

Korean networks in the Americas: the 1.5 generation as a transnational actor

Dr. Carolina Mera (Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani, FCS, UBA)

The Korean diaspora in America, North and South, involves certain migratory patterns which have become fixed and give pause for reflection on the integration of migrants involved in certain types of movement and settlement.

According to statistics released by the Migration Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commerce (2007), there are 107,162 Korean residents in Latin America in communities that began to establish themselves from 1962 on¹. There are 50,523 Koreans resident in Brazil, 21,592 in Argentina, 12,070 in Mexico, 5,432 in Paraguay, 9,943 in Guatemala, 1,858 in Chile, 788 in Peru, 766 in Ecuador and 563 in Brazil.

In this text I will deal with the movements of young members of the 1.5 generation² who are possessed of significant intra-regional mobility. Park (1999) hold that 20,000 of the 300,000 Korean immigrants who live in southern California are secondary migrants from South American countries³.

This process, examined from the perspective of Latin America, allows for the putting forward of the theory that transnational diaspora networks promote this mobility in search of better work and professional opportunities and achieve a better start for migrants in their new city.

The re-emigration of 1.5 generation Korean professionals encourages thought on questions related to the integration/assimilation of migrants participating in diaspora processes; bicultural migrants who maintain their ethnic identity (in terms of ethnic attachment and ethnic solidarity⁴) but incorporate themselves professionally and with regard to work in their new country. This bicultural capital influences the pattern of professional re-emigration⁵.

This paper will examine the relevant theoretical concepts, take a brief look at Korean diaspora in Latin America, the life of young people and offer some thoughts on 1.5 generation Latin American re-emigrants in the USA.

Theoretical Concepts

I will first classify what I mean by Korean diaspora. Brubaker (2005) states that an expansion has occurred in the semantic, conceptual and disciplinary space of the word “diaspora” and that this has caused it to be applied to an ever greater number of cases. There is no doubt that there is ambivalence

¹Planned migration to Latin America began in 1960. According to Kim Ill Soo, (1981) 30000 Koreans travelled to Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia with a view to establishing agricultural settlements. This migratory stream eventually led to settlements in the cities. See also Mera (1998, 2005)

² By 1.5 generation I refer to those born in Korea and who arrive as children having gone to school in Korea. This generation can also be divided into those who arrived in the first waves of migrants from 1965 to the 1970s, many of who have already re-emigrated and those who came between 1985 and 1990. Specialists in Korean migration to the United States have defined the 1.5 generation as those bicultural and bilingual people who emigrated from Korea in their formative years. In her study of Hawaii Mary Yu Danico (2004:1) maintains that “Demographically speaking the idea of the 1.5 generation is an impossibility, someone born in Korea is first generation and someone born in the United States is second generation. Nevertheless the term 1.5 generation does have meaning when referring to the sociocultural characteristics and experiences of pre-adult immigrants.

³ Park Kye Young (1999:669). About Koreans from South America in USA see also Steven Masami Rop (2000).

⁴ See Min, Pyong Gap and Kim, Rose (1999).

⁵ Working from a socio-anthropological perspective I have used primary sources on the Korean Community in Argentina and secondary ones relating to the Korean communities in other parts of Latin American and the USA. Ten interviews were carried out on young people (1.5 generation and second generation) who were educated in Latin America and later decided to re-emigrate. A questionnaire was also sent to 22 people in New York City, Los Angeles and Washington DC. (The names of the interviewed are fictional). We also work with data from HANA 2000, documents and archives of APUC, yearbook and media information of the Korean community.

in how it is used in the literature. However, the use of the concept will only have meaning if the particular characteristics of diaspora communities maintain themselves down the generations, over an extended period of time and in spite of the assimilation that tends to take place. The concept of diaspora, therefore, has to take into account the tension between community practices aimed at maintaining cultural identity and the inevitable changes that take place in each local context.

