

UCLA Center for Korean Studies
Joint Project Research: THE KOREAN IMMIGRATION IN THE AMERICAS
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THE SECOND GENERATION OF KOREANS IN BRAZIL: A PORTRAIT
Korean Studies Group - University of São Paulo

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INTRODUCTION

It's been 46 years since the first emigration group officially organized by the Korean government arrived at the Port of Santos with 89 Koreans. And the history of the second generation is as old as the history of Korean immigration to Brazil. According to Eung Seo Oh, who was directly involved in elaborating the first Korean Emigration Act and the departure of that initial group to Brazil¹, the first individual of the second generation is a girl born in November, 1963², daughter of Seung-Gap Yang, a member of that initial group (she would be 46 years old as of today).

There's no numerical data over the second generation, but they are included in the statistics of the Overseas Korean Foundation, which accounts for 50,523 Koreans in Brazil in 2007³. Not only the second and third generation, but also illegals, temporaries and naturalized citizens are included here. On the other hand, according to the Department of Federal Police in São Paulo, there are 24,095 Koreans officially registered as foreigners permanently living in Brazil — i.e., first generation⁴. It's difficult to precise how many of the remaining 26,428 are genuinely second generation, but we believe that the number of illegals, temporaries and naturalized citizens is not expressive. In other words, already half of the Korean community in Brazil is composed by the second generation.

¹ He was the information officer of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare at that time, and immigrated to Brazil in 1964.

² OH, Eung-Seo. *O sonho de Amazonas – memórias sobre os 40 anos da imigração coreana ao Brasil* (The Amazon Dream – memoirs of 40 years of the Korean Immigration to Brazil), São Paulo: Nammi Dong-A, 2004, p. 301.

³ The Overseas Koreans Foundation. http://www.korean.net/morgue/status_4.jsp?tCode=status&dCode=0105
Access: June 19th, 2009, 14:00

⁴ Source: Cristina Pereira Campos, from the Korean General Consulate in São Paulo. June 10th, 2009, 15:00

LITERATURE

As far as we are aware, no study has been carried out exclusively over the second generation so far. Still, it is possible to draw some information out of works that, in a way of another, approach this matter in many aspects, which we enumerate below:

The first important work and probably the most closely related to our theme is *Socialization of young Korean immigrants*, a master's degree dissertation of 1993 from the Faculty of Psychology of Universidade de São Paulo⁵. In this pioneering work, the author conducted a qualitative research with 8 college students (5 female and 3 male), including those enrolled and graduates, with ages varying from 19 to 23. They'd come to Brazil in early ages, between 1 and 7, having studied in Brazil and lived with two different cultures, and the research investigated precisely their processes of adaptation and acculturation in the Brazilian society, dealing with matters like school life, work, friends, family, church, marriage and Korean identity. Through free interviews, the author collected data about their life with family and friends, and realizes that after experiencing other ethnic groups, they tend to return to Korean circles, mainly due to heavy influence of their parents, and end up preferring to marry other Korean. One of main strategies to preserve the group identity is the language, but, in the end, they fail to perceive the Korean group as a reference to their project of future life as a citizen and professional actor in the Brazilian society, which in turn make it difficult for them to plan the future outside the community.

Another master's dissertation on the Korean community that was presented at the Universidade de São Paulo in 1996 deals with Korean TV dramas as a key factor for preserving the group identity⁶. Hyung Mi Kim notes how Koreans in Brazil sought to preserve their ethnic identity through the overwhelming influence of Korean TV dramas. Thus, they perceived themselves as opposed to "native" people, as they belonged to a totally different set of values and references. Although this work is about the community as a whole, it does imply that the second generation is also heavily influenced by values conveyed by those soap-operas.

From Korea, an important project led by the Institute of Ibero-American Studies of Pusan University of Foreign Studies took place in 4 Latin-American countries: Paraguay, Mexico, Argentina and Brazil in 2005, sponsored by the Overseas Koreans Foundation. The project *Current Situations of*

⁵ KANG, Sam. *Socialização de Jovens Imigrantes Coreanos*. Dissertation (Master's Degree in Psychology), São Paulo, Universidade of São Paulo/Faculty of Psychology, 1993.

⁶ KIM, Hyung Mi. *Hanguk Yonsok: Nas salas de vídeo, Uma Janela para a Coréia – Etnografia do Conteúdo Simbólico das Novelas Coreanas*. Dissertation (Master's Degree in Social Anthropology), São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo/Department of Social Sciences, 1996.

*Korean Professionals in Latin America*⁷ intended to survey the so called “professionals” (as opposed to merchants) living in those countries. As long as Brazil is concerned, 48 people were interviewed with a previously prepared questionnaire, including the first, 1.5 and the second generation. The ages varied very broadly, but the research provides us with a panorama of those who are not entirely immersed in the Korean community.

In 2008 was published *Young Korea: a guidebook on one of the most recent immigrations to Brazil*⁸, a very broad and light panorama over Korea and the Korean community in Brazil. In one section, there are small interviews with the “professionals” of mostly 1.5 generation who succeed in developing their particular skills other than garment industry, projecting themselves as respected professionals in the Brazilian society.

For non-Koreans, Jeffrey Lesser and Koichi Mori conducted a project sponsored by Ford Foundation for the Center for Nipo-Brazilian Studies in 1999-2000 called *The New Face of Discrimination*⁹. The research included the three East-Asian minorities in Brazil (Japanese, Chinese and Korean) depicting their respective images in Brazilians. One of the conclusions of the study about the Korean community is that it conveys a negative images mostly due to their self-segregation.

THE SECOND GENERATION

In São Paulo, families of Korean descent have settled mainly in Bom Retiro, Brás and Aclimação, dating back to the 1970's (Kim, 1996). Their presence is made evident by groups of Korean speaking students close to some well-known schools and gatherings of elderly Koreans in Parque da Aclimação (the largest park in the region of the same name), not to mention several shops and restaurants — selling and serving Korean goods and foods — found in the main streets of those three neighborhoods.

A relevant aspect of the social life of the Korean immigrants was — and still is — the church. The activities held therein would include: weekly meetings or gatherings, with different groups according to the participant's age and school grade, bible study and choirs. There were also guided visits, gymkhanas and picnics, among others. Regardless of age, everyone would have an assortment

⁷ LIM, Sang Rae. *Current Situations of Korean Professionals in Latin America*, Pusan: Institute of Ibero-American Studies of Pusan University of Foreign Studies, 2006.

⁸ KIM, Yoo Na. *A Jovem Coréia: Um almanaque sobre uma das imigrações mais recentes do Brasil*. São Paulo: SSUA Editora, 2008.

⁹ LESSER, J.; Mori, K. Et al. *The new face of discrimination*. São Paulo: Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros, 2000(?)

of activities to engage in, thus reinforcing the community bonds. Nowadays most of over 40 churches are protestant — as with the first ones, since most of the immigrants were Protestants —; the sole catholic church located in the neighborhood of Bom Retiro and the sole Buddhist temple in Aclimação.

Kim, when commenting on the activities held for the adults, mentions a certain “soothing feeling of belonging”. It refers to the fact that “after a whole week dedicated to their shops full of goods and endless orders, one gets to enjoy a weekend spent among their *equals*” (p.21). The church may be thought of as an oasis or a safe port, a refuge from the world out there, while still serving as a means for the community to stay close-knit. Up to this day, dominical meals are prepared by women and served to all members of their respective church.

Korean parents put great importance on church activities, firstly to teach Korean language to their children, but also to control their leisure life in weekends.

Indoor social gatherings provide a good environment for yet another activity that cannot —or should not— be performed alone. Karaoke, the live performance of songs by someone from the group itself, is so ever present that a core repertoire is almost mandatory for anyone participating in a wedding ceremony, for instance. Not knowing them could put the would-be amateur singer in an embarrassing situation.

But there are activities one can engage even when there is no one else close by. With the advent of the VCR – and today, DVD –, the Korean immigrant (or descendant) could get in touch with a piece of Korea by watching programs produced in their homeland, spoken in their mother tongue, and dedicated to dealing with issues pertaining to their own culture, not to mention the cable TV channel, by which it is possible to have access to Korean news.

All this was made possible with the digital technologies that were not at hand earlier. Internet, DVD, cable and satellite TVs, allied to the globalized intercommunication certainly brought Korea much closer to the Korean community and are helping the second generation to be a lot more Korean than it was fifteen years ago. It comes as no surprise that Korean youngsters today know all the new Korean songs and actor names, and speak better Korean than those who grew up in Brazil in seventies and eighties.

Another factor that helped for this inverse phenomenon of “Koreanization” of the second generation is the “Korean success”, as opposed to the “Brazilian setback” in economic terms, which made them more proud to say that they are Korean. Companies like LG and Samsung, with their local plants have supplanted traditional market leaders in Brazil in electronics, informatics and home appliances like Philips and Toshiba, becoming new top-of-mind brands, which made the second generation much more proud of their origin, and giving also job opportunities. Not only that, the Korean economic and technological success is being accompanied by the “Korean wave”, massively

consumed not only by the Korean second generation, but also by the Japanese descendents in Brazil. All these factors seem to be contributing to the second generation's option for Korean-ness.

ASSUMPTIONS

The interviewees of Kang (1993) would be, as of today, between 35 e 39 years old. Obviously, her delimitation differs from ours, because they were mainly born in Korea, belonging to the 1.5 generation. But above all, her pioneering work provides us with a precious starting point, especially if we consider the “point of inflection” in the Korean community pointed out by Eung Seo Oh (2004), represented by the year of 1995. Our interviewees grew up precisely after 1995, having quite a different referential about Korea compared to the previous generation.

