stagnant in absolute population in Honolulu as to go on decreasing in the proportion in the city. However, its total population in the entire Hawai'ian Islands in 1920 precipitously dropped into far less than the half of in 1863, due to fatal Western diseases to which they were not immune. Haole and Portuguese groups had kept constant increase in the absolute number of population in Honolulu (Table I-1), but their relative proportion in the city had not changed much (Table I-2).

Chinese and Japanese groups, two crucial sources in plantation labor force in the last half of the nineteenth century, had undergone substantial growth in the proportion of population constitution in Honolulu. The increase in
population of these groups was mostly the result of secondary migration from plantations scattered in the Hawaiian Islands. Until the end of nineteenth century, Chinese people had accounted for the most of in-migration to Honolulu. The annexation in 1898, however, brought to Hawai'i the Chinese Exclusion Law of the mainland which was already enacted in 1882, and hence made a negative influence on the subsequent immigration of Chinese laborers to Hawai'i. As a consequence, the amount of the group's secondary migration to Honolulu had become relatively reduced. The continuing demand for plantation labor turned planters to the other source of dependable workers, Japanese. They were attracted in the largest numbers, some 200,000 during several decades of the turning period from the nineteenth to the twentieth century (Table V-5). The subsequent huge influx of Japanese to Honolulu primarily contributed to the continuous overall enlargement of the city's population. The group already consisted of the largest portion of Honolulu population in 1910, even if comprising no more than 23.2 per cent.

This rapid in-migration of such Asian groups to Honolulu had been additionally supplemented by Koreans, Filipinos, and Puerto Ricans after the twentieth century. These groups were imported at one time or another by
Table V-5

Number of Immigration from Abroad, 1852 to 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>Filipino</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To 1875</td>
<td>2625</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>2996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-80</td>
<td>10378</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1485</td>
<td>12794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-85</td>
<td>15177</td>
<td>8818</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2527</td>
<td>28468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-90</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>12418</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-95</td>
<td>3054</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>18835</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-99</td>
<td>6301</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35070</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>41984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-05</td>
<td>2584</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>35790</td>
<td>7307</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1579</td>
<td>47407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-10</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>3313</td>
<td>41987</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>3554</td>
<td>4953</td>
<td>54221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-15</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>15203</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>15248</td>
<td>6957</td>
<td>40180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-20</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13353</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>14441</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>29539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-25</td>
<td>1101</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9263</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>39051</td>
<td>1038</td>
<td>50705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-30</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38873</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>39858</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Others include all nationalities not shown separately such as Puerto Rican, Spanish and other Europeans, Pacific islanders, and Blacks, etc.

Sources: Schmitt 1977(table 3.6, 3.8), Nordyke 1989(table 4-15).
planter's who desired for effective labor control by avoiding the preponderance of one ethnic group in plantations. But they got out of plantations as fast as the preceding groups and gathered into the city. These small groups, though existed as minorities among minorities, comprising only 2.5 per cent, 1.6 per cent, and 1 per cent, respectively in 1920, also become important parts of the city's peculiar shape of multiethnic mosaic.

3. Social Stratification of Ethnicity

Honolulu, which had begun to be developed as an colonial city for European and American imperialistic

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53 This identification of class on the basis of occupation is primarily based on Daniel Hiebert's (1991) classification. In spite of adequate combination of Marxist insights to labor-capital dichotomy and Weberian notion of "life chance," his classification should be given some transformation in this paper to reflect the peculiar employment conditions in the-early-twentieth-century Honolulu. The transformed classification for this study is shown in Table V-6. For many decades until World War Two, Honolulu as a colonial city was playing a role of break-of-bulk center of Hawai'i for the export of its primary products and the import of manufactured goods, and thus was in the essentially pre-industrial economic situation. This economic base accounts for a tiny amount of urban proprietors (capitalists in the real sense) and a huge number of stevedores (unskilled laborers). For more details, see D. Hiebert, Class, Ethnicity and Residential Structure: The Social Geography of Winnipeg, 1901-1921, Journal of Historical Geography, 17 (1991), pp. 56-86; N. Thrift and P. Williams, (eds.) Class and Space: the making of urban society, (London: Routledge, 1987), pp. 1-12; S. A. Marston, Neighborhood and Politics: Irish Ethnicity in Nineteenth Century Lowell, Massachusetts, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 78 (1988), pp. 414-32.
pioneers, also became an promising urban frontier for immigrants from the other side of the Pacific at the turning period to this century. The urban development in the first quarter of this century which was promoted by the fast-growing sugar economy of Hawai'i, created various kind of employment which continuously drew plantation laborers, mostly Asian workers in seeking better opportunities and more favorable working condition. Although it is maintained that the harmonious relationships of paternalistic plantation social life and traditional Hawai'ian "Aloha" norm were extended over the inter-group relationships in the subsequent stage of urban society (Lind 1980), it is also suggested that there were also constrained and confrontational relationships between various groups existed in the course of dynamic competition for limited urban resources.

In 1920, like in the mainland cities, the white group was extremely over-represented in white collar and skilled blue collar classes (Table V-7). As far as the high white collar category is concerned, incautious glances at the percentages of Chinese (9.1%) and Japanese (10.3%) groups might lead us to the hasty judgement that those groups fairly succeeded in social upward mobility. These values, however, derive from the abundance of their absolute
Table V-6

Classification of Occupations by Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Basic Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High White Collar</strong></td>
<td>actor, agent, analyst, artist, auditor, aviator, broker, buyer, clergyman, commercial traveler, contractor, director, doctor, editor, hotel keeper, inspector, landlord, lawyer, manager, officer, professor, proprietor, reporter, superintendent, surveyor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low White Collar</strong></td>
<td>accountant, bookkeeper, cashier, clerk, collector, finekeeper, messenger, musician, newsboy, nurse, operator, policeman, religious worker, retail dealer(employed), salesman, saleswoman, secretary, stenographer, teacher, teller, typewriter, undertaker, usher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Petty Proprietors</strong></td>
<td>small shop owner(laundry, barber, junkshop, grocery, etc.), fisherman(independent or employer), farmer or gardener(independent or employer), peddler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skilled Blue Collar</strong></td>
<td>architect, baker, blacksmith, boiler maker, box maker, cabinet maker, candy maker, canner, carpenter, cobbler, compositor, conductor(train), confectioner, cooper, electrician, engineer, fireman, foreman, jeweler, lighthouse keeper, lineman, luna, machinist, mason, miller, motorman, molder, oiler, painter, photographer, plasterer, plumber, printer, repairer, shoemaker, tailor, watchman(plantation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semi-skilled Blue Collar</strong></td>
<td>barber(employed), brakeman, butcher, caddie, chauffeur, cook, delivery man, door keeper, elevator boy, flagman, hat cleaner, janitor, park keeper, postman, sailor, soldier, stonemcutter, switchman(train), waitress, waiter, watchman, woodcutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unskilled Blue Collar</strong></td>
<td>farmer(employed), farmherd, fisherman(employed), helper, laborer, porter, servant, stevedore, teamster, yardman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table V-7

Ethnic Distribution by Class in Honolulu, 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High white collar</th>
<th>Low white collar</th>
<th>Petit proprietor</th>
<th>Skilled blue collar</th>
<th>Semi-skilled blue collar</th>
<th>Un-skilled blue collar</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haole</td>
<td>190 (57.8)</td>
<td>150 (27.6)</td>
<td>26 (9.9)</td>
<td>141 (23.6)</td>
<td>21 (5.7)</td>
<td>26 (2.7)</td>
<td>554 (18.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawa‘ian</td>
<td>17 (5.2)</td>
<td>42 (7.7)</td>
<td>7 (2.7)</td>
<td>64 (10.7)</td>
<td>29 (7.9)</td>
<td>146 (15.2)</td>
<td>305 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>30 (9.1)</td>
<td>121 (22.2)</td>
<td>75 (28.6)</td>
<td>85 (14.2)</td>
<td>113 (30.7)</td>
<td>125 (13)</td>
<td>549 (17.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>34 (10.3)</td>
<td>114 (21)</td>
<td>141 (53.8)</td>
<td>161 (27)</td>
<td>121 (32.9)</td>
<td>405 (42.1)</td>
<td>976 (31.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>30 (9.1)</td>
<td>40 (7.4)</td>
<td>6 (2.3)</td>
<td>73 (12.2)</td>
<td>41 (11.1)</td>
<td>95 (9.9)</td>
<td>285 (9.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>4 (0.7)</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>13 (2.2)</td>
<td>10 (2.7)</td>
<td>79 (8.2)</td>
<td>107 (3.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>2 (0.6)</td>
<td>2 (0.4)</td>
<td>3 (1.1)</td>
<td>7 (1.2)</td>
<td>4 (1.1)</td>
<td>33 (3.4)</td>
<td>51 (1.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2 (0.4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3 (0.5)</td>
<td>2 (0.5)</td>
<td>23 (2.4)</td>
<td>30 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>26 (7.9)</td>
<td>69 (12.6)</td>
<td>3 (1.1)</td>
<td>50 (8.4)</td>
<td>27 (7.3)</td>
<td>30 (3.1)</td>
<td>205 (6.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>329 (100)</td>
<td>544 (100)</td>
<td>262 (100)</td>
<td>597 (100)</td>
<td>368 (100)</td>
<td>962 (100)</td>
<td>3062 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Enclosed in Parenthesis are the percentage of class by ethnic groups.
Source: Manuscript census of the city of Honolulu, 1920.
(10% sample of peoples gainfully occupied)
Table V-8

Degree of Segregation among Class and Ethnicity, 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>No. in Sample</th>
<th>Index of Segregation</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>No. in Sample</th>
<th>Index of Segregation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High White Collar</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>Haole</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>51.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low White Collar</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>Hawai'ian</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit Proprietor</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Blue Collar</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled Blue Collar</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Blue Collar</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>50.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. of Sample</td>
<td>3062</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total No. of Sample</td>
<td>3062</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Manuscript census of the city of Honolulu, 1920. (10% sample of peoples gainfully occupied)
Calculating the ratio within each ethnic group, Chinese and Japanese high white collar workers take up only 5.5 per cent and 3.5 per cent respectively. Concerning Chinese and Japanese representation in this class, another important fact should not be overlooked that their high white collar jobs were closely related with the sectors of their own ethnic business and management. That is, these groups had sufficient amount of the ethnic population to keep "institutional completeness" so that a certain amount of high white collar jobs must have been reserved for the ethnic businesses and institutes such as ethnic newspapers, religious institutes, interpreters, and the like. On the contrary, the Haole group's ratio (57.8%) in the high white collar class is not such a moderate representation as it appears to be. Compared with the group's share out of total population of Honolulu (18.1%), the group was overly represented in the uppermost class. It's substantial over-representation in the occupations of managers and professionals shows the apparent disparity of class position among ethnic groups, especially between Haole and the others.