In this article I utilize an open and up to date concept of existing diasporas, basing myself on the work of authors such as Bruneau (2004), Brubaker (2005), Choi (2003) and Dufoix (2003). Bruneau (2004) maintains that to speak of a diaspora four conditions must be fulfilled: 1) the population being studied must be dispersed across a number of places, 2) the choice of destination country must be related to migratory chains which link the new migrants with others already established in a given place, 3) the new migrants must integrate themselves into their destination country without assimilating and maintain a strong sense of identity focused on their country of origin. This latter implies the existence of a strong community life involving traditional forms of community reproduction, and 4) the dispersed migrant groups must maintain and develop strong relations between each other, with their country of origin and with other centres of migration.

The notion of diaspora supposes the existence of family structures as the centre of the migratory chain. The family and the churches constitute places of memory which re-establish an order of transmission between generations (regarding historic narratives, food, language, behavior and marriage). Belonging to a diaspora means articulating a consciousness that focuses on a national identity, a culture or a religion and involves the construction of an identity and the maintenance of its unity. Being uprooted from a place of origin, something inherent in every diaspora, involves the necessity of collective memory to allow the shock to be given voice to. At the local level diaspora involves a process of regrouping which allows the group to organise the mechanisms of transmission and reproduction of ethnocultural identity.

Diaspora, as a transnational phenomenon treats place as a symbolic entity constructed on three axis: national roots, displaced identity and the national consciousness of origin. By examining Korean communities in Latin America I hope to be able to grasp something of the processes of the construction of memory. The cultural sedimentation which is a product of successive waves of migration becomes crystallized in identities which function as unifying elements in the group, creating heterogeneous identities based on different ingredients provided by the various waves of migration.

The existence of the 1.5 generation in all the communities in the world is an indication of the identity of the diaspora. Those belonging to this group feel a sense of identification among themselves, even when they come from places and cultures as different as Argentina and Brazil. They internalise a set of values which includes those of the society of origin, those of the destination society and those of the group of which they form part and live⁶.

To understand more about this process of transnational mobility I will have resort to Bourdieu's (1979) notions of cultural capital and social capital.⁷ Individuals are formed by, and form, institutions, groups, scenes and fields of force and struggle, crystallizing in this social experience what Bourdieu called habitus, deeply-laid frameworks for thinking, acting and feeling, all related to social position. These frameworks are the basis for subjects' perception of the world and action in it. The habitus directs the actions of an agent on the basis of the place he or she occupies in a particular field, that is, in terms of the distribution of the capital concerned. To give an example, linguistic and cultural heritage transmitted by the family is incorporated in the form of habitus through an accumulation of work that has a social cost. This cost can be measured in terms of the time, effort and sacrifice in the acquisition and development of this heritage. In this way the family can be seen as a business that

⁶ For example, I have seen in Korea how young people grew up in foreign countries have more common feeling with each other than with those of the same age grew up in Korea.. (Field work in Seoul, 1998-1999)

⁷ In the social world agents mobilise economic resources (money and consumption) cultural resources (school and university qualifications, languages) and social resources (use of networks of social relations). These resources are known as economic capital, cultural capital and social capital (Bourdieu, 1979).

accumulates cultural capital⁸. This investment of social energy is a characteristic of diaspora communities. The habitus of the 1.5 generation in terms of frameworks of perception and action reflect the dispositions produced by the objective structures of both the local society and the ethnic community.

The notion of cultural capital is complemented by that of social capital, which involves those social relations based on confidence, solidarity, reciprocity and cooperation in a community, which facilitate coordination and cooperation to achieve mutual benefits. Thanks to their social capital, individuals can build social links and obtain advantages and opportunities. The resources of these networks permit the obtaining of the best possible results from projects and strategies.

Diasporic or transnational movements in Latin America

The presence of diasporic networks and Korean communities has a decisive influence on the re-emigration of the 1.5 generation in Latin America. Community social capital embedded in migratory networks acts a special route on which these graduates set themselves in movement. This is a migration which from the outset involves, multiple, individual and family mobility; from Paraguay to Argentina, from Argentina to Brazil and vice versa and from Bolivia to Brazil and also includes cities in the United States and Canada⁹.