Korean companies began to establish in Brazil in the second half of the eighties. In 95, they were already 33, and Samsung built the 1st Korean plant in Brazil (idem, 339). In 1992, Korean Air initiated direct flight to São Paulo (idem, 336). In 96, Korean president Young-Sam Kim came to Brazil for the first time (idem, 359) bringing with him a 200 member committee to the summit meeting.

All this happened simultaneously with the world financial crisis that swept the world through 1990s, which also brought big changes inside the community (idem, 338). According to Oh, the year of 95 would be the point of inflection for this big change (idem, 338) allying economical liberalization of Brazil (after 1990, with the president Collor), financial crisis – which brought an end to *kye* inside the community –, and diversification of economical activities led by the Koreans. Korea was now seen as business partner for Koreans in Brazil – many left garment industry to dedicate themselves to trading Korean goods. Korea was no more a poor country, but a successful case of economic miracle differently from Brazil. Koreans started to feel proud of their country, and to have Korea as a model to be followed. With the globalization, Brazil was no more the country they should “bury their bones”, as once they thought, but only a place to earn money.

PURPOSE, SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is a sampling survey over the second generation of Koreans in Brazil, more specifically high school (born between 1991 and 1993, 15 to 18 years old as of 2008) students born in Brazil from Korean parents (father and mother). Our universe was deliberately narrow, for a more focused research of these youngsters in an age full of expectations and doubt about their future, at the same time that they start to make political choices on their own. The importance of

this study is to realize how these Korean-Brazilians are inserted in the country chosen by their parents, and how they interact with Brazilians and how they feel about their ancestors.

The interviews were conducted through a previously elaborated questionnaire with issues pertaining to their competence in Korean Language, marriage partner, friends, their cultural preferences, their idea of Korea, future plans among others. There were 26 'yes-or-no' questions and specific sub-questions, in case the primary answer is 'yes' or 'no'. We tried to apprehend some indicative elements about their Korean and/or Korean identity, based on assumptions made from the dissertations of Kang (1993), and aided by the questionnaires of Lesse and Mori (2000) and of the Institute of Ibero-American Studies/Pusan University of Foreign Studies (2006)

It begins with questions related to routine activities and their circle of friends, providing us with clues about their pattern of socialization, and the activities carried out with each group of friends. They were also asked about their experiences of discrimination, to check if there was a correspondence between their friendship preferences.

The insertion into Korean culture appears as an important factor in the identity of the second generation, and we tried to capture this element through questions on whether they had knowledge of Korean history, economy or culture, the contact to Korean cultural products (food, music/dance, soap opera, TV shows, games and so on), and, also, their proficiency in Korean language.

Related to greater or lesser insertion into Korean community in Brazil, they were asked about the interest of events that took place in the community, and their participation in churches. It was also questioned if they were interested in staying updated about the events of Brazil and of Korea, so we could compare their level of interest in each issue. Their tendency for endogamy, commonly found in earlier generation, was identified with questions about the sentimental life and marriage.

Finally, questions about their self-identification as Brazilian and/or Korean tried to measure their cultural choice. And, considering that Brazil was once took as a "intermediate" country for future immigration to the United States, it was asked if they were satisfied with their life in Brazil, or they had plans for immigrating to other countries, including re-immigration to South Korea.

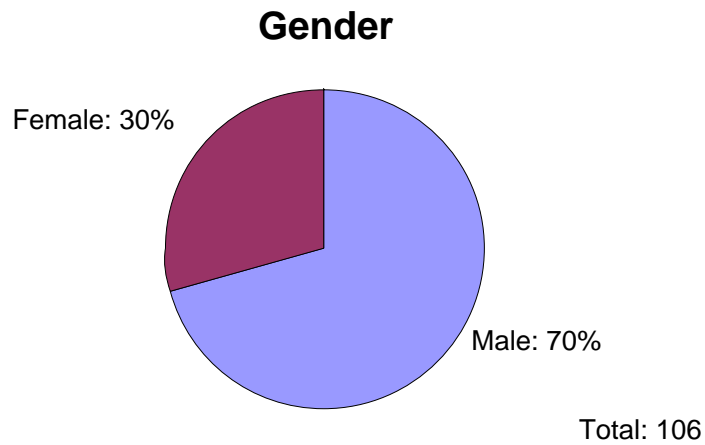
RESULTS

The following are the results of the questionnaires applied to 106 Korean-Brazilian high schools. The interviews took place in June, July and August of 2008 in São Paulo.

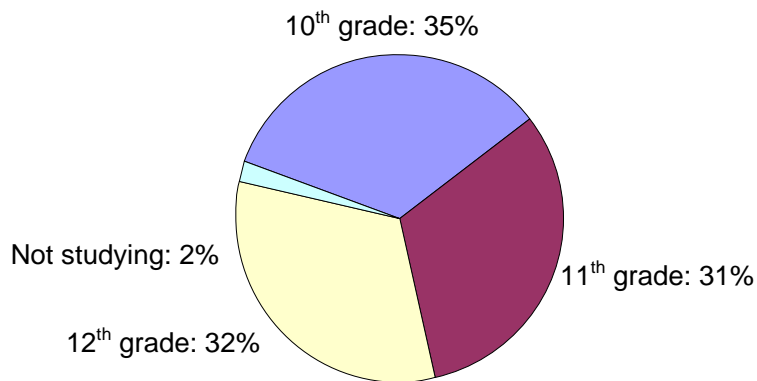
A total of 121 people were interviewed, however, 15 questionnaires were discarded because the interviewees had a parent who was non-Korean, born in Argentina or Paraguay, or who was from Korea but came to Brazil at a very early age and therefore does not consider themselves Korean

simply because he/she were born there. A total of 95% were born in São Paulo and 100% are living in São Paulo.

Almost all the interviews were carried out directly by the interviewers, some over the phone and some were given on paper to the interviewees so they could answer the questionnaire on their own.



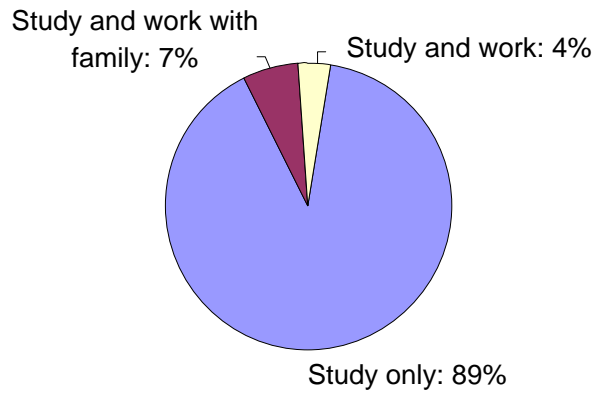
1. High School Grade



A total of 98% is studying at a high school and 2% is not studying.

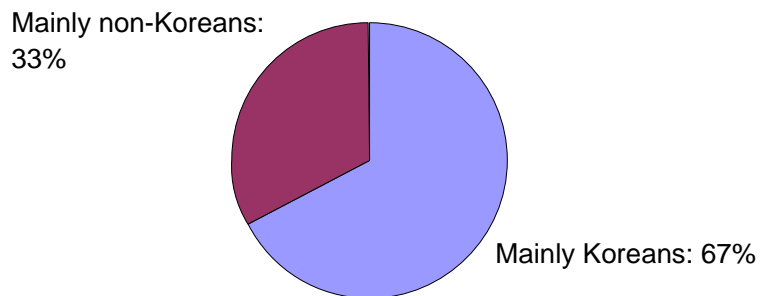
We can see in the sampling that the survey was distributed uniformly between 10th graders (35%), 11th graders (31%) and 12th graders (32%).

2. Main occupation

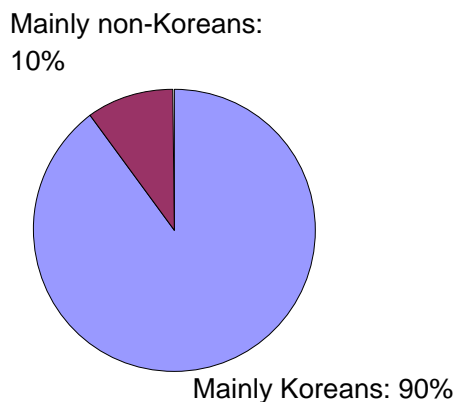


Most of them (89%) dedicate their time only to studying. Only 11% divides their time between study and work. Of those that both study and work, two thirds work in the family business.

3. School friends



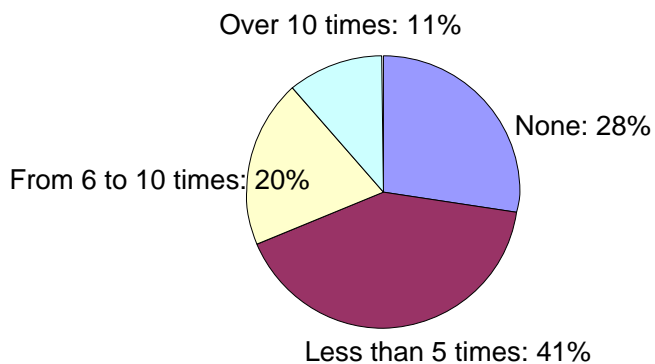
4. Friends outside school



Within the school environment, two thirds of the interviewees claimed to have mostly friends of Korean descent.

Outside the school environment, the situation is more pronounced. A total of 90% stated to have friends that are mostly Korean (and their descendants).

