

Dys-appearing Tongues and Bodily Memories: The Aging of First-Generation Resident Koreans in Japan

SANDRA SOO-JIN LEE

ABSTRACT *According to Bourdieu's thesis on habitus, codes of behavior are "memorized" and incorporated by the body, becoming the repertoire of culturally appropriated bodily behaviors. Building on this model, immigrant subjectivity with respect to aging is examined through the concept of bodily memory. I focus here on the negotiation of colonial history, diasporic consciousness, and cultural practice by first-generation resident Koreans of Japan. This paper examines how the bartering of symbolic meanings in the consumption of Korean food reflects postcolonial negotiations of ideologies of difference and how the body acts as a critical site of struggle in the performance of identity.*

The role of memory with respect to migration and the experience of difference has been central to much of the writing on diaspora. Diaspora has been defined in various ways to include exiles, immigrants, guestworkers, refugees, and expatriots who, through the cultivation and generation of memory, maintain social, cultural, economic and/or psychological ties to their places of origin. Central to diasporic identity is a collective consciousness of groups of people who, though away from home, maintain a gaze homeward (Clifford 1994; Safran 1991). As such, diaspora studies address the insufficiency of unilinear models of ethnicity premised on processes of assimilation and acculturation by focusing on the meaning of places of origin in the collective memory and identity formation of the relocated. Diasporic consciousness emerges from both the abiding history and cultural heritage of migrants as well as the

ideologies of difference at play in the host society. This nexus of factors produces particular forms of social memory, characterized by particular historical contexts. Generational differences within an immigrant population often emerge through this process of memory making, producing diverging orientations to “the homeland.” Of growing interest is how diasporic communities age through processes of generational succession in the negotiations of identities.

This article draws upon ethnographic research conducted from 1993 to 1995 among elderly resident Koreans of Tokyo, Japan. Focusing on the negotiation of colonial history, diasporic consciousness, and cultural practice among first-generation resident Koreans of Japan, I discuss how senescence and long-term residence in places outside of one’s natal territories are influenced by bodily experience. Aging, far from being an objective process of physical change, informs and is influenced by social and cultural values, practices, and beliefs. Migration from one local setting to another demands both a spatial renegotiation of the body and a temporal juxtaposition of one’s past with a new and often alienating present. Such changes precipitate a continual melange of bodily memories in response to both social expectations and individual reflection on the meanings of bodily actions and experiences. Critical to this approach is a recognition of the performance of identity that responds to normative values produced by particular rules of conduct. How does the repertoire of bodily behaviors learned early in life change when immigrants are confronted with new social norms? Any analysis of the role of memory in the lives of elderly, first-generation resident Koreans must address the impact of colonialism, specifically their experiences as labor migrants, on their current subjective position in contemporary Japanese society. Of critical importance is the production of cultural knowledge and ideologies of difference by the colonial project through the exercise of control and regulation (Dirks 1995). A central question of this article is how the multiple political identities of early-20th-century colonial subject, postwar liberated Korean national, and postmodern Japanese alien resident are implicated in the bodily memories of resident Koreans. How do these corporeal traces of the past resonate in the present and inform the performance of identity?

In this discussion of bodily memory and identity, this article focuses on the impact of food and eating behaviors of elderly resident Koreans. In my field research, Korean food played a critical role in the practice of Korean identity in Japan. The cooking, eating, and sharing of Korean meals are central to virtually all social gatherings. Whether one attends Korean church service luncheons, cultural festivals, or administrative meetings of resident Korean community associations, the partaking of Korean food serves to reaffirm a sense of cultural inclusion in ways that language, citizenship,

and ideology do not for resident Koreans in Japan. (I will discuss this further in the latter part of this article.) As such, Korean food has broad social currency and serves as a locus of congregation. Not surprisingly, the ability to eat Korean food acts as an important cultural marker and extends to the authenticity of Korean identity. Indeed, others have found that native cuisine often draws existing social boundaries for social groups and serves as a mode of communicating group inclusion and exclusion (Brown 1984; Kalciik 1984). This research has determined that not all dishes are the same, even within what is commonly considered a particular “ethnic” cuisine. Certain foods are imbued with particular symbolic meanings.