Transnational networks existed from the outset. Already in 1974 a football tournament had been organized between residents in Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay. Presidents of community organizations in these countries also visited other communities in this period (Lee Kyo Bom, 1990).

Churches also had an international role since they started to function as motors for migratory chains. It should be remembered that the first migrations from Paraguay to Argentina were motivated by the presence of Pastor Han and the creation of the Korean Evangelical Church in Buenos Aires. A lawyer who arrived in Buenos Aires in 1974 with her parents and who re-emigrated with her family to Los Angeles in 1988 where she lived for five years before returning to Korea, remembers that,

A pastor's wife from the church came for us; the pastor was the father of the wife of my uncle, my father's brother. There was a political relationship. There hadn't previously been much communication. A letter was sent.

Currently, the pastors of some Christian churches work in the USA, Chile, Costa Rica and Korea and other countries.

“Encuentro HANA” has existed in Latin America since the 90s. It is a forum for university students in Brazil, Paraguay, Chile and Argentina to get to know each other and discuss the situation in each other's communities. It has been held four times, at two year intervals, in a different country each time. However, the economic problems experienced in the region have made its organization difficult.

Mention must also be made of joint exhibitions by artists in Brazil and Argentina.

Family relations have also become more transnational. Even though families generally emigrate together to the same countries there are later multiple re-migratory movements. There exist families with parents, children, uncles, aunts and grandparents living in different countries and cities and many

⁸ Social capital can be transformed into economic capital (obtaining a good job through a recommendation) or into cultural capital (a university degree gives access to better paid jobs)

⁹ Many of these movements were already implicit in the initial decision to leave Korea. This is the case of those who came to Latin America in the 1970s. It was also the result of the internal situation of many Latin American countries. The 1970s were characterized by violence between leftist groups and the state as well as economic chaos characterized by high inflation. There was a fresh crisis in Argentina in 1989 when President Raúl Alfonsín was forced from office. Koreans in Brazil also had their moments of expulsion with the economic and political crises of 1981 and 1991.

of these have previously lived in other countries and cities. These families in themselves are an important network for mutual help, especially in terms of the flow of transnational information.

There also exist information networks among the different communities such as the year book (hannilok) which contains information about Korean businesses and families in Argentina, Paraguay and Chile. People pay a great deal of attention to what is happening in other countries in the region because of their human and material links to them. For example, Brazil and Argentina are involved in the chain of production and sales for textiles. This allows them to act strategically at moments of economic difficulty such as periods of hyperinflation and fluctuation in the value of the dollar.

The interest displayed by the government of Korea in Korean communities is of ever greater importance as it sees them as critical players in the current stage of the country's history. The government's new policy of encouraging relations between associations and groups through the organization of meetings of representatives of Korean communities throughout the world contributes to the strengthening of the networks.

The young members of the 1.5 generation in Latin America

Social realities involve both objective worlds external to the individual (rules, institutions...) and also subjective and interior worlds which have to do with feelings, perceptions, representation and knowledge. This tension, in the experience of young members of the 1.5 generation – between the ages of 26 and 45¹⁰ – is dealt with by means of a predisposition to re-emigrate motivated by a range of factors which range from the economic to a search for identity.

These are people familiar with codes of both cultures, bilingual (Spanish – Korean, Portuguese – Korean, and, in many cases, English too.) In the education system they internalize the codes of the society where they live but also internalize ethnic attachment and solidarity at home and in community organizations, especially churches.

Here we see that the decision to re-emigrate arises from a disposition acquired through national¹¹ and community institutions.

The experience of Latin America both distances and brings them closer to their parents but in all cases there is continuity in ethnic identification. They participate in ethnic networks through their membership of community associations and churches. With regard to marriage, at a certain age both women and men are expected to marry a fellow Korean though, in general, this pressure is felt more strongly by women.