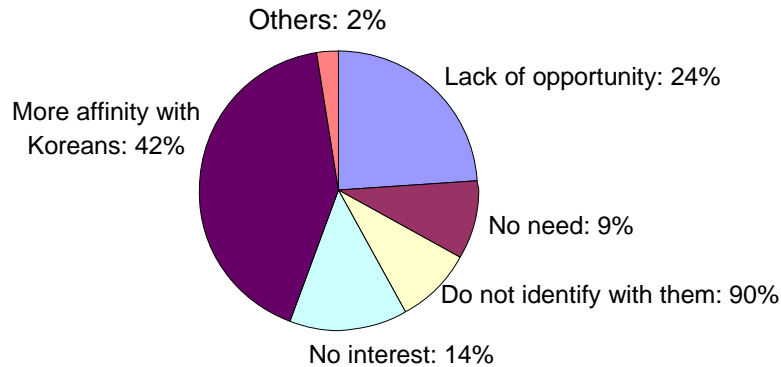
5. How many times a week do you meet up with Brazilian friends?



More than two thirds meet very little with Brazilians or friends of other origins. A total of 41% meet with Brazilians less than five times a week while 28% simply do not meet anyone outside the Korean colony.

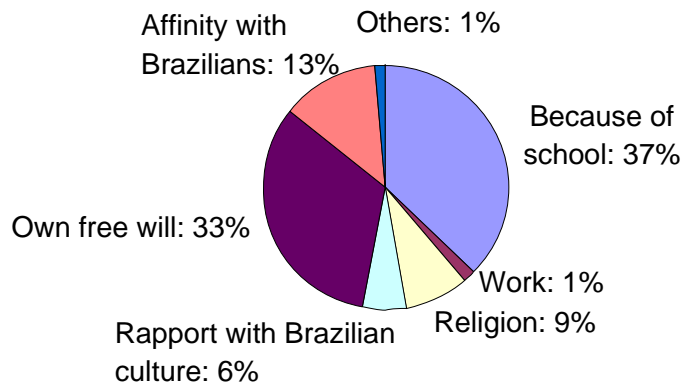
Out of the total, only 11% said they meet more than ten times with people of other origins during the week.

5.1. What are your reasons for not meeting up with Brazilians?



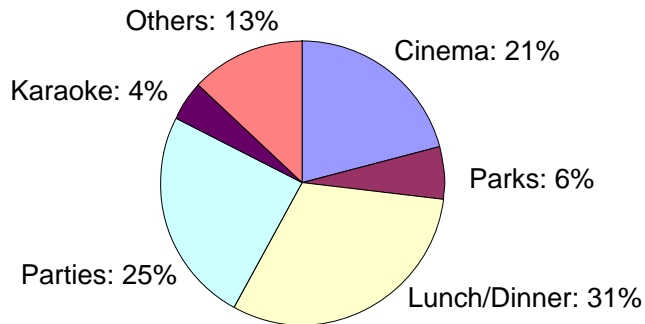
A total of 42% of the interviewees claim to have little contact with people from other origins and more affinity with Koreans. The remaining 58% are divided between those that lack the opportunity (24%), those that simply do not feel like it or have no interest (14%), those that do not identify with them (9%), those that have no need to (9%), among others (2%).

5.2 What are your reasons for meeting up with Brazilians?



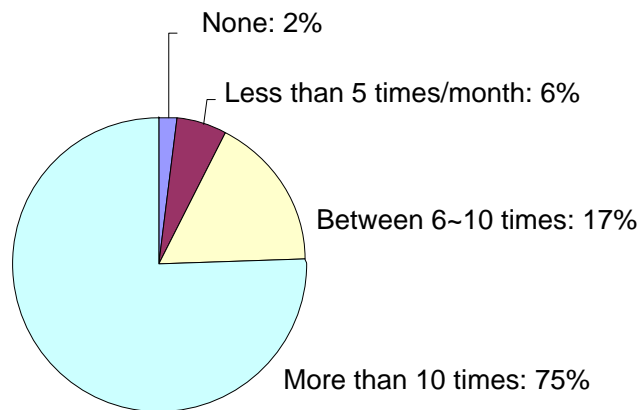
In relation to those that stated that they meet with Brazilians or people of other origins, two factors stood out among those that explain the diversification of friends. The first is the school environment which favors the making of friends within a group (37%) and the second is free will (33%). Despite being born in Brazil, few interviewees chose the options of affinity with Brazilians (or people of other origins) (13%), religion (9%) and rapport with Brazilian culture (6%) as reasons for closer contact with people not of Korean origin.

5.3 What leisure activities do you do with Brazilians?



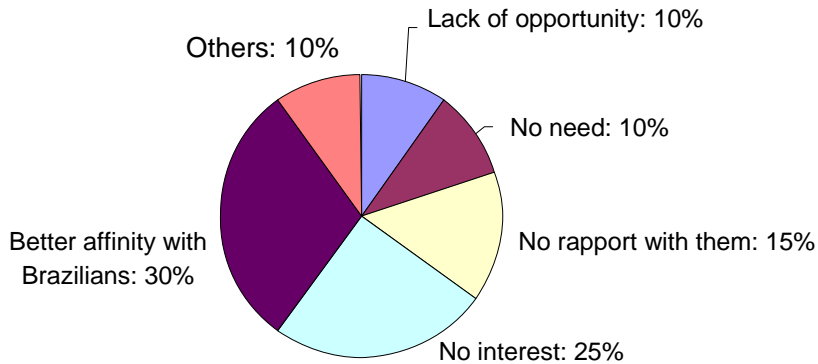
The activities that they share when they meet with people of other origins are very diversified. In first place are meals with 31% followed by parties with 25%, cinema 21%, parks and karaoke with respectively 6% and 4% and other programs (13%).

6. How often do you meet up with Korean friends?



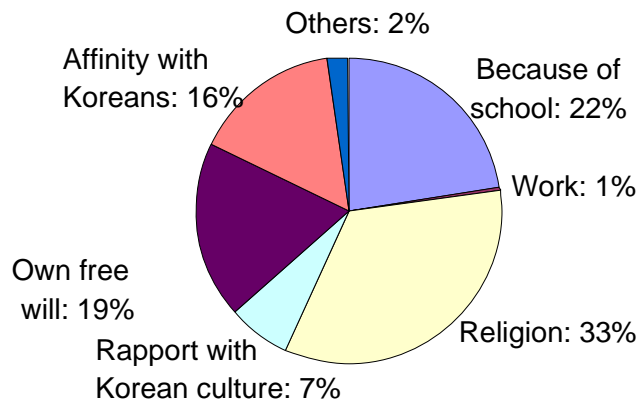
When asked about the frequency of meeting with Koreans (and their descendants) 75% claimed to meet up with them more than ten times a week. If we include those that meet between 6 and 10 times a week, the total jumps to 92%. It can be concluded that almost all the interviewees live more intensely with people of their own origin.

6.1 What are your reasons for not meeting up with Koreans?



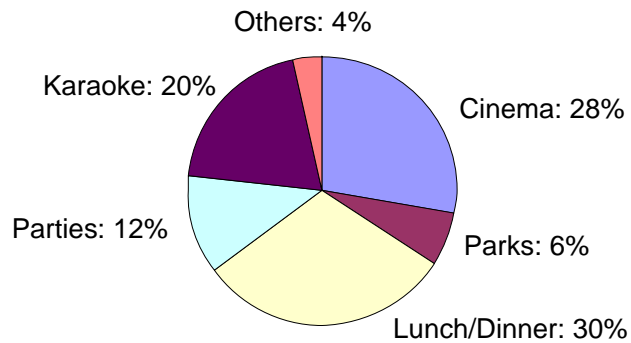
The few that have little contact with Koreans chose the option of more affinity with Brazilians and lack of interest as the greatest reasons for their little contact with the colony (respectively 30% to 25%).

6.2 What are your reasons for meeting mostly Koreans?



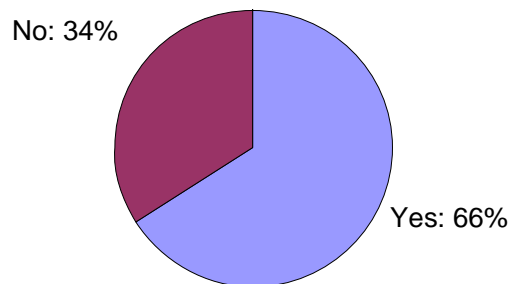
The large majority that has a greater contact with Korean people chose the religion factor (33%) as their number one reason for living closer to the Koreans. In second place, school relationships (22%), own free will (19%), affinity with Koreans (16%) and rapport with the Korean culture (7%). The fact of rapport with the Korean culture being included as one of the last reasons for the cohesion between the Koreans shows that more than the country of origin of the ancestors it is the 'modus vivendi' that creates the common elements and a single identity creates the ideal environment to bring these youngsters together.

6.3 What leisure activities do you do with Koreans?



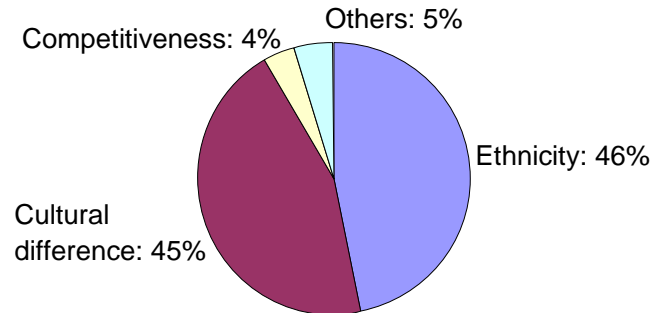
The activities between the Korean youngsters are well diversified. Meals come in first place with 30%, followed by the cinema with 28%, then Karaoke with 20%, parties with 12% and lastly the park with 6% of the multiple choice answers.