In the case of the low white collar class, three larger groups of Haole, Chinese, Japanese were comparatively more evenly represented than in the high
white collar class, though Haole group still took up the largest share. Quite high representation of non-white groups in this category might reflect their upward social advancement, but it needs more careful and detailed explanation, too. The sample data in this study was derived from all the individuals gainfully occupied, not from the heads of households, so that it includes the second- or third-generation young minorities who were born and brought up in Hawai'i. If a table is made from the sample collected from the heads of households, most of whom were not native in the U.S. territory, it will show a more marked uneven occupational distribution between ethnic groups. In any case, the descendants of non-white labor immigrants had the skill of English literacy and got the higher education which properly entitled them to get high white collar occupations, yet experienced virtual discrimination in the labor-market. The low white collar jobs seemed the alternative way which they were free to choose in the face of overt discrimination by the uppermost class. With respect to non-Haole groups' relative high representation in this category, the similar condition as in the uppermost class should be considered. As mentioned above, the existence of institutional completeness for individual ethnic groups enabled various kinds of employment to be
created within the boundary of ethnic economic enclave. Many non-Haole low white collar workers, in the same way with non-Haole high white collar workers, were employed in ethnic businesses as clerks or bookkeepers. Ethnic social network played the role of self-perpetuating system of employee recruitment and in many cases, family members or relatives were hired with little or no wages. The labor market of Honolulu in the early part of this century must have been segmented along the ethnic boundary as well as class boundary. Ethnic social network provided the basis for the ethnic sub-economy. This ethnic labor market segmentation, which could be fostered by various ethnic businesses, probably contributed to substantial reduction of contact between ethnic groups particularly in different classes, to the persistence of ethnic identity, and back to the consolidation of social network within the ethnic boundary.

Chinese and Japanese groups, which had a relatively older immigration history, were considerably concentrated in the class of petit proprietors, occupying 28.6 per cent and 53.8 per cent respectively. This over-representation could be to some degree explained by a theory of "trader-minority group" or "middleman minorities" (Light and Bonacich 1988; Bonacich 1973; Kitano and Daniels 1988).
According to the theory, the immigrants who were blocked from obtaining mainstream high class jobs are pushed into the petit bourgeois niche of less prestigious and distasteful small-scale entrepreneurship which power-holding people are reluctant to enter. Normally, the economic niche is the intermediate occupations to serve the dominant class members at the top and as well the subordinate class members lacking the resources for the jobs. In Honolulu, such occupations as small-shop keepers, vegetable and fish peddlers, and laundry servicemen were included in the trader-minority group, who provided their products and services to their own or outside population. As repeatedly mentioned, however, such big ethnic enclaves of the two groups could function as compartmentalized ethnic labor markets for ethnic customers. Also because Honolulu had few big retail shops or department stores strong enough to threaten ethnic small businesses in the early twentieth century, ethnic petit proprietors could prosper. Associated with this small business sector, it should be noted that vegetable and flower gardening by Chinese and Japanese, rice farming by Chinese, and fishing sector by Japanese and Hawai'ian were nearly monopolized. Although they owned the means of production and some of them finally succeeded in amassing large capital, their
wealth could not be comparable to upper class employers or employees at all.

In contrast to the white collar categories where an unfriendly social environment against non-white groups is clearly revealed, the high blue collar class has all ethnic groups represented to quite a balanced extent. This balanced representation might be brought up as an indicator of a harmonious inter-ethnic relationship. Without exception, however, antagonism and discrimination toward skilled Asian workers persistently existed. For instance, at the turn of the century and for some time afterwards, the policy of Territorial Craft Unions restricted membership only to Caucasians and Hawaiians (Johannessen 1956:76-82). Even in this hostile atmosphere, skilled Asians continued to expand in this category by enduring the lower rate of pay and by monopolizing all the work for their own countrymen within the ethnic enclave economy (Johannessen 1956:78). Their own ethnic communities played a definite role of springboard to fight against obstacles imposed upon them. It was not until the period of depression in construction following the collapse of the short-lived annexation boom of the early twentieth century that this somewhat balanced ethnic distribution in skilled blue collar class began to make an full-scale appearance.
The economic situation then in Honolulu made many white skilled workers return to California, which offered an opportunity for Asian workers to displace them (Beechert 1985:148). Afterwards, however, whenever economic booms came around, the agitations against Asian workers frequently boiled up in the same way as they did in the mainland (Beechert 1985:146-9).

In the categories of semi- and unskilled blue collar workers, all groups except Haole were moderately represented. One of the characteristics of Honolulu labor market in the early twentieth century was the great abundance of unskilled and semi-skilled blue collar workers, predominantly employed as stevedores and servants. Due to the lack of education, relevant job-skills and familiarity with culture in the new setting from the assimilationist's perspective, and also due to the external discrimination to hinder minority members' upward social mobility from the structuralist's perspective, non-Haole groups were over-represented in the categories. More specifically, the minority-among-minority groups of Filipinos, Koreans, and Puerto Ricans took up much higher ratio than the anticipated value in the unskilled class. The comparative recent appearance of the groups in the urban setting is the likely explanation for the distorted
distribution in the class. To wit, those new non-Haole urban laborers released from plantations started to adjust to urban life in the bottom of class ladder because of the lack of employment network as well as human capital. What is worth noting regarding multi-ethnic constitution of unskilled class is that class consciousness might have been conceived over the ethnic boundaries within the bottom class. A good example of transcendence of class consciousness over ethnic boundaries, is the strike by the local union of the International Longshoremen's Association in 1916 (Johannessen 1956:81-2). Involving approximately 1500 longshoremen, the strike was the first one in the history of Honolulu labor movement that different ethnic groups cooperatively participated in. Non-Haole inter-ethnic cooperation like this occasion presumably contributed to the formation of the peculiar version of dual ethnic structure of "Haole" and "Local" groups. That is, local identity had been negotiated in the course of blue collar class consciousness among non-Haole ethnic groups and thus formulated was the opposing socio-cultural identities of "Local" and "Haole."

4. Residential Segregation by Ethnicity and Class

Honolulu in the early twentieth century was unquestionably stratified by class in which the economic
positions of ethnic groups were unequally distributed. On the whole, it could be defined as class differentiation between Haole and non-Haole groups. The overwhelming majority of white background people, who achieved the American colonization of the Hawai'ian Kingdom, belong to white collar and skilled blue collar classes. The members of other ethnic groups, although variously represented all across the class categories, were disproportionately employed in lower class jobs. At that time, it is clear that non-Haole groups were not allowed to enter into fair competition for economic opportunities.

The hypothesis of close association between class and ethnicity can be tested by the reconstruction of their spatial distribution. The social environment of class distinctions between ethnic groups was markedly exhibited by the social geography of the city. As in Table V-8, high white collar class has the highest segregation index of 40 per cent which means the strongest tendency to reside in particular zones among all class groups. The choropleth map of the class distribution by location quotient, in spite of the limitation that it does not depict the detailed location within the boundary of enumeration districts, quite fairly demonstrates the high white collar class members' strong inclination to spatial clustering.
Figure V-1
Class Distribution-High White Collar
Figure V-2
Class Distribution-Low White Collar
Figure V-3
Class Distribution-Petit Proprietor
Figure V-4
Class Distribution-Skilled Blue Collar
Figure V-5
Class Distribution-Semi-skilled Blue Collar

Location Quotient

Under 1
1 to 2
Over 2
Figure V-6
Class Distribution-Unskilled Blue Collar
Figure V-7
Ethnic Distribution-Haole
Figure V-8
Ethnic Distribution-Hawai'ian
Figure V-9
Ethnic Distribution-Chinese
Figure V-10
Ethnic Distribution—Japanese
Figure V-11
Ethnic Distribution—Portuguese
Figure V-12
Ethnic Distribution-Filipino
Figure V-13
Ethnic Distribution-Korean
Figure V-14
Ethnic Distribution—Puerto Rican
Figure V-15
Ethnic Distribution-Others
V-1). There are three heavy segregated zones for the group exposed in this map: Territorial Government office area in downtown, Makiki-Manoa valley area, and Waikiki beach-Kaimuki area.\textsuperscript{54} With the exception of Territorial Government office area which was inhabited by many white single government workers imported from the mainland, the other areas were located in suburban areas commanding pleasant physical environment at the end of the city's street car lines operated by Honolulu Rapid Transit (HRT) Company. These strong clustering zones of high white collar class with location quotient over 2, not surprisingly, almost completely coincides with the strong segregation zones of Haole ethnic group (Figure V-7).

Low white collar workers, although not as much concentrated in some particular zones as high white collar workers, were moderately clustered (L.Q. over 1) on the area surrounding Punchbowl crater right above downtown, and Waikiki-Kaimuki area (Figure V-2). Paying attention to relatively even representation of all ethnic groups in this category which is in the middle of social hierarchy, it is possible to speculate that the spatial zone of low white collar class might be placed in the intermediate zone

\textsuperscript{54} See Figure I-1 for micro-place names in Honolulu.
between the upper class and the lower class of semi- and unskilled blue collar workers. This is, to some degree, shown by the spatial location of its moderate condensed areas between lower blue collar class zone of western Honolulu (Figure V-5 and V-6) and high white class zone of eastern Honolulu (Figure V-1) - strictly speaking in terms of direction, northwest versus southeast distinction.

The location of petit proprietors clearly demonstrates the distinct characteristics of class and ethnic structure of Honolulu at that time (Figure V-3). In mainland cities, minority members were little allowed to partake in the normal channels of upward social mobility so that they tended to create their own opportunities of self-employed occupations like running small grocery shops or laundry services. In an attempt to maximize the economic opportunity, they managed to monopolize the business or expand the range of clients outside the ethnic boundary in the face of the increase of competition for opportunities within an ethnic neighborhood.