While first generation women suffered from stress as a result of having to deal with new codes which distanced them from their children because they didn't know how to communicate with them and nor did they know the rules of the education system, the young 1.5 generation mothers have to deal with new problems related to the transmission of Korean culture and language to the second generation.

Most non-graduates work in the textile business with their parents and family. There is some variation here from country to country. In Brazil, though many work with their families and in their community, there are also many young people with formal employment independent of their families. In Argentina most work in family businesses or in professional activities related to the Korean community and the percentage in formal employment unrelated to their community or family is lower than in Brazil but greater than in Paraguay¹². In all cases, the children, because of their language skills, deal with inspectors and suppliers in the textile business.

¹⁰ There are gender differences here but they won't be examined in this paper.

¹¹ Since the Second World War Latin America has suffered from the emigration of highly-educated people to developed countries (Oteiza y Aruj, 1995).

¹² HANA 2000, Sierra de la Ventana, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

In Paraguay, Brazil and Argentina, the 1.5 generation have closer relation with colleagues (students and professionals) of middle and upper classes contributing to the emergence of a new bicultural identity.

Instead of that, many professional university graduates exercise their profession in their communities, either alone or with colleagues from the community¹³ and they have their own networks for making themselves known to clients or patients. Those who are employees work for Korean firms, large companies and international banks. According to those professionals involved in APUC, jobs in Argentine or multinational companies are obtained by formal methods (advertisements in the media, interviews and tests) while those in the community are obtained through informal contacts by way of friends, family or neighbours¹⁴.

Many graduates leave the country either because the ethnic labor market is saturated or because of inadequate opportunities in Argentina¹⁵. Some interviewees see this situation as a structural problem of the country. Tomy, about to move to New York said.

In Buenos Aires the system is saturated, there are too many doctors and not enough nurses, at least in Buenos Aires.

Others see the problem as having to do with the Koreans themselves and their inability to find a job is seen as a result of not having enough contacts. July, who grew up in Argentina and now lives in Seoul said,

I don't know, I didn't know whether to come here, although you study a lot there are few jobs for Koreans and although you study a lot you end up selling clothes and all that, so I decided to come here.

In Paraguay, as notes Lee (2006:64), "the lack of interaction process undermined the establishment of strong relationships. Instead of building together a suitable society for both groups, Koreans built an environment to their benefit and to their pace, while Paraguayans accepted contributions from Koreans". She concludes that Koreans from Paraguay have a tendency to leave the country in search of better life¹⁶.

Emotional relations are also affected by the process of integration, adaptation and conflict experienced by diaspora communities during their process of integration. Married couples become more conservative. Marrying outside the community is seen as a betrayal of it. Even though as adolescents they would have preferred to marry Argentine people, they come to prefer to marry other Koreans because as they grow older they change their minds and recognize that marrying someone from the same community is a better idea because they have a similar way of life and it will not result in family problems.

Here also, there are some differences between countries. In Paraguay Koreans keep their culture and have limited interaction with Paraguayans. In Brazil they are much more open than in Argentina. However, in general young people who re-emigrate to the United States prefer to marry Koreans from the country they themselves have lived in whether it be Brazil or Argentina.

With regard to language, adults speak Korean while young people acquire the language of the country where they go to school. In Brazil young people tend to lose more their Korean than in Argentina and Chile, where they tend to be bilingual. In countries such as Paraguay they do not adopt the local language as a result of their judgment of the worth of the local population who prefers Guarani

¹³ At the outset there was great demand for Korean professionals but this demand soon declined as a result of a surplus of graduates and the decline in the number of Koreans in Argentina and Paraguay.

¹⁴ Regarding the way to get jobs see Kim Kwang Chung, Kim Hei Chu y Hurh Won Moo (1981)

¹⁵ In 1998 the unemployed was 15%. After the 2001 crisis, in 2002 it was 21%, and in 2007 was around 14%. Also, the Gallup Argentina survey (2000) notes that 33% of young people between 18 and 24 years old wanted to live in another country.