7. Have you ever been discriminated against?



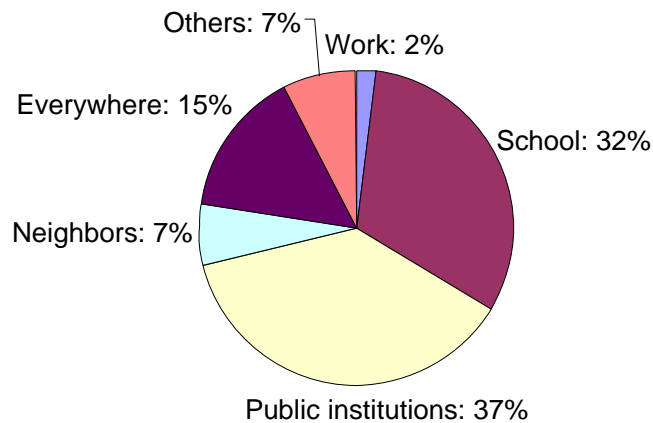
In terms of discrimination, 66% of the respondents have suffered some type of discrimination.

7.1 Why were you discriminated against?



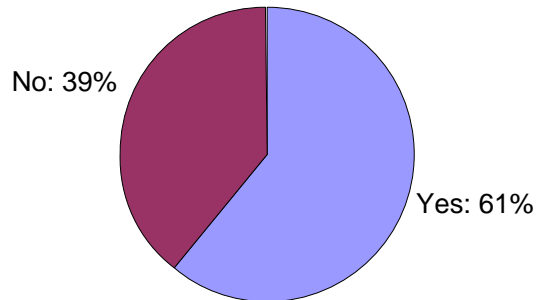
Of those that believe to have been discriminated against, almost the entirety considers their ethnic origin and the cultural difference to be the reason for the discrimination (respectively 46% and 45%).

7.2 Where were you discriminated against?



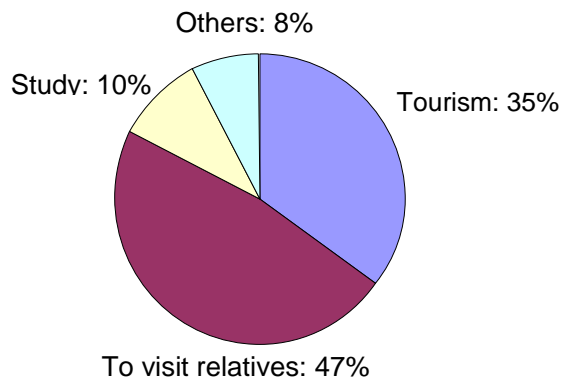
The places that the Korean descendants feel most discriminated against are public institutions (37%), school (32%), everywhere (15%), with neighbors (7%), at work (2%) and others (7%).

8. Have you ever been to Korea?



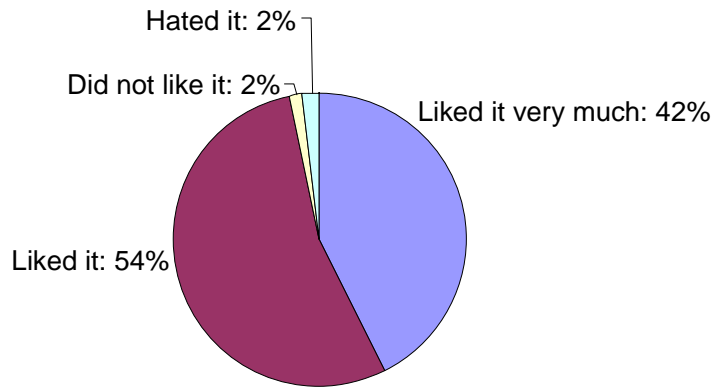
More than half of the youngsters interviewed had already been to Korea (61%).

8.2 What was the purpose of your visit to Korea?



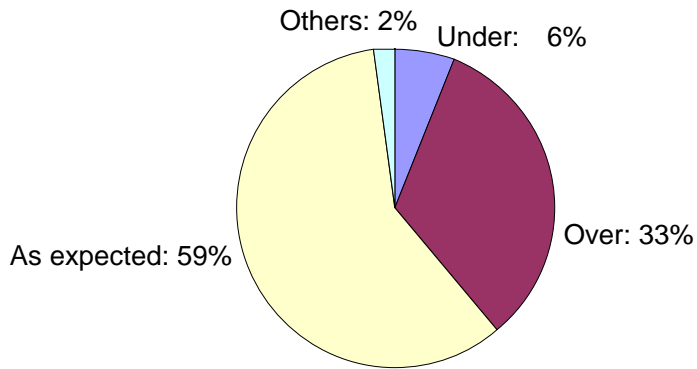
The reason for the visit to Korea is related to leisure. Visits to relatives represents 47% of the answers, followed by tourism with 35%. A total of 10% answered that they went to study in Korea and 8% for other reasons. Given that it is the parents that finance the trip, it is interesting to note the great interest of the first generation of immigrants to maintain the link with their mother country by giving their children the opportunity to get to know their relatives and the place of birth of their antecedents.

9. What was your impression of Korea?



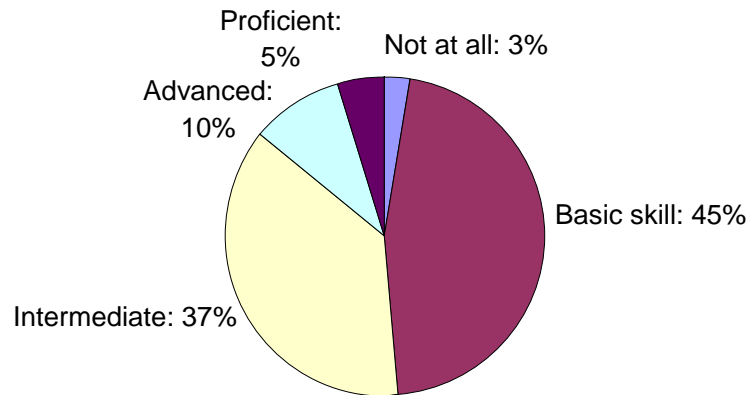
Of those that went to Korea, 96% answered that they liked the country.

9.1 Did Korea meet your expectations?



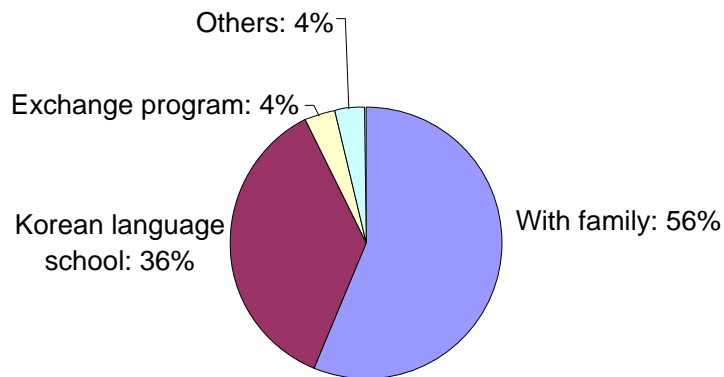
A total of 92% answered that the trip to Korea meet or exceeded their expectations.

10. Are you proficient in the Korean language?



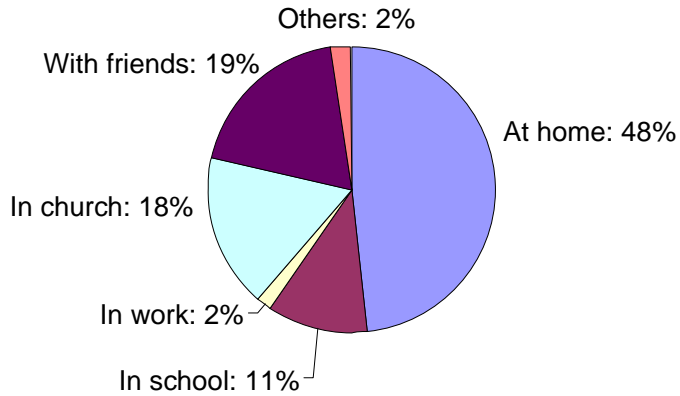
A total of 97% of the second-generation Koreans speak the language of the country. A total of 52% of the interviewees claimed that they have an intermediate level of proficiency.

10.2 How did you learn to speak Korean?



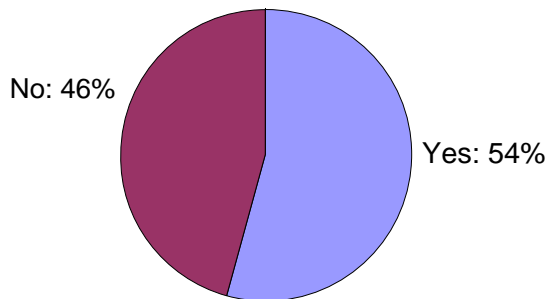
The predominant reason for learning the Korean language is with family (56%). In second place comes Korean language school with 36% of the answers.