In case of Asian background petit proprietors, the contrasted forces of the discrimination by the power-holding group and the discriminated people's own effort to prosper gave a peculiar dualistic pattern of location: a heavily segregated ghetto area on the one hand, and a
scattering tendency of distribution throughout the city on the other hand. A similar spatial patterning is also present to a degree in Honolulu. Honolulu Chinatown located right beside downtown and above Honolulu harbor can be, to some degree, comparable to the mainland Asian ethnic enclave. For a long time, Chinatown, \(^{55}\) not limited to Chinese group, played a critical role as a central point of diverse ethnic businesses catering to the members of several ethnicities. The counterpart of the tendency of de-concentration in order to expand the areal extent of clients might be reflected in the moderate clustering of the small enterpreneuships along the main road, King Street. The clustering shows that a transition to service-

\(^{55}\) Honolulu Chinatown, which is credited with the oldest of all Chinatowns in the United States, occupied only a half square mile just beside Honolulu downtown and adjacent to Honolulu harbor. Its multiethnic characteristics had already appeared in the middle of the preceding century, though the disastrous fires set by the Board of Health in 1886 and 1900 to dispel plagues triggered a transformation of ethnic population constitution in the area. The fires had made many Chinese decide to leave the ghetto which was subsequently replaced by new-coming other ethnic group members. This phenomenon had something to do with the restriction of Chinese immigration in 1883 by the Hawaiian Cabinet Council which was anxious about Chinese superabundance in Hawai'i's labor market, and with the annexation in 1898 which extended the U.S. Chinese Exclusion laws into Hawai'i. In 1899, more than half of the residents in the Chinatown district was Japanese. For more details, see C. E. Glick, Residential Dispersion of Urban Chinese, *Social Process in Hawaii*, 2(1936), pp. 28-34.
oriented economy along the main road was already in progress in the early twentieth century. Also the spatial differentiation of the commercial areas along the main road, King Street, and the rear residential housing area seem to have been already structured at that time.

In relation to the spatial location of petit proprietors in the early twentieth-century Honolulu, a more detailed explanation is needed for an unique phenomena differentiated from the mainland industrial cities that they heavily concentrated in the outskirts of the city such as Waialae and Palolo Valley, Upper Waikiki, Upper Nuuanu and Pauoa Valley, Upper Kalihi, and the area along the ocean front. Beside small retail shops, many petit proprietors in Honolulu were engaged in the primary economy of farming and fishing. Market gardening of flower and vegetable and rice or taro growing were practiced by many Asian background workers in the remote urban areas outside of residential districts, and traditional fishing was practiced by Hawai'ians and Japanese along the coastal districts between Honolulu Harbor and Waikiki. This locational distribution properly reflects the characteristics of the pre-industrial colonial city of Honolulu. Quite wide outer areas were still beyond urban land use, and thus provided niches of agricultural or
fishery sectors for minority people excluded from equal competition.

In contrast to white collar groups and petit proprietors, skilled blue collar workers had no heavy concentration areas with location quotient more than 2 (Figure V-4). The lowest segregation index (17.4%) among six classes in Table V-8 enables us easily to understand this phenomena. Its low residential segregation probably has a bearing on multi-ethnic mixture in this category. All ethnic groups could quite equally take part in local labor market for this class, and could make spatial movement in pursuit of employment opportunities. The other point to be considered is that blue collar occupations, as Hiebert (1991:72) points out, tend to be widely dispersed because sources of blue collar employment were somewhat scattered through a city. In the same manner, Honolulu had the sources of high blue collar occupations widely scattered all over the city such as Rapid Transit Service covering the whole city, building construction required the relevant skilled workers, retail services like barber or tailor in need of accessibility to clients, etc.

Locational distribution of semi- and unskilled blue collar workers in Honolulu (Figure V-5 and V-6), however, do not match with the expectations based on the mainland
cities. Of course, some unskilled laborers like servants for private families tended to be widely dispersed throughout the city, yet many workers in this categories were more highly clustered in the western side rather than in the eastern side of Honolulu. Especially the districts of Kapalama and Kalihi were congested with new coming urban dwellers from plantations, and many of whom used to be employed as longshoremen in the neighboring Honolulu Harbor. New non-Haole laborers' tendency to first settle in the districts is plainly demonstrated by the process of residential distribution of Filipinos, Koreans, and Puerto Ricans. These groups had a relatively short history of becoming urban laborers, and are more heavily distributed in the areas than Chinese or Japanese group. Furthermore, all non-Haole groups but Japanese had most of high concentration districts with location quotient more than 2 in the western Honolulu rather than in the eastern Honolulu. In this dichotomy of the eastern white upper class zone versus the western non-white lower class zone, Chinatown probably functioned as a boundary. In this context, it is easily understood that Kapalama-Kalihi area was crowdedly agglomerated by all kinds of ethnic people to become poverty area of the lower-skilled blue collar classes.
Although class was interwoven with ethnicity to build up a peculiar pattern of social geography of Honolulu, ethnicity more basically accounted for the outline. First of all, as in Table V-8, the values of segregation index by ethnicity are generally higher than the ones by class. Especially Haole group (51.8%) shows the highest clustering tendency among major ethnic groups. As stated earlier, heavy clustering zones of Haole group (Figure V-7) squarely coincide with the ones of high white collar class (Figure V-1), and those were located in the eastern side of Chinatown and CBD area. The Japanese group was widely spread throughout the city without making any dense concentration zone of location quotient more than 2 (Figure V-10). Certainly, there were micro-scale Japanese colonies scattered in the city like Moiliili area (Lind 1980:66), but broadly speaking, it is estimated that their propensity to agglomerate was weaker than the other groups.56

Commonly found in the maps of other ethnic groups except part Hawai'i ans and others, is their relatively high concentration in the eastern side of Honolulu. Precisely,

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56 In Table V-8, minority-among-minority groups of Filipino, Korean, and Puerto Rican, have the highest values more than 50 per cent. But those indexes result from their tiny number of absolute population so that it is not appropriate to horizontally compare these groups with the major groups on the basis of the indexes.
the districts in the both sides of King Street from Chinatown to Kalihi Road, were inhabited by poor immigrant laborers. The area could be comparable to the mainland city's "ethnic ghetto" (Ward 1982, 1989) which developed a negative image of crowdedness, impoverishment and cultural disruption. Especially, Iwilei district which is located right west of the harbor and Chinatown, was identified as a disreputable, crowded district containing Honolulu's prison and prostitution (Johnson 1991:291). This wide area including Iwilei still remains as a most deprived zone in the present Honolulu. At the northern side above this poverty area were Portuguese clustering districts placed (figure 12). As widely known, Portuguese people had been introduced by planters as intermediate class workers in social hierarchy of Hawai'i plantation system, and this role was kept going on to the urban economy of Honolulu.
Possibly the most basic human reflection centers around developing a sense of who one is. This reflection is an ongoing process. Knowledge about oneself continually meets the subtleties of everyday interactions. The work we usually supply for this sense of self is "identity." Presumably one's identity is recognizable and the reactions to it predictable. Some aspects of identity seem to have the case of unwavering certainty, as in the case of being white, or female, or young. Yet this version of identity fails to account for the elusive qualities of self-awareness of the subtleties of experience. Even those qualities that seem to be unwavering, like age and color, respond to contextual demands. The gloss that identity seems to be, therefore, does not recognize that most aspects of it are as vulnerable as egg shells, as amorphous as whiffs of perfume. One's sense of self is never completely one's own property, but is always contingent on the tacit approval of others, their complicity in reacting appropriately.

(Elvi Whittaker 1986:151)

Since the annexation of the Hawai'ian Islands to the United States in 1898 and the continuing growth of the sugar industry over through this century, Honolulu as the central place of the Hawai'ian Islands has witnessed a tangible growth in terms of urban economy and a large transformation in terms of urban landscape. The tremendous increase of the plantation economy, as explained in the
preceding chapters, caused the regional market to expand because the increased population demanded more goods and services. The needed goods and services, mostly from the mainland United States, had to be imported through Honolulu or had to be manufactured in Honolulu. As a break-of-bulk point or a manufacturing-and-supplying point of goods and services, Honolulu was taking the shape of a rapidly modernized commercial city in the early twentieth century.

The rapid expansion of the scale of Honolulu's urban economy continuously generated a large amount of employment opportunities which functioned as a magnet to attract a steady stream of Hawai'ian plantation laborers and some white migrant laborers from the mainland. The growth of Honolulu's urban economy and urban population proceeded at accelerating rates to the beginning of the Great Depression in 1920s and 1930s. During the Depression, substantial numbers of White migrant laborers returned to the mainland because of reduced employment opportunities. Yet the steady stream of Asian plantation laborers to Honolulu continued. Even during the Depression, the ex-laborers of Hawai'ian plantations believed that the secondary migration to Honolulu would guarantee better living and working conditions for their future rather than staying at the plantations. In this background, the secondary migration of
former plantation workers, especially the workers from Asian countries, was mostly responsible for the immense growth of Honolulu urban population. In other words, the secondary migration of the immigrant population was deeply associated with the character and composition of the sprawling modern city, Honolulu. They almost always filled the labor shortage in the numerically dominant lower working-class jobs in the city.

Among the former plantation laborer groups, the Korean group swiftly took part in the exodus to Honolulu. The Korean immigrant laborers who had held different social backgrounds back home were not in the least content with the harsh working conditions in the agricultural fields of sugarcane. Moreover, when the sojourning spirit which many of the immigrants brought from Korea gradually dissipated, they had to prepare for permanent settlement by finding better economic opportunities. The fundamental reason the "sojourner" spirit was vanishing was that their fatherland was finally subdued by imperial Japan. No options were left for them except going to Honolulu because the home country, where they had intended to return, unfortunately had disappeared. The other alternative, going further to the mainland, was also eliminated by the United States president, Theodore Roosevelt's Executive Order in 1907
which prevented the Oriental workers in Hawai'i from transmigrating to the western coast of the United States (Chuman 1976:30-3). Thus, moving to Honolulu was the only option for the restless Korean plantation workers and their families to be able to select.

