Koreabama: Exploring the Recent Social and Landscape Impacts of South Korean Migration Trends and Patterns in the Rural South.

by

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Abstract

Korean immigration to the United States has been changing over the last few decades. Historically, Korean immigrants have been characterized by the stereotype of female Koreans seeking marriage to male American military servicemen and blue-collar entrepreneurs, such as dry cleaners and alterations shop owners. Accordingly, the majority of Koreans have historically relocated to more urban areas and around military bases; however, the new generation of Korean immigrants seem to be moving to more rural destinations associated with the automotive industry. Scholarly literature on this subject has been extremely limited in recent years, largely due to a significant and rapid increase in Korean automotive manufacturing businesses within the United States. A large number of younger, single Korean men are coming here in search of education and permanent employment, either without families or leaving them behind in Korea; while middle aged-Korean men are immigrating here and bringing their families with them. Using a mixed-methods approach, I examine the new patterns of immigration among South Koreans and explore the social structure of the immigrant communities that are forming after arrival to the United States. My research encompasses Lee, Tallapoosa, and Chambers Counties in Alabama, and Troup County in Georgia. This research will fill the gap in recent literature regarding migration patterns for Koreans and seeks to understand new immigrant communities in the South and their social organization, and impacts upon the cultural landscape.

Acknowledgments

This thesis has been a fulfillment of personal interests and application of my Korean language and cultural knowledge. I was able to combine my passion for Korean culture with my field of study to create a meaningful and purposeful research project.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to Thesis

1.1 Introduction

Driving along a rural highway in Alabama, the nigh-unending expanses of agricultural land and pine forests were infrequently punctuated with mom-and-pop gas stations and the occasional Baptist church and cemetery. About forty minutes out from the nearest large community in my journey, I approached a large wooded field out of which an enormous industrial complex appeared, almost out of thin air. It was set back off the highway behind the trees and surrounded by pasture land on all sides. The small entrance to the complex opened onto four massive parking areas, two of which belonged to automotive manufacturing supplier plants. The large names on the sides of the buildings immediately captured my attention; they were the names of South Korean businesses. I wondered how these large companies had managed to find themselves in the middle of seemingly nowhere in Alabama's agricultural expanse. I had come to visit a friend who had recently been employed as a member of the office staff, but I was hardly prepared for what I encountered.

My entrance into the complex was met with the sight of numerous Koreans driving in and out of the parking areas, but even more surprising was what I found inside the plant. The entrance to this particular building was certainly unremarkable; a metal exterior bounded by large fences along the perimeter of the complex's footprint, a typical sight found at many industrial complexes elsewhere. However, I was swept for a moment into South Korea when I entered the building. The offices were populated almost

exclusively with Koreans and Korean was all I heard spoken as I walked through the building, until I was pulled suddenly back to Alabama upon reaching the assembly line area. The majority of the laborers in the assembly room were black with the occasional Hispanic worker and about fifteen older Korean ladies. The interesting sights continued as I made my way to the break room area. The area was partitioned into two smaller areas, one for the American workers and one for the Korean workers. Apparently, the segregation came as a result of objection by the American workers to the aroma of the kimchi (fermented cabbage) that Koreans often ate for lunch. Adding to my surprise was additional segregation between the Korean office workers and laborers. While they share the same space for lunch, the two groups have lunch at different times. The office personnel were provided with catered food from a Korean restaurant about thirty-minutes away, a luxury not extended to the Korean or domestic laborers who had to bring their own lunches. As I made my departure from the building, I wondered what was happening to the small, conservative, farming community that was so familiar to me (see Figure 1). What was causing such a change in the population and what brought in such businesses? Where did all these Koreans come from? How was this impacting the overall rural South?

After driving 30 minutes east of the Korean facilities, I arrived in Auburn, Alabama. Auburn is well known for Auburn University and a community largely based on education, focused upon a land-grant tradition. Driving down the south end of College Street, I came to the Auburn Industrial Park and was intrigued by the volume of Korean company names located on the buildings along the drive. I noticed immediately that there were many South Korean flags flying on poles in front of the main entrances to several of the companies. These businesses were automotive parts supplier plants that had located in

Figure 1. Automotive Assembly Plant in Rural Alabama.

this rural area along the I-85 corridor between Atlanta, Georgia and Montgomery, Alabama. This location is adjacent to the interstate and provides easy access to the two major Korean automotive manufacturing assembly plants, Kia in west Georgia, 35 miles to the east, and Hyundai in Montgomery, 60 miles to the west. I then decided to drive north on College Street toward the Auburn campus. Along the way, I noticed three Korean signs advertising Korean restaurants (Figures 2 & 3), two Korean churches (Figure 4 & 5), and a Korean beauty salon (Figure 6). The Hangul signage protruded among the English dominated landscape and immediately grabbed my attention. This use of Korean text was not aimed at the English-speaking community and suggested that the Korean population here was large enough to warrant such a product.

Figure 2. Green Pig Korean Restaurant and Bar, Auburn, Alabama.

Figure 3. Jinsoo Seongchan Korean Restaurant, Auburn, Alabama.

Figure 4. Auburn-Opelika Korean Church, Opelika, Alabama.

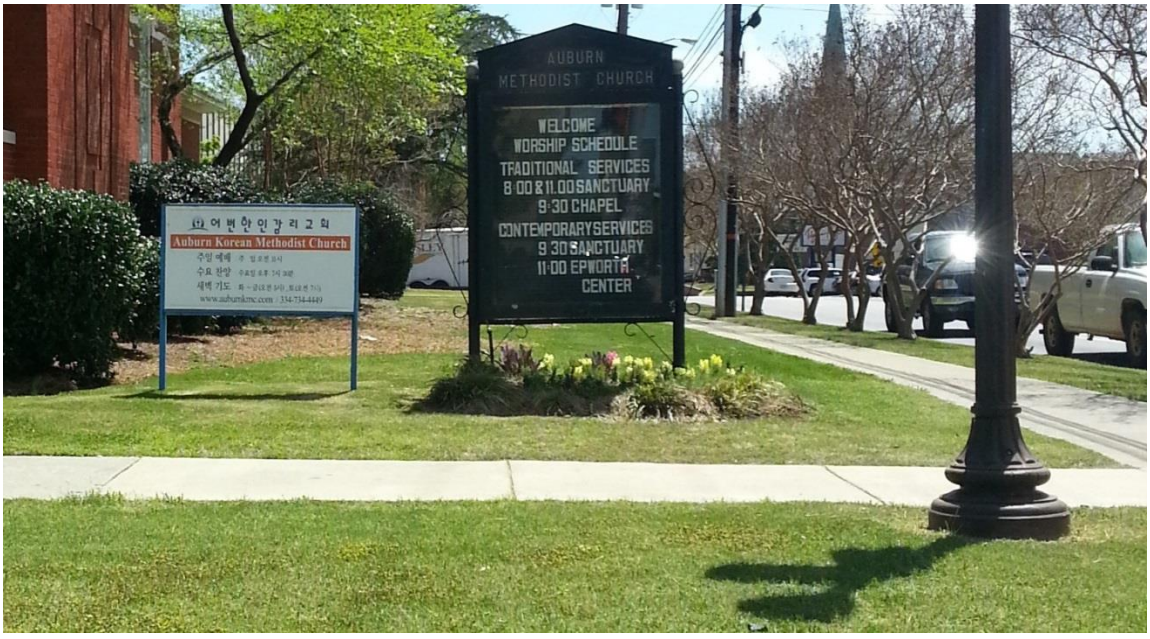

Figure 5. Korean Signage in Front of Auburn Methodist Church, Auburn, Alabama.

Figure 6. Haniel Miyongshil Korean Beauty Salon, Auburn, Alabama.

Beginning the research for answers to my questions regarding the contemporary immigration patterns of South Korean immigrants revealed that immigration literature since the late 1990s has been limited in its ability to properly identify patterns and processes of recent channels of Korean immigration to the rural U.S. South. These new

rural southern destinations have little documentation or analysis of the decisions to immigrate there. The existing literature focuses on larger urban areas and creates an impression that the patterns have remained constant over the previous decades. In this research, I identify the most recent patterns and locational preferences for South Korean immigrants. The literature on South Korean immigration available currently, identifies regions of major metropolitan status as the hubs for Asian immigrants. This existing literature comes from older sources documented primarily by demographers and sociologists who acquired many of their data from surveys and interviews with Koreans solely in large urban areas. My observations, however, indicate that South Koreans have begun to shift their migration channels to more rural areas of the Southern United States. I propose that this shift is in direct relation to the economic stability of South Korea's automotive industry and linkage to a global import and export economy. Furthermore, I examine the social structure within the Korean immigrant communities in the U.S. South: to identify the social structure of those migrating and identify areas of clustering among the social classes. I believe that this shift in immigration patterns has consequently led to a change in the cultural landscape of rural Alabama. More specifically, I propose that the hierarchical levels of affluence and a rigid social structure begin in the homeland and are carried over and maintained in the U.S. I accomplish this by addressing the following research questions:

- Have the migration patterns of South Korean immigrants shifted from traditional urban immigrant destinations in the U.S. to the rural U.S. South?
    - Have these recent changes in South Korean immigrant patterns been largely associated with automotive related businesses?
    - How has the demographic profile of South Korean immigrants changed over the last few decades particularly in the U.S. South?
- Are South Koreans maintaining a new form of the middleman minority within a global economy?

    - How does this role differ today from past generations of South Korean immigrants?
    - Have current demographic and assimilation trends allowed South Koreans to retain their social hierarchical structure after moving to the United States, rather than assimilate fully?
- How has the presence of South Korean immigrants caused changes within the cultural landscape of the rural South?

I use mixed methods in this research. I first compile a source of existing Korean owned and affiliated businesses in the study area into a geospatial database. This will allow me to pinpoint the locations and clustering of Korean businesses. I will create a visual analysis of the data using ArcMap software mapping technology. I will also use surveys to address the social and demographic questions related to this research. The surveys will help me to understand the Korean population at a small-scale level and the assimilation levels and attitudes regarding culture and religion. I will be able to understand the levels of education as well as the current occupational status of the Korean immigrants in this study area. Cultural landscape analysis will be used to assess cultural changes within the larger rural communities as well as understand the ways in which Korean immigrants reinforce their own communities.

1.2 Format of Thesis

The methodological approaches that I take in this thesis are historical, participant observatory, survey analysis, and include both quantitative and qualitative deduction. Outlining the historically relevant existing literature is necessary to suggest that more contemporary studies are needed in this area of immigration research. The methods are meant to be illustrative and promote interest into this new area of contemporary immigration patterns. In this research I take a participant research approach by documenting my observations and conversations as a part of the Korean community in

the South. As a participant observer, I am able to get inside information that is not quantifiable by using qualitative measures. This process allows me an advantage over the information available to those outside the Korean immigrant community. This work is not a complete analysis, rather an insight into the deficient areas of rural immigration literature in the U.S.

I begin with a review on the existing literature on the history of immigrants to the U.S., Asian immigration, South Korean immigration to the U.S., and immigration destinations in the U.S. South. I also examine the entrepreneurships of South Korean immigrants and explore how they differ from other minority groups. These entrepreneurships show a "middleman minority" concept that perceives them as being elevated among the other minority groups (Min 1990). I then identify the historical ideology within traditional South Korean families and the impacts of U.S. culture on the familial structure of immigrants. The roles of South Korean churches and their importance to Korean immigrants are examined as well as the South Korean automotive industry. I then introduce the study areas of this research: Lee, Chambers, and Tallapoosa counties in Alabama and Troup County in Georgia. I outline my data sources and the methods and results that I use to address my research questions. I follow with a discussion of the results of my surveys and the importance of this in identifying the need for more research on this topic. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the scholarly significance of this research, which shows a better understanding of the patterns and processes impacting contemporary South Korean immigration. I must first reflect on the scholarly work that exists to date. In what follows, I provide a review of immigration

literature as it relates to immigration trends as well as socio-cultural processes at play among South Korean immigrant groups in the U.S.

Chapter 2: Review of Immigration Literature

2.1 Historical Background of U.S. Immigration

The movement of people across boundaries and borders is one of the oldest complexities of human activity. Our human tendency often lacks contentment within one region or boundary. Kivisto and Faist (2010) explain that people move across borders for a variety of reasons; however, there are usually a bundle of motives that compel immigrants to move. Few immigrants choose to migrate simply to live out their adventurous spirit and explore the world; rather they come due to external push forces combined with compelling pull forces (Kivisto and Faist 2010).

Immigration has become a widely debated topic within the United States over the past several years. A new wave of immigrants is an immense challenge to the traditional groups, which came out of necessity and hopes of improving living conditions in the homeland (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). The available recent literature focuses on groups that have been more visible across the South, such as Hispanic immigrants, omitting the role of South Koreans.

A historical incentive for immigrants to come to the United States was to bring in the huddled, poor, and weak from other countries and find prosperity in the new country. This idea infers that you can leave your homeland no matter what financial status you hold and find wealth and prosperity in the great American land of diversity, power, and social mobility. Kivisto and Kaist (2010) describe the U.S. as the lead receiving country for immigrants with 20% of the total worldwide migrant population finding their

destination. The majority of these immigrants are coming through proper channels and follow all legal regulations, however, a large proportion of contemporary immigrants are undocumented. Undocumented immigrants have been illuminated in the more recent decades as the country has promoted a more nationalistic idea of American culture and society. Hispanic groups have been targeted and portrayed as more of a nuisance than help. The Hispanic population is one of the largest studied groups of immigrants both documented and undocumented within the U.S. (Kivisto and Kaist 2010; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Legal immigration costs have been increasing over the last few decades making it no longer possible to immigrate without much preparation and financial power which forces some migrants to seek the undocumented route (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). These new groups must be able to exist in our economy where the living expenses can be exponentially higher than the place of origin. This change in socio-economic status demands a closer look into the recent immigrant groups.

Portes and Rumbaut (1996) propose that one of the areas of immigration literature is that it is lacking is an effort to examine and understand the processes of recent years, and reiterate that immigrant populations now seldom resemble the huddled masses that first arrived at Ellis Island and upon which; so much immigration theory is based. They look at the new immigrant group as a more educated and affluent group of people who "come because they can" (Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 8).

There is currently an annual worldwide limit of 675,000 permanent immigrants to the U.S. The only exceptions to this are for those with immediate relatives such as spouses, unmarried children, and parents. This special category is the only one with no numerical limit (American Immigration Council 2010). The procedures for determining

familial immigrant entry are extensive, however, according to Arnold et al. (1989), under the new system, the determining factor for future migration depends upon the magnitude of those who immigrated previously. This suggests that the geographic distribution of immigrant families in the U.S. will directly influence the numbers of immigrants permitted entry in the future. If the numbers are large for a specific location, then the chain migration pattern may become prevalent for this region. Recent concerns about the magnitude of multiplier effects on future immigration patterns have been raised; in the years since the quota was lifted, there have been no limits to the number of family members an immigrant can bring into the United States. This raises concern over just how many potential members an individual might sponsor into the United States (Arnold et al. 1989).

The historical pattern of immigration phases provides a view of the ethnic identity of the immigrants entering the U.S. and also helps us understand the paths travelled by each of these groups; however, there does not seem to be a consensus among scholars when detailing the phases or waves. Much literature lists three or four waves but I choose to break the categories into five distinct categories for the most accurate depiction (Shin & Shin 1999; Skop & Li 2005; Martin 2002). The ethnic composition of the U.S. explained in 5 phases or waves is: pre-1820, 1820-1870, 1870-1920, 1920-1970, and 1970-Present. Each of these phases fostered the entrance of certain ethnic groups to the U.S. adding to the cultural mosaic that is present today (Gibbon 1938).

Prior to 1820 there were immigrants coming to the U.S. from mostly Europe and Africa. The Europeans were bringing slaves from the African countries largely between 1700 and 1808. In 1808, Congress made it illegal to import slaves to the United States. It

was in 1819 that Congress enacted the first laws regarding immigration. These included the establishment of a continuous reporting procedure for immigration to the United States as well as set sustenance rules for passengers of ships leaving U.S. ports. Prior to these laws being passed, each state had control of immigration into their territory. The pre-1820 phase was primarily due to primogeniture in England, which caused a lack of available agricultural land and created a push factor for the English to seek out new economic opportunities amid the seemingly boundless supply of territory (Chan 1991; Martin 2002).