10.3 When do you speak Korean?



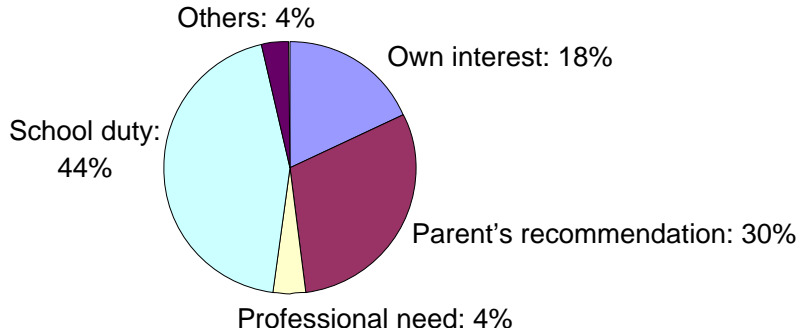
Practically half (48%) of the interviewees speak Korean in their homes. A total of 19% speak Korean with their friends, 18% at church and 11% at school. At work and other places, only 2% stated to use Korean in both environments.

11. Besides language, have you learned other aspects about Korea?



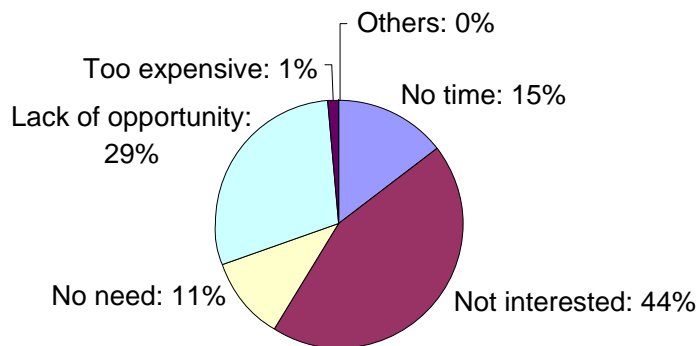
More than half (54%) of the people answered that they studied other aspects in addition to the Korean language.

11.1 Why did you learn about Korea?



It can be seen that school has a fundamental influence on the dissemination of Korean culture. A total of 44% studied more than just the language due to the curricular requirements of Korean schools and 30% due to parental suggestion. Their own interest in matters related to Korea came in third place with 18%. It is apparent here the importance of the continued effort of the institutions and the parents in the transfer of the cultural elements to the second generation of immigrants.

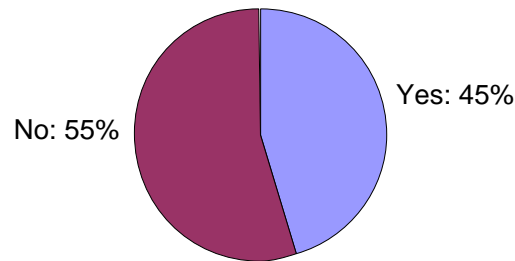
11.2 Why have you not learnt about Korea?



The purely cultural elements do not arouse the interest of second-generation youngsters. The fact of them being descendants or having Korean features, speaking or eating like Koreans are not reason enough for them to wish to know more about their origins. Almost half (44%) answered that lack of interest was the reason for not studying about Korea. There is, however, an important group (29%) that answered that they do not study other aspects beyond the Korean language because they lack the opportunity. Eventually, more access

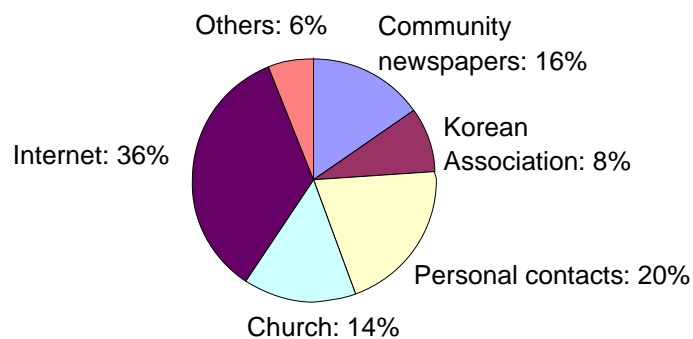
and more content about Korea can meet the needs of this group and provide them with the elements needed for them to participate more actively in the culture of Korea and Brazil.

12. Do you keep yourself informed about the community?



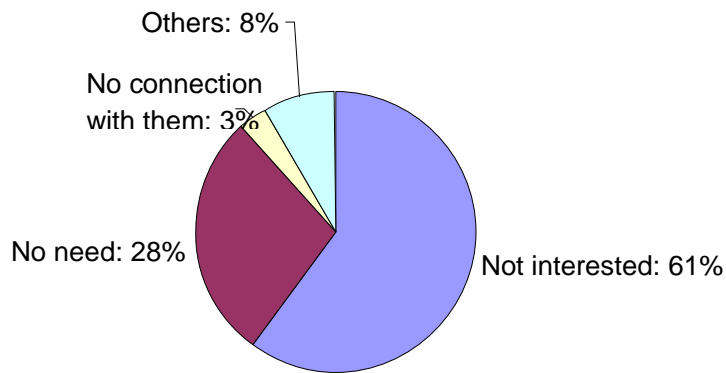
In relation to Korean community events, a little more than half (55%) is aloof to the colony while the other half claims that it is interested in events that occur among the Koreans in Brazil.

12.1 How do you keep yourself informed?



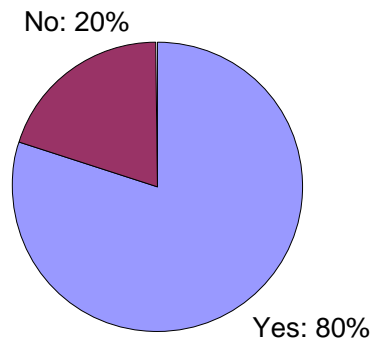
For those who keep up to date with the happenings of the Korean community, the most used communication means is the Internet (36%) followed by word of mouth (20%), the Korean newspapers (16%), churches (14%) and the Korean Association (8%).

12.2 Why do you not keep yourself informed about community events?



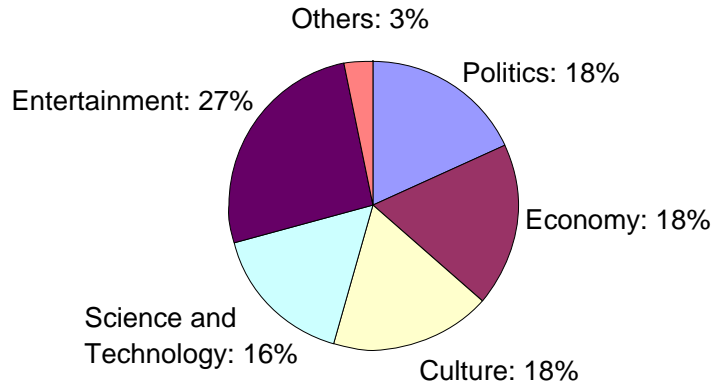
For those who do not keep up to date about events in the Korean community, the main reasons are lack of interest and no need, which together add up to 89% of the answers.

13. Do you keep yourself informed about Brazil?



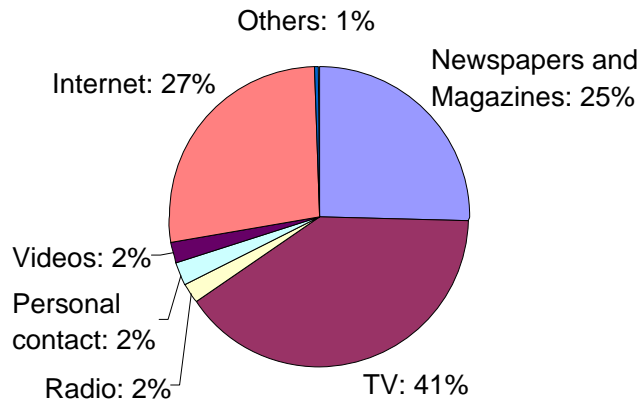
When asked about their interest for events in the Brazilian society, 80% answered that they keep themselves informed.

13.1 What are your subjects of interest concerning Brazil?



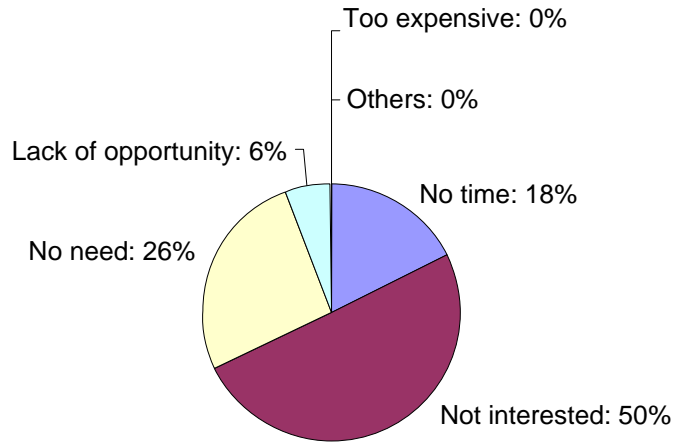
The subjects of interest are uniformly distributed with emphasis given to entertainment with 27% of the total; politics, economy and culture with 18% each of the votes; science and technology with 16% of the preference.

13.2 How do you keep yourself informed about Brazil?



For events in Brazil, the most used communication means is television with 41% of the answers followed by the Internet with 27% and newspapers and magazines with 25% of the preference.