While working with the resident Korean community, I observed the close association between Korean identity and the ability to eat *kimchee*, an ever-present side dish of fermented cabbage stuffed with red pepper and garlic. In ways I had not anticipated, the partaking of Korean food was an important testament to my credibility when meeting resident Koreans for the first time. Initially, my presence within the community provoked suspicion. As a second-generation Korean American, I did not fall neatly into any of the social and political categories within the community. Indeed, the hybrid identity suggested by the label, *Korean American*, (which I translated as *Amerika no kankokujin*) did not resonate with most resident Koreans in Japan. This is due, in part, to the absence of the parallel term, *Korean Japanese*, which signals the incorporation of the two identities into a new unified category of experience. Resident Koreans are most commonly identified as *zainichi*, literally translated as “residing in Japan” but more strongly connoting that one is “not of Japan,” reflecting resident Koreans’ liminal status of being neither Japanese nor the same as other foreigners, such as Europeans and Americans who are referred to as *gaijin*. Readily accepting that I was, indeed, American (apparently validated by my American accent), it was my claim to being Korean that was initially contested. When introduced to resident Koreans, virtually without fail, I was asked pointed questions about my background that was followed by the query, “Can you eat kimchee? (*Kimchee mokulsu is sae yo?*)” The assumption was that a U.S.-born Korean would not be able to withstand the fiery Korean food. Satisfied that this did not apply to me, many would respond with mock surprise, declaring that I was “really a Korean.” This question served as shorthand for the complex issues concerning cultural authenticity, the answer to which would presumably reveal my position within Korean national and ethnopolitics.

Despite the importance of Korean food in the communal life of resident Koreans, Korean elderly experience a difficult relationship with their native cuisine due to their aging physiology. Biomedical research indicates that gastric difficulties are prevalent among older individuals. Physiological changes associated with aging include decreased secretion of a variety

of digestive enzymes, mucus, hydrochloric acid, hormones, and special peptides that aid the breakdown of food by the gastro-intestinal system. As a result, elderly patients tend to predominate among those suffering from gastric and duodenal ulcers. In addition, clinical findings demonstrate an increase in the incidence of chronic and acute gastritis with aging, affecting 50 percent of individuals over the age of 60 years old (Meisami 1988). Although most first-generation resident Koreans have eaten Korean food daily for most of their adult lives in Japan, advanced aging often corresponds with increasing difficulty in digesting many staple Korean dishes. Particularly problematic are spicy dishes such as kimchee and various *jigae* (stews consisting of *daeng-jang* [fermented soybean paste]) and *kochi-jang* (fermented red chili pepper paste). Complaining of discomfort, many elderly resident Koreans, particularly those living alone, refrained from stocking items such as kimchee and kochi-jang in their kitchens.

Changes in food culture upon migration are increasingly evident. The global economy has facilitated the eclecticism that characterizes the diets of most urban dwellers in the world today. Ubiquitous McDonald's, Burger King, and Pizza Hut outlets indicate that for the many millions living outside of the United States, national borders are meaningless when it comes to the availability of U.S. food. In fact, for many, partaking of foods identified with others living on the opposite side of the earth may be easier than preparing what has been considered as indigenous to one's own community. Food taken out of its sociohistorical context is a dubious marker of identity. Banal assumptions that social groups are inherently defined by the food they eat is akin to claiming that everyone who eats Chinese food must be Chinese. Tuchman and Levine (1993) reveal the flexibility of food culture in their study of Jewish immigrant children and grandchildren in New York who incorporated Chinese food into their diets, which in turn contributed to their Jewish identity. Notions of "native cuisine" hold little intrinsic meaning in the cultivation of "ethnic" identity. Rather, foods are deployed symbolically in the construction of identity. The appropriation of food reflects the recursive nature of such "cultural materials," creating what Anderson (1987) has labeled, "imagined communities." As such, food becomes symbolic capital in the production of identities as well as acting as an important vehicle in social practice. In approaching resident Korean identity, it is important to understand Korean as divested of an inherent primordial Korean essence. Rather, this article is concerned with the specific and highly contextualized role of Korean food in Japan that emerges from resident Korean history and engagements with ideologies of difference in Japan. The loss of the ability among first-generation resident Koreans to eat very spicy Korean foods takes on specific meanings with respect to the Japanese colonial history, Korean labor migration to Japan,