The next wave, from 1820-1870, sees Germans, Irish, Chinese, British, and Mexicans. Factors such as the Gold Rush, the Irish Potato Famine, and establishment of the railroad in the U.S. brought these immigrants to the U.S. California was a destination for many immigrants during this time and provided them with opportunities in gold mining as well as cattle ranching (Chan 1991).

New Western historians, in particular, have addressed the complexities of the immigrants in the West during this period. These historians have documented the existence of multiple ethnic groups, such as the Chinese and Mexican immigrants that have been previously exempt from much of the historical literature on the U.S. West. The remembrance of western history is usually distorted due to the inaccurate telling of history; however, ethnic groups of immigrants have existed since the beginning of immigration to the U.S. (Cronon et al. 1992). Limerick (2000) discusses the ethnic complexity within California and describes it as a place with multi-ethnic history including Indians, Hispanics, blacks, Anglos, and Asians; however, these groups are still waiting to be fully introduced in the recounts of history across the U.S. The immigrants

and minority groups in the South today have historically been present in the West; however, many have remained invisible within existing historical literature.

The discovery of gold brought many immigrants from China and Mexico, and encouraged settlers of the U.S. to move west, however, there was a ban on Chinese women, allowing Chinese males to immigrate, but not females. One incentive for bringing Chinese immigrants during this time period was that they required much less care and food than Europeans, so it became more cost effective to hire cheap Chinese labor rather than investing in the European immigrants. The Chinese worked largely in agricultural fields during this time, (prior to the Mexican labor that became prevalent later) and also established cooking and laundry services during this period (Chan 1991).

In northern Europe there was much unrest, providing push factors for the citizens of these areas. Germans were accustomed to working on farms and dairies, which made them an excellent source for working in the similar midwestern states of the U.S. In Ireland, potato famine was the largest push factor during this time. With little food security in their homeland the Irish sought a better life with plenty of opportunities for food in the U.S. (Takaki 1993; Bjelland et al. 2013).

Mexicans found themselves within the U.S. due to territorial expansion, which expanded its borders around them enclosing them within the U.S. territory. Many of the Mexicans that immigrated to the U.S. during this time were compelled by gold and travelled to the southwestern areas of the U.S. Others moved westward to California and other places in the Southwest finding work on cattle ranches and working on the railroad. These immigrants migrated largely to areas that had previously been Mexican territory

but came under U.S. control following the Mexican-American War (Chavez 1998; Martin 2002).

During 1870-1920, there was a rise in immigrants from Italy and Southeastern Europe. Many of the immigrants found work in urban industrial settings such as factories (Martin 2002). This time period was wrought with fears of communism and socialism in the homelands of Southeastern Europe. Directly related to this rise in xenophobia, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which curbed Chinese immigration and demanded a tax on each immigrant that arrived in the U.S. The laws also banned contract labor during this period and the English language was made a requirement for anyone seeking naturalization. The Bureau of Immigration was also established under the Department of Treasury and administered all immigration laws, with the exception of the Chinese Exclusion Act (Chan 1991). These were also some of the poorest groups of immigrants that came to the U.S. seeking solace.

The fourth phase coincides with the Great Depression and the Cold War era and encompasses the years 1920-1970. Alexander (2004) discusses the idea of nativism in regard to Jews, Irish, and Southern Europeans, which began to dissipate during the twentieth century. This was a time when we see immigration slowing due to the economic situation in the U.S. Fewer immigrants arrived because it was difficult to find work. Through most of this period, there was a quota system in place; beginning in 1924, only a certain number of immigrants per country were allotted and allowed more European countries to immigrate into the U.S. than Asian countries. In 1965, the quota system was repealed as well as the Chinese Exclusion Act, creating an opportunity for more Asians to immigrate (Martin 2002).

During the 1940s the Bracero Program was also instituted, allowing Mexican workers to more easily find seasonal employment in the U.S. This was a great opportunity for Mexicans due to the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution in 1910, which left the Mexican government unable to provide for their citizens. The opportunities that the Mexican immigrants were given were largely due to the open jobs left by servicemen who were oversees fighting in the wars. They worked in jobs such as mechanics, machinists, painters, plumbers, and agricultural fields. This is also the time when the Border Patrol was established in the U.S. to manage the entrance of Mexican immigrants and migrants (Kivisto & Kaist 2010; Martin 2002).

I assign a fifth phase for immigration from 1970-Present because it is when we began to see the largest numbers of Asian immigrants coming after the Vietnam War and our involvement in Southeast Asia. This period changed the ethnic makeup in the U.S. from predominately European to a large mixture including all Asian ethnicities. Vietnamese came in large numbers as well as Koreans due to the post-war conditions in their homelands. The fear of communism was a large factor in both countries and many immigrants came seeking political refuge or asylum from Vietnam and due to poor economic conditions in Korea. Illegal immigration became a major focus during this period with laws such as the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, and many attempts were made to try to control the undocumented immigrants from entering and living in the U.S. (Monterro 1979).

2.2 East Asian Immigration to the United States

While the majority of contemporary scholarly focus has been on Hispanics and the issues surrounding undocumented immigrants (e.g., Portes and Rumbaut 1996, Donato et al.

2008, Donato and Bankston 2008, and Griffith 2005), Asian migration deserves a closer look. The classification "Asian immigration" implies that there are similarities between the Asian groups and their immigration patterns and thus can be categorized into one collective group; however, I propose that there is a very distinct difference in the South Korean immigrant population compared to the other Asian immigrant groups.

The first Asian immigrants to arrive in the U.S. were the Chinese and Filipino sailors who first appeared around 1750. These early Asian immigrants settled first in Louisiana but were miniscule in relative population numbers. A larger immigration channel was recorded around 1848 when the Chinese began immigrating to California during the Gold Rush. The Gold Rush was one of the pull factors that brought the immigrants to the U.S., and British Imperial dominance in China created an unstable economy and created push factors from the homeland. Hawaii was also a main destination for many of the earliest Chinese and Korean immigrants who found work on the sugarcane plantations. In later years starting around 1865, many Chinese in California began working as merchants, gardeners, laundry workers, domestic helpers, and farmers. The railroad was also where many of the Chinese found work as the transcontinental railroad moved across the U.S. Le (2001) describes between 9,000 and 12,000 Chinese who worked on the railroad in some of the most dangerous jobs and worst conditions. The Chinese who worked on the railroad were treated poorly and often received extremely low wages compared to their European counterparts (Le 2001).

Chinatowns formed as ghettos during the 1800s largely due to exclusion and racist ideologies. These communities became a place where the Chinese could live and work with relative freedom from the prejudices of the surrounding populations, not

because the Chinese sought exclusive Chinese areas. Anderson (1987) examined the Chinatown of Vancouver in the Canadian West and found that the Chinese were forced into this area and not given freedom to move around the city and were often regarded as low in social status. The Chinatown of Vancouver is similar to that of the Chinatowns in the western U.S. in its make-up and functions. Often the Chinese immigrants had no choice but to live in these ghettos because they were forbidden from owning land and intermarrying with the whites (Le 2001).

The Chinese in the U.S. West suffered many discriminatory acts throughout the 1800s. Taxes were required of Chinese and often; Chinese miners would be required to pay taxes twice. There were several attempts of expulsion in the West to remove the Chinese from these areas. In addition, Chinese were forbidden by law to testify in court against whites and had no social status or rights in their communities (Bow 2010).

Chinese and Japanese as well were denied citizenship because their races were considered neither white nor black, they were a race of "other"; however this categorization of a non-white nor black racial identity was not carried over into the South where a solid black/white divide had long existed. Bow (2010) describes these immigrants were perceived as being more capable of learning, and more skillful than blacks and became preferred over time as the choice of labor for southern employers. They were different from whites but were given preferential status over the blacks. Bus drivers would require black passengers to stand in the back of the bus while allowing Chinese to ride in the seats in the front (Bow 2010). The lives of Chinese in the South seem to be of greater acceptance than those who lived in the West.

Chinese immigrants remained the largest of the Asian groups in the West and Northeast; however, Japanese, Filipino, and Koreans all were present in these places. In 1910, the Angel Island Immigration Station was opened in California to process and deport Asian immigrants. The immigrants entered the U.S. through Angel Island in the West and then would wait until allowed to enter the mainland. For Chinese immigrants, this waiting period could potentially take years, as many Chinese waited on the island. Angel Island is sometimes referred to as the Ellis Island of the West because of the similar immigrant processing they conducted. This lasted until 1940 when fire destroyed the administration building and the administration moved to San Francisco proper (Chan 1991).

Throughout the 19th century and into the early 20th century, Japanese, Chinese, and South Asians were among the largest groups of Asians to immigrate to the U.S. Many of these immigrants migrated to Canada first and then over time began to migrate southward into the U.S. and ended up in the northern sections of the U.S. Lee (2007) discusses the Chinese immigrants who entered the U.S. from Canada as well as Mexico due to the exclusion restrictions placed on the Chinese. Ports along the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean became major illegal immigrant hubs for Asians (Lee 2007).

Asians have been immigrating to the U.S. since the mid-1800s; however, significant Asian communities have only taken form largely since the 1965 Immigration legislation (Skop and Li 2005). According to Skop and Li (2005), Asians are the largest growing racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. Most of the Asian immigrants have historically been centered in the immigration gateway cities in states such as New York, California, and Texas; however, many new settlements have become popular destinations

in the Sunbelt with large numbers of Chinese and Asian Indians. Although Asian immigrants settle throughout the country, they are most heavily concentrated in the West and the South, with large concentrations being in major metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles and Atlanta (Skop and Li 2005). Skop and Li (2005) and Barnes and Bennett (2002) note that a trending pattern began when Asians began moving to the suburban areas of the major metropolitan areas such as Atlanta and Los Angeles when we see the emergence of ethnoburbs. Asian suburban migration is larger than that of other minority groups including Hispanics and blacks (Skop and Li 2005) in part due to greater social mobility. The literature available that discusses these suburban destinations views this migration trend as one of affluence and indicates an acculturation of the immigrant groups within American society; however, I propose that this is not the case with the Korean community.

Vietnamese are another Asian minority group that has created a large presence in the western and southern states. The Vietnamese largely began entering the U.S. post-Vietnam War. The immigrants that came here around 1975 were refugees fleeing the communist regime that was established after the Indo-China War ended. There were more than 130,000 immigrants entering the U.S. with refugee status (Chan 1991). Vietnamese were regarded as "boat people" in the 20th Century and faced many obstacles as they immigrated to the U.S. In 1978, the U.S saw a large emigration of Vietnamese from Vietnam, which pushed Congress to pass laws allowing legal immigration to the U.S. for the Vietnamese in 1980 (Chan 1991; Montero 1979).

An interesting note about the Vietnamese immigrants that first came to the U.S. is that they immigrated along with their families. Large numbers of the immigrants were

whole families that had been displaced in the homeland. The Vietnamese were unique because historically most Asian immigrants immigrated on a personal basis without their families. Vietnamese immigrants were also unique in their religious beliefs; almost 30% were Catholic and about the same number were Buddhist (Montero 1979). These immigrants were attributed the same low social status that the Chinese immigrants were perceived in earlier years; they were given menial low-wage jobs and had a hard time finding employment (Chan 1991). One of the most intriguing aspects of the Vietnamese immigrants is that they have formed an ethnic niche in the nail salon industry. The Vietnamese female immigrants were able to make a new niche in the manicuring market and opened large nail salons that provided manicure and pedicure services across the U.S. The Vietnamese women were able to capitalize on the transition of the U.S. economy from an industrial based economy to a service based economy (Nguyen and Eckstein 2011). The Vietnamese have thus demonstrated that they fit the idea of a middleman minority in the U.S. The closely tied Vietnamese communities have also provided business owners with a large pool of immigrant labor to fill the nail salons. Nguyen and Eckstein (2011) note that less than 1% of the Vietnamese nail manicurists are U.S. born.

The states that have some of the largest Vietnamese populations include California, Texas, Florida, Georgia, New York, Massachusetts, and Louisiana. California and Texas hold the largest city-level population of Vietnamese in the U.S., as of the 2010 Census (Nguyen 2011). The South is the region that has experienced the largest increase in Vietnamese population since 2000, with an increase of 34.1% (Nguyen 2011).

Japanese immigrants began coming to the U.S. in the mid 1800s and suffered a similar early fate as the Chinese. They were treated as a lesser minority group and

excluded from land ownership and naturalization until 1952. The first Japanese immigrants settled in the West and many found employment in mining, railroad, lumberjacking, canneries, and domestic service; however, some of the younger Japanese male immigrants found work in agricultural fields (Higgs 1978). The largest early concentrations of Japanese were found in Hawaii and gradually began increasing in California due to the multitude of available agricultural lands and other employment arenas. The agricultural destination became the largest sector for Japanese by the early 1900s and many of the Japanese immigrants had become successful at independent farming, which led to several land laws being enacted and amended through 1927. These land laws made it difficult for the Japanese to own any land or farm and were only to be in a position of wage laborer. The Japanese immigrants earned lower wages per hour than the white counterparts until the late 1910s (Higgs 1978). In addition, the Japanese are documented to have paid much higher rents than those of whites, sometimes as high as three times as much (Higgs 1978).

Whites treated Japanese immigrants poorly because most whites were unable to distinguish between the Japanese and Chinese immigrants. This is in direct relation to the idea of the "Other" an idea popularized by Edward Said (Said 1978). The idea of having an "Other" race is that one ethnic group deems that they are the dominant ethnicity and all others are minorities to them. This was demonstrated in the basic fundamentals of colonialism and the modern-day white American affluence. Since many of the early settlers were European, they were considered white and had misconceptions regarding immigrants of other skin colors and ethnic backgrounds. This led to racial prejudice and mistreatment of many of the Asian and Black population. In 1913, the state legislature

passed the Alien Land Law, which promoted the marginalization of Asians and intended to make life difficult for the "Oriental aliens." The basis of the law was that if there were no opportunities for the immigrants to come to the U.S. and acquire land, they would not stay (Higgs 1978).

In the years after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese were forcibly removed from their homes and confined around the country internment camps. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt ordered this segregation in 1942. The American government presented this process as a means of enduring American freedom from the Japanese threat; however, many see this as a result of racial prejudice (Higgs 1978). It was not until December 1944 that the Japanese were freed from these internment camps and were allowed to return back to their home communities in the U.S. – most had lost their all their property and personal possessions during their confinement (Chan 1991).

One of the things that set the Japanese immigrants apart from the other Asian immigrants is that their presence in the U.S. has not seen tremendous increases over the years. According to the U.S. Census, the rate of Japanese immigration in the U.S. from 2000-2010 reached a negative rate of -4.1% (Nguyen 2011). I interpret this negative rate to be in direct relation to the negative population growth rate seen within the homeland itself and the economic security of Japan in the second-half of the 20th century.

In contrast to other Asian groups, there has been a lack of Koreans in immigration literature and in the literature on immigration patterns to the South. Koreans as well as the Vietnamese have demonstrated a middleman minority because they are both perceived to rank in a higher social order than other minority groups; however neither group has attained the same social order as white Americans.

The existing available literature regarding Koreans in the U.S. is sparse and lacks any indication of significant Korean immigrants in the South. In what follows, I document the scholarly research that does exist to further explain their existence along the I-85 corridor from Georgia to Alabama.

Chapter 3: South Korean Immigration

3.1 Early Korean Immigration

South Korean immigrants have historically followed a different path than those of other Asian groups and have had different limitations and circumstances, which make the South Korean immigrant experience much different. Traditional Korean immigration patterns have largely been concentrated in the major metropolitan areas, while more recent patterns have been shifting toward the southern U.S. In this chapter, I discuss the existing literature regarding the paths that Korean immigrants have established within the U.S.