Honolulu, however, was not the best place in which they could easily increase their fortunes or enjoy better conditions of employment. First of all, although the wide variety of jobs which had been created in the process of the growth of the urban economy stood in need of many qualified workers, the newly arriving urban workers' dearth of human capital such as limited education, poor command of English, and inadequate job skills, reduced the extent of their possible employment. Besides, they had to meet and handle a new social environment of racism or ethnicism and the resultant social stratification that they had never experienced before. Various ethnic groups were positioned in relation to one another in the social structure which was framed by external forces irrespective of the participants' intention and qualification. Responding to this structural environment, the Korean people needed to develop peculiar adaptive strategies to survive in the new home.
1. Occupational Adaptation, 1910 and 1920

Looking at the change of the entire Korean urban population in 1910 and 1920 before examining the patterns and process of their occupational adaptation, we can find that the Korean population in Honolulu, only in a decade, increased more than three times (Table IV-1 and IV-2). Accordingly, the urban concentration rate of Korean immigrants in Honolulu also increased from only 9 per cent in 1910 to 26 per cent in 1920. In contrast, the number of Korean workers on rural plantations in the similar time period was markedly reduced from 4,619 which was almost 10 per cent of the total plantation labor force in 1905 to 1,170 which was only 2.64 per cent of the total plantation labor force in 1922 (Hawai'i Bureau of Labor 1906:48; Lind 1980:82). Clearly, considerable numbers of Korean plantation workers chose to move out of plantations, and a large number of those secondary immigrants headed for the booming town, Honolulu. In addition, many picture brides, who had begun to be introduced since 1910, had exerted influence on their prospective husbands' decision to move to Honolulu and settle down there.

The increase in the Korean female population between 1910 and 1920, especially evident in the marriageable-aged category of late teens and twenties, was indeed remarkable.
Table VI-1

Occupations of Koreans in Honolulu, 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High White Collar</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>agent(2), clergymen(1), interpreter(1), manager(2), principal(1), school president(1), superintendent(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low White Collar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>bookkeeper(2), clerk(1), salemann(5), student(1), teacher(2), typewriter(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit Proprietor</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>farmer(2), gardener(17), laundry(5), merchant(3), peddler(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Blue Collar</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>cabinet maker(2), canner(1), carpenter(1), printer(1), shoemaker(1), tailor(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Blue Collar</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>barber(1), bartender(1), boat worker(3), butcher(1), caretaker(1), cook(9), dishwasher(1), sailor(7), waiter(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Blue Collar</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>cane cutter(2), garden worker(8), farm worker(1), helper(2), house keeper(4), laborer(73), laundry worker(2), servant(17), yardman(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>inmate(19)-Oahu Insane Asylum, patient(5)-Leahi Home, prisoner(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>321</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1) Koreans in 15 years of age and over are counted.
2) Petit proprietors includes all owners of small business, farm, and fishing boat.
3) Enclosed in parenthesis are the number of people occupied.
Source: Manuscript census of the city of Honolulu, 1910.
## Table VI-2

**Occupations of Koreans in Honolulu, 1920**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High White Collar</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>chemist(1), detective(1), editor(2), landlord(2), manager(2), pastor(1), reporter(1), room keeper(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low White Collar</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>attendant(4), cashier(2), clerk(3), dealer(1), fineman(3), operator(2), orderly(1), salemann(22), secretary(2), teacher(4), treasurer(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit Proprietor</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>barber(2), cobbler(1), dealer(3), druggist(1), farmer(8), gardener(3), junk(1), laundry(5), merchant(3), proprietor(7), tailor(6), others(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Blue Collar</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>carpenter(16), dressmaker(1), lineman(2), machinist(1), mattress maker(2), mechanics(3), oiler(1), painter(4), plasterer(1), plumber(2), printer(2), repairer(1), shoemaker(2), section head(4), tailor(12), pineapple factory worker(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Blue Collar</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>barber(3), boat worker(1), bottler(1), chauffeur(7), cook(16), dishwasher(1), elevator boy(1), janitor(5), waiter(9), wood worker(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Blue Collar</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>farm worker(1), helper(9), garden worker(2), housekeeper(5), housemaid(1), laborer(193), launderer(1), servant(17), stevedore(3), yardman(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>263</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>inmate(44)-Oahu Insane Asylum, patient(10)-hospital, prisoner(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>824</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**
1) Koreans in 15 years of age and over are counted.
2) Petit proprietors includes all owners of small business, farm, and fishing boat.
3) Enclosed in parenthesis are the number of people occupied.
Among the total amount of the Korean labor force, including the unemployed 15 years old and over, female population greatly increased from 57 to 247 during the same years (Table IV-1 and IV-2). The orientation of picture brides toward Honolulu could be proved by the increased numerical value in the category of "None" shown in Table VI-1 and VI-2. That is, the category, "None" in these tables includes all unemployed male and female Korean people of 15 years of age and over, and thus, almost all picture brides working for domestic household were classified in this category. It is not a surprising phenomenon that the general tendency of gender discrimination in extra-household employment in those days was applied to Korean females. In any event, the increase of female population brought about a social and geographical transformation of the Korean community structure.

As briefly mentioned above, the former Korean plantation workers did not have sufficient job skills or language fluency required for the highly skilled, upper class jobs. In this sense, it was natural that they were over-represented in the lower blue collar classes in the initial period of the urban economic adjustment (Table VI-1 and VI-2). Out of the various unskilled blue collar
occupations taken by Korean urban workers in 1910, the occupation simply classified as "laborer" took up the overwhelming majority. According to a detailed analysis on the working places of 73 unskilled blue collar workers simply classified as "laborer" in the manuscript schedule of 1910 population census, 25 Koreans were working as manual laborers on plantations of sugarcane, banana, and rice. This illustrates that Honolulu, in 1910, still had large agricultural fields within its boundary, and in other aspect, that urbanization was limited to small areas including and surrounding the Honolulu Harbor and the central business and administration districts. Another 15 Koreans were categorized as laborers for odd jobs or irregular works, and the remaining 33 people were working as general laborers in such various working places as cemeteries, yards, roads, construction fields, and the like. Excluding the 73 "laborers" explained above, the other 42 Koreans gainfully occupied in the lowest class were employed in menial jobs like house-keeper, servant for Haole private families, and yardman.

This general trend of over-representation in the lowest class, although at somewhat lower rates, continued through 1920. All 243 unskilled blue collar workers, including 193 workers classified simply as "laborer" in
1920, if reclassified according to their working places, can be subdivided into dock laborers (53), odd job laborers (35), railroad laborers (18), plantation laborers (11), and the other laborers (76) working in gardens or truck farms, small business stores and factories, private families, construction fields, cemeteries, and the like. In comparison with the occupational distribution of the lowest class in 1910, it is noticeable that the laborers working at sugar, banana, or rice plantations diminished to less than half in absolute number whereas dock laborers or stevedores working in the Honolulu Harbor became the predominant category of 1920. Noteworthy is that no Koreans had worked as dock laborers or stevedores in 1910. Conjecturing from the change of occupational arrangement in a decade, it may be safely said that Honolulu was experiencing a gradual transformation to a modern urban structure mainly based on commerce and trade functions from an indiscernible mixed structure standing on rural and urban functions. The growth of employment opportunities in the Honolulu Harbor was occasioned absolutely by the burgeoning sugar industry and the consequently expanded port function of export and import. That is, the transformation of urban functions was closely associated with the change of occupational designation of
the Korean ethnic urban workers, though their changed occupations were still included in the bottom layer of the social structure. In any event, the occupation of dock laborer became the largest occupational sector in which most Koreans in Honolulu were located, and accordingly, the migrant laborers arriving from rural plantations may have been easily introduced to the sector by way of the ethnic social network.

An interesting reshaping of occupational arrangement during the ten years is found in the skilled blue collar class. In 1910, 18 Koreans were distributed in only 6 kinds of high skilled blue collar occupations with the majority engaged in the occupation of tailor(12). Within a decade, the total number of workers in this class more than quadrupled and also the variety of occupations taken by them became more diversified. The numerical increase of Korean workers and the variegated jobs in this class, to some degree, resulted from the establishment of big pineapple processing factories in Iwilei Area just beside the Honolulu Harbor and right above the Sand Island (See Figure I-1) as well as from the booming of general building and urban public infra-structure construction (Table V-4). The pineapple canneries run by the Hawai'ian Pineapple Company and the California Packing Corporation were of
great significance in that these were the biggest factories to take up the largest amount of secondary industry employees in Honolulu covering all kinds of ethnic groups (Cilson 1966:27-33). In the case of the Korean group, too, 29 urban workers were employed as skilled blue collar workers in the pineapple canneries in 1920, which was only second to the occupation of dock laborer in terms of amount of employees, though the latter was contained in the unskilled blue collar class.

In addition, the booming of the urban construction economy created an abundant demand for skilled blue collar workers so that many Asian immigrant workers who had got some skills trained in sugar plantations were given the opportunity to advance up the social hierarchy. Koreans, too, even if small in number, were able to take advantage of the favorable economic environment in Honolulu and thus some of them moved up to the occupations requiring construction skills such as carpenter(16), plasterer(1), plumber(2), and painter(4).

Careful examination, however, reveals that occupational segmentation by races was quite clear within the class. That is, Caucasian construction craftsmen, who were discontented with the surge of what was called the "Oriental menace," thoroughly excluded Asian skilled
laborers from their occupational domains in large
construction firms. In this hostile environment, most of
Asian craftsmen were restricted to the small-housing
construction mainly catering to their own ethnic
comrades (Beechert 1985:146-9). Therefore, Asian skilled
workers' income level could not be comparable to the Haole
counterparts, although the Asian skilled workers' social
status was regarded as more advanced and wealthier than
their ethnic brethren bounded in unskilled blue collar
jobs.

The scale of petit proprietor class did not change
much. But the major occupations they took in this class
shifted from the small-scale primary industry
proprietors (21 out of total 29 in 1910) including
gardeners, farmers, and fishermen, to the various kinds of
small shop petit proprietors (27 out of total 38 in 1920).
The agricultural businesses in 1910 which had been
practiced in remote urban areas within the boundary of
Honolulu City may have been an ideal enterprise for the
Korean newcomers who were about to settle down in the
competitive urban economic environment because not much
capital and less high-quality occupational skills were
required to embark in these businesses. In addition,
because autonomy was guaranteed in running the primary
industry businesses, they did not have to be anxious about the language barrier in communicating with other ethnic members. Notwithstanding, the demand for garden products was on the increase as the city was continuously receiving new settlers. After a decade, however, the orientation to agricultural businesses dealing with the broader local market of Honolulu weakened as competitiveness became intense due to numerically overwhelming Chinese and Japanese groups' effort to monopolize the businesses. In the meantime, the Korean community of Honolulu gained a substantial number of constituents so that the ethnic community market itself was expanded. Now a propitious atmosphere was created for Korean ethnic small businesses which could deal with the community needs.