13.3 Why do you not keep yourself informed about Brazil?

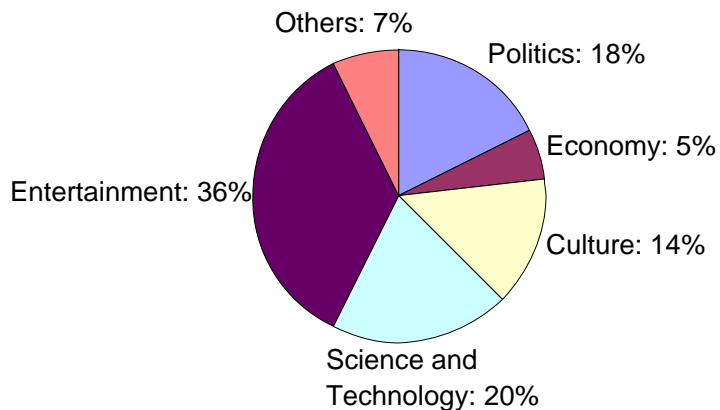


Out of the 20% that stated that they do not keep themselves informed about events in Brazil, half said they are simply not interested. The other half claimed no need (26%), no time (18%) and lack of opportunity (6%) as reasons for not keeping themselves up to date with facts that occur in Brazil.

14. Do you usually keep yourself informed about events in Korea?

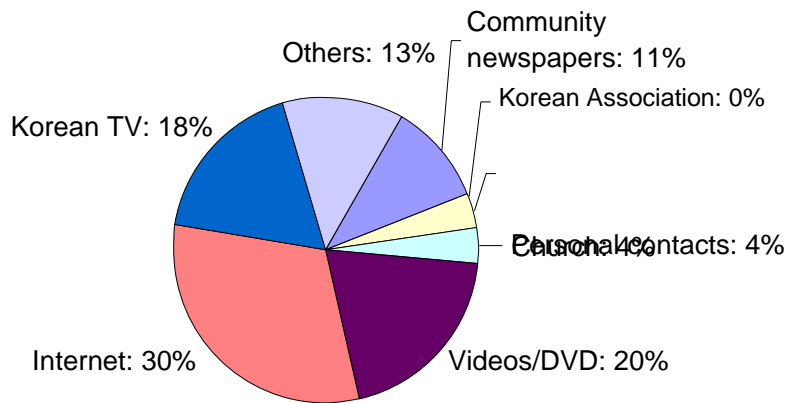
A total of 71% claimed that they keep informed with events in Korea.

14.1 What are subjects of interest concerning Korea?



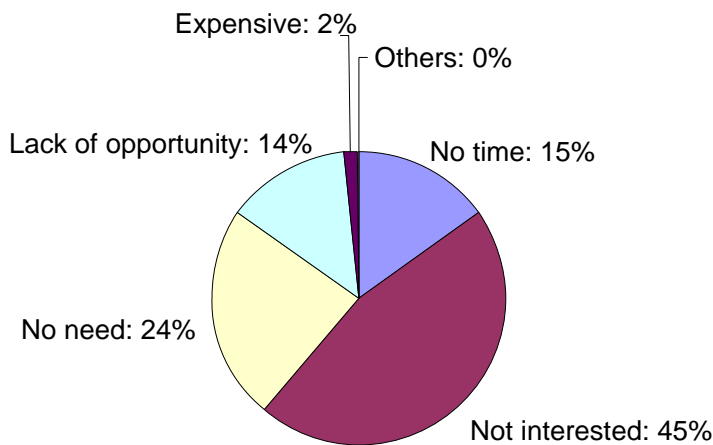
The subjects of interest in relation to Korea are varied. Entertainment heads the list with 36%, followed by science and technology with 20%, politics with 18%, culture 14%, economy 5% and others 7%.

14.2 How do you keep yourself informed about Korea?



The most used means for obtaining information about events in Korea is over the Internet (30% of the answers), video/DVD (20%), Korean TV (18%), Korean newspapers (11%). Word of mouth and the churches both account for only 4% each of the reasons. Others means total 13% of the answers in the preference for the information about Korea.

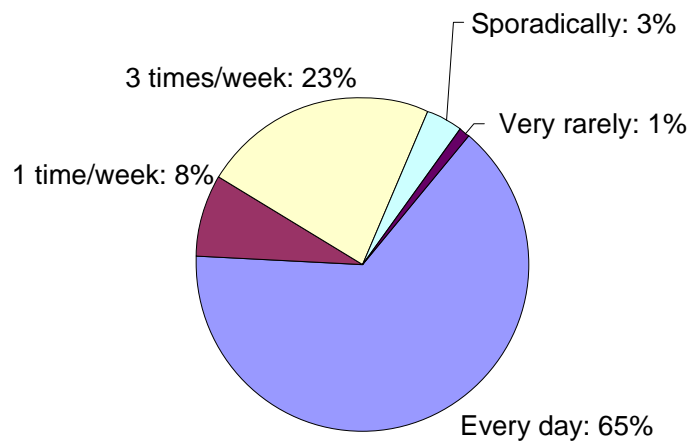
14.3 Why do you not keep yourself informed about Korea?



The main reason for those who are not interested in events in Korea is lack of interest (45%). The remaining interviewees mentioned no need (24%), no time (15%) and lack of opportunity (14%) as the reasons for them not keep informed about events in Korea. A total of 2% also mentioned high cost as the limiting factor for their access to information about Korea.

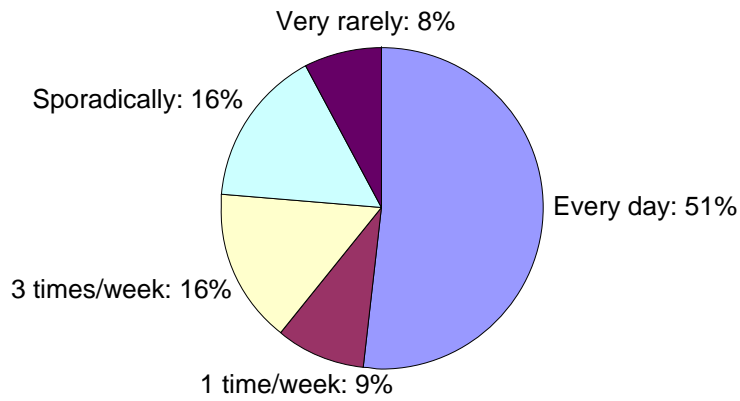
15. How often do you enjoy the following cultural items?

15.1 How often do you eat Korean food?



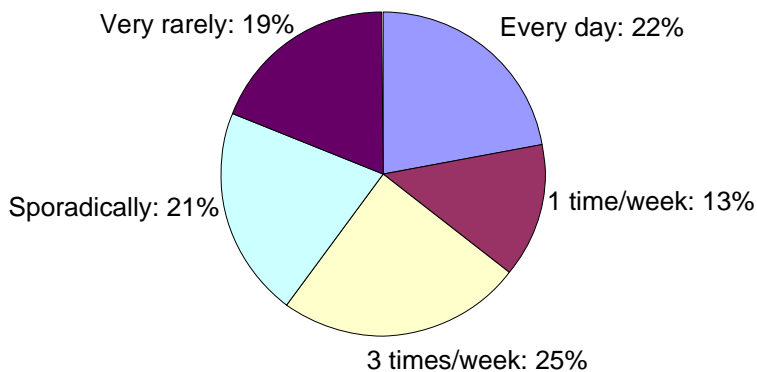
The largest part of the second-generation Koreans (65%) eat Korean food every day. If we add up those that eat it at least three times a week (23%) 88% of the youngsters keep to a diet that is different from the typical Brazilian diet.

15.2 How often do you listen to Korean music?



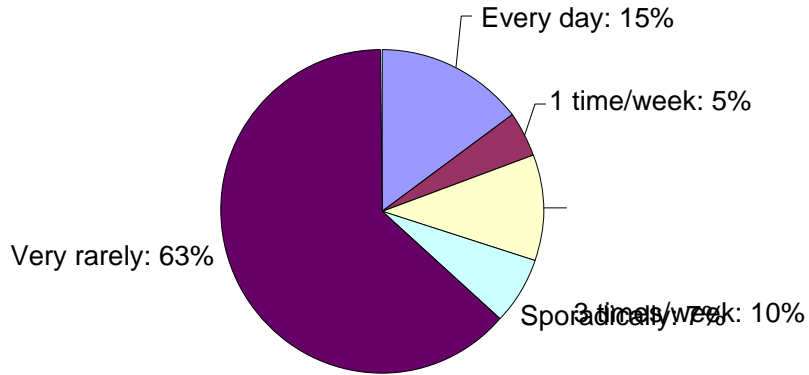
All those surveyed stated that they listen to Korean music. Out of this total, 51% listen to it every day.

15.3 How often do you watch Korean dramas/movies?



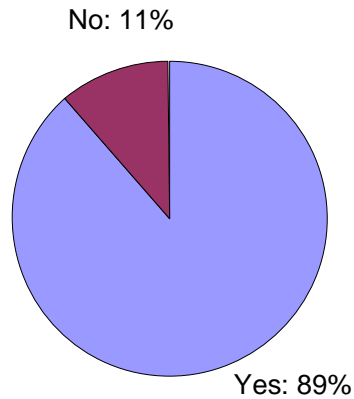
The preference for movies by frequency is well dispersed among the answers. A significant part (22%) watches Korean movies daily, 25% do so three times a week, 21% sporadically and 19% rarely.