South Korean immigration patterns and processes have been one of the least studied and researched of Asian groups (Kim 1977; Hurh et al. 1979). One of the possible reasons for this was that Koreans were the last group of East Asians allowed to immigrate to the United States. The first documented immigration for South Koreans to the United States began in 1901, with the majority landing in Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations. The Korean government soon put a stop to the emigration in 1905 due to mistreatment of Korean immigrants in Hawaii and Mexico. Soon after, the Japanese occupation of Korea hindered the process as well when the Japanese signed an agreement with the U.S. that would not allow any Koreans to emigrate to the U.S. (Hurh and Kim 1984; Hurh et al. 1979). During the Japanese occupation of Korea from 1910 to 1945, there were many restrictions placed on the mobility of Koreans by the Japanese. In

particular, the Japanese oppressors did not allow Koreans to emigrate to the United States (Kim 2003).

From 1882 until 1910, the immigration rates of Koreans were minimal, even though the Treaty of Amity and Commerce 1882, between the U.S. and Korea, allowed them to immigrate. This treaty was initiated prior to the Japanese occupation and was the first that Koreans had ever signed with a western country (Kim 1977). One of the additional reasons for such little immigration during this nascent period was that many Koreans were very poor and the majority of the population could not afford travel expenses (Yun 1977). When immigration did occur, Hawaii was a main destination for Korean immigrants because they were offered loans to pay for passage if they agreed to work on the sugar plantations, a type of debt bondage (Patterson 1977). Korea was experiencing a severe famine during this time, which worked as a push factor to for the Koreans to relocate to Hawaii in search of employment and consequently food (Kim 2003). Immigration continued with Hawaii being the destination for the Koreans until the Japanese authorities ended the movement of the Koreans in 1910. The data available on Korean immigrants is limited until the late 1950s due to Japanese oversight. Also complicating efforts it track Korean immigration is that most available data groups Asians into one category or distinguishes only between Chinese and other Asians; there is very little categorical breakdown showing Koreans as a distinct ethnic group.

There were other political reasons that contributed to the minuscule numbers (fewer than 2,000 approximately) of Korean immigrants during this time, including the Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924, in the United States. Due to such legislation, the total number of immigrants admitted to the United States annually was

capped at 150,000. The quota for each country was dependent on the number of that country's represented nationality within the U.S., with a minimum of 100 immigrants per country required to be present within the U.S. There was an exception for Asian countries, which were not allowed any quota; and no Asian was allowed citizenship until 1952 under the McCarran Act (Hurh and Kim 1984). This was largely due to the perceived idea that Asians, especially Chinese, were unassimilable and would not acculturate well into American society. In 1952, citizens of Asian countries were legally allowed to immigrate; however, even then, the number of Koreans immigrating to the United States was very low (Hurh and Kim 1984).

The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 abolished the quota system and allowed much more flexibility in the number of foreign populations immigrating to the United States (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). According to the 1970 Decennial Census, the largest populations of Koreans were found in California, Hawaii, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. The immigrants that settled in Pennsylvania were there largely for education purposes in the Universities and professional occupations. The legal system surrounding documented immigration law is extremely complex and requires extensive knowledge of immigration procedures and terminology to properly interpret application and admission guidelines, further discouraging authorized immigration (American Immigration Council 2010).

Following the Korean War, the United States began to see a major influx of Koreans to the United States, specifically females. Yu (2001) attributes the civil rights movements of the 1950's and 1960's to the larger volumes of Koreans entering the United States because more opportunities were opening up for minorities in the U.S. This

was also the time when the quota system was abolished as well as the first time that whole South Korean families were allowed to immigrate together to the United States (Yu 2001). Beginning in 1959, the numbers of females under the age of 4 years and between 20 – 29 years were the groups with the largest numbers of all Korean immigrants. During these same years, we see that the occupations of the female immigrants were around 90% housewives, children, and others with no paid occupation (Hurh and Kim 1984, 114). These immigration trends have shown to be directly related to intermarriage with American soldiers, Korean orphan adoption by American families (particularly of females), and entrepreneurial male immigrants. An estimate of around 11 Korean males to every 100 Korean females was the usual pattern between 1959 and 1971. In contrast to the female immigrants, the Korean males that were immigrating often had some significant level or college education in (Hurh et al. 1979). The occupations of most of the male immigrants during this time were white-collar professions.

3.2 Contemporary Korean Immigration

Contemporary patterns in the U.S. show a much different pattern for South Korean immigrants and are reflected in them moving to more rural destinations in the U.S. South. Asian populations have grown quickly in the U.S. South and have done so with seemingly little attention, the greatest of these being the South Korean immigrants. The majority of available literature on immigrant communities in the U.S. South focuses on Hispanic, Vietnamese, and Chinese populations (Griffith 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 1996) but the South Korean population has remained obscure while gaining much rural to suburban territory in the southern United States.

As discussed previously, from the early 1960s until early 1990, the literature regarding South Korean immigration focuses on those immigrants who came in response to marriage with American soldiers and in search of wealthier futures for their families in the homeland. The War Brides Act of 1945 allowed the spouses of American military to more easily immigrate to the U.S. and an extension to this act in 1950 allowed entry to children of servicemen. The majority of these immigrant war brides went largely unnoticed in American society due to the generally dispersed nature of their immigration patterns (Hurh and Kim 1984).

Hurh et al. (1979) notes that the Korean immigrant populations were historically more dispersed than any other Asian counterpart; however, the largest populations were concentrated in the metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Honolulu -- a trend that continued throughout the 1980s. There were no large clusters of Koreans living independently in the rural South during this time. The largest numbers seem to consist of the female Korean immigrants that located near military bases, including Fort McClellan, Alabama and Fort Benning, Georgia. This is a result of the marriage of Koreans to American servicemen who settled near military bases and not in the larger cities. The Census data do not allow for an accurate depiction of the more rural areas of Korean populations due to the limitations of aggregation levels set by the Census (Hurh et al. 1979).

According to Hurh and Kim (1984), war brides were doubly marginalized from the rest of American society because of the language and social barriers. Korean wives cited this as one of the most painful experiences of any felt by wives of the American servicemen. This marginalization was largely due to their poor ability to communicate in

the English language and unfamiliarity with American customs (Hurh and Kim 1984). Kim (1997) notes however, that Koreans who immigrated in this era were among the largest numbers of Asian immigrants who were naturalized. Kim (1997) attributes this to the relatively high levels of education among Korean immigrant females prior to their arrival in the U.S. and also the influence of American adoptive parents on adopted Korean children. Furthermore, Chi (2005) describes the influx of South Korean women as creating a gender and age imbalance in the U.S. and attributes this imbalance directly to the war bride phenomena of the earlier years.

Adoption of children from Korea was one of the contributors to the Korean immigrants coming to the U.S. in the late 1900s. In Korean culture, the racial mixing of Koreans with other races was unacceptable to most families. Oh (2012) uses the term "babylift" to describe the large numbers of interracial orphans being flown to the U.S. for adoption. Notably, this was almost twenty years prior to the "babylift" of Vietnamese babies after the Vietnam War (Oh 2012).

Changes in the American immigration laws provided an easier access for adoptees to immigrate than what had been experienced previously. The abolition of the national origins quota system that was first enacted in 1924 and later reaffirmed in 1952 by the McCarran-Walter Act was one of the changes that made this transition largely possible, coupled with the reform of the humane refugee legislation. Another important variable that allowed for large numbers of the Korean orphans to be adopted by U.S. citizens was that there were not enough of the European babies to facilitate the adoptive need in the U.S. The majority of the children that had been available for adoption were largely from Jewish families that had been killed by Nazis, and were adolescents, rather than infants.

Many of the adoptive parents in the U.S. were looking for infants to assimilate easily into the culture and religion and South Korea seemed the best option (Oh 2012). Adoptees have been largely overlooked in examining the immigrant populations. According to Oh (2012), the majority of both mixed-race babies and full-blooded Korean adoptees have gone undetected in historical documentation of refugees and immigrants. The literature that exists regarding these Korean adoptees is under-represented compared to the Vietnamese adoptees that immigrated here as refugees after the Vietnam War (Oh 2012).

Christians in the U.S. were one of the largest groups who adopted Korean orphans, with groups such as the Christian Children's Fund and Foster Parents Plan. Oh (2012) discusses Harry and Bertha Holt, who were the first Christian adoptive parents of Korean orphans, and laid the groundwork for inter-country adoption. Many Christians in the U.S. during this era viewed adoption as a type of missionary work that would enable them to proselytize the Christian message as well as helping to support the government in the efforts to promote capitalist ideology in South Korea. These adoptees are described as children of Asian decent who were actually able to assimilate and were acculturated into the American society as quickly as possible. These children were perceived to be different from the previous immigrants and soon began to lose their Korean identity and became sons and daughters of American citizens of European heritage (Oh 2012).

After 1990, South Korean populations began to emerge in major metropolitan areas, largely for reasons other than marriage to American military men. The majority of these immigrants usually stayed together in Koreatowns (areas within the city that held large numbers of Koreans and provided places to practice their culture and served as ports of entry) where they had some cohesion and assistance from other Korean

immigrants (Hurh and Kim 1984). According to Hurh and Kim (1984), Korean immigrants prior to 1970 were considered an almost invisible minority; however, as the Koreatowns formed in these major metropolitan areas, such as Los Angeles and New York, we see an emergence of the Koreans as a dominant Asian group and the beginning of what will later be known as the middleman minority. Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago is where we began to see this emergence of the middleman minority as well as a boom in the Korean populations in these areas (Hurh and Kim 1984). One of the potential reasons for contemporary Koreans holding a higher level of affluence than other Asians immigrants is possibly the higher education level of these immigrants, prior to immigrating (Hurh and Kim 1984). I note here that one of the existing limitations of literature is that most of the information has been collected from the metropolitan areas and has not allowed for a deeper understanding of the immigrants in the rural South.

In areas such as Duluth, Georgia, more recent Korean immigrants have built super-suburban Koreatowns. The area in Duluth specifically attracts the most affluent Koreans who move there to own and operate their service sector businesses such as lawyers, doctors, CPAs, bakers, etc. These businesses usually have large Hangul (Korean language) signage and advertise in local daily Korean newspapers and seem to retain their Korean identity. The businesses are usually located in multi-level professional buildings and complexes and cater to the Korean residents in the area. The cost of living in this area is relatively higher than in the metropolitan areas of greater Atlanta where the more traditional Koreatown was located on Buford Highway, approximately 15 minutes south of Duluth. The traditional area was home to farmer's markets, restaurants, and karaoke bars, while the newer area is full of professional businesses. So while, Skop and

Li (2005) discuss that there have been new destinations in the U.S. for Asians, little research has been done to explore these nontraditional pathways. A primary goal of this research is providing some new perspectives on this neglected area.

Chapter 4: South Korean Immigrants in the United States

4.1 South Korean Entrepreneurs

Minority groups in the U.S. have always faced adversities when trying to assimilate into American culture; however, Kim (2008) suggests that there is a hierarchy among the minority classes. There is not just a dividing line between white Americans and all other races; there is a distinct division in the social status between those within the minority classification such as Koreans and Chinese, or Indians and black Americans (Kim 2008). There seems to be an affluence that Korean immigrants possess that is not seen in some of the other minority groups and in turn garners them a higher socio-economic status. In what follows, I explore the experiences of Koreans in the U.S. and the socio-cultural influences of their homeland.

Koreans have historically been one of the largest ethnic groups of immigrants to undertake small business entrepreneurship (Min 1990). Portes and Rumbaut (1990) describe the Korean community as a professional and business-oriented ethnic group, who come from urban, Christian, educated backgrounds. The primary destinations for these Korean immigrants have traditionally been Los Angeles, Washington, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore (Portes and Rumbaut 1990; Choi et al. 2001). In Los Angeles, for example, the self-employment rate for Koreans has been three times greater than that of the whole population. These businesses have historically been located within the lower income, minority, urban areas and have been typically centered around other ethnic enclaves and racialized ghettoes within the cities (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Many of

these businesses include grocery stores, laundries, ethnic restaurants, apparel stores, beauty supply, nail shops, and service stations. Hurh and Kim (1984) attribute the employment in these types of businesses to the downward mobility of the Koreans after arriving in the U.S. There is a segregation of the Koreans in professional settings in the U.S. when compared to the white Americans in the same labor market. Most American college graduates are concentrated in the professional and semi-professional occupations, while the Korean immigrant college graduates concentrate in the small business owner and managerial occupations (Hurh and Kim 1984).

Korean entrepreneurs typically work long hours, which is detrimental to their physical and psychological well-being. This long-hour work ethic, however, has proven successful in the labor-intensive small businesses they operate, and has provided Koreans with upward economic mobility (Min 1990). There are problems however associated with this type of work ethic including overwork, physical danger, rejection and hostility by other minority clients, exploitation by suppliers and landlords, and a slowing of assimilation.

The topic of racial purity has created many problems for the South Koreans moving to culturally diverse urban areas in the United States. In regard to racial relations, there is also a stereotype of a middleman minority, which has been typical of Koreans for several generations. This label indicates that the Korean business owners serve as a medium between white American wholesale suppliers and other minority populations as employees and consumers. The Korean middleman business owners tend to be small-business dominators. Traditionally, Korean businesses were able to penetrate deep into the minority neighborhoods, giving employment to large numbers of the Black and

Hispanic populations. Koreans have maintained a middle class minority status, higher than that of the other minority groups. Koreans' racial ideology is similar to that of early white American attitudes toward black Americans (Min 1990, Hurh and Kim 1984). These racial ideologies have developed in part in response to the presence of black American soldiers in South Korea, and continue even after moving to the U.S. thereby often putting them at odds with their customers and employees.

One of the biggest problems that Korean entrepreneur immigrants have experienced was that this type of work requirement has been persistent in Korean culture for most of their history and is in direct opposition to U.S. labor regulations for employees. Kim (2008) suggests that Korean immigrants put much effort into the rigorous and exhausting lifestyles that they live so that they can achieve a higher social status and reverse the invisibility they have maintained throughout the years. This perceived invisibility was related to the idea that Koreans have felt they are not yet equal to white Americans, but are not as lowly as black Americans; they fit in somewhere in the middle (Kim 2008).

As Korean immigrant destinations shift to the U.S. South, the trend seen in the recent years has been for South Korean business owners to hire Koreans to work in their rural factories because they generally work longer hours for less pay. This is increasingly becoming an area of contention as the American employees are exposed to the business practices of South Korean business owners. The conflicting differences between the work ethics of South Korea and the United States are issues that are of extreme importance in this new system of suburban and rural business location (Li 1999).

Korean communities in their homeland have preserved a relatively homogeneous society for many generations due to the peninsular isolation of South Korea. Racial imperialism is an issue that has been carried over from the homeland of South Korea to the new destinations within the United States. Ong (2003) suggests that the media sources depict South Koreans as one of the more wealthy and upwardly mobile of all immigrant groups. South Koreans were listed as an upper-class minority fraction as were Indians and Chinese. This view of South Korean immigrants is one that also mirrors that of more contemporary locations of South Korean immigrants and their business locations (Ong 2003).

Hurh et al. (1979) hypothesized that one of the reasons that Korean immigrants had more social mobility than other Asian counterparts was directly related to their socio-economic status. Hurh et al. (1979) show that the majority of the middle-aged Korean men in the U.S. between 1960 and 1980 were highly educated in South Korea prior to immigrating to the U.S. Once these immigrants moved to the U.S., however, they often faced adjustment and assimilation challenges due to the lack of use of their educational training and socio-economic status. This had a positive correlation to the middleman minority status because the immigrants were unable to access the economic and social structures of the U.S., so they found a way to create their own place (Hurh et al. 1979). Many of the Korean businesses solicit specifically to other Koreans, giving the immigrants with little English-speaking ability a means for a comfortable lifestyle. Locating in these areas has been beneficial to both the Korean business owners as well as the Korean residents, in relation to language barriers (Jo 1999).

The length of time that a Korean resides in the United States increases the likelihood of them owning a small business. Korean women are also found to be more likely to participate in the small businesses, particularly laundries, retail services, and food services (Hurh and Kim 1984). The areas where these Koreans tend to locate have historically been urban areas with an established migration chain, but this has shown to be shifting to more suburban type areas as are found in the Los Angeles ethnoburbs. Li (1999) addresses this issue of ethnoburbs being formed in suburban towns and explains that this process is very different form the previous migration patterns. Ethnoburbs are a clustering of a minority group within a suburban setting. Ethnoburbs seem to be developing more in areas of less poverty and include more affluent residents than had been seen in the previous ethnic communities (Li 1999). This is attributed to many recent immigrants having affluent status in the homeland prior to immigrating to the U.S.