Generally speaking, the prosperity of ethnic businesses of tertiary industry nourished by the enlarging ethnic community positively contributed to the business entrepreneurs' upward social mobility in the urban class structure. An ethnic community, to be sure, played a significant role as an economic niche for minority businessmen in the competitive urban economy in terms of secured market and cheap labor source (Kitano 1969:18-23; Light 1980; Bonacich 1975). Especially East Asian immigrant groups make the most of their own community as a foothold
before climbing up the ladder of socio-economic hierarchy and actually many succeeded in this way.

In contrast to the Chinese and Japanese communities, however, the Korean community was relatively small in size and could only sustain a limited quantity of ethnic small businesses. Therefore, Korean minority people may not have enjoyed the social advancement based on utilizing the economic niche of their own community as much as the Chinese or the Japanese people did. Consequently, the disadvantage occurred by their status as a "minority among minority" could only be overcome through active participation in the broader mainstream local market. According to the perspective of a renowned sociologist, Andrew Lind (1938:252-65), this structural situation, imposed upon the Korean minorities, resulted in the more phenomenal upward social mobility for the Korean minorities through rapid acculturation to American culture than for any other ethnic groups in Hawai'i. No doubt, the necessitated participation in the broader mainstream market economy helped the Korean urban dwellers adapt to and negotiate with the mainstream society. In my opinion, however, it seems quite rash to conclude that the unavoidable participation in the mainstream society for economic survival led directly to the Korean people's easy
adjustment to the mainstream society. Honolulu, during the first half of this century, was a city where the racist culture of the Haole group was as deeply entrenched as in the mainland cities, and thus equal access to employment opportunities was still structurally blocked for non-Haole peoples. Cultural assimilation of the Korean group was in many ways voluntarily pursued like the quick acquiring of American values and English language skills (Patterson 1979), and yet formal and informal social interaction with the Haole mainstream group, or structural assimilation, was still far away.

The Korean people included in both high and low white collar classes increased from 21 in 1910 to 56 in 1920. The increasing rate (167%) was almost the same as the increasing rate (157%) of the total Korean population in Honolulu, although the low white collar class increased at a much higher rate (275%). Many of the low white collar workers continued to be employed both in 1910 and in 1920 as sales workers in ethnic businesses or as office workers in ethnic voluntary institutions like Korean ethnic school and newspapers. That is, many ethnic petit proprietors running small businesses tended to depend on their own ethnic community for a sales market and at the same time, tended to depend on it for a reliable source of labor for their
businesses. On the side of the employees, the small business shops provided them not only with wages for their livelihood but also with the skills for similar business which they wished to run in the future.

Heavy dependency on the ethnic community is found in the high white collar class, too. Only 9 Koreans had secured high white collar jobs in 1910, which included one pastor of a Korean Protestant church, one interpreter for the immigrating Korean picture brides, two managers of Oriental drug shop and of the hotel mainly serving Koreans, and one president and one principal of a Korean school. This trend of dependency on the ethnic community persisted through 1920. With little increase in total number, many high white collar class workers in 1920 were involved in ethnic institutions like Korean newspapers and churches, and ethnic businesses catering to the compatriots like Korean hotel and big shops for ethnic commodities. This phenomenon demonstrates that the ethnic community, although never as large in size as the "majority among minority" groups like the Chinese or Japanese, was likely to generate a certain amount of ethnic high white collar class workers. In contrast to the favorable environment for some minority members' social upward mobility which had been created within the expanding ethnic community, the possibility to
move up to the same class jobs in the outer mainstream labor market seems to have been almost as obstructed as a decade beforehand.

In sum, the Korean immigrants' distribution in the social occupational structure became more diverse over a decade, but their progress up in the social hierarchy never looked as phenomenal as some prominent sociologists contended (Adams 1933; Lind 1938), at least during a decade of 1910 to 1920. Concerning the delay of social upward movement of the first-generation Koreans, there is no question that they were deficient in human capital such as education and language skill, so that the probability of advancement was constricted. But this should not be considered to be solely responsible for the minority people's difficulty in moving up the class ladder. It is obvious that an ascribed social status, race or ethnicity, was substantially linked to the formation of rigid social structure at that time. In the rigid social structure, the acquired social status or human capital was not capable of functioning well in favor of the minority people's success. Therefore, precisely speaking, both internal and external factors put together to cause their slow upward movement in social economic status.
2. Spatial Patterns of the Korean Ethnic Community

In the previous chapter, the residential distribution of all ethnic groups in the Honolulu of 1920 was identified based on a ten per cent sample of population gainfully occupied from the manuscript schedules of the population census. Location quotients were calculated on the forty six enumeration districts within the city limit. The enumeration districts, as areal units, however, are generally too large to recognize the detailed distribution, because each district was portrayed as homogeneous according to a range-graded patterning scheme. Therefore, although the choropleth maps are useful to understanding a general trend of the ethnic groups' large-scale distribution patterns, they are insufficient to reveal the minute locational characteristics of a specific ethnic community.

Here, to analyze the precise locational characteristics of the Korean ethnic group which could not be revealed in the choropleth map (Figure V-13), meticulous examination was done to locate the addresses of Korean people one by one in the manuscript schedules of the censuses of 1910 and 1920. This work was implemented to prove the assumption that social forces of unequal ethnic relations in Honolulu were affecting non-Haole groups'
Figure VI-1
Residential Distribution of Koreans in Honolulu, 1910
Figure VI-2
Residential Distribution of Koreans in Honolulu, 1920
social life as commonly as in the mainland cities, and furthermore, it might considerably restrict the residential places where the minority Koreans could decide to reside.

According to the maps of residential distribution of the Korean dwellers in Honolulu in 1910 and 1920 (Figure VI-1 and VI-2), the concentration proportion had been continuously heaviest in the area around lower Kapalama which, as was aforementioned, has been traditionally known as the poverty-stricken working class district in Honolulu. Within the range of a half mile centering on Liliha Street between King Street and School Street were about 43 per cent of all Korean urban dwellers clustered in 1910 (Figure VI-1). A decade later, the concentration ratio increased to about 63 per cent (figure VI-2). This heavily concentrated area almost coincides with the highest location quotient districts of Figure V-13 drawn from a ten per cent sample of Korean people gainfully occupied in 1920. This area is

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This area is covered by the enumeration districts 25, 42, 43, 44, and 46 in the manuscript schedules of 1910 population census whose total Korean population amounts to 176. In 1920, however, the area is covered by the differently numbered enumeration districts 28, 29A, 41, 45, 47, 48, 49B, and 50A. That is, the zonation and areal cord of enumeration districts were totally changed in a decade, so that it is difficult to make a parallel comparison between the two years, but it does not hinder understanding and comparing the general trends of population agglomeration.
right next to Honolulu Chinatown which is adjacent to the Honolulu Harbor and the Central Business Center.

As for the over-proportion of Koreans in the lower Kapalama area, it seems safe to argue that the proximity to the potential sources of working places caused the newly-incoming Korean ex-plantation laborers to settle down in this area. In reality, among all hiring institutions in Honolulu, Honolulu harbor and the neighboring pineapple canneries had the largest capacity to employ the new urban laborers who had just left rural plantations. Many Korean urban dwellers could gain access to the employment opportunities there, too. In addition to the possibility of employment opportunity within a short distance, the existing ethnic network in which the newcomers unfamiliar with the urban setting felt comfort and secure must have played an important causative role in attracting them. Needless to say, to the first-generation Korean immigrants whose cultural background was still deeply rooted in their place of origin, the primordial ties and the consequent spatial propinquity through their own ethnic neighborhood, whether it had been formulated by their own volition or by the external force of segregation, offered psychological protection. Moreover, as the spatially clustered community became larger, "institutional completeness" began to work
on the community constituents. The community itself began
to generate job opportunities like ethnic small businesses
and institutions.

Detailed enumeration of each Korean's occupation
displays the importance of the ethnic neighborhood as
economic niche or economic enclave and also the Korean
laborers' spatial proximity to work places. In 1910, even
if the Korean agglomeration in the lower Kapalama area was
relatively small, many ethnic small businesses appeared to
have existed within the spatial range of the neighborhood.
According to my enumeration, 9 small businesses were
located in the area. At a glance, it does not seem to be a
large number, but excluding the petit proprietors of
gardeners and farmers residing and working in remote
suburban areas, almost all other petit proprietors were
found in the Korean concentration area. The concentration
of Korean small businesses in the Korean agglomeration area
continued to exist in 1920. Among 45 Korean petit
proprietors in the entire Honolulu, 32 proprietors were
operating their businesses in the area. Except gardeners
and farmers, only 5 Korean-owned small businesses were
located outside the lower Kapalama area. Although it is
impossible to find out whether all of the businesses were
related to the ethnic community, it seems apparent that
those businesses in the Korean concentration area depended entirely or at least partly on the Korean community as a sales market or as a source of labor supply.

The pattern of Korean urban workers' residence close to work places was more pronounced in 1920 when the variety of occupations engaged in by Korean group were more specialized than in 1910. As mentioned before, the neighboring Honolulu Harbor and pineapple canneries took up a large amount of Korean blue collar workers: 53 dock laborers and 29 cannery workers. Among them, all cannery workers and 85 per cent of dock laborers had their residence in the Korean concentration area, lower Kapalama, within one mile working distance from their work places. The area contained the largest amount of low-income Korean blue collar workers, and yet as will be explained later, it was not an ethnic neighborhood exclusively comprised of Korean people but an ethnically mixed low-income blue collar residential zone.

The other less, but still remarkable, concentration area of the Korean group in 1910 was found along Punchbowl Street between Beretania and School Street not far from the highest concentration zone, the lower Kapalama area. This area was immediately adjacent to the northern side of the central business and administration district of Honolulu so
that it contained a significant number of Koreans working for low white collar class jobs and some small retail businesses. Noteworthy is that the first Korean church erected in Honolulu in 1903, then called the "Korean Methodist Church," was located in this district from 1910 through 1920 and so was the official Korean ethnic school attached to the church. Correspondingly, the Korean people who were involved in the management of such ethnic institutions, like pastor, principal, and teachers for the church and the school, resided in this district. Besides, many church fellows lived together surrounding the church site to constitute a small ethnic spatial neighborhood, particularly named the Korean Compound (S. L. Yang 1978). This smaller scale Korean neighborhood, even if not numerically large, seems likely to have played important psychological centripetal roles for the Koreans in Honolulu or even in the entire Territory of Hawai'i because of the church's main activities involving the independence movement for their mother country and because of their children's education taking place in the attached Korean school.