15.4 How often do you play Korean games?



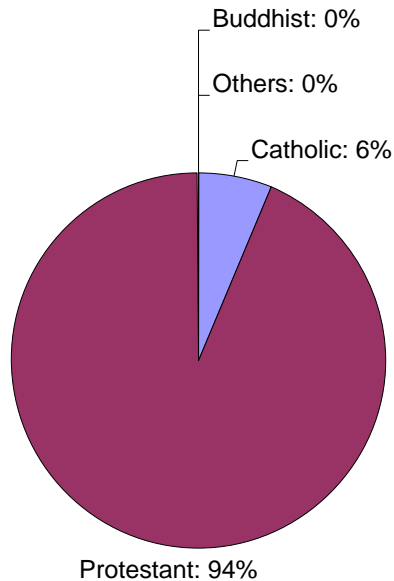
In terms of Korean games, we noticed that the popularity is low. A total of 63% claimed that they play rarely and 15% play every day.

16. Do you go to Korean church?



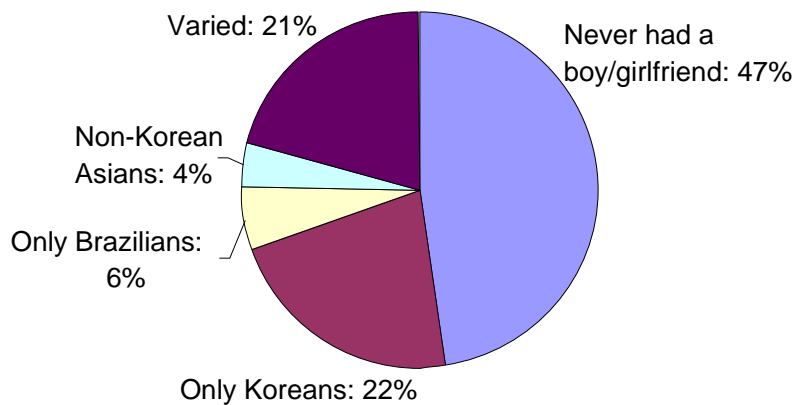
Almost the entirety of the youngsters go to some Korean-related religious institution (90%).

16.1 What kind of church is it?



All those that go to some religious institution describe themselves as Christians. Of this total, 94% are protestant and 6% are catholic.

17. Describe your love life

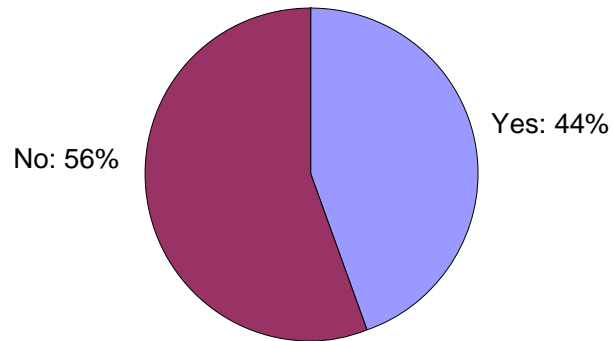


It was noticed that almost half (47%) have not yet begun to have a love life. Among those that have already had a love affair more than half was with partners of other origins (31% of the total). Those that chose an exclusively Korean partner account for 22% of the total.

18. Do you consider the possibility of marrying a non-Korean descent?

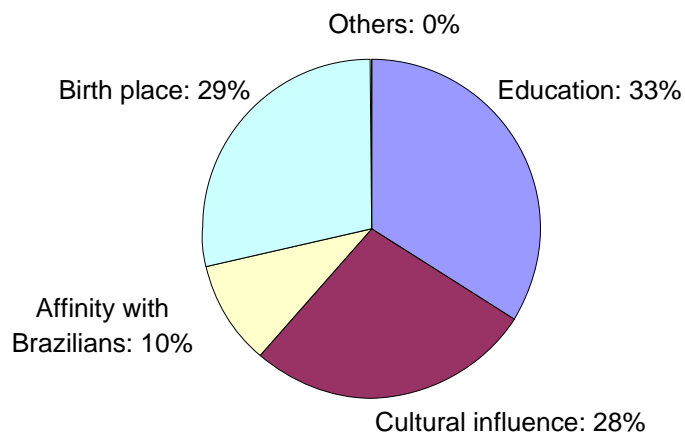
61% said that they consider marrying a non-Korean and 39% would marry only Korean.

19. Do you consider yourself more Brazilian than Korean?



Despite having been born in Brazil, the interviewees do not feel Brazilian. Only 44% stated that they consider themselves more Brazilian than Korean.

19.1 Why do you consider yourself Brazilian?

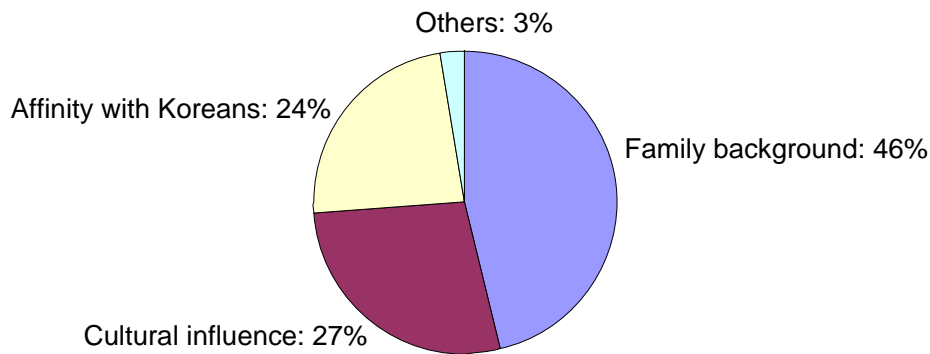


For those that feel more Brazilian, the place of birth (29%) stood behind education (33%) as an important factor, followed closely by cultural influence (28%), as a determining factor for them to feel that they are fully Brazilian.

20. Do you consider yourself more Korean than Brazilian?

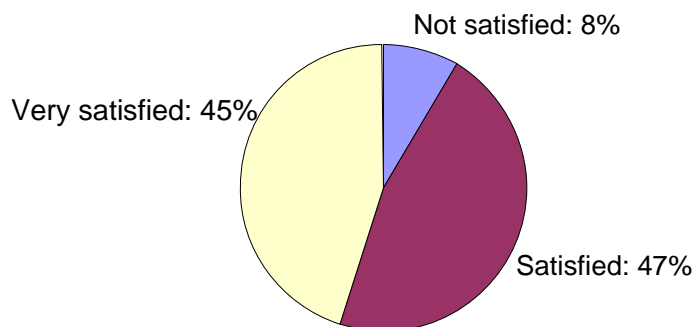
62% considered him/herself more Korean than Brazilian.

20.1 Why do you consider yourself more Korean?



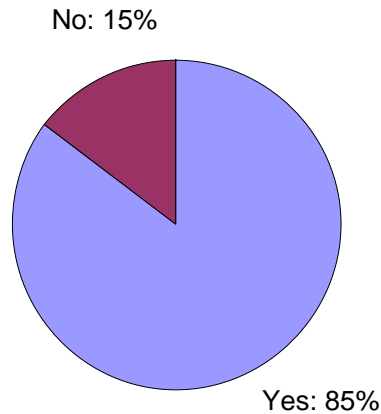
For those that feel more Korean despite having been born in Brazil, the Korean ascendance is the element that accounted for 46% of the answers, followed by cultural influence with 27% and the affinity with those of the same origin with 24%.

21. Are you satisfied with your life in Brazil?



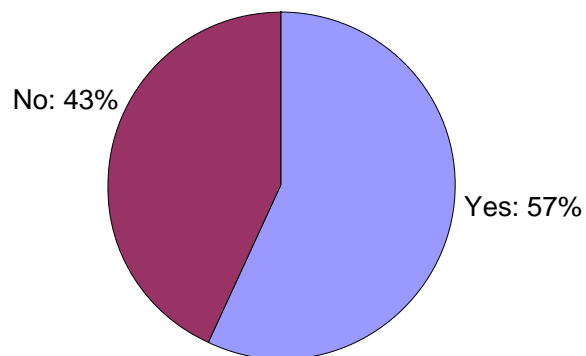
Life in Brazil in general satisfies the second generation. Only 8% claimed to be unsatisfied.

22. Do you agree with your parent's decision to live in Brazil?



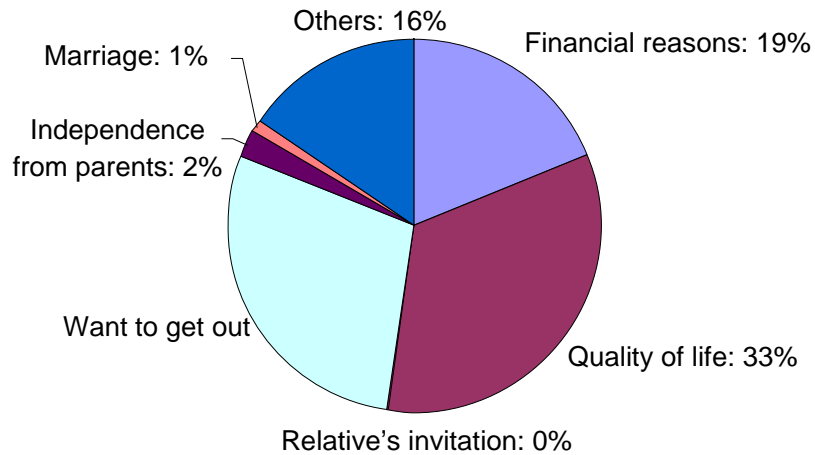
A total of 85% showed that they agreed with the decision of the parents to immigrate to Brazil.

23. Would you like to move to another country?



Despite the high levels of satisfaction with life in Brazil and the agreement with the option of the parents to immigrate to the country, 57% of the interviewees conveyed a wish to live elsewhere. Despite being contradictory, this high level can be interpreted as something inherent to their age and their wish to test the limits of their potentials and explore new places.