4.2 South Korean Automobile Industry

Early South Korean immigrants found work in the service sector or owned service sector businesses. However, in the 1990's South Korea began to gain economic stability and earned the title of being one of the four Asian Tigers. This economic growth allowed South Korea to gain influence and expand their markets. This also encouraged South Koreans to increase the popularity and dependability of their products within the electronics and automotive industries. Electronics in South Korea have been ahead of the United States for quite a while and have the upper hand when it comes to Internet and phone related industries. South Koreans were also able to find a place for increasing popularity within the United States with their automobiles due to the fuel efficiency and relatively low purchase cost. The South Korean automobile industry started to become

globalized in the late 1990's. According to Park (2003), this was prompted by the liberalizing foreign investment policies of South Korea's automobile industry away from a nationalist and protectionist stance. This new approach allowed decisions to be made from within the country. One of the reasons for coming to the United States was the weakening of the working class due to general policies created by capitalists in response to the economic breakdown in South Korea. This was an attempt that was made after the bankruptcy of Kia, the third largest Korean automaker, in 1997.

The Big Deal Program was a national-scale agreement between the government of South Korea and the top five conglomerates, or chaebeols (재벌) to decentralize their industry into nine industrial sectors, including automotive manufacturing. Under this program, the largest Korean corporations would be broken down into smaller businesses, to lessen the control of the major power holders. Until this program was instituted, economic control of the country was largely in the hands of a few large corporations. The actions that were taken in response to this policy suggest that the liberalization policies were not imposed from above (by global forces) but rather were constructed from below (by national and sub-national forces) (Park 2003).

After the 1997 financial crisis, South Korea tried many programs aimed at restructuring the economy, one of which was promoting the automotive manufacturing industry (Park 2003). This has continually developed over the past decade and has led to an increase in overseas production sites (Park 2003).

4.3 Korean Social Institutions

Korean culture is founded largely on the basis of Confucian and Buddhist practices. These ideologies contributed not only to the family value systems but also helped form

the business practices that are still prevalent in today's society. Many Confucian traditions are incorporated into every aspect of family life and is even seen mixed with the Christian and Buddhist practices. This cultural syncretism has contributed to some of the problems that Korean business owners face when moving to the U.S. (Jo 1999).

4.3.1 Roles Within The Korean Family

The family construct is based on the traditional Korean values that date back to the Confucian influence on their society (Jo 1999; Hurh and Kim 1984). Confucianism has held a powerful grip on Korean culture since the Choseon Dynasty (1392-1910) and implicates men as the primary financial providers and decision makers in the family. Patriarchal traditions have permeated every aspect of Korean culture and have greatly influenced family roles and traditions as well as work ethics and practices.

Families have been the most important aspect within Korean culture throughout history. Familial roles have held extreme importance in South Korean culture; however, when moving to the United States, these roles have encountered many forms of stress (Min 2001). Prior to immigrating, Korean women often had little power within the home or family setting and almost never worked outside the home in any type of professional manner. Accordingly, the husband or male members of the family have been the financial support for the family (Jo 1999). It has become a serious issue in South Korea in recent years as women struggle for equality in the workplace. Many women have begun to take on careers but are not allowed the same equality as men. In one personal observation, I witnessed a situation where the female employee was told that she would not be allowed to have an equal salary to a male employee with the same credentials, due to his familial role as the provider for a spouse and children. This seems to be the typical practice of

discrimination found in many work environments within South Korea and carries over to the host country.

The immigration of Koreans into the United States has had tremendous impacts on the family system. Many of the urban Korean businessmen who have come to the United States within the last fifteen years have been highly educated in Korea and previously held white-collar professional jobs (Min 2001). Often, the men will not be able to find work and they have a difficult time accepting a job of lower status. It is for this reason that the female immigrants will more readily find employment because they are willing to take a position of low status. Many Korean men find it hard to deal with their loss of occupational status after immigrating, and this can lead to stresses, which can eventually turn them to violent tendencies or depression. Such status inconsistency, within the social hierarchy of traditional structure, can lead to psychological depression and failure to assimilate by Korean immigrants (men in particular) (Min 2001).

Confucianism has contributed to the cultural construction and value system throughout much of Korean history (Kim 1977). Many of the families that immigrate here continue to keep the traditional values of the homeland, but with some changes in roles of the family. Women increasingly become the financial providers in the Korean communities in the United States, thus changing the status hierarchy of traditional Korean culture (Kim 1977, Min 2001). When a woman is forced out into the labor force, there tends to be some level of conflict in the home environment. The division of household labor is a major source of conflict among married couples. The traditional role of women in Korea has been to maintain all household-related duties and provide for her family's daily needs. This role has changed in the immigrant's life in America and led to

the women working as many or more hours outside the home than the husband. This leads to feelings of anger and frustration from both spouses. The Korean community has also discouraged Korean immigrants from modifying the patriarchal ideology that they brought with them from Korea (Min 2001). Traditionally, women with school-age children had a difficult time working outside of the home because of the importance placed on the child's education. Some Korean men have contributed to the entrepreneurial role of the wife in small business by becoming shuttermen, one that just drives the wife to work and helps to open and close the shop (Min 2001). Korean older generations have held the belief that if the woman starts working, as is prevalent in American culture, then the women will make money, become aggressive, and argue with their husbands. This stress and anxiety can also lead to excessive drinking habits, gambling, and depression among Korean men (Min 2001). The preconceived ideas regarding American social culture such as this have been further perpetuated by the exposure of South Koreans to contemporary American media (Kim 2008). By segregating into the ethnic enclaves, Korean immigrants can find some sense of security and comfort amid what seems to be the chaos of the host society.

4.3.2 The Role of Korean Churches

Upon immigrating to the United States, many Koreans find themselves needing an outlet from the stress of speaking English on a daily basis and other social stresses experienced within American society. Korean religious institutions offer a sense of belonging and create an environment where the Koreans can mingle and relax in the atmosphere similar to that of the homeland. Koreans generally incorporate many of the Buddhist and Confucian rituals into their cultural practices; but it is very difficult for those practicing

Buddhism to find any temple of worship in the United States, so many turn to the Protestant churches in the United States (Hurh and Kim 1984). Yong-Gi Cho is the founder of the largest Protestant congregation in the world, with a membership of over 1,000,000 members. This church is located in Ulsan, South Korea and shows the large importance placed on religion by the South Korean people. Korean churches have played a significant stabilizing role in the lives of Korean immigrants by giving them some sense of place and community in a foreign land. A majority of Koreans in the United States attend a Korean church at least once a week. The data provided by Hurh et al. (1979) shows that the largest percentage of Koreans attended church regularly after immigrating to the U.S. Importantly; Koreans sought religious affiliation in larger numbers after emigrating than before leaving Korea. This has become a social outlet for those in the Korean communities and has also provided them with a means for perpetuating their patriarchal culture (Hurh and Kim 1984). Affiliating with Korean churches enables the immigrants to speak their native language as well as maintain their cultural traditions (Hurh and Kim 1984).

The churches also provide a means for economic stability in the Korean communities and often, you can find groups within the church that will loan money to those who cannot find traditional loans through a bank. Money lending groups will form and contribute to a fund, which will be distributed to one member per month, so that all members in the group will eventually get their turn to receive the bulk. These groups are also called “money clubs or kye” in Korea (Jo 1999, 65). This is a very dangerous practice within the Korean groups, since the person receiving the large sum of money could potentially flee and never contribute to the system afterwards, but has been carried

here from their homeland and requires trust within the community members. This helps to keep Koreans socially segregated from the larger society by reducing the need for commercial lending institutions (Min 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Korean immigrants seem to struggle with balancing the pull of assimilation into the United States and with preserving their own cultural identities. This could explain why the Koreans interact well as a whole within society while keeping their cultural practices intact but separated from Americans.

Assimilation into any culture is one of the biggest challenges facing immigrants. Full integration or assimilation can be identified when the immigrant becomes indistinguishable from members of the host society as well as becomes a participant in the political processes (Chi 2005). There can often be a fear that if full integration into the society occurs, then the immigrant risks losing a piece of their identity which may keep some immigrants form actually integrating completely into the host society. South Koreans have not fully integrated into American society as well as other immigrants, which can be seen through political participation. Chi (2005) relates political participation of East Asians to their historical immigration experiences. As mentioned earlier, South Koreans were the last group of East Asians to immigrate, causing their assimilation patterns to lag behind other groups, with the exception of Japanese. While overall Asian participation in American politics remains low; South Korean immigrants have an even smaller percentage, likely caused by the fewer years that they have had to integrate after immigration to the U.S. began (Chi 2005).

Historically, South Korean attitudes toward politics have been a very conservative or somewhat conservative and according to Chi (2005), they were the most conservative

of the other East Asians. Chi (2005) noted that no South Korean had self-identified as liberal in the 1990s, however, he saw a shift in this in 2001. This political ideology would have created a new group of South Korean immigrants who affiliated in recent years with more liberal than conservative groups and has changed how these immigrants vote. Chi (2005) also notes that South Koreans have historically been more aware of American political issues than those of other immigrants.

Korean culture is largely based on the familial roles and social identity. Traditional Confucian rituals and beliefs have contributed to every aspect of Korean life. Korea has traditionally kept a largely homogenous cultural tradition, which has created many obstacles when integrating and acculturating into American society. Alabama and Georgia have experienced a large increase in the Korean immigrants in recent years; however, the literature does not exist that defines the recent patterns. In what follows, I examine the patterns of these areas to identify areas of this cultural impact and contribute to the literature regarding this trend.

Chapter 5: Study Area

5.1 Area of Research

According to Griffith (2005), recent growth patterns of immigrants have been increasing largely in the rural communities. These immigrants are not following the traditional destination patterns of previous generations, but have been moving to smaller towns in search of new sources of employment. Many businesses are moving into the South due to the incentives from southern states. I examine a region in Alabama and Georgia that highlights these newly arriving immigrant businesses and their motivations for establishing businesses there.

Hyundai Motor Manufacturing Company located in Montgomery, Alabama was established in 2002 just south of the intersection of I-65 and I-85. Kia Motors of Georgia was established in 2006 and is located in West Point, Georgia, along the I-85 corridor between Atlanta, Georgia and Montgomery, Alabama. These plants received incentives from each state when deciding on the location for the plants. Alabama and Georgia competed for the destination of each plant and each state offered different incentives. The strategic locations of these plants allow parts distributors to build businesses along the corridor and distribute supplies to each assembly plant.

Hyundai and Kia decided to locate in the area of Alabama and Georgia largely due to incentives and a cost-effective workforce. With their historical economies in the textile industry, the workforce of these areas of the two states has a history of working shifts and doing assembly-style jobs and there is an abundance of available, cheap labor.

The labor availability is only one aspect that drew the automotive companies here; monetary and tax incentives were others. Hyundai chose Alabama as its destination from 50 states that competed for the destination. The incentives offered to Hyundai by various agencies in Alabama totaled to around $240 million USD and included free land, site preparation, free training for employees, and upgraded road networks (Yang 2006).

Kia received almost $400 million USD in state and local incentives when they decided to build in Georgia. The existence of the Hyundai manufacturing plant had helped the Korean company owners to choose the Georgia location because they were close enough that they could easily transport parts and supplies between the two plants and share the benefits of agglomeration. The drive from Hyundai to Kia is around one hour and many parts suppliers have settled between the two plants. Some of the incentives that were offered to Kia were $131 million USD in local tax abatements, $250 million USD in state tax incentives, and a $20 million USD training center for employees (Grillo 2009).

I chose to study the areas of Lee, Tallapoosa, and Chambers counties in Alabama and Troup county in Georgia, because of the ease of access and recent establishments of Korean-owned KIA Motors and their supplier plants. These areas provide ample opportunities for potential data collection.

In this chapter I will discuss the area chosen for my study and give a small historical account of the immigrants in each location. Proximity to my location and ease of data collection are included in the reasons that I decided to focus on this area. This location is a recent Korean immigrant destination to the U.S. South.

5.2 Immigrants in Georgia

Immigrant communities and their historical patterns offer insight into how the area developed and when these patterns began to take shape. An increase in the number of immigrants in an area will generally lead to more diversity within the communities.

Literature available on historical immigrant patterns in Georgia is limited. Very few southern U.S. states have existing historical literature regarding immigrants, and even less literature exists regarding specific states within the South.

Georgia has historically been a destination of immigrants and among those early immigrants were African slaves who were brought to work on farms in the state. The physical environment of Georgia is similar to that of the homeland of the African slaves and the slaves adjusted well to the exposure of disease and climate.

Hispanics are another large immigrant group in Georgia; however, they did not arrive in substantial numbers until the late 1900s. Prior to the influx of Hispanics, Georgia was largely a black and white divided state. Since the 1960s, many Hispanics and Asians have created ethnic urban areas within the Atlanta metropolitan area (Neal and Bohon 2010).

In the state of Georgia, immigrants entering the labor force have dramatically increased since the 1990s. This increase has led to a drastic change in both the rural and urban areas. Recent Census data suggest that Georgia observed a tremendous increase in minorities within the last decade, and a majority of these are Asian and Hispanic. Georgia experienced the highest percentage increase among U.S. states, at the county level, with 25 of its counties increasing at 50 percent or greater during the 1990s (Neal and Bohon 2010; U.S. Census 2010). This represents a pattern different from past trends, in which

immigrants moved to the larger urban areas in California, New York, and Texas. There also seems to be a pattern of secondary or step migration where immigrants in the U.S. are moving to the more rural areas due to economic growth there.

Georgia's economy is expanding more quickly than most; however, it still retains one of the highest unemployment rates within the United States. The high rate of unemployment contributes to some dissention within the residents of Georgia in relation to immigrant labor (Neal and Bohon 2010). Prior to 1990, Georgia was not a popular destination for immigrants. Neal and Bohon (2010) suggest that immigrants may be more likely to be perceived as a threat to native workers because of the desperate economic nature of the immigrants. This also perpetuates the perception of a higher crime and violence rate; however, one immigration lawyer asserted that immigrants are the key to Georgia's economic success (Neal and Bohon 2010, 189-190).

The landscape of Georgia has undergone a physical and cultural change over the last decade due to the higher numbers of immigrants into the area. This influx of culture has contrasted with some of the existing southern culture, which has prompted mixed emotions from the residents (Neal and Bohon 2010). This contrast of cultures is also beginning to take shape within the nearby state of Alabama. I seek to show how this Georgian trend exists within rural Alabama as well as understand how it differs from historical immigration patterns.

5.3 Immigrants in Alabama

Alabama and Georgia are states located deep in the Southern United States, and are generally known as "the land of cotton." Cotton plantations were very prosperous in the states due to the large western crescent of fertile soils known as the Black Belt region,

which includes Mississippi. Historically, Alabama has been a destination for African slaves who were brought by European slave traders to work in the cotton fields. As mentioned previously, these African slaves adjusted well due to similar climate and work in the homeland.

Slavery was prevalent in Alabama and Georgia prior to the Civil War, which began in 1861, and explains the relatively large population of blacks in Alabama. According to the U.S. Census, the percentage of blacks as a proportion of the total population in Alabama in 1860 was 45.4%. This area has historically been one of very fertile black soils and large numbers of black populations (Ambinakudige et al. 2012). There was little diversity in the racial make-up of Alabama in the earliest years of its existence, with only two groups: white and black populations. According to historical Census records, the population was only white and black until 1860. In 1860, there were 160 American Indians, and in 1880, the population expanded to include 4 Asians (see Table 1). This shows the limited diversity within the area prior to the 1900s.