During the decade, however, this area did not witness a substantial change in the absolute number of Korean residents except some change of the residents'
distributional pattern and a spill-over of residents along the roads stretching outside the neighborhood. This stagnation of Korean population growth in this area may have been associated with the split of Korean ethnic society caused by the factional dispute between community political leaders. A strong political leader, Syngman Rhee, who had been running behind in individual competition for political hegemony of the Korean community in those days, attempted to organize an independent power through separating from the existing umbrella organization, Tae-hanin Kungmin-hoe. As explained in Chapter Four, the social and political activities of the umbrella organization had been inseparably related to the Korean Methodist Church. In this atmosphere, Syngman Rhee resolutely got out of the church with his followers to establish an independent church in 1918 called "Korean Christian Church" which he used as a base of expanding his political power in the community. The factional group led by Syngman Rhee placed its new church right on Liliha  

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58 Completing a doctoral degree at Princeton in 1910, he had been invited to work for the Korean community and for the independence movement by Tae-hanin Kungmin-hoe in Hawai'i by the hegemonic community leader then, Yong-Man Park, with whom he was to have a severe feud later. As time went by, however, he more and more dominated the Korean community, and in the end, he was inaugurated as the first President of liberated Korea in 1948.
Street of the lower Kapalama area, the biggest Korean concentration site.

Another small concentration of Korean people in 1910 is found along the upper Nuuanu valley. In this remote low mountain-slope area, 24 Koreans were in charge of the gardening of flowers and vegetables, and some of them retained an extra job as peddler as a source of livelihood. The gardener jobs of Koreans were, though in a reduced ratio, still in existence there in 1920, and yet banana farming began to be practiced by seven Koreans in a far-off mountainous site stretched up Kalihi Road. An interesting spatial point accommodating many Koreans is also found on the upper Kapalama area right above School Street. Oahu Insane Asylum was situated at this spot and confined 19 Korean people in 1910. The number of Korean inmates in 1920 became more than doubled to 44.

Comparing the maps of 1910 and 1920, a few new small concentration sites were added by 1920, where big public institutions of the wider society were situated. First, a big hospital called the Leahi Home in the eastern side of Honolulu in the lower Kaimuki area above Diamond Head employed 18 Korean people as unskilled or semi-skilled blue collar laborers and also accommodated 11 Korean people as patients. On the western side of Honolulu at the meeting
point of School Street and Kalihi Road, the Susannah Wesley Home was located and sheltered 18 Korean female children under the age of twenty. It may be that the Home functioned as a kind of institution to care for female orphans or to provide vocational education for girls of poor families.

The outlying residential points, other than aforementioned several concentrations of Korean population, were widely scattered throughout the whole city area, and yet the population in each enumeration district was almost negligible. The widely dispersed Korean people were gainfully occupied in various jobs, but mostly in lower blue collar class jobs as wage-workers. It is noteworthy that some Koreans were residentially located in Haole neighborhoods in both 1910 and 1920. But the small number of Korean people having residence in the high white collar class sites like "Silk-Stocking" Manoa (Lind 1980:62) or Makiki area were employed mostly as servants, cooks, or yardmen for private families. Their residential location was irrelevant to the advancement in the social hierarchy or social cultural assimilation.

3. **Locational Change of the Korean Ethnic Churches**

   In relation to the location of the Korean ethnic neighborhood, the locational changes of the Korean Protestant churches also requires further explanation.
Before the "Korean Christian Church" was separately set up by Syngman Rhee and his adherents in 1918, there had been two Korean churches serving as integral institutions for the community. The "Korean Methodist Church" mentioned above, currently known as "United Christ Methodist Church," had started its religious activities in 1903 as Korean Methodist Mission at the corner of Hotel Street and River Street within Chinatown. Yet, the Mission soon moved to a rented house at School Street and Emma Street in 1904 and a year later, the mission was promoted to the "Korean Methodist Church" before relocating again to Nuuanu Street in July of the same year (Ryu 1988:34-8). In 1906, the church made another movement to upper Punchbowl Street where the "Korean Compound" subsequently developed. The Methodist church, after going through turbulent internal troubles caused by the break-up of Syngman Rhee's faction, moved again in 1922 to Fort Street only one block from its former location. The central location of the "Korean Methodist Church" in the Korean community and its role as an integrated place for the ethnic members can be roughly estimated from a second-generation Korean woman's recollection of her early church life. Her recollection also shows an outline of the intermingling non-Haole ethnic groups in residential space.
Sundays were special days for all the immigrant families living in our Pele Street court. Early in the morning I saw the Portuguese families leaving for mass. They were dressed in their finery—the girls and their mothers in bright pink, blue, or printed dresses and stylish hats; the boys and their fathers in trim suits and felt hats. Each family walked together to the cathedral. Although the parents yelled and scolded their children during the week, on Sundays they were all quiet and amiable. The two Japanese families in the court did not make a weekly ritual of going to church. I heard they had shrines built in their homes, so they held their own services.

Our family walked together to our Methodist church on Fort Street. We wore our best clothes, although they did not compare with the showy, splendid dress of the Portuguese.

The congregation of over a hundred members at our church was like a large, intimate clan of relatives; we knew all the families by name. The men in their worn suits entered the sanctuary through the door on the left and sat in the pews on the left, while the women in their native dress and their children in homemade Western clothes entered through the door on the right and occupied the center and right pews.

Parishioners were most happy to see each other, but they did not express their pleasure openly. They followed a dignified custom they had brought from their country: They responded to greeting with utmost humility. When asked, "How are you?" the appropriate answer was "Oh, so so," or "Not much better than last week," or "All right, I guess." These responses belied the feelings of the women, especially, who were usually full of joy.

When the church service was over, everyone hurried home for a quick lunch—no one lived too far away—then returned for club meetings and socials. The men retired in small groups and discussed Korean politics. The women put their energies into the mission of the Methodist Ladies' Aid Society—keeping track of the sick or unemployed or troubled among its members.

We children returned with our parents to the church, too. We had the whole Sunday afternoon to
play games or just sit and chat with one another until our parents were ready to go home.

(Margaret K. Pai 1989:55-6)

Other than the "Korean Methodist Church," there was "St. Luke Korean Episcopal Mission" which is believed to have started its history from 1903. Yet the first official service practiced in Korean took place in 1907 at "St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church" which belonged to the Chinese ethnic group. This church was located at the corner of King Street and Pua Lane, a quarter mile east of the junction of King and Liliha Street. With the help of the Chinese church and its American Reverend, they were able to borrow a congregation place scheduling the service hours right before the Chinese service (Mark 1989:248).

\[59\] According to Samuel S. O. Lee, the chairman of Consecration of new church building at Judd Street in 1952, the origination of the "Korean Episcopal Mission" dates back to 1903 when a fellowship institution for Korean immigrants, Chun Heung Hyup Hoi (Lightning Flourishing Association) was established. Its members were assisted to learn English by the Episcopal missionaries, Mrs E. C. Perry and Deaconess Sands and later in 1907 introduced by them to the Episcopal services at "St. Elizabeth's Church." It was in 1917 that the Korean congregation under the Chinese Church formed an independent mission, "St. Luke's Episcopal Mission." For a detailed history of "St. Luke Korean Episcopal Mission," refer to Samuel S. O. Lee, 50 Years of St. Luke's Church, Honolulu, Hawaii, in commemoration of consecration of the church building, (Honolulu: St. Luke's Church, 1957).
Figure VI-3
United Christ Methodist Church at Makiki Area
(Photo taken by the Author on September 21, 1994)
Figure VI-4
St. Luke's Episcopal Church at Lower Kapalama Area
(Photo taken by the Author on September 21, 1994)
Figure VI-5
Korean Christian Church at Lower Kapalama Area
(Photo taken by the Author on October 2, 1994)
Thenceforth, the members of the mission raised a small fund and constructed a frame structure for their own purposes on the backside of the "St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church." But they could not be satisfied with the frame structure, and so began to devote themselves to reaching the goal of erecting a worthy "God's new house." Their sincere effort bore the fruit of a beautiful church built in traditional Korean-style architecture on Judd Street in the middle of Nuuanu valley in 1952. This structure still serves the Korean congregation at present (S. S. O. Lee 1957:15-9). The church has been within walking distance of the heaviest Korean agglomeration area inside and around Liliha, School, Nuuanu, and King Street.

4. Place and Identity Formation: Local vs. Haole

As clarified in the preceding chapter, the lower Kapalama area where the Korean group was most densely concentrated, had been characterized as a typical multi-ethnic place where low-income working class laborers of various non-Haole ethnic backgrounds were grouped together. Like in the example of Korean urban migrants, this area attracted the poor immigrant laborers who had mostly worked on Hawai'ian plantations, because the sources of employment were spatially near at hand. Also, an important cause of spatial agglomeration of each ethnic group in this area
must have been the ethnic social network indispensably encompassing newcomers of an ethnic group. Apparently, through the network, the new urban dwellers could easily acquire the information of job availability and even about everyday life in the competitive strange social environment. Also the ethnic spatial togetherness could function to mitigate their spiritual insecurity caused by their marginal status in a foreign land and to fulfill their cultural deprivation. In this context, it is undeniable that their voluntary intention to congregate themselves in a limited area for their own interests accounts for the tendency of Korean or other non-Haole ethnic groups to develop a spatial propinquity in constructing an urban ethnic community in the first half of this century. But why did not the diverse non-Haole ethnic communities constitute spatially separated neighborhoods in the lower Kapalama area? In other words, how was it possible for the people of various ethnic backgrounds to live side by side with their own ethnic identities and cultural traditions mutually acknowledged? In answering these questions, it could be helpful to look into the social residential distinctions of the coexisting Haole group in Honolulu.
The Haole group who had held politico-economic hegemony on the Territory of Hawai'i, had been more likely to manifest a distinctive residential ecology by setting up their neighborhoods on the high valley zones of cool weather and on the sites commanding good ocean views. It is evident that they segregated themselves through implicitly or explicitly monopolizing the desirable residential spaces in the early decades of this century. For example, "White only" notifications were commonly used even as late as 1950s in the classified section of real estate advertisements in local newspapers (Johnson 1991:309). By means of this overt residential discrimination or a tight social and spatial conglomeration of themselves, the power-holding, but numerically small Haole group tried to keep their privileged social status and Haole culture.