¹⁶ In the case of Paraguay the class conflict between Koreans, Paraguayans whites and Indians origins should be focused.

language. Asked in which language they feel most comfortable most young re-emigrants responded saying Korean at home, Spanish with friends and Spanish, English and Korean with colleagues at work.

Members of 1.5 generation maintain many of the forms of behavior of their parents and change many others, in all cases maintaining and reproducing the ethnic cultural capital which, along with their local experience, energises community networks which facilitate re-migratory movements and allow them to settle better in their destination city. That is to say, they have a predisposition to re-emigration which is orientated through the use of community social capital and cultural capital, the latter product of bicultural experience. In this way identity acquires new forms in movements. Community life, in its organization through churches and ethnic associations creates a collective memory focused on the homeland¹⁷ that strengthens a Korean identity, different in each country but developed globally and which is very distinctive in the USA. The comments of Peter are particularly relevant here,

On television I heard an interview with an Italian of Argentine parents. He was playing for an Italian national sports team and was going to play against Argentina. He was asked whether he loved Italy or Argentina more. He responded by saying "Argentina is my mother, Italy is my wife." That phrase pretty much sums up my feelings about my identity. Korea is my mother, Argentina is my wife and the United States are my home. And I feel that applies to a lot of people.

The 1.5 generation and re-emigration

The first to re-emigrate were those who went with their families or were sent with their parents to study in the USA. They were later followed by others in search of better opportunities. They all maintained multiple contacts by telephone and e-mail and by way of gifts, visits and other exchanges with families and friends in the USA, Canada and Latin America

The motives which cause young 1.5 generation graduates to re-emigrate are basically economic but lately a desire for a better life style – in terms of less crime, violence and political instability – has begun to manifest itself as well. The experience of having suffered discrimination is mentioned as part of the experience of socialization although it is not seen as a cause of re-emigration.

The existence of transnational networks opens new economic, religious, affective and cultural horizons and involves institutional and subjective aspects, the former related to churches, associations etc. and the latter to personal and family expectations. In all the experiences gathered here the existence of friends, family or acquaintances in the destination city was vital when the moment came to decide to emigrate. For example, some of the young Argentine graduates told of how, before making the decision to move, they had spent a considerable period of time, either in one long visit or several short ones, in Flushing in New York or in Koreatown in Los Angeles, either in their parents home or staying with friends, so that they could obtain the necessary information on which to base a decision. However, in spite of these material and affective resources provided by the network, the re-emigration experience is tinged with melancholy for many interviewed.

Sheila, a young woman who lived for 26 years in Argentina and moved to Los Angeles in 2001 said,

There is nostalgia, one misses one's family and friends, the sad thing is not having been able to enjoy more happy moments with friends and family who are now scattered throughout the world.

The experience of moving is not always easy. Graciela says that,

Having lived abroad has enriched me and also made me more free. There is a lot of suffering as well, very difficult moments, having sold everything and starting again from scratch.

¹⁷ Homeland, land of ones ancestors, ancestral home. The concept is used here in a multiple sense and as something dependent on context and in a constant reconfiguration, not as something stable or fixed.

The existence of Koreatowns¹⁸ and their usefulness in the process of social adaptation bears witness to the necessity to have places and networks to seek support from. For those interviewed Koreatown functioned as a resource for the development of their plans and projects and once established they would like to live in other areas. This confirms what Min (2000) notes in his study of Koreans in Los Angeles: Koreans consider Koreatown a place for temporary residence, and the elderly live there because they find all kinds of Korean services. It may be supposed that the first generation had fewer options. In the case of the 1.5 generation it is a help to get started while in the case of the first generation it was a necessary condition for survival. The same happens in *Baek-ku*, the small Koreatown in Buenos Aires. The Korean districts of Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, Los Angeles and New York have their own individual characteristics but they all function as a point of reference for Koreans. As many interviewees said *In Flushing you don't have to speak English, you can live as a Korean without English.*