Hispanics have demonstrated a growing presence in Alabama, beginning in the late 1900s, and have been affiliated with jobs mainly in agriculture or domestic work. Ambinakudige et al. (2012) discusses that the recent patterns in the Southern United States show an increase due to the pleasant atmosphere and prosperous business regions in regard to immigrants. Griffith (2005) suggests that Asians as well as Hispanics have been following patterns of rural migration in search of secure employment; however, not in the same areas of employment. The areas in Alabama and Georgia that have been selected for this research should allow me to determine if this same pattern applies. At the

present time, the literature on Asian immigration available at this geographic scale is lacking and demands further inquiry.

Table 1. Population Totals in Alabama 1800-1990. Accessed from the U.S. Census Bureau. (U.S. Census 2002).

Race							
Census Year	White	Black	American Indian/Eskimo	Asian and Pac. Islander	Other	Hispanic	White Not Hispanic
1990	73.60%	25.30%	0.40%	0.50%	0.10%	0.60%	73.30%
1980	73.80%	25.60%	0.20%	0.20%	0.20%	0.90%	73.30%
1970	73.60%	26.20%	0.10%	0.10%	0%	0%	0%
1960	69.90%	30.00%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1950	67.90%	32.00%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1940	65.30%	34.70%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1930	64.30%	35.70%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1920	61.60%	38.40%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1910	57.50%	42.50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1900	54.70%	45.20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1890	55.10%	44.80%	0.10%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1880	52.50%	47.50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1870	52.30%	47.70%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1860	54.60%	45.40%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1850	55.30%	44.70%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1840	56.70%	43.30%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1830	61.50%	38.50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1820	66.80%	33.20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1810	71.00%	29.00%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1800	58.60%	41.40%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The Alabama counties of Lee, Tallapoosa, and Chambers, and the Georgia county of Troup will be examined to assess the patterns of current business locations, food-related businesses, recreational services, and Korean churches. This area was chosen because KIA Motor Manufacturing plant and many of its subsidiaries and suppliers are located within these counties and provides me with easy travel and access to the sites.

These counties are within a 30-minute drive and have the potential for networking between contacts.

Chapter 6: Methods

6.1 Overview

Research is the practice of collecting information and performing a thorough analysis so that a story can be effectively told to others. I use a mixed-method approach that combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

In recent years, a mixed-method approach to geographical analysis has become more widely accepted. This system of approach has been used in geography and has proven valuable for researchers. Visser and Jones (2010) suggest that those scholars trained in the past decade have largely been exposed to both quantitative and qualitative methods. Pak and Morgan (2012) have established that a suitable analysis can be made by using non-socioeconomic data to view social hierarchy and visual spatial patterns can tell an important story of space, however, inclusion of qualitative methods would allow for more complete understanding of the processes at work. Qualitative methods can provide valuable insight into areas that cannot be studied by quantitative measurement alone (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). According to St. Martin and Pavlovska (2010), the use of secondary data in qualitative interpretation as well as Census data analysis is very useful because it contains organized, consistent data from credible sources.

My research consists of mixed methods for spatial analysis, including both quantitative and qualitative methods. The inclusion of a qualitative approach allows for a more complete look into the social structure of Korean culture, which is not readily available in a form that is easy to analyze with quantitative methods alone. Schatz (2011)

suggests that when using qualitative and quantitative mixed methods for demographic research, a greater outcome can be obtained. In particular, combining demographic census data with a qualitative survey instrument and informal interviews can yield a fuller understanding of the spatial patterns and the underlying processes that influence them. Through these methods, I identify patterns of thought and behavior that cannot be captured in a completely quantitative manner. I collected information from existing South Korean businesses to get a first-hand look at the inner workings of the businesses and their practices. This provided information that is not readily available from existing literature and allows me to get a closer view of Korean cultural and ethical practices needed for this research.

6.2 Quantitative Methods

Quantitative data analysis is crucial for being able to understand the world in statistical form. The first step in this process was to obtain the Korean demographic data from the U.S. Census website. Due to the limited availability of U.S. Census data in regard to Koreans, I had to use multiple spatial scales to create an aggregate database. The data that I examined was not found within only one aggregation, but at differing levels such as tract and state level. I obtained Tigerline files, containing block data for each county, to join with the data that was obtained from the Census. The data from the Census was compiled and examined by using ArcMap software so that visual patterns could be initially assessed.

I also had access to a 2013 Alabama Korean Yellow Pages book (Figure 7) that was published by the Alabama Korean Times company, located in Auburn, Alabama. This directory is a compilation of Korean-owned businesses across all economic sectors

within Alabama and Georgia. It is published in Korean, so I had to translate the pages before being able to compile a database of the listed businesses.

Figure 7. Alabama Korean Yellow Pages.

I used Excel to compile a list of the business locations and identify the type of business of each (Table 2). There are 239 pages within this book, including company advertisements; so several days were needed to translate each properly, prior to creating the database. My database was then be geocoded in ArcMap using an appropriate address locator service and added as an overlay to the Alabama and Georgia shapefiles (Figure 8). I also found two maps that were created in 2009 and 2010 by the Alabama Development Office, which depict[1] the existing South Korean-based industries in Alabama and pinpoints them on a map. These are the only two years available for comparison. These two years were compared visually to my map of the current businesses so that I could determine the growth of the businesses from 2009-2010 through the present. The use of quantitative methods for this part of my research helped me to assess whether there was a distinct level of clustering by similar socio-economic levels within the Korean populations, both in the United States and in South Korea.

[1] A comparison of Korean population growth in the study area compared to the Korean population nationwide as well as a comparison of Korean business growth in the study area as compared to Korean business growth nationwide will be addressed in future research projects, however, the data was not readily available for this study.

Table 2. Database of Korean Owned Businesses in Alabama and Georgia.

Name of Business	Address	City	State	Zipcode	Type
Ajin USA (Joon LLC)	1500 County Road 177	Cusseta	AL	36852	Manu
Alabama Bolt & Supply	630 Air base Blvd	Montgomery	AL	36108	Supply
Ari Rang	722 N. Daleville Avenue	Daleville	AL	36322	Food
Arirang BBQ Grill & Restaurant	1633 Eastern Blvd	Montgomery	AL	36117	Food
Asia Bistro & Seafood	7839 Vaughn Road	Montgomery	AL	36116	Food
Asian Food Market	22 Green Springs Highway	Homewood	AL	35209	Food
Auto Electronic America Corp.	1040 Friction Drive	Prattville	AL	36067	Manu
Café Korea	1014 US Highway 431	Anniston	AL	36206	Food
Choi, Kim, and Park LLP	1510 Lafayette Parkway Unit C-1	Lagrange	GA	30241	Law

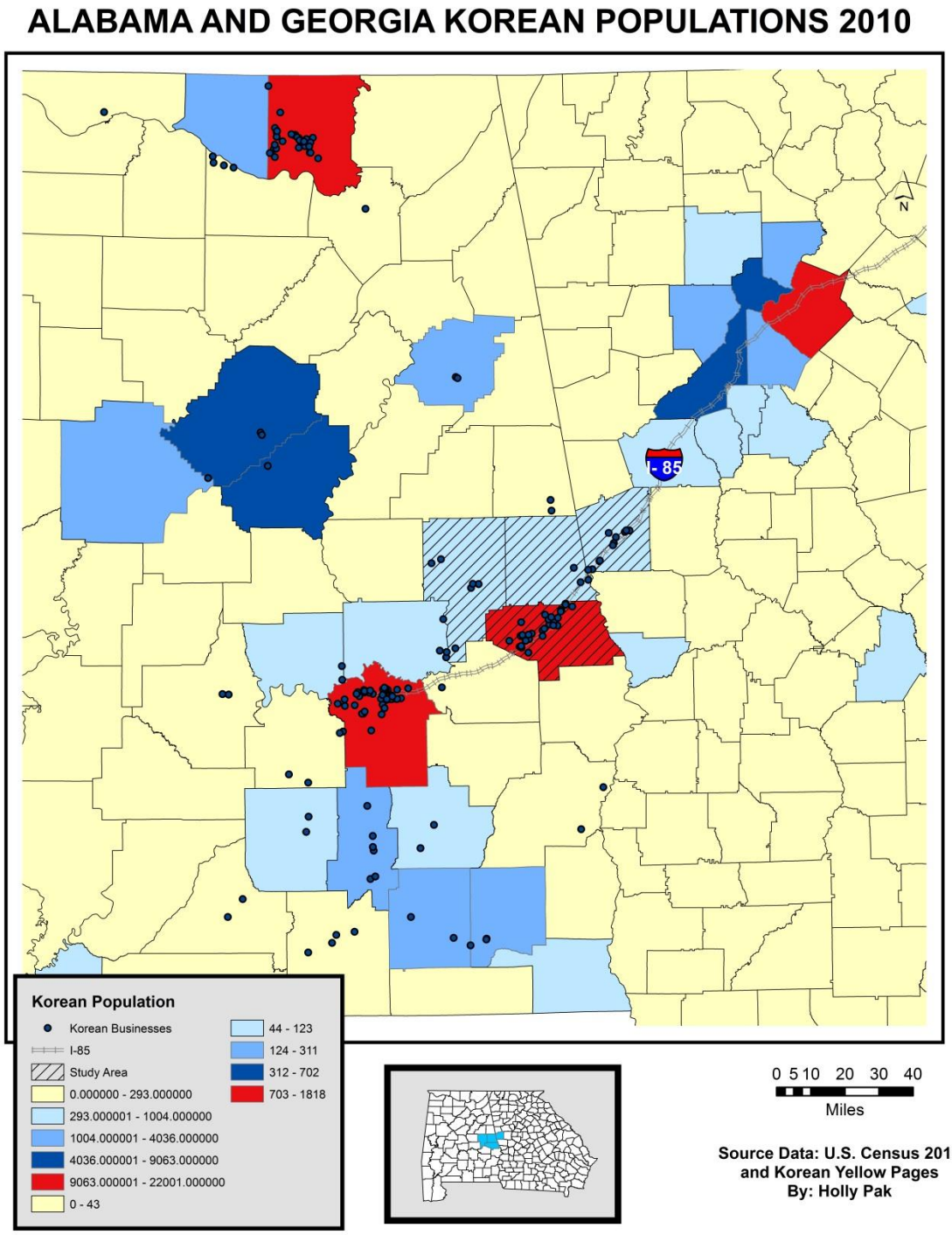

Figure 8. Korean Population, Study Area, and Businesses.

6.3 Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research methods and observations of the Korean community also constitute a large portion of this research. As I have been married to a South Korean immigrant for the past five years and have personally been involved in the immigration processes; insider and participant-observer research can therefore offer insights that may not be visible in conducting research as an outsider. Delyser (2001) suggests that using day-to-day life experiences can greatly improve qualitative research results. This type of insider research is important in gaining trust of those within the community.

Surveys are an important part of conducting qualitative research. When completing survey research, data can be attained at any level of aggregation and many personal questions can be asked to help in the full understanding of the subject. Surveys provide a way to remain anonymous while still participating in the research. I use surveys and photo documentation to reveal the Korean community.

I had hoped to conduct approximately 150 surveys with Koreans here in Alabama as well as in the county in Georgia that I researched however, the numbers were much smaller as the participation was not easily granted. Forty-seven surveys were successfully completed during this research.

Hurh et al. (1979) also experienced a sample of fewer than 290 out of the expected 500 people in their research, due to the uncooperative nature of the immigrants.

I also created a set of Interview questions to discuss with respondents. I anticipated a minimum of 25 Interviews from the Korean community; however, I was unable to complete the formal interviews, with the exception of one American employee at a Korean company. I was able to initiate some informal conversations with many of the

Korean community members with whom I came in contact. These informal interviews allowed me to formulate ideas and helped to mold the results and conclusions of this research.

Surveys were a significant aspect of this research and the acquisition encompassed several months. The surveys consisted of a range of questions that allowed me to account for variables affecting rural immigrants. I was primarily able to obtain a list of possible participants by word of mouth from other Koreans (snowball method). The snowball method obtains a first contact or entry point and making additional contacts from their recommendations (Secor 2010). I also used the Korean Yellow pages to select Korean companies to contact. These methods allowed me to select Korean participants from within the automotive manufacturing plants as well as other Koreans in the community. I found the emails for three local Korean pastors and sent information asking for assistance in this project. One pastor replied to my email and asked what day I was available to meet with him; however, I never received any response to the return email. I followed up with two phone calls to the pastor but no response was obtained.

The surveys were completed with those of varying age and social and educational status. I completed the CITI training and gained the approval of the Office for Human Subjects Research (Appendix A). The purpose of the surveys was to determine information not available through the Census statistics. I created an information letter, written in both English and Korean, to give to the participants prior to the survey (Appendix B). These surveys were created with structured closed-ended questions and likert scales (Appendix C). The information consisted of socio-economic-related questions as well as questions regarding social status perception, personal attitudes, and

historical family traditions and values. The results of the surveys were compiled into a table of summary statistics and evaluated to determine the areas of similarity (Appendix D). In the survey, I asked the respondents what country they have citizenship, what nationality is their spouse, and where their spouse lives. These questions allow me to interpret the integration level of intermarriage with Americans and the potential for returning to South Korea. I also asked the age and education levels of the respondents and specifically, where they attained their education

Additionally, I sought formal semi-structured interviews with local informants using open-ended questions (Appendix E). I prepared consent letters in both English and Korean to be signed by the participants prior to the interviews (Appendix F). The interviews related to the interviewee's social and professional status. I had hoped to construct a coding scheme that consists of similar ideas and give each a code that can be added to a database. Alexander (2004) constructed a coding scheme, which consisted of sub-categories among the initial themes, which provided the best means for organizing the data. This part of the research is a necessary component but will be continued in later studies in a PhD program.

I contacted many of the automotive facilities as well as three Korean pastors, but received no response after the initial contact. The first contact seemed to be positive, however, I was unsuccessful in following up with the majority of the contacts a second time, even after they said they were willing to participate. When I contacted the potential participants, I used a mix of Korean and English and explained that they could speak with me using either language. I also contacted three Korean companies in Auburn, Alabama by phone call and discussed the project with the Human Resource managers and each

responded that they would discuss participation with the plant managers and give me a return phone call. After three weeks, I followed up with a second phone call and first email but no response was obtained from the Human Resource managers.

I contacted 25 Korean business employees within the four counties comprising this research, both managerial staff and laborers, however, only one person was willing to interview with me. The purpose of the interviews was to obtain a closer look at the social structure at a personal level so that the information could be analyzed and coded. Three of the automotive manufacturing employees that were referred to me agreed to interview; however, they all returned to South Korea before any interview could be obtained.

The lack of participation from the Korean community suggests that being a quasi-insider to this ethnic group, I am still viewed as Other and not allowed complete acceptance. I explained to the potential respondents that I had no ill intentions and would try to help promote an awareness of Koreans in the community; however, I still was not given the privilege of information. The lack of participation also suggests that there may be other reasons that the Korean immigrants do not want to reveal information to me such as conducting business using Korean-based ethics within the U.S. or speculations on hiring undocumented immigrants (Perramond 2001). Importantly, however, informal conversations occurred during the administration of the surveys and assisted me in interpretation of results.

Photo documentation of the physical landscape was compiled to show a change in the landscape of these areas. I examined photos of the landscape to determine the amount of Korean (Hangul) letters on signage as well as the buildings, to show how the

communities have developed from a rural American landscape to the more Korean influenced cultural landscape.

Sauer (1925) used landscapes as a means of interpreting culture. This form of analysis allows us to identify particular ethnic groups within a region by examining the visible features within that region. The changing of landscape indicates that the populations have changed and is an indicator of immigrants into that specific area (Jackson 1989). Duncan and Ley (1993) also examine landscape changes, but focus upon the rapidly growing and culturally diverse urban areas to identify changing social orders.

Despite the research barriers I encountered, the methods I successfully employed still allowed me to study the inner workings of the communities as well as quantify contemporary Korean immigration patterns. In using both qualitative and quantitative methods, I constructed a more accurate depiction of the amount of change and explored the reasons behind the rural/suburban focus of recent immigrants in the South.

Chapter 7: Results

7.1 Surveys

A mixed-method approach is useful in cultural and immigration studies. Data can often be difficult to obtain and analyze when examining cultural patterns due to the lack of availability of personal information at small scale aggregations. My research methods were useful in gathering information from an ethnic community that is largely self-segregated. This provided an insight into the depth of Korean penetration within the communities.