The Haole group's determined intention of exclusive socio-cultural segregation is vividly shown in the example of "English Standard" schools which were established beginning in 1924 (Kirkpatrick 1987:306-8). The nominal purpose of these schools was to prevent Haole children from being contaminated by local "Pidgin"60 English, but in

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60 This Hawaiian dialect of English had been developed in the middle of the plantation working environment requiring cross-ethnic communication. English (continued...
reality the schools were activated as institutions aiming at preserving the Haole members' privileged status and white-only culture. In this context, the learning of standard English was regarded as a source of pride for non-Haole ethnic members which could facilitate social upward mobility in the social hierarchy controlled by the Haole group. No doubt, acquiring the language skill was a necessary condition for occupational mobility in Haole-dominant economic structure, but it alone was not a sufficient condition. Still, structural barriers were too strong for the non-Haole members to break through.

This strong centripetal cohesion and the resultant self-strengthened identity of Honolulu's Haole group was much different from the situation in the mainland cities. Unlike the Haoles in Hawai'i, the white majority people in

60(...continued)

was used as the "language of command" by planters, though most simplistic forms of the language were preferred. Furthermore, to convey an order effectively to the foreign immigrants who had been totally unfamiliar with English, planters used to borrow some foreign words with which a gang of ethnic laborers were familiar. In this process, the standard English grammar became distorted and simplified, and wide variety of non-Haole ethnic terms were added to forge "Pidgin" English; for examples, "I no think so." (I don't think so.), and "Chicken he too much makee[Hawai'ian]." (Many chickens died.) For other examples, see R. T. Takaki, Strangers from a Different Shore, (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1989), pp. 167-8 and M. K. Pai, The Dreams of Two Yi-min, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), pp. 47-8.
the mainland were not in need of strong protection of their own social and cultural boundaries due to their numerical strength, but instead, deployed their power as majority to restrict the social and sometimes the residential movement or extent of other minorities (Anderson 1991). In the essential meaning, however, the thoroughgoing social spatial congregation of the Haole group in Honolulu was not much different from the overt segregation of ethnic minority groups by the majority white group in the mainland cities. That is, to my knowledge, there was little difference in the white-supremacy culture between Honolulu and the mainland cities in that the ideology of racism deeply and widely influenced each urban social structure. But, the particular situation of numerical balance between ethnic groups' population in Honolulu was likely to make the hegemonic Haole group develop some different tactics in dealing with social ethnic relations: to exclusively congregate themselves instead of actively segregating other minority groups. Using a condensed expression, the Hawai'i case might be defined as the fortification of Haole ethnicity.

In such a background, the polarization of identities began to be formulated in early-twentieth-century Honolulu. That is, the pervasive racism and the ensuing socio-spatial
segregation by the hegemonic Haole group, and at the same
time, the powerless ethnic groups' disposition for socio-
spatial togetherness had been put together into the making
of dichotomical division of identities, Local versus Haole.
The metaphor of "melting-pot" or "assimilation" was not
likely to be applied to the Honolulu setting at least
during the time span of this research. Furthermore, the
nascent binary structure of identity between Hawai'i's
peoples became more strengthened after the mid-twentieth
century, contrary to the contemporary ameliorating tendency
of ethnic differentiation in the mainland cities. The
storming influx of white military men to Honolulu since
World War Two who had not been acquainted with the peculiar
local ethnic relations, to be sure, caused so-called
"Locals" to be exasperated because of their crude, less-
exquisite application of the mainland-version of racial
prejudice and discrimination to the Islands(Whittaker
1986). At that time, as the white members increased in
absolute number, the identity conflict fully showed up from
the dormancy under which it had been kept during the
condition of numerical balance among several ethnic groups.

To the white migrants who had been only accustomed to
the mainland culture of ethnic relations, this
categorization of themselves as "Haoles" by the local non-
Haoles must have been a weird experience. The categorization would sometimes make the newcomers misunderstand the locals as organizational counter-attackers on the white-supremacy America. Ethnic violence which had been self-restrained under the particular historical situation of the Islands began to be triggered by the collision of different place-specific ethnic ideologies. With regard to the white newcomers' experience, anthropologist Elvi Whittaker succinctly remarks as follows:

The discovery of one's Haoleness is an experience common to all whites who migrate to the Islands. People who have previously thought of themselves as rather ordinary, average North Americans, who have learned to distinguish themselves by their occupation, city of origin, or their political affiliation, are now surprised to discover themselves to be Haoles. It is a strange existential shift for those who have always thought of others as ethnics, themselves as Americans. They are placed in the position of learning, often embarrassingly or painfully, of their own ethnicity, their own minority status.

(Elvi Whittaker 1986:53)

Turning to Local identity, it is not difficult to conceive that the categorization of that identity in Honolulu was closely related with the dualistic socio-spatial structure of Haole and non-Haole communities. To
wit, **Local** identity involving the ethnic groups other than the Haole group was certainly based on cross-ethnic interpersonal relationships between the discriminated non-Haole people. Broadly speaking, in the course of personal interaction, people tended to become aware of themselves and others, and try to find and build shared values and attitudes, and eventually identify all the interacting members with "us" or "insiders." Given this general reasoning, a close interpersonal interaction is, in most cases, considerably facilitated by a spatial proximity through which the everyday social lives of different ethnic individuals can be easily communicated. In the case of Honolulu, the lower Kapalama area where many non-Haole ethnic groups shared their own neighborhoods with other groups could be a good example of spatial proximity for the formation of a new identity of what is called **Local**. The Korean ethnic group, which also placed its neighborhood on this region, took part in the making process of the **Local** identity and later has been under the influence of that identity.

As noted before, the Korean neighborhood in lower Kapalama area had been formed by both the external force of racism by the power-holding group and the internal force of voluntary congregation. But the neighborhood was not
spatially separated from other powerless ethnic groups. This ethnically mixed situation must have enabled active interpersonal interaction to take place, and moreover helped the members of various ethnicities in similar classes to become aware of their common social position. Based on the consciousness of their social position and in order to cope with the then prevailing racism representing Haole identity, the participating non-Haole ethnic groups continued to negotiate their ethnic identities and eventually could build up a collective identity. The neighborhood sharing or the place-based relationship obviously facilitated the low class members of various non-Haole ethnic groups to create a common particular world view. In this sense, so-called Local identity can be safely said to be a product of place as a "historically contingent process" (Pred 1984).

In the case of early-twentieth-century Honolulu, however, the invention of Local identity was never achieved at the expense of the extinction of each ethnic identity. At the same time while forging a new pan-ethnic identity, each ethnic people, particularly the Korean group members, continued to try not to lose the solidarity of their ethnic identity. Although the Korean ethnic community had shared its neighborhood with other ethnic communities in a
congested and economically-deprived area, the spatial propinquity of the community constituents had functioned as an advantage to keep their ethnicity consolidated. It is needless to say that many ethnic voluntary institutions including Korean Protestant churches persistently played the roles as the node of ethnic community network. Above all forces in the Korean ethnic community, however, the tragic political situation of the fatherland, Korea, acted as the most cohering force of the ethnic identity. They were always concerned about the reality in their place of origin and would frequently organize the relevant events. The most phenomenal case happened right after the March First Movement swept the Korean Peninsula in 1919. To respond to and support the brave nation-wide independence movement by their brethren at home, the Koreans in Honolulu marched orderly from King Street to Waikiki, wearing Korean costumes and holding the national flag (Won Kil Yun 1989:95-9). This kind of energetic organization of ethnic events was not merely for the ostensible purpose pertaining to the events. It also used to intend to demonstrate the solidarity of Korean community, in other words, their existence as a social entity in the multi-ethnic society.

To be sure, the Honolulu Korean community during the early decades of the twentieth century was holding dual
Figure VI-6
Japanese Shinto Shrine at Lower Kapalama Area
(Photo taken by the Author on September 9, 1994)
Figure VI-7
Chinese Buddhist Temple at Lower Kapalama Area
(Photo taken by the Author on September 9, 1994)
Figure VI-8
Nuuanu Baptist Church at Lower Kapalama Area
(Photo taken by the Author on September 9, 1994)
identities as Koreans and as "Locals." While keeping their own ethnic identity, they also contributed to the formation of a new collective identity on the basis of the place of neighborhood jointly occupied with other non-Haole ethnic group members. That is, the two-fold identities of the Korean community derived from the ethnicity-specific as well as the class-specific neighborhood. For the Korean urban dwellers, both ethnicity and class were activated as means of negotiating with the outer world, or struggling with the disadvantages of the discriminatory urban social structure.
1. The Korean Immigration Reconsidered

Compared to the "Go West" settlement history of European immigrants since their arrival on North America's eastern coast, Asian immigrants were first introduced to the western economic frontiers of American capitalism including California and Hawai'i, and from there, started their immigration history of "Go East." To the Korean ethnic group, too, the western frontiers, especially the Hawai'ian Islands is of great significance in respect that it was the first place for the incipient immigrants to arrive in the United States territory and also it was the origin of spatial diffusion of the subsequent migration. From the other perspective of Korean culture history, also it has an important meaning because the labor migration to Hawai'i was the first mass emigration officially authorized by Korean government to Occidental society. The areal range of Korean people, who had been under the strong influence of the Confucian world view, had been restricted to the Korean Peninsula and at most extended to the conterminous
Manchuria and Siberia right across the northern border until the end of nineteenth century.

The initial Korean immigration to Hawai'i took place during the relatively short period between 1903 and 1905 with total amount of about seven thousand which was mainly constituted by young male laborers recruited for sugar plantations. The ethnic group was augmented later between 1910 and 1924 by "picture brides" of approximately one thousand. These two groups were the very basis of the initial Korean immigration community in the United States until a new wave of mass immigration was resumed by the Immigration Reform Act of 1965.

With respect to the causes and process of the immigration, I have tried to show that those issues could be better understood in the framework of the world-system of imperial capitalism. The global territorial expansion of world capitalism propelled by Western imperial powers spatially reorganized the world economy into "core" and "periphery" which gave birth to an unprecedented pattern of international labor and capital movement. In the process, both the Korean Peninsula and the Hawai'ian Islands came to be relegated to the peripheral areas for the markets of capitalistic commodities and the sources of raw materials and cheap laborers.
However, as American national capitalism grew through its internal colonization of American South and West, and also as it became associated in the fierce competition for the global-scale expansion of colonialism, the Hawai’ian Islands became recognized as an important site because of its ecological suitability for the production of sugar and also its strategic location as a stepping stone to the other Pacific islands and Asia. The demand for sugar was on the tremendous increase especially in the booming economic frontier, the American west coast, so that the Haole capitalists began to invest in the sugar plantations in Hawai’i. The investment of capital made the position of Hawai’i in the world capitalistic economy changed from periphery to semi-periphery. The changed situation of the Islands, however, created a new problem in relation to the management of labor-intensive industrialized sugar plantations. The Haole planters continuously strived to introduce huge amount of cheap and reliable laborers from all over the world, but the Asian laborers were second to none for these purposes.