and the postcolonial status of resident Koreans in postwar Japan. Interpretation of their aging bodies by elderly resident Koreans must be understood within this localized framework of difference and the legacy of colonial subjectivity that produces specific strategies of resistance.

DYS-APPEARING TONGUES

Within three months of arriving in Tokyo, I was introduced to Cho Han Chul,¹ a 72-year-old South Korean national and first-generation resident Korean. Cho lived in Arakawa Ward in the northeastern part of the metropolis where over 8,000 resident Koreans live among a dense population of *burakumin*² and migrant workers predominantly from Southeast Asia and the Middle East. On my first visit to Cho's house, Cho and his 68-year-old wife, Kim Hae In, treated me to an elaborate traditional Korean meal of *soon doobu jigae* (a spicy soft tofu and seafood stew); *bulgogi* (charbroiled slices of marinated beef); *pajun* (oyster filled pancakes); and assorted *banchan* (small side dishes consisting of various kimchee and other fermented and marinated vegetables). During the meal, Cho described his recent trip to his hometown in South Korea. Cho had not returned to the peninsula since migrating with his family to Japan in 1938. He said that he had anticipated his return to Korea for many decades, yet lamented that his trip was ultimately filled with disappointment. Cho reported that Korea had changed dramatically and that he could not recognize the country as the one he had left as a boy. Complaining that his rural birthplace no longer existed and had been replaced by a tall skyscraper (one of several in the massive urbanization of his rural village), Cho said that he felt estranged from the place he had longed for most of his life and had always considered his "own country." At this point, Cho's wife, Kim, leaned over to me and whispered with mock jest, "*Harabuji*³ is upset because he did not like the food." Overhearing his wife's comment, Cho smiled and responded:

Yes, it is true. Korean food is too spicy there. It upset my stomach. There wasn't any flavor—just red pepper. I like the kind of Korean food she makes [nodding to his wife]. I suppose it is not real Korean food and is probably much more bland than what they make in Korea. But it is how I like it. You probably will find this food [pointing to the dishes on the table] too spicy but, actually, it is much more mild than the Korean food they serve in Korea these days. [Cho gives a chuckle.] I suppose after so many years in Japan, my tongue has changed.

Explaining the alterations to his sense of taste as a manifestation of his extended residence in Japanese society, Cho was almost apologetic in his concession that his body could no longer withstand the intensity of the spicier dishes of Korean cuisine. Cho explained that despite his life-long love of what he considered his native cuisine, particularly, the spicy

seafood dishes that continue to be popular in the southeastern province where he was born, his senses had “a will of their own” and his penchant for spicy foods had tragically disappeared. What was most surprising to Cho, however, was that he did not realize that this bodily transformation had occurred until taking his trip to South Korea when he was forced to reflect upon his cultural “inauthenticity.” He grudgingly admitted that Korean food in Japan was sweeter, milder, and hence, “weaker” than what was eaten in South Korea. Cho drew the connections between what he understood as the parallel transformations of urban renewal in South Korea and physiological changes in his aging body, both of which have altered and made unrecognizable what had been in Cho’s memory. This difference demanded a renegotiation on who he was and offered a reflection of the trajectory of his life story from the past to present and most important, to the future.