23.2 Why do you want to immigrate to another country?

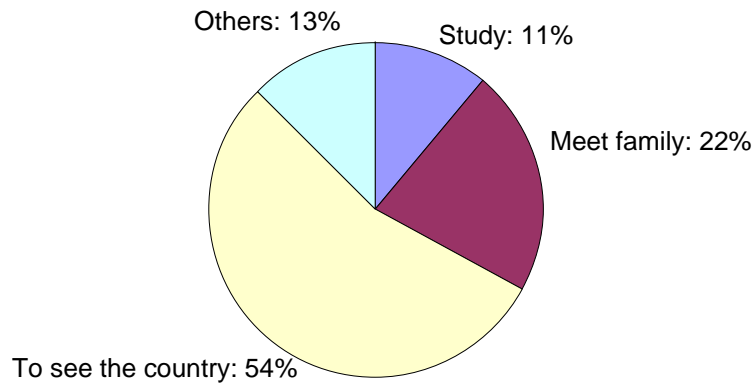


The following were the main reasons for leaving the country: Better quality of life (33%), wish to leave Brazil (29%) and seek better financial opportunities (19%). All related to a change in status quo and an improvement of their life.

24. Do you wish to travel to Korea?

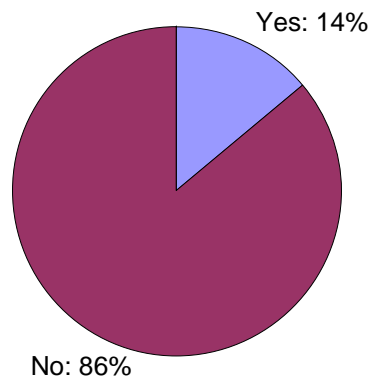
A total of 95% said they wish to travel to Korea.

24.1 Why do you want to visit Korea?



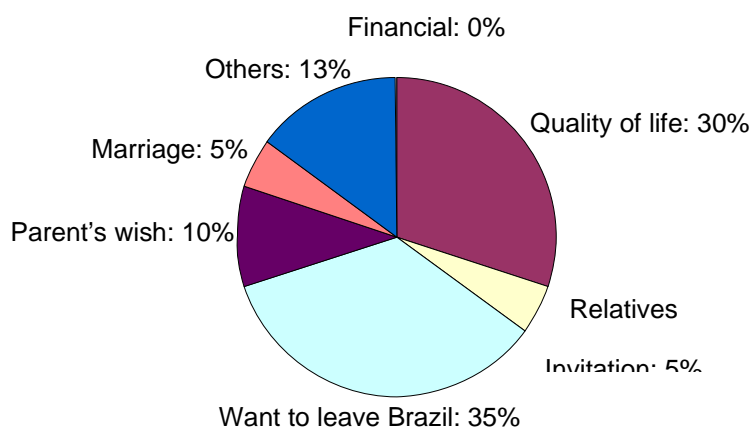
Out of the overall that wishes to travel to Korea, more than half (54%) wishes to get to know the country, 22% want to meet family, 11% want to study and 13% gave other answers.

25. Do you want to immigrate to Korea?



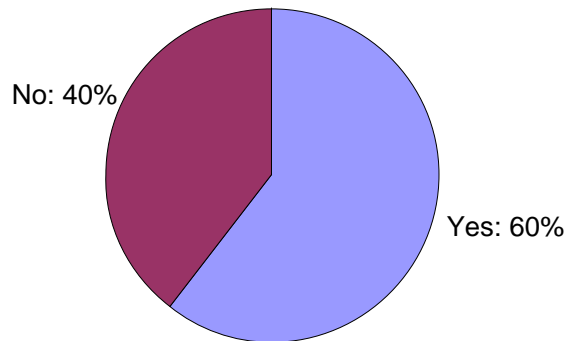
When asked if they wish to immigrate to Korea, 86% of the youngsters answered “no.” This shows that the second generation keeps up an interest for Korea and the family ties, however they are different from the people and do not feel at home to the point of considering the possibility of living in Korea.

25.1 Why do you want to immigrate to Korea?



Of the few that showed that they wish to immigrate to Korea, the most claimed reason was a wish to leave Brazil (35%) followed by the search for a better quality of life (30%).

26. Is the Korean community discriminated in Brazil?



In terms of discrimination, the second generation considers the Korean community to be discriminated in Brazil (60%).

CONCLUSIONS

The second generation of Koreans in Brazil consider themselves Koreans, do interact more intensely among themselves and feel discriminated by the Brazilians. These are the most visible conclusion we can draw out of this research. On the other hand, despite they declared satisfied with their lives in Brazil and glad about parents' choice for the country, they do want to immigrate to US, Canada and Europe, but not Korea (United States deserved 32 mentions followed by Canada with 11, and 20 mentions to the European countries).

Paradoxical it may seem, it is an indicative of the contradictions of the community as a whole. According to these youngsters, Koreans in Brazil are snobbish and arrogant, and do not want their children interacting with "natives". One key strategy for this self-segregation is the church, which provides them with the Korean language education, a rigid moral education against "overly liberalized Brazilians", and control over their weekend time.

To be born in Brazil seems to be less important than the cultural and familiar influence to define their identity, even when they speak poor Korean (though almost all speak some Korean, basic or intermediate). A significant number have visited Korea to meet their relatives, and despite they have some knowledge about Korean culture and history and liked it there pretty much, do not feel inclined to live there or to be more Korean than they already are. They expressed indifference about

the marriage partner's nationality, but if we consider that the majority never had a boy/girl friend yet, this flexibility can be seen as juvenile freedom that may change as they get older. This was one of the conclusions of KANG (1993): after experiencing other ethnic groups, young Koreans (1.5 generation) tend to return to Korean circles, mainly due to heavy influence of their parents, and end up preferring to marry other Korean.

They interact mostly with other Koreans of the second generation, but it does not seem to be a matter of "nationalism", their segregation being based more on affinity of individuals posed in similar conditions. In other words, they declare themselves Koreans as opposed to Brazilians, but it does not mean that they identify themselves with native Koreans, Korea as a country or the Korean community in Brazil. Despite they try to keep up with news about Brazil (80%) and Korea (71%), it seems that nor Brazil neither Korea does offer a model for their project of life, reason why they want to go to somewhere else. No one expressed commitment for a political or social participation in the Brazilian society.

That they are satisfied with their lives in Brazil shows a comfortable financial situation in their families. Almost all are studying only, which differs very much from the situation of the former 1.5 generation. KANG (1993) already observed that "elder brothers work more", but when the situation gets better "as the family gets some economical basis", the younger brothers "only study" (p. 68-69). The first generation imposed work on 1.5 generation, as they believed a better economic condition would help them in their process of adaptation and insertion into the Brazilian society (TSUKAMOTO, 1973 apud KANG, 1993, p. 69). For them, "to work was seen as same as to help their parents" (p. 69), which, in turn, reinforced the familiar and cultural bonds (TSUKAMOTO, 1973 apud KANG, 1993, p. 69), and, as a result, that situation only made the younger generation to stay segregated. And for Koreans, the segregation was even stronger, once the first generation sought not exactly an "insertion into the Brazilian society", but the dream of getting rich. Brazil never was a dream country for Koreans for educating their children.

Besides, Brazilian schools do not fulfill properly their role of socializing the second generation into the Brazilian society. Cardoso (1973, p. 345, apud KANG, 1993, p. 73) pointed out that "Brazilian schools are not efficient as 'acculturating agents' because offer only 'sporadic contacts' between students."

Many reported experiences of discrimination for being Korean, in schools and public services. In their view, it was due to "ethnic difference" and "cultural difference". But, when they were asked to write down the reasons why, many pointed out issues like commercial competition and envy on the Brazilian side, and ostentation and arrogance on the Korean side. Lesser and Mori point out that Korean immigrants come with "a large amount of capital (around US\$30,000.00)" (1998, Part II), a statement that rarely Koreans immigrants would confirm. According to Kye Young Park, "During the 1980s, Koreans raised business acquisition capital through their own financial institution, the *Kye*

(pronounced “keh”) rotating credit clubs”¹⁰. This is widely true also to Korean community in Brazil during the 1970s and 1980s, and, while it is possible that some Koreans came to Brazil with money, that money had been far less important than *Kye* for raising business capital. In the same work, Lesser and Mori state the number of “75,000 of Korean descent” (1998, Part I), which is 50% more than the official number. These statements only make us believe that Koreans do seem more than they really are, numerically, economically, to non-Korean eyes. In the opinion of the second generation youngsters, Koreans show off their riches (even when they are not) and Brazilians resent Koreans’ wealth, and even think that Koreans took their economic chances.

This is understandable if we consider that Koreans working in garment industry have always been in the owner’s position, while Brazilians that Koreans relate to in everyday life have mostly been in the worker’s position. Koreans are the rich and strong ones in this relationship, which made Koreans’ sense of superiority to go high, and this is precisely of the reasons for Korean segregation in Brazil.

The second generation is conscious that the community is discriminated for being too closed, but then again, they seem to reinforce it in every move they make, because when they say that Brazilians envy Koreans, they are posing Brazilians in an inferior position. Kang (1993) concluded that the 1.5 generation failed to perceive the Korean group as a reference to their project of future life. But it seems that the second generation neither can find a suitable model for their lives in the Brazilian society.

Further qualitative interviews would be desirable for a more accurate insight through the mind of the second generation. Our group is committed to continue to work on this theme in the months to come.

¹⁰ PARK, Kye Young. *The Korean American Dream: Immigrants and Small Business in New York City*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 58.

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