Korea was one of the good sources of the needed labor force in the sugar plantations because it was being incorporated into a periphery of the world system by imperial powers. That is, as Korean society was intruded by
foreign capitalism and thus its traditional economic system was disrupted, many Korean peasants could not help being driven out of their traditional home to some urban sites with the hope of employment. To the poverty-stricken uprooted Korean people, the recruitment of Hawai’ian plantation laborers by an American agent company sanctioned by the Korean royal government must have been an appealing option.

Additionally, the Haole planters' policy, which did not allow one single ethnic group to gain a numerically overpowering status in plantation labor force, was also partly responsible for the importation of Korean laborers. Especially the several attempts by the Japanese to strike in plantations through class consciousness based on ethnic identity were usually perceived by the power-holding Haole group as an economic or political threat. To check such Japanese group's efforts, the importation of Korean laborers must have been a best alternative for the Haole planters to choose. The reason is that in those days, the ethnic hatred between two peoples was striking and furthermore, it was being substantiated in the course of imperial Japan's attempts to colonize the Korean Peninsula.

In sum, the initial Korean immigration to Hawai'i was generated by the interplay of the development of American
national capitalism in the American West and Hawai'i, and the socio-economic disasters by the permeation of Western imperial capitalism in the territory of Korea. Of course, the coincidental ecological disasters including severe drought and floods, and the resultant famines and widespread epidemics in the Korean Peninsula partly accounted for their decision to emigrate to the strange Occidental land.

Although having similar cultural background and immigration motivation in common, the Korean immigrants were distinct from other Asian immigrants in several aspects. First of all, heterogeneous occupational and geographical backgrounds in the homeland differentiated the Korean group from the other Asian groups who came from spatially limited rural areas and were predominantly employed as peasants. In other words, most of Korean immigrants came from urban sites scattered in the Korean peninsula where they worked as lower blue collar laborers. Second, Christianity fascinated many ready-to-go emigrants, which was probably associated with their residence in urban areas. That is, the Korean big cities in those days, especially the port cities embraced much of Western civilization and many American Protestant missionaries to which the potential emigrants to Hawai'i were easily
exposed. From then on, the Protestant churches of the
Korean community in Hawai'i came to occupy the central
position as an institution not only for the nationalistic
movement for their fatherland but also for the Korean-
Americans' adaptation to the harsh ethnically-hierarchical
social environment in the new land. Another important
anomaly is that although having the general characteristic
of "sojourners" society or temporary residents society in
common with other Asian immigrant groups, the Korean group
also included relatively large amount of "settlements." Their
intention to settle down in the new land explains why they
left the sugar plantations for the other places of better
opportunity, mostly for Honolulu, more swiftly than did any
other plantation laborer groups.

In the progress of secondary migration to the urban
area, Honolulu, and the adjustment to the ethnically
divided social hierarchy which the Korean immigrants had
never experienced, the Korean community had gradually
witnessed the evolution of identity from "Koreans" to
"Korean-Americans." The exact periodization of the identity
change is difficult to specify, though it was obviously
proceeded by slow degree. In a sense, the two kinds of
identity co-existed in the community for quite a long time.
In any case, the "sojourner" spirit faded away as Japan completely colonized the fatherland in 1910. This spiritual change was also closely related with the introduction of "picture brides" who brought with them a pioneering spirit of escaping from the obstinate Confucian society to permanently settle down on the new land of opportunity. The constitution of a family and the subsequent production of children, to be sure, made it unavoidable for the immigrants to transplant their root in the new land. Moreover, the urban life in Honolulu which they just embarked on was surrounded by so competitive multi-ethnic and multi-class social environment that more appropriate adaptive strategies based on new self-identification was absolutely needed. Specifically, they had to cope with the Hawai'ian version of racist ideology and the resulting unequal social structure which were manifested and mediated by spatial residential segregation. Accordingly, they came to be incorporated into the multi-ethnic identification process: **Local** versus **Haole**.

2. Change of Identity as Place-Specific Phenomenon

Taking geographically and historically different localities into account, turn-of-the-century Honolulu apparently had some unique backgrounds in ethnic social relations different from those of the contemporary U.S.
mainland cities. Although never occupying more than a minority group in numerical sense, the Haole group, which had been armed with superior technology and capitalism, eventually seized political hegemony and economic power in the Islands at the end of nineteenth century. Strengthening the politico-economic power through large-scale sugar plantation entrepreneurs, Haole capitalists sought for and imported large volume of docile and cheap laborers from all over the world, though mostly from Asian countries. It was by the "divide-and-rule management policy" of the capitalistic plantation economy that the Hawai'ian style of cultural pluralism in which no group achieved a status of numerically overpowering majority group was developed. In spite of the balanced population distribution among ethnic groups, power was not equally dispersed over all groups but was concentrated in the white group which transplanted the mainland version of white-supremacy ideology to the Islands. As such, more important in dichotomy of majority and minority is power relationships rather than numerical quantity of ethnic population.

The unequal power distribution persisted in the second stage of the diverse immigration groups' adjustment to the new urban social environment of Honolulu. In the urban setting, they sometimes had to compete with each other for
limited urban resources or employment opportunities, and sometimes had to negotiate a collective strategy to cope with unfair social structure controlled by white-supremacy ideology. Surrounded by the urban social structure, the former Korean plantation laborers had little choice but to begin at the bottom rung of social class ladder partly due to the lack of human capital, and partly due to the discrimination of inaccessibility to upper class labor market.

The power-holding Haole group applied the scheme of racialization to the stratification of ethnic groups in the same way as it had in the mainland. This racialization was manifested through class stratification and also spatially expressed through residential segregation. In a broad sense, it could be summarized as class differentiation between Haole and non-Haole group or could be delineated into the dual labor market of Haole and non-Haole group. The stratification generated by the particular economic structure and social discrimination might have germinated ethnic identification or at least sensitivity to ethnic deprivation (Mejer 1987:201), or evolution of inter-ethnic working-class consciousness and solidarity: Local identity. From the onset of urban life, non-Haole immigrant laborers had shared similar class position of blue collar jobs in
common. Meanwhile class consciousness had been conceived over the ethnic boundaries within the bottom classes, subsequently contributing to the making of Local identity. The Korean group was also actively involved in the making of "Local" identity counteracting "Haole" identity. Briefly speaking, social discrimination functioned in favor of the formation of collective group solidarity over ethnic differentiation.

The invention of Local identity, however, was never made at the expense of the extinction of each non-Haole group's ethnic identity. Cultural diversity of various ethnic groups has been continuously allowed to be maintained. Thus, neither Anglo-conformity nor melting-pot model can be applied to the case of Hawai'i. Ethnic multiculturalism has surely made one group acknowledge the others' way of life, and hence led to relative absence of ethnic violence in contrast to in the U.S. mainland. These phenomena, however, did not necessarily imply that Hawai'i has enjoyed such an impartial ethnic pluralism to be called a "paradise" of ethnic relations. There were dynamic actions of ethnic discrimination and conflict included inside a semblance of congenial ethnic relations. It is indicated by the divisive identities of Haole and non-Haole
and also by ethnic antagonism between non-Haole groups such as between the Korean and the Japanese group.

Each ethnic community in Honolulu, whether by external forces of discrimination in housing market or by internal forces of ethnic cohesiveness, occupied a certain area and thereby established its own ethnic neighborhood. Broadly delineating, residential ecology of Honolulu in the early twentieth century was established between Haole and non-Haole group. The most discernible tightly-knit ethnic neighborhoods were formed by the Haole group. The ethnic group, mostly confined to white collar and skilled blue collar classes, was the most resistant to social residential invasion by the other ethnic group members. Little wonder that Haole group's neighborhoods nearly corresponded to the concentration areas of the uppermost class including the high valley zones of cool weather and the sites commanding good ocean view like Manoa valley and Waikiki area. The overt residential discrimination or the tight socio-spatial conglomeration of themselves naturally contributed to the self-strengthened Haole identity.

By contrast, lower Kapalama area consisted of a typical multi-ethnic residential neighborhood where low-income working class laborers of various non-Haole ethnic backgrounds were mixed together. The biggest Korean ethnic
neighborhood was located in this area. In this ethnically mixed residential area, the Korean people, on the one hand, set up their own ethnic community or social network so that they could reinforce the sense of ethnicity, and on the other hand, tried to evolve Local identity or an inter-ethnic class consciousness to cope with the mainstream racist social structure. In lower Kapalama area, the coalescence of several ethnic groups into the nascent identity or class consciousness was, to be sure, fostered by spatial propinquity. In other words, sharing the Korean ethnic spatial neighborhood with other groups facilitated close inter-personal interaction which was an important requirement for the formation of new pan-ethnic identity. Spatial ethnic segregation played a significant role in evolving and redefining the sense of ethnicity, and furthermore, by combining with class interest, contributed to formation of a sense of class consciousness among ethnic groups.

To sum up, the interweaving of class and ethnicity in the early-twentieth-century Honolulu was dynamically manifested by spatial separation and also continued to affect the transformation of ethnic self-identification. That is, many forms of ethnic social differentiation which had been substantiated in the course of importation of
various ethnic immigrant laborers had an explicit spatial dimension, and as Peter Jackson (1987:14-6) noted, the spatial structure and the social relations were reciprocally related.

The same can be applied to the Honolulu Korean community during the first half of this century. The Korean immigrants were greatly concentrated in lower Kapalama area partly due to their voluntary intention to congregate with the help of the ethnic social network and partly due to the socio-spatial segregation by the power-holding Haole group. With regard to the ideological adaptive strategy, they had been holding the two-fold identities as "Koreans" and "Locals" representing "Korean-Americans" at the same time in order to cope with the changing social environment both in Korea and in Honolulu. While the identity as "Koreans" themselves was deeply embedded in an ethnic primordial tie irrespective of the members' spatial proximity, the identity of Koreans as "Locals" apparently derived from the ethnicity-specific as well as the class-specific neighborhood. A particular ethnic social relations in Hawai'i and Honolulu, to be sure, affected the location of Korean ethnic neighborhood within the class-specific multi-ethnic area, but reciprocally the spatial propinquity of various non-Haole ethnic peoples in the residential area
developed a new ethnic social relations and prompted a new collective identity called "Local" to be evolved.
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