Those consulted felt part of a complex process of identity with many options present. Korean-Argentinean, Argentineans of Korean parentage, bi or multicultural and living in the United States, the majority feel nostalgia for the land where they grew up and visit Argentina more often than Korea. As they said:

I feel neither Korean-Korean nor Korean-American because I am Korean-Argentine. (Jorge)

I see myself as an Argentinean of Korean parentage who now lives in the United States... Argentina is where my friends are, my food, I miss it a lot but I don't believe I'll go back to live there. (Ana)

I feel as an Argentinised Korean who lives in the United States. (Sheila)

Returning to Buenos Aires always means returning to my true home in every sense, returning to my friends, my family and my place. (Lily)

Furthermore, all those interviewed had a positive view of the experience of having lived in Latin America (regardless of their perceptions of Argentina, Brazil or Paraguay).

My experience of life in Argentina helped me a lot in adapting myself to my job and to find friends, 80-90% of whom are from Latin America. When I arrived here I found I had workmates from 20 different countries in the region but we shared the same language, the same codes and the same way of thinking. I'm ever more grateful for having had the opportunity to grow up, be educated and acquire professional experience in Argentina. (Lily)

The fact of having lived in Argentina and finished secondary school there opened up more opportunities because Spanish is widely spoken in the US and there is always a need for people who speak both languages. (Ana)

The majority of these young people in Los Angeles work in either Korean or international companies where three languages are spoken. A situation whereby someone works for a Korean business, is in charge of Mexican staff and deals with American suppliers is common. This intermediary role was observed by Park (1999:669), "at Berendo Middle School in South Central Los Angeles, a couple of Korean Argentinean women were translating from Spanish to Korean".

This tension between values internalized in Latin America, in the Korean community and the experience of living in the USA becomes part of the process of identity for the 1.5 generation. The experience of sharing bicultural experiences leads them to recognize themselves a special group that is a product of the diaspora, in that they feel identification between themselves even though they come from cultures as different as those of Brazil and Argentina. They have internalized a set of values which come from their country of origin, their destination society and their life experience in the diaspora. For this reason they tend to get together with Korean-Argentines or other Korean friends,

In Los Angeles they all get together, they go to the same church ... (Tomy)

¹⁸ See for the case of New York: Kim, Illsoo (1981), for Los Angeles: Min Pyong Gap (2000) and for Buenos Aires: Mera (2005).

In Argentina the Koreans get together with each other, in Los Angeles the Korean-Argentineans get together with other Argentineans. (Ian)

The transnational structures of the diaspora are at the centre of a migratory chain, they are places of memory but, more than anything else, places for the construction of home life and economic and commercial activity. In fact, when the whole family does not emigrate together individuals find it hard to start their own businesses and some return to Argentina or Brazil. That is to say, even though family networks act in a transnational way in that grandmothers and/or mothers often visit family members in other countries and take care, for a while, of the children and household chores, when it comes to young couples with young children the situation is different as a result of not having help with the children. The situation of couples who emigrate with older children is different as they are already going to secondary school or university.

Newly graduated professional migrants from Argentina tend to move to the east coast of the USA because they believe they will find, in the case of doctors, more opportunities to complete their residences there, in community and other hospitals. Those with more experience tend to move to Los Angeles where there is both a Korean and Latino market. A dentist, aged 40, a graduate of the University of Buenos Aires and a resident of Argentina since the age of 5, who decided to re-emigrate to Los Angeles with his family because of fears of crime, said she intended to open a surgery aimed at Latinos because, in general, Koreans prefer graduates from Korean or United States universities and so it was better to seek to establish himself where there would be a market for his services and where he could make use of his language skills. Brazilians also come together for friendship and fun because they believe North Americans to be distant and cold. They also tend to set up businesses and share apartments together.