7.2 Demographic Data

Table 3 reveals that the majority of respondents have South Korean citizenship. Of the respondents surveyed, 67% were South Korean citizens and 31% were U.S. citizens. This demographic is important in identifying the status of the immigrants and provides an overview of country affiliation. Immigrants without U.S. citizenship may be less likely to fully integrate and remain in the U.S. for extended periods of time. In most of the surveys, the respondents were married to South Koreans; however, the majority of those spouses live in the U.S.

Intermarriage with a U.S. citizen is a key indicator that the immigrant intends to remain in the U.S. for an extended period of time and thus promotes integration into the host society. Song (2009) suggests that intermarriage between an immigrant and a citizen from the host society is a key indicator in the assimilation process; however, she argues that it does not indicate that the immigrant will structurally assimilate as Gordon (1964)

had previously identified. Intermarriage is also a key indicator that racial attitudes in the rural South may be weakening (Song 2009). Keeping South Korean citizenship allows for an alternative if the immigrant faces difficulty and chooses to return to the homeland. Many of the respondents that I surveyed are married to Korean women and brought their family with them when immigrating to the U.S. This status is important for my research purposes because a temporary status and very small numbers of intermarriage with Americans does not promote assimilation and cohesiveness with Americans and American culture.

Table 3. Demographic Survey Data

In what country do you have citizenship?	Korea	United States	Other			
	31	16				
In what city do you currently live?	Auburn	Opelika	Montgomery	Dadeville	Norcross	Atlanta
	24	7	5	1	1	6
In what city do you currently work?	Auburn	Dadeville	Opelika	Atlanta	Lagrange	Cusseta
	8	14	12	1	1	2
Are you married?	Yes	No				
	24	21				
If married, where does your spouse live?	Korea	United States	Other			
	3	23				
What nationality is your spouse?	Korean	American	Other			
	18	8				
Do you have children?	Yes	No				
	25	17				
If yes, do they live here?	Yes	No				
	21	5				
What are the ages of your children?	< 3 years	3-5 years	6-12 years	13-18 years	19 years or older	
	7	3	6	8	7	
If you have children living here with you, in which city do they attend school?	Auburn	Montgomery	AEEC	Duluth	Atlanta	
	6	2	2	1	5	

I obtained, through informal interviews, information about the area of residence from a majority of the Koreans with whom I came in contact; almost all live in apartments on or near a golf course and the majority play golf on a regular basis with other Koreans. Among the Korean employees, two companies required the Korean office employees to participate in a golf team on Saturdays, while only one company offered both golf and deep-sea fishing as a Saturday event. The company that offered the deep-sea fishing alternative made trips to Florida each month. This is taxing on the employees, not only physically and emotionally but also financially. Korean management employees in Korean-owned industry are effectively on duty at all times. Being a quasi-insider within the Korean community, I have learned first-hand that it is extremely important to show your co-workers, friends, and other Koreans that you have been successful and this is shown in an outward display of affluence. Playing golf and living in close proximity to your own golf course shows a social status that is coveted by most Koreans because with limited land available in Korea, the costs associated with playing one round of golf can cost hundreds of dollars.

Recalling the time I spent in Korea and talking with my Korean family members, I have learned that education is one of the most important aspects of Korean culture. Parents will spend exorbitant amounts of their income on their children's education. This starts as early as elementary school age and continues until post-secondary education. There are myriad (학원) hagwans (Korean academies that focus on teaching English) located in Korea and often employ Americans citizens to teach English. This is a resource that is utilized outside of the traditional required education. I feel that this is directly carried over from the country of origin and continues to emanate social status in the U.S.

Parents want the best education for their children and this is seen in the analysis of the survey data (Shin 2011).

The respondents were also asked to list the city in which they work. The cities listed are the cities where the automotive manufacturing plants and Auburn University are located. Every respondent did not complete this question; therefore the percentages are not equal.

The respondents were also asked to list the city in which their children living here attended school. The largest percentages showed that Auburn was the city of choice for the children's education. Auburn is known for the excellent school system and has some of the highest rankings in this region. U.S. News and World Report ranked Auburn High School #4 in the state of Alabama (U.S. News 2013). Koreans value education and living in Auburn, Alabama allows their children to be educated at one of the best schools. Living in Auburn also provides a social status symbol that is coveted throughout the Korean community.

Another important thing to note here is the focus on age in South Korea. South Koreans are required to list their age, weight, height, and marital status when applying for jobs. Among the South Koreans that I had discussions with, the consensus is that over age 35 it becomes very difficult to find employment. The older a person is, the less competent they appear to potential employers. Women are often asked about marital status because if she has young children then she is viewed as less loyal an employee to her company. Many of the Korean men that I conversed with have expressed that this is an important variable in consideration of immigration to the U.S. in search of work, after age 35.

7.3 Educational Data

The respondents were asked to list their highest level of education and where the degree was obtained. 63% of those asked had completed a four-year degree, while only 0.1% completed a graduate degree. Of those surveyed, 57% of the respondents obtained their degree in South Korea prior to coming to the U.S. (Table 4). Most of the respondents were between the ages of 30-50 years old. The largest percentages of education level were Bachelors Degree and were completed in South Korea prior to immigrating to the U.S. The middle-aged immigrants do not seem to be seeking education in the U.S., rather, employment.

The largest percentages of the Korean respondents were currently employed with a South Korean-owned business and entered the U.S. with an employer-sponsored visa. The majority of those said that they would still be working for a Korean employer within the next five years. Many of the respondents could not attain a sponsorship from an American company.

Correlating directly with Hurh et al. (1979), this research shows that the majority of the Korean immigrants surveyed had college educations in South Korea, prior to arriving in the U.S. Hurh et al. (1979) suggests that this creates a problem as the number of educated Koreans continues to rise; underemployment then becomes a serious issue for the immigrant population. The majority of the respondents in this research was working through an employer-sponsored visa and had little choice in the position that they were given in the U.S. company.

Table 4. Education Data from Survey

	High School	Some College	2-Year	4-Year	Masters	PhD	Other
What is the highest level of education that you have completed?	2	4	4	29	5	3	
Check the level that was completed in Korea	4	5	4	23	4	1	1
Check the level that was completed in the United States	0	2	4	15	3	2	2

The positions in the Korean companies did not require a four-year degree for the type of work that they were doing; however, this was the only alternative if the immigrant wanted to remain in the U.S. using this type of visa.

During conversations with members of the Korean community, in an informal setting, I was able to identify the intentions of Koreans to seek employment for visa purposes. When asked, Korean respondents said they were seeking employment with the Korean companies as a first choice; however, for those who are not able to obtain an employer-sponsored visa, college is a second choice. Most have expressed concerns that they have already completed a four-year degree in South Korea but will have to pursue a lesser degree here due to lack of communication skills and a lack of knowledge of the U.S. educational system if they are no longer employed with the Korean companies or if they need to change their visa status (Table 5).

Table 5. Visa and Employer Data from Survey

	Yes	No
Do you currently work for a Korean company?	36	11
Do you have plans to work for a Korean company in the next 1-5 years?	33	14

Employer sponsorship from a Korean company creates an easier outlet for Korean immigrants to find work in the U.S. Language is not a barrier and both employer and employee understand the traditional work culture and the demands of it. In addition to Korean sponsorship, religious affiliation can also help make the transition easier for immigrants. The Korean churches provide a means for greater social interaction for the immigrants.

7.4 Religious Affiliation

The respondents were surveyed for religious affiliation. They were asked for group affiliation and current membership status. The majority of the respondents, 65% of those surveyed said that they are Protestant, .04% said they are Buddhist, and 22% are agnostic. These findings are similar to the results in the research of Hurh et al. (1979) who found that 45% were Protestant, 47% had no religious affiliation (table 6)

Table 6. Religious Affiliation Data From Survey

My religion is?	Protestant	Buddhist	Confucian	Agnostic	Catholic	Jewish
	31	2	0	10	3	1
Do you attend a Korean church?	Yes	No				
	23	22				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Koreans in the U.S. rely on the Korean churches to provide assistance with non-religious things.	2	4	9	23	9	
I feel there is a very large Korean population in this region.	1	5	8	23	10	
I shop at mostly Korean businesses and grocery stores.	4	14	15	8	5	
I prefer to shop at Korean businesses.	6	13	14	10	4	

Religious affiliation is one of the most integral parts of the Korean immigrant assimilation and adaptation process in the host country (Hurh and Kim 1984). Larger percentages of the Korean immigrant communities are affiliated with church groups, predominantly Protestant churches, compared to their Chinese and Japanese counterparts. Hurh and Kim (1984) detail a 20% increase in the Korean immigrant church affiliation after emigrating from South Korea. Church affiliation is a vital part of continuity and collective identity in the immigrant groups, and helps to promote adjustment to the host society (Hurh and Kim 1984). 50% of the respondents said that they attend a Korean church regularly, and 50% said they do not attend regularly. Hurh et al. (1979) address the issue of church roles in the lives of immigrants. They found that the more participation the immigrant has with the church, the more effortlessly it becomes for them to transition into the host society. These Korean churches serve as vectors for the Korean immigrants to learn and adjust to the U.S. Of the respondents that I surveyed, 67% said that they feel the Korean churches provide assistance with things that are non-religious; however, non-religious does not directly imply assimilation The churches serve as social hubs for Korean culture and do not require assimilation, rather they provide a buffer against it.

7.5 Work Ethic

The respondents were asked to describe their feelings about Korean work ethic, particularly as it relates to that of Americans. Of those surveyed, 83% responded that there is a difference in the work ethic of Koreans than that of Americans and 79% stated that the Koreans always work longer hours than the Americans. The remaining majority of respondents remained neutral on this topic. This could be due to several of the

respondents surveyed were not working in a Korean business and had no prior experience with working in a Korean business. This perception can show the differing views on work and how employment is viewed in Korean culture. The majority of the respondents said that there was a distinct work ethic difference between the two groups and the Koreans typically work longer and harder than Americans. This ideology demonstrates the cultural superiority that is prevalent in Korean society. This could potentially cause some problems for Korean management when employing a majority of American laborers (Table 7). This is directly related to the idea of a middleman minority. Korean managers and employees usually work the longer hours and place a great importance on their company; however, the quality of the work done during those working hours may differ from the American concept of work. The Korean employees also self-segregate in the work environment, which does not foster assimilation.

Table 7. Work Ethic Data from Survey

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
There is a difference in the work ethic of Korean employees compared to that of American employees.	0	1	7	20	19
Korean employees always work longer hours than American employees.	0	1	9	18	20

7.6 Social Perception

Identifying the way that Korean immigrants perceive their own culture as well as American culture can help understand why it can be difficult for Korean immigrants to fully integrate into American society. The respondents were asked several questions regarding their habits and perceptions. Historically, Korean immigrants in the rural South

would not have had the opportunity to associate with predominately other Koreans due to the lack of Korean populations in this region. 76% of the respondents that I surveyed said that they associate mostly with other Koreans outside of work. 70% said that they feel this region has a large Korean population and 51% said that most Koreans have only Korean friends, while 31% answered neutral. 70% said that most Koreans continue to practice Korean traditional culture after arriving in the U.S. 40% of the respondents answered that most Americans are accepting of Koreans and Korean culture and 41% were neutral. This is important to note because if the Korean population has a majority still practicing their traditional cultural habits but most Americans are not accepting of this practice, then it can cause tensions between the two cultures and limit the integration into the host society (Table 8).

Table 8. Cultural Data From Survey

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I associate with mostly Koreans outside of work.	2	5	4	18	18
Most Koreans practice traditional Korean culture after arriving in the United States.	0	6	8	21	12
Most Koreans only have Korean friends.	1	7	14	18	6
On a daily basis, Korean is spoken most of the time at home.	2	1	5	22	16
On a daily basis, Korean is spoken most of the time outside the home.	3	7	12	13	12
Most Americans in the U.S. South are accepting of Koreans and Korean culture.	1	9	19	16	2

I took photos of Korean Businesses with Korean language signage, in the study region, to show the prevalence of the Korean community (Figures 9-13). These businesses cater to the Korean community and offer a means of avoiding the American establishments, which hinder the process of assimilation. The employees who work in the Korean businesses speak Korean as a first language and usually prefer to communicate in Korean even if they can speak English. Korean immigrants feel secure in these businesses because they are among others who understand their background and culture.

Prior to the Korean automotive manufacturing companies moving to the I-85 corridor, there were few Korean businesses and no signage to show a presence in the South, the compilation of photos that I took shows a definitive presence of a well established Korean community.

Figure 9. Korean Billiards Located in Opelika Shopping Plaza, Opelika, AL.

Figure 10. Gohyang Garden Korean Restaurant, Opelika, AL.

Figure 11. Jin Hun CPA and Geumsoogangsan Korean Restaurant, LaGrange,GA.

Figure 12. BomDang GooJang Billiards; Choi, Kim, & Park LLC, CPA; Hangook Rental Cars, LaGrange, GA.

Figure 13. Kim's Jeongbi Auto Service, Auburn, AL.

The results of the survey data combined with the data collected from photos and amp analysis provides an in-depth look at the Korean immigrants in the study area. The data shows that there has been a substantial Korean immigrant population established in this region of the South. The center of the Korean community seems to center around the Korean automotive manufacturing plants and their parts suppliers. The middleman minority is visible within the businesses I examined and provides a segregation that does not seem conducive to integration within the existing American culture. This research indicates that there is a need for more contemporary analysis and scholarly literature on this topic.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Significance

8.1 Koreans in the Rural South

The rural Southern United States has historically been associated with agriculture and steel industries. Immigration patterns have shown little diversity with the main population groups consisting of White, Black, Native American, and Hispanic. This pattern has seen a shift to include more Asian populations in the recent years. South Korean industries are moving into areas of rural or suburban nature and creating flows of channelized migration that allow for the establishment of Korean communities. This research assesses how these Korean communities are becoming rooted in place and causing changes not only in the racial component of the region, but also in the cultural landscape. This research helps to understand these new destinations and show the areas that could benefit from assistance. Influxes of Korean businesses, churches, and restaurants invariably alter the cultural landscape that once existed in the rural South and may be potentially met with non-understanding Southerners who are unaware of the behaviors and practices of the new populations. Additionally, these new immigrant populations may benefit from planning policies and programs aimed at educating and helping with adjustment to the rural areas. I hope to help bridge a gap between the two cultures and identify areas that need more education and research.

The following research questions have been addressed in this research:

- Have the migration patterns of South Korean immigrants shifted from traditional urban immigrant destinations in the U.S. to the rural U.S. South?

- Have these recent changes in South Korean immigrant patterns been largely associated with automotive related businesses?
- How has the demographic profile of South Korean immigrants changed over the last few decades particularly in the U.S. South?

I have examined the current Korean immigrant population in the South and have documented that there are substantial numbers of Korean immigrants in this southern region. This research explored a subset of the larger geographic area and can serve as a model for expanding the research to the broader region. A large portion of these have been surveyed and found to work in the Korean automotive industry located in the South. The Korean immigrants are concentrated along the I-85 corridor and located in the more rural areas along this pathway.

- Are South Koreans maintaining a new form of the middleman minority within a global economy?
  - How does this role differ today from past generations of South Korean immigrants?
  - Have current demographic and assimilation trends allowed South Koreans to retain their social hierarchical structure after moving to the United States, rather than assimilate fully?

South Koreans have maintained the middleman minority within the new global economy. Research documents that the Korean automotive industry has been able to maximize their products and capitalize on a global scale. The automotive manufacturing businesses from South Korea have located to the rural southern destinations in Alabama and Georgia. In the previous generations, the Korean automobile market manufacturing process was aimed at the affluent community and left little room for profit from the middle and lower classes. Today, however, the automotive industry has been able to

market vehicles to all classes by providing more reliable, cheaper, and fuel efficient vehicles.

The middleman minority has been retained after moving to the U.S. and many Korean immigrants have maintained their social hierarchy after moving to the U.S. This middleman minority serves as a go-between for the white business owners, the government leaders, and a largely low-paid black labor force. Among the laborers in the businesses, social class is important for identity. The affluent classes in Korea are the plant owners in the U.S. factories and employ differing levels of Korean immigrants to work in the manufacturing plants as well as employ laborers of differing ethnic backgrounds from the surrounding areas.