Conclusion

The movements of the Korean population have distinctive diasporic elements which energize the re-emigration of its young people. In the first place, an identity related to Korea is recreated in those places of memory which are the local community, territorial anchorings represented by the various Koreatowns.

Korean communities in American integrate without assimilation in the host country and maintain a strong sense of identity focused on Korea and based on a strong social life. Memory finds a channel of communication and reproduction in family and community spaces (churches) where migration appears as an option. The acquiring of frameworks of action and perception which point them towards re-emigration as a strategy for a better future is the first step towards moving.

Community social capital provides the network that supports the move and the initial stages of life in the new location while cultural capital, in the form of educational qualifications and the ability to speak Spanish or Portuguese, helps with finding a place in certain Latino niches and ensuring a certain degree of success. These factors allow us to state that transnational networks promote mobility in search of better professional and work opportunities and make setting up in a new city a more efficient process.

Though the situation in each country is different, it can be stated that it is a form of family migration which encourages ethnic concentration and the transmission of the Korean cultural tradition to the young. This migration has centered on urban areas and, in Latin America, achieved rapid economic integration through the production and sale of textiles. Economic and commercial success is not easy to reproduce in the cultural and recreational areas as it is difficult to lead a bicultural life in a society where assimilations social model predominates. In Argentina the Korean community lives in a situation of bicultural tension, in Paraguay Korean education predominates as a result of the low valuation ascribed to the local population while in Brazil young people tend to favor local education and values.

Members of the 1.5 generation from Latin America in the USA tend to seek each other out and prefer each other as friends and spouses. However, in the workplace they develop relations with Koreans and North-Americans. They tend to be nostalgic about their lives in the country where they grew up and to de-idealize the image they once had of Korea and Koreans.

Here I have examined the case of those who re-emigrated having incorporated bicultural frameworks, those who made the effort necessary for local socialization. These people see their experience in Latin America, prior to moving to the United States, as something positive, even in cases when they are very critical of Latin America and have no intention of returning to live there. As a 30 years old woman who lived 18 years in Argentina and move to United States in 1995 said,

I feel that Argentina is my country, even though my parents wouldn't like to hear me saying that. Having had access to two very different cultures at the same time helped me a lot when we moved to the United States. There was always tension involved in dealing with one culture at home (the Korean) and another outside it (the Argentine), that was very important training which helped us adapt to life in the United States.

Bibliography

- ARFUCH, L. 2002 (Comp.), *Identidades, sujetos y subjetividades*, Buenos Aires, Prometeo.
- BIALOGORSKI, M. 2005, La experiencia coreana en Argentina: ¿hacia una construcción de la integración? II Encuentro Latinoamericano de Estudios Coreanos. Disponible: <http://ceaa.colmex.mx/estudioscoreanos/images/mera.pdf>
- BOURDIEU, P. 1979, "Les trois états du capital culturel", *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, núm. 30, pp. 3-6.
- BOURDIEU, P. 1987, *Choses dites*, París: Ed. de Minuit.
- BOURDIEU, P. 1994, *Raisons pratiques*, París: Seuil.
- BRUBAKER, R. 2005, The 'diaspora' diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 1-19
- BRUNEAUX, M. 2004, *Diasporas et espaces transnationaux*, Ed. Economica, París.
- CLIFFORD, J. 1994, *Diasporas. Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 302-38
- CHOI, In Bom. 2003, Korean Diaspora in the Making: Its Current Status and Impact on the Korean Economy. En *The Korean Diaspora in the World Economy*, editado por F. Bergsten y In Bom Choi, Institute for International Economics, special report 15, January.
- Dirección de Migraciones del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Comercio de la república de Corea, Fuente: http://www.korean.net/morgue/status_4.jsp?tCode=status&dCode=0105
- DUFOIX, S. 2003, *Les Diasporas*. París : Presses Universitaires de France.
- GALETTI, R. 1993, "Migracao de Etrangeiros no Centro de Sao Paulo: coreanos e bolivianos", en *Emigracao e imigracao internac*, UNICAMP.
- HALL, S. 1990, Cultural Identity and Diaspora. En Jonathan Rutherford (ed.) *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, pp. 222-37. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- HURH Won Moo, 1980 "Toward a new community and identity: the korean-american ethnicity", en *The Korean Immigrants in America*, edited by Kim Byong-suh and Lee Sang Hyun.
- KIM Kwang Chung and HURH Won Moo y KIM Shin, 1993, "Generation differences in Korean immigrants' life conditions in the United States", *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol.36, N3, fall 1993.
- KIM, Kwang Chung, KIM, Hei Chu. y HURH, Won Moon. 1981, Job information deprivation in the United States: a case study of Korean immigrants. *Ethnicity*, vol.8, no.3.
- KIM, Hyung-Chan. 1977, *The Korean Diaspora*, Ed. ABC- CLIO, USA.
- KIM, Illsoo. 1981, *New Urban Immigrants The Korean Community in New York*, Ed. Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
- KWON Yung-Min . 1998, "The early years of korean immigration to Mexico", en *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*, volumen 6 dicember 1998.
- LEE Kyo Bom, 1990, *아르헨티나 한인 이민사*, (La historia de la migración coreana en Argentina), Ed. Sonyoungsa, Argentina.