A comparison of Korean population growth as well as Korean-owned business growth over time is a necessary part of identifying Korean immigrant patterns; however, the data available for this is not readily available at this time. A comparison of change over time within the study area that identifies Korean populations is a telling variable and demonstrates the need for further analysis in this area of research.

Korean immigrants have also established ethnic communities within the rural South along the automotive corridor. These ethnic enclaves have provided a means for the immigrants to retain their Korean identity and allowed for an avoidance of integrating into the surrounding American society.

- How has the presence of South Korean immigrants caused changes within the cultural landscape of the rural South?

In the photo documentation of my research, I have identified changes that have occurred in the cultural landscape. I provided photos of Korean signage located in the areas surrounding the Korean communities. The Korean signage is found not only within the more urban areas, but also in the rural settings and most of the time an English translation does not accompany the Korean wording. There are myriad Korean businesses located in the research areas and many of these businesses cater to the Korean community rather than to the Americans.

8.2 Significance and Future Research

This research sought to fill a gap in the literature published on South Korean immigration, within the last decade. The patterns of chain migration have shifted from the previous post-Korean War era; however, the literature regarding these migration trends has not focused on the newer urban to rural migration that has been happening in the southern United States. Most of the traditional immigration profiles focus on the larger metropolitan areas of New York, California, Texas, and New Jersey. My research shows that Koreans entering the United States in the recent years have followed new migration channels which are located in more rural areas of Alabama and Georgia and are related the automotive manufacturing industry. By studying these communities of Tallapoosa, Lee, Chambers, and Troup, I can develop a general scheme that can be applied to other rural areas in the Southeast. The rural communities in Alabama and Georgia have experienced a tremendous economic boom in the last few years since the arrival of major South Korean-based businesses such as Hyundai and Kia. I identify and examine the socio-demographic profile of those employed in the factories and compare

their assimilation paths relative to previous immigrants. In addition, changes in the cultural landscape further highlight the social and spatial segregation of this new group.

My research used both quantitative and qualitative description and analysis in seeking to answer the research questions. The surveys were needed to help fill in the gaps where the existing data is lacking. This was useful in identifying areas of potential growth patterns elsewhere in the rural South and contributes to scholarship on contemporary immigration patterns and processes. The results showed that the largest majority of Koreans were middle-aged males with only a four-year degree, which is in contrast to the earlier studies of Hurh et al. (1979).

Documented research on the recent immigration patterns allows not only for a deeper understanding of the immigration channels but also provides insight into the areas in need of integration assistance. The Korean immigrants who are migrating to the rural South can find it difficult to understand the Southern culture and may have trouble adapting and integrating. In contrast to previous Korean immigrant generations, they have created segregated social and business spaces that also allow for a rejection of assimilation. Importantly, taste preferences may keep Korean immigrants from patronizing local establishments thus preventing their salaries and earnings from being put back into the local economy; thereby reinforcing the separation among groups. As the Korean community in East Alabama and West Georgia continues to grow, the pattern may become more embedded, further complicating the traditional black-white racial divide of rural South.

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APPENDIX A

Citi Training

CITI Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative

Course In The Protection Human Subjects Curriculum Completion Report
Printed on 5/3/2013

Learner: Donna Park (username: havivati)
Institution: Auburn University
Contact Information Department: Geography
Phone: 2564541441
Email: hollypak@gmail.com

Social/Behavioral Research Course: Choose this group to satisfy CITI training requirements for Investigators and staff involved primarily in biomedical research with human subjects.

Stage 1. Basic Course Passed on 03/23/13 (Ref # 10011144)

Required Modules	Date Completed	Score
Belmont Report and CITI Course Introduction	03/23/13	3/3 (100%)
Students in Research	03/23/13	10/10 (100%)
History and Ethical Principles - SBR	03/23/13	5/5 (100%)
Defining Research with Human Subjects - SBR	03/23/13	5/5 (100%)
Assessing Risk in Social and Behavioral Sciences - SBR	03/23/13	5/5 (100%)
Informed Consent - SBR	03/23/13	5/5 (100%)
Privacy and Confidentiality - SBR	03/23/13	5/5 (100%)
Research with Children - SBR	03/23/13	1/4 (25%)
Internet Research - SBR	03/23/13	5/5 (100%)
Auburn University	03/22/13	no quiz

For this Completion Report to be valid, the learner listed above must be affiliated with a CITI participating institution. Falsified information and unauthorized use of the CITI course site is unethical, and may be considered scientific misconduct by your institution.

Paul Braunschweiger Ph.D.
Professor, University of Miami
Director Office of Research Education
CITI Course Coordinator

Return

CITI Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative

Course In The Protection Human Subjects Curriculum Completion Report
Printed on 5/3/2013

Learner: Donna Park (username: havivati)
Institution: Auburn University
Contact Information Department: Geography
Phone: 2564541441
Email: hollypak@gmail.com
International Research.:

Stage 1. Basic Course Passed on 03/22/13 (Ref # 10011145)

Required Modules	Date Completed	Score
Research With Protected Populations - Vulnerable Subjects: An Overview	03/22/13	3/4 (75%)
International Studies	03/22/13	3/3 (100%)
Avoiding Group Harms: U.S. Research Perspectives	03/22/13	3/3 (100%)
Auburn University	03/22/13	no quiz

For this Completion Report to be valid, the learner listed above must be affiliated with a CITI participating institution. Falsified information and unauthorized use of the CITI course site is unethical, and may be considered scientific misconduct by your institution.

Paul Braunschweiger Ph.D.
Professor, University of Miami
Director Office of Research Education
CITI Course Coordinator

Return

CITI Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative

Course In The Protection Human Subjects Curriculum Completion Report
Printed on 5/3/2013

Learner: Donna Park (username: havivati)
Institution: Auburn University
Contact Information Department: Geography
Phone: 2564541441
Email: hollypak@gmail.com
Internet Research - SBR:

Stage 1. Basic Course Passed on 03/23/13 (Ref # 10011146)

Required Modules	Date Completed	Score
Internet Research - SBR	03/23/13	5/5 (100%)
Auburn University	03/22/13	no quiz

For this Completion Report to be valid, the learner listed above must be affiliated with a CITI participating institution. Falsified information and unauthorized use of the CITI course site is unethical, and may be considered scientific misconduct by your institution.

Paul Braunschweiger Ph.D.
Professor, University of Miami
Director Office of Research Education
CITI Course Coordinator

Return

APPENDIX B

Information Letter – Korean

(NOTE: 이서류는 IRB 에서인정한 날짜와검증이 안돼이서므로 싸인 또는 동의하지마십시오)

Research Study Entitled 의 안내서
"Koreabama: 남부 지방의 한국인 이민사의 현추세를 탐구하다.

당신은 미국 남부 지방 한국인 이민사의 현주세을 평가하기위한 연구에 초대돼었읍니다. 이 연구는 박 할리, 어번대학교 지리학 조교가 실행합니다. 당신은 지역 한인사회에 속하며,19 세이상이므로 설문조사 참가자로 선전돼었읍니다.

당신은 인종,사회적 사회관계, 개인적인 습관 그리고 가족 전통과같은 폭넓은 질문에대하여 답변하여주십시오. 15 분내에 작성하여주십기 바랍니다.

이 설문조사에 대하여 어떤한 보상이 없음을 알려드립니다.저는 미국 남부 지방의한국인 이민사가 어떻게 미국 경제와 사회적 사회관계에 영향과 어떻한 변화을 주었는지을 알고 싶읍니다. 아마도 이 인터뷰는언젠가는 한국 사람들에게 어디에 대부분의 한국인 밀집 지역이 위치하였는지와 어떻게 미래의 사업계획과 이민 준비을 할 것인지에 대하여 도움이 될 것입니다.

당신의 협조로 수집된 정보는 아마도 석사학위 논문, 전문적 잡지 출간, 학회에 제출하는데 사용될 것 입니다.

만약 당신이 설문조사에 대하여 질문이 있어시면,제게 문의 부탁드립니다. 만약 당신이 나중에라도 질문 이서시면,문의해 주십시요. 그러면 성심껏 답변해드리겠읍니다. 아래에 저의 이름,전화번호,이메일을 남기겠읍니다.

박할리 256-454-1441 DHP0005@auburn.edu

이 작성된 서류는 원하시면 복사본을 소지하실수 있읍니다.

만약 당신이 설문조사자의권리에 대하여 질문이 있다면,어번대학교 Office of Human Subjects Research 또는 Institutional Review Board by phone (334) 844-5966 또는 hsubjec@auburn.edu 또는 IRBChair@auburn.edu.

당신이 위의 내용들을 읽어셨다면,당신은 이제 이설문조사 계획에 참가할것인지을 결정하셔야합니다. 만약 당신이 설문조사에 참여하기을 결정하셨다면, 당신이 제공한 자료들은 당신의 동의하에 사용됩니다.

_____	_____
Participant's Signature Date	Investigator obtaining Consent Date
_____	_____
Printed Name	Printed Name

Information Letter – English

(NOTE: DO NOT AGREE TO PARTICIPATE UNLESS AN IRB APPROVAL STAMP WITH CURRENT DATE HAS BEEN APPLIED TO THIS DOCUMENT.)

INFORMATION LETTER
for a Research Study Entitled
"Koreabama: Exploring the recent South Korean immigration trends and patterns in the rural South."

You are invited to participate in a research study to evaluate the changing patterns and trends in Korean immigrants in the southern United States. The study is being conducted by Donna "Holly" Park, Graduate Teaching Assistant, in the Auburn University Department of Geology and Geography. You were selected as a possible participant because you are affiliated with the local Korean community and are age 19 or older.

If you decide to participate in this research study, you be asked to answer a range of questions concerning your demographic profile, social interactions, personal attitudes, and historical family traditions and values. Your total time commitment will be approximately 15 minutes.

There are no direct benefits to you to be gained by participating in this survey. We hope to identify the ways in which the change in Korean immigration has impacted the economy and social environment of the southern United States. This information may ultimately help to understand where the largest Korean populations are located and how to better prepare for future immigrants.

Your participation is completely voluntary. Your decision about whether or not to participate or to stop participating will not jeopardize your future relations with Auburn University, the Department of Geology and Geography.

Information collected through your participation may be used in a master's thesis, published in a professional journal, or presented at a professional conference.

If you have questions about this study, please ask them now. If you have questions later, I will be happy to answer them. Below is my name, phone number, and email address:

Holly Park 256-454-1441 DHP0005@auburn.edu

A copy of this document will be given to you to keep.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Human Subjects Research or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334)844-5966 or e-mail at hsubjec@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu.

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED, YOU MUST DECIDE IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT. IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE, THE DATA YOU PROVIDE WILL SERVE AS YOUR AGREEMENT TO DO SO. THIS LETTER IS YOURS TO KEEP.

_____	_____
Participant's Signature Date	Investigator obtaining Consent Date
_____	_____
Printed Name	Printed Name

APPENDIX C
Surveys

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Most Koreans practice traditional Korean culture after arriving in the U.S.	O	O	O	O	O
Most Koreans have only Korean friends.	O	O	O	O	O
On a daily basis Korean is spoken most of the time at home.	O	O	O	O	O
On a daily basis Korean is spoken most of the time outside of the home.	O	O	O	O	O
Most Americans in the southern U.S. are accepting of Koreans and Korean culture.	O	O	O	O	O

	Protestant	Buddhist	Confucian	Agnostic	Catholic	Other
My religion is	O	O	O	O	O	O
If Other, please describe.	O	O	O	O	O	O

Do you attend a Korean church?

O Yes
O No

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Koreans in the U.S. rely on the Korean churches to provide assistance with things non-religious.	O	O	O	O	O
I feel there is a very large Korean population in this region.	O	O	O	O	O
I shop mostly at Korean businesses and grocery stores.	O	O	O	O	O
I prefer to shop at Korean businesses.	O	O	O	O	O

APPENDIX D

Summary Statistics From Surveys

In what country do you have citizenship?	South Korea	United States	Other				
	31	16					
In what city do you currently live?	Auburn	Opelika	Montgomery	Dadeville	Norcross, GA	Atlanta	
	24	7	5	1	1	6	
In what city do you currently work?	Auburn	Dadeville	Opelika	Atlanta	Lagrange, GA	Cusseta	Tallassee
	8	14	12	1	1	2	1
Are you married?	Yes	No					
	24	21					
If married, where does your spouse live?	South Korea	United States	Other				
	3	23					
What nationality is your spouse?	Korean	American	Other				
	18	8					
Do you have children?	Yes	No					
	25	17					
If yes, do they live here?	Yes	No					
	21	5					
What are the ages of your children?	Under 3 years	3-5 years	6-12 years	13-18 years	19 years or older		
	7	3	6	8	7		
If you have children living here with you, in which city do they attend school?	Auburn	Montgomery	AEEC	Duluth, GA	Atlanta, GA		
	6	2	2	1	5		
What is your age?	18-24 years	25-30 years	31-39 years	40-50 years	51-60 years	over 60 years	
	2	10	15	14	5		
What is the age of your spouse?	18-24 years	25-30 years	31-39 years	40-50 years	51-60 years	over 60 years	
			15	9	4		
	High School/GED	Some College	Associates Degree	Bachelors Degree	Masters Degree	Doctorate	Other
What is the highest level of education that you have completed?	2	4	4	29	5	3	
Check the level that was completed in Korea	4	5	4	23	4	1	1
Check the level that was completed in the United States	0	2	4	15	3	2	2
If Other, please describe							
	Student	Work	Travel	Permanent Resident	Other		
Which type of visa status did you have upon entry into the United States?	13	17	5	6	7		
What type of visa do you currently have?	4	14	1	14	11		
What type of visa do you expect to have next year?	5	12	0	13	4		
	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Neutral	Likely	Very Likely		
How likely are you to return to South Korea within the next year?	9	15	8	9	6		
How likely are you to stay in the United States for the next 1-5 years?	2	5	7	16	17		
How likely are you to stay in the United States permanently?	4	13	11	7	12		
How likely are your children to stay in the United States permanently?	0	3	13	4	12		
How likely are you to marry a United States citizen?	11	9	8	3	8		
How likely are you to study at a United States college?	10	8	6	5	9		
How likely are your children to study at a United States college?	0	0	10	7	14		
	Yes	No					
Do you currently work for a Korean company?	36	11					
Do you have plans to work for a Korean company in the next 1-5 years?	33	14					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree		
There is a difference in the work ethic of Korean employees compared to that of American employees.	0	1	7	20	19		
Korean employees always work longer hours than American employees.	0	1	9	18	20		
I associate with mostly Koreans outside of work.	2	5	4	18	18		
Most Koreans practice traditional Korean culture after arriving in the United States.	0	6	8	21	12		
Most Koreans only have Korean friends.	1	7	14	18	6		
On a daily basis, Korean is spoken most of the time at home.	2	1	5	22	16		
On a daily basis, Korean is spoken most of the time outside the home.	3	7	12	13	12		
Most Americans in the U.S. South are accepting of Koreans and Korean culture.	1	9	19	16	2		
My religion is?	Protestant	Buddhist	Confucian	Agnostic	Catholic	Jewish	
	31	2	0	10	3	1	
Do you attend a Korean church?	Yes	No					
	23	22					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree		
Koreans in the U.S. rely on the Korean churches to provide assistance with non-religious things.	2	4	9	23	9		
I feel there is a very large Korean population in this region.	1	5	8	23	10		
I shop at mostly Korean businesses and grocery stores.	4	14	15	8	5		
I prefer to shop at Korean businesses.	6	13	14	10	4		

APPENDIX E

Questions for Interviews – Korean

Automotive Related Employees

<u>인구통계학적 프로필</u>

1) 대한민국 사람입니까?
2) 현재 살고있는 지역은 ?
3) 현재 일하고 있는 지역은 ?
4) 결혼은 하셨습니까?
    a) 결혼하셨다면, 배우자는 한국인입니까?
    b) 배우자도 같이 미국으로 왔습니까?
5) 자녀가 있습니까?
    a) 있다면, 자녀의 나이는 어떻게 되나요?
    b) 자녀도 같이 미국으로 왔습니까?
    c) 자녀를 미국 학교에 입학시키시려면, 어느 레벨로 생각하셨나요?
6) 당신의 나이는 ?
7) 당신의 최종 학력은 ?
    a) 최종학위 와 전공은 무엇입니까?
    b) 최종 학위는 어디서 취득하셨습니까?
8) 미국에 친인척이 있습니까?
    a) 있다면, 어느 곳에 살고 계십니까?
    b) 그들의 직업은 무엇입니까?
    c) 당신의 미국행에 그들의 영향이 있었습니까?