- LEE, JaeIn Josefina, 2006, "De coreanos a Coreaguayo". The Korean-Paraguayan Community, 1964-2006. Bowdoin Collage.
- LEE, Kwang-kyu. 2000, *Overseas Koreans*, Ed. Jimoondang Publishing Company, Korea.
- MERA C. 1998, *La inmigración coreana en Buenos Aires. Multiculturalismo en el espacio urbano*. EUDEBA, Buenos Aires.
- MERA, C. 2004 "La comunidad coreana en Argentina. Diversidad cultural: entre diálogos y conflictos." *Revista INDICE. - Revista de Ciencias Sociales - DAIA - CES*, 22.
- MERA, C., 2005, "Modalidad de instalación de la comunidad coreana en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires", en MERA C. COSIANI. L. y GONZALEZ, C. *Coreanos en Argentina: 40 años de Historia*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Al Margen.
- MERA, C., 2007, *Globalización e identidades migrantes. Corea y su diáspora en la Argentina*, tesis de doctorado de UBA (en prensa)
- MIN, Pyong Gap and KIM, Rose. 1999, *Struggle for ethnic identity. Narratives by Asian American Professionals*, Altamira press.
- MIN Pyong Gap, 1990, "Korean Immigrants in Los Angeles". *Institute for Social Science Research. Volume V. 1989-90 - California Immigrants in World Perspective: The Conference Papers, April 1990. Paper 2*. <http://repositories.cdlib.org/issr/volume5/2>
- PARK, Kyeyoung, 1999, "I Am Floating in the Air: Creation of a Korean Transnational Space among Korean- Latino American Remigrants", *posicions 7:23*, by Duke University Press.
- SASSONE, S. y MERA, C. 2007 "Barrios de migrantes en Buenos Aires: Identidad, cultura y cohesión socioterritorial". V Congreso Europeo CEISAL de latinoamericanistas, 11/14 abril.
- SON Young- Ho. 1988, "Early Korean Immigrants in America: A socioeconomic and Demographic Analysis", en *Korea Journal*, volumen 28 n ° 2 .
- STOEHREL, A. 1997, Proyecto Fondecyt titulado "Migraciones de coreanos, peruanos y alemanes a Chile", Universidad Académica de Humanismo Cristiano, Chile.
- YU DANICO, M., 2004, *The 1,5 Generation. Becoming Korean American in Hawai'I*, University of Hawai Press.
- YU Eui-Young. 1983, "Korean communities in America: past, present and future", en *Amerasi Journal*, volumen 10, N° 2.