이민자 현황과 역사적인 이민자

1) 미국에는 어떤 비자 타입으로 오셨습니까?
2) 현재 당신의 비자 타입은 무엇입니까?
3) 미 남부지역으로 오게 된 이유는 무엇입니까?
4) 대한민국으로 돌아갈 계획이 있습니까? 아니면 계속 거주하실 계획이십니까?
5) 미국에 먼저 이민을 온 친인척들이 있나요?
    a) 있다면, 그들은 현재 어디에 살고 있습니까? 그리고 미국에 언제 왔습니까?
6) 친인척들중에 과거에 미국인과 결혼하고, 미국으로 온 사람이 있습니까?
    a) 있다면, 그분은 미군과 결혼을 하셨습니까?
    b) 그 분이 미국에 거주한지는 어느정도 되셨습니까?
    c) 그 분은 시민권을 취득하셨습니까?
7) 당신은 미국 대학에서 공부할 계획이 있습니까?

Automotive Related

Work Day

1) 현재 직장에 근무 하신지는 얼마나 되었습니까?
2) 당신이 현재의 직위,직책에 대하여 어떻게 알게되었습니까?
3) 당신의 작업일정에 만족하십니까? 오버타임근무나 휴일은?
4) 직장 내에서 한국인 근로자와 미국인 근로자 사이에 차별이 있다고 느낀 적이 있습니까?
5) 현재 하고 있는 직무에 대해서 설명해주십시요.
6) 회사 외부에서도 동료들과 자주 모입니까? 그렇다면 만나는 동료들은 한국인 입니까? 미국인입니까?

7) 이 회사에 오래 근무할 계획이 있습니까?
8) 회사에서의 당신의 평상시 모습을 얘기해주세요.
9) 회사 내 사내모임들은 어떤 것들이 있습니까? 당신은 어느 사내모임이 좋은가요?

Visa Status

1) 당신이 불법체류자 신분일 경우, 당신 회사가 당신의 비자를 후원해주는가? or 당신의 비자 기간이 만료되었다면, 회사가 취업비자로써 연장을 도와줄수 있습니까?
2) 조만간 한국으로 돌아갈 계획입니까?
3) 당신의 비자가 sponsored visa 라면, 유효기간 만료전에 비자신분을 학생비자신분으로 전환하는 것을 생각중입니까? 당신은 어떤 것을 고려할 것입니까?

Social Status Perception

1) 미국에서 한국의 전통문화를 실천하고 있습니까?
2) 가정내에서 자신의 역할은 무엇입니까?
3) 당신은 한국문화에서 남자와 여자가 동등한 지위를 가지고 있다고 생각합니까?
4) 한국문화에서 전통적인 남편과 부인의 역할은 무엇입니까?
5) 당신은 집밖에서 일하는 아내를 받아들일 수 있다고 생각합니까?
6) 한국에서 사는것과 미국에서 사는 것 사이에 차이점이 있다고 생각합니까?
7) 당신은 미국문화 혹은 한국문화 중 어느 것에 더 익숙하다고 생각하십니까?
8) 미국인친구들이나 한국인 친구들이 많이 있습니까? 근무 외에 그들과 얼마나 자주 시간을 보내십니까?
9) 일상생활에서 영어와 한국어 중 주로 사용하는 것은 무엇입니까? 혹은 둘 다 같이 사용하십니까?
10) 영어 공부는 얼마나 하셨습니까?
11) 미국 남부지역의 미국인들에 대해서 어떻게 생각하십니까?

12) 미남부의 미국인들이 한국인과 한국문화를 받아들이는 것을 어떻게 생각하십니까?
13) 당신의 자녀가 백인, 흑인, 히스패닉 과 결혼하는것에 대해서 받아들일수 있습니까?
14) 당신은 인종에 관계없이 모든 미국인 사이에서 사회적 평등이 있다고 생각하십니까? 혹은 미국인 사이에는 인종차별이 있다고 생각하십니까?
15) 소수 인종들에 대한 당신의 느낌은 어떻습니까?
16) 미국에 온 이후로 소수인종에 대한 인식이 바뀌었습니까?
17) 당신이 자신의 사업체를 운영중이라면, 어떤 직원을 채용하겠습니까?
18) 한국이민자가 미국에서 대우를 잘 받는다고 생각하십니까?

Religion

1) 당신의 종교는 무엇입니까?
2) 당신 가족의 전통적인 종교는 무엇입니까?
3) 당신은 미국으로 온 이후로 종교가 바뀌었습니까?
4) 당신은 한국교회에 갑니까? 미국교회에 갑니까?
5) 만약 한국교회에 나간다면, 한국교인들을 찾습니까? 혹은 미국교인과 한국교인을 같이 찾습니까?
6) 당신은 비종교적인 다른 것을 위해 한국교회에 가는겁니까? 그렇다면 구체적으로 어떤 것입니까?
7) 한국인들이 미국으로 오는 것에 대한 지원을 한국교회에 의존한다고 생각하십니까?
8) 한국교회에서는 영어로 모든 의사소통을 하십니까?

Cultural Landscape

1) 이 지역에 한국인들이 많이 있다고 생각하십니까?
2) 한국인소유 기업들이 흔합니까?
3) 미국기업과 한국기업중 어디로 취업하러 가는 편입니까?

4) 미남부에 있는 한국인 기업에 근무 중이라면, 한국어와 영어중 어떤 게 편하게 느껴집니까? 어떤 언어를 자주 사용하십니까?

Questions for Interviews – English

Automotive Related Employees

Demographic Profile

9) Are you a South Korean citizen?
10) In what city do you currently reside?
11) In what city do you currently work?
12) Are you married?
    c) If yes, is your spouse Korean?
    d) Did your spouse come to the U.S. also?
13) Do you have children?
    d) If yes, what are their ages?
    e) Did they come to the U.S. also?
    f) Will they attend school in the U.S., and through what level?
14) How old are you?
15) What is the highest level of education attained?
    c) What is your highest degree and what is your field of study?
    d) Where was your highest degree attained?
16) Do you have relatives in the U.S.?
    d) If yes, where do they live?
    e) What is their occupation?
    f) Did they influence you in coming to the U.S.?

Immigrant Status and Historical Immigrants

8) What type of visa status did you have upon arrival in the U.S.?
9) What is your current visa status?
10) What influenced you to move to the Southern U.S.?
11) Do you have plans to return to South Korea or will you stay here?
12) Do you have any relatives that have previously immigrated to the U.S.?
    b) If yes, where in the U.S. and when did they arrive
13) Do you have any relatives that married Americans in the past and moved to the U.S.?
    d) If yes, were they married to American soldiers?

e) How long did they stay in the U.S.?
f) Did they obtain citizenship?

14) Do you have any plans to study at a U.S. college?

Automotive Related

Work Day

10) How long have you been with your current employer?
11) How did you hear about the current position you hold?
12) What is your work schedule like? Overtime? Holidays?
13) Do you feel that there is a difference in Korean employees and American employees?
14) Describe your job duties.
15) Do you often associate with your co-workers outside of the company? Are they mostly Korean or American?
16) Do you have long-term plans to stay with this company?
17) Tell me about an average day at your company.
18) What is the social structure within your company? Where do you fit in?

Visa Status

4) Does your company sponsor your visa if you are not a legal resident?
5) Will you return to South Korea anytime in the near future?
6) If you are on a sponsored visa, would you consider switching the visa status to student once your time limit ran out? What degrees would you consider pursuing?

Social Status Perception

19) Do you practice traditional Korean culture here in the U.S.?
20) What is your role inside the home?
21) Do you feel that men and women have equal status in Korean culture?
22) What are the traditional roles of a husband and wife in Korean culture?
23) Do you feel that it is acceptable for the wife to work outside of the home?
24) Would your feelings be different if you were living in South Korea as opposed to the U.S.?
25) Do you feel that you are more accustomed to American culture or Korean culture?
26) Do you have more American or Korean friends? How often do you spend time with them outside of work?
27) On a daily basis, do you speak mostly English or Korean, or do you speak an even mixture of both?
28) How long did you study English?

29) How do you feel toward Americans in the U.S. South?
30) Do you feel that Americans in the South accept Koreans and the culture?
31) Would you accept a marriage between your children and a white American? A black American? A Hispanic?
32) Do you feel that there is a social equality between all Americans regardless of race, or do you feel that Americans are segregated racially?
33) What is your personal feeling in regard to minority races?
34) Have you changed your perception of minority races since coming to the U.S.?
35) If you were to own a business, what types of employees would you trust to hire most?
36) Do you feel that South Korean immigrants to the U.S. are treated well?

Religion

9) What is your religion?
10) What is your traditional family religious affiliation?
11) Have you changed your religion since coming to the U.S.?
12) Do you attend a Korean church? An American church?
13) If you attended a Korean church here in the U.S., would you find mostly Korean members or a mixture of American and Korean members?
14) Do you turn to the Korean church for assistance with anything non-religious related? If so, what specifically?
15) Do you think that Koreans rely on the Korean church for support once moving to the U.S.?
16) In the Korean church is English spoken at all?

Cultural Landscape

5) Do you feel that this area has a large Korean population?
6) Do you frequent businesses that are Korean owned?
7) Would you prefer to go to an American business or a Korean business?
8) If you go to a Korean business here in the South, would you feel comfortable speaking Korean or English? Which is spoken most often?

APPENDIX F

Consent Letter – Korean

(NOTE: 이서류는 IRB 에서인정한 날짜와검증이 안돼이서므로 싸인 또는 동의하지마십시오)

Research Study Entitled 동의서
"Koreabama: 남부 지방의 한국인 이민사의 현추세를 탐구하다.

당신은 미국 남부 지방 한국인 이민사의 현주세을 평가하기위한 연구에 초대돼었읍니다. 이 연구는 박 할리, 어번대학교 지리학 조교가 실행합니다. 당신은 한국회사 또는 하청업체에 근무하며,19 세이상이므로 설문조사 참가자로 선전돼었읍니다.

당신은 직업종류,인종,사회적 사회관계, 개인적인 습관 그리고 가족 전통과같은 폭넓은 질문에대하여 답변하여주십시오. 1 시간내에 작성하여주십기 바랍니다.만약에 작성된 설문조사에 질문 사항이 이서면 나중에라도 연락 드리도록하겠읍니다.

이 설문조사 인터뷰에 대하여 어떤한 보상이 없음을 알려드립니다.저는 미국 남부 지방의한국인 이민사가 어떻게 미국 경제와 사회적 사회관계에 영향과 어떻한 변화을 주었는지을 알고 싶읍니다. 아마도 이 인터뷰는언젠가는 한국 사람들에게 어디에 대부분의 한국인 밀집 지역이 위치하였는지와 어떻게 미래의 사업계획과 이민 준비을 할 것인지에 대하여 도움이 될 것입니다.

나중에라도이 설문 조사에 대하여 마음이 바꿔셨다면, 당신은 언제던지 설문조사 한 것을 철회할 수 있읍니다. 당신의 협조는 완전한 자발적인 것입니다. 만약 당신이 설문조사에 참가하던지또는 그렇치 않더라도, 당신은 미래에 어번대학교 지리학과로 부텨 어떻한 불이익을 당하지 않읍니다.

당신의 협조로 수집된 정보는 아마도 석사학위 논문, 전문적 잡지 출간, 학회에 제출하는데 사용될 것 입니다.당신의 어떻한 개인적인 정보는 앞서 말한 단체나 개인에 제공되지 않습니다.

당신은 제가 이 인터뷰을 음성 녹음 할수이도록 해주십시오.만약 당신이 음성녹음을 허락한다면,인터뷰을 녹음후에 음성녹음 테이프는 위에서 말한 연구에 사용되며 사용후에는 폐기 될 것 입니다. 만약 음성녹음을 하길 원하지않더라도 인터뷰는 계속할수있읍니다.

- 나는 인터뷰하는 동안 음성 녹음을 허락합니다.
- 나는 인터뷰하는동안 음성 녹음을 허락하지 않읍니다.

만약 당신이 설문조사에 대하여 질문이 있어시면,제게 문의 부탁드립니다. 만약 당신이 나중에라도 질문 이서시면,문의해 주십시요. 그러면 성심껏 답변해드리겠읍니다. 아래에 저의 이름,전화번호,이메일을 남기겠읍니다.

박할리 256-454-1441 DHP0005@auburn.edu

이 작성된 서류는 원하시면 복사본을 소지하실수 있읍니다.

만약 당신이 설문조사자의권리에 대하여 질문이 있다면,어번대학교 Office of Human Subjects Research 또는 Institutional Review Board by phone (334) 844-5966 또는 hsubjec@auburn.edu 또는 IRBChair@auburn.edu.

당신이 위의 내용들을 읽어셨다면,당신은 이제 이설문조사 계획에 참가할것인지을 결정하셔야합니다. 만약 당신이 설문조사에 참여하기을 결정하셨다면, 당신이 제공한 자료들은 당신의 동의하에 사용됩니다.

Participant's Signature Date	Investigator obtaining Consent Date
Printed Name	Printed Name

Consent Letter – English

(NOTE: DO NOT AGREE TO PARTICIPATE UNLESS AN IRB APPROVAL STAMP WITH CURRENT DATE HAS BEEN APPLIED TO THIS DOCUMENT.)

INFORMED CONSENT
for a Research Study Entitled
"Koreabama: Exploring the recent South Korean immigration trends and patterns in the rural South."

You are invited to participate in a research study to evaluate the changing patterns and trends in Korean immigrants in the southern United States. The study is being conducted by Donna "Holly" Park, Graduate Teaching Assistant, in the Auburn University Department of Geology and Geography. You were selected as a possible participant because you are employed by a Korean owned or affiliated company and are age 19 or older.

If you decide to participate in this research study, you will be asked to answer a range of questions concerning your employment status, demographic profile, social interactions, personal attitudes, and historical family traditions and values. Your total time commitment will be approximately one hour. You may be contacted again at a later time to briefly follow-up on some of your interview responses.

There are no direct benefits to you to be gained by participating in this interview. We hope to identify the ways in which the change in Korean immigration has impacted the economy and social environment of the southern United States. This information may ultimately help to understand where the largest Korean populations are located and how to better prepare for future businesses and immigrants.

If you change your mind about participating, you can withdraw at any time during the study. Your participation is completely voluntary. If you choose to withdraw, your data can be withdrawn. Your decision about whether or not to participate or to stop participating will not jeopardize your future relations with Auburn University, the Department of Geology and Geography.

Information collected through your participation may be used in a master's thesis, published in a professional journal, or presented at a professional conference. Any information that identifies you will not be revealed in the items listed above.

You will be asked if this interview may be audio-recorded. If you agree to allow an audio-recording of this interview, the audio tapes will be used for the research purposes stated above and will then be destroyed after the interview is transcribed

or when the study ends. Should you choose to not allow the interview to be recorded, it will not prevent you from participating in the interview.

☐ I agree to be audio-taped during the interview.
☐ I do not agree to be audio-taped during the interview.

If you have questions about this study, please ask them now. If you have questions later, I will be happy to answer them. Below is my name, phone number, and email address:

Holly Park 256-454-1441 DHP0005@auburn.edu

A copy of this document will be given to you to keep.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Human Subjects Research or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334)844-5966 or e-mail at hsubjec@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu.

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED, YOU MUST DECIDE IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT. IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE, THE DATA YOU PROVIDE WILL SERVE AS YOUR AGREEMENT TO DO SO. THIS LETTER IS YOURS TO KEEP.

_____	_____
Participant's Signature Date	Investigator obtaining Consent Date
_____	_____
Printed Name	Printed Name