Cho’s interpretation of his aging body was entrenched in his own subjective understanding of his dubious relationship to both Korean and Japanese societies. Cho’s stated preference for the milder Korean dishes prepared by his wife focuses attention away from the difficulty Cho experienced in partaking spicier and allegedly more authentic foods found on the Korean peninsula. Cho’s wife explained that her husband suffered from what she called a stomach ulcer and that his condition was easily exacerbated by spicy foods. Cho’s wife explained in private that she decreases the amount of hot peppers in her cooking and often “washed” store-bought kimchee to dilute its potency in hopes of easing her husband’s physical difficulties. Despite her efforts, she complained that she could not control her husband’s diet when he went out for meals with Korean friends with whom he played the Japanese board game, Go, two to three times a week. On these occasions, Cho would defy his physician’s advice to avoid spicy foods and often became ill afterwards. Cho’s wife explained that her husband eagerly looked forward to seeing friends, as his social life had always been very limited. The sharing of classic Korean dishes were central to these events. Cho’s wife intimated that she believed her husband viewed his physical discomfort as a small sacrifice for gathering with men she called “fellow countrymen” and for a few hours, enjoying “themselves as Korean men.”

In understanding why first-generation resident Koreans would continue a behavior that produces pain, Drew Leder’s (1990) discussion of the “absent body” is informative. Leder describes how experiences of physiological distress and breakdown, such as in the onset of disease, reveals a body that is deviant. In describing this phenomena, Leder uses the prefix, *dys-*, meaning bad, ill, or harm, in his usage of the term *dys-appearance* to describe the body as “being away” from its ordinary or desired state. He states that puberty and old age are examples of such periods when individuals

become aware of their bodies. It is at these times that the body is no longer “alien, as forgotten, but precisely as remembered, a sharp and searing presence threatening the self” (Leder 1990:90). In this sense, the body is objectified as other, creating a fissure between what one is and what one is expected to be. In old age, Cho’s sense of taste has, in Leder’s sense, “dys-appeared,” transformed from what he believed he had. The failure of bodily memory in the performance of an important cultural practice elicits several strategies of identity performance. Rather than resigning oneself to bodily change, an attempt is made to reconcile the desired self with the now objectified body.

DEFINING BODILY MEMORY

Social memory is structured by language, collectively held ideas, and experiences shared with others. Inherently subjective and imbued with emotions, social memory emerges from consciousness as traces of cognition that link time and bodies in the articulation of life narratives. Increasing attention on the role of memory in identity formation has focused on its discursive production as represented in its written and oral forms. However, this paper examines a framework of “bodily memory,” in which conceptions of self are derived from reminiscence invoked by physical experiences that are made meaningful within one’s life story. While focusing on the corps and the negotiated meanings of physical phenomena, this approach avoids reifying the Cartesian dichotomy of mind and body. Rather, following the lead of Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987), this article builds upon the model of the “mindful body” and holds central in its discussion of bodily memory a phenomenological approach to identity. Departing from a framework of the body as reduced to a repository of learned behavior or as a mere instrument in the execution of physical action, bodily memory is reconfigured as a site of contestation and a source of existential meaning. As such, bodily memory is critical in individual experience of the social world and appropriation of meaning in personal engagements.

Rooted in phenomenology, the premise of bodily memory is the notion of the body as a source of lived experience that is “pre-abstract,” or “pre-objective,” indicating the as-yet-unreflected-upon bodily experience (Merleau-Ponty 1962). Rather than a semiotic reading of the body as text, bodily experience is examined prior to its objectification where perceptions of bodily sensation and experiences directly transform understanding of the self. Marcel Mauss, focusing on notions of the “self,” established the body within a general framework of personhood as socially constructed and historically determined. Mauss (1979[1950]) argues that the “body is man’s first and most natural instrument” producing bodily

actions disciplined by social norms. Actions, such as walking or squatting, are executed, according to Mauss, via techniques informed by psychological, sociological, and biological constraints. This multivalent framework constitutes what Mauss identifies as “habitus.” Mauss emphasizes that techniques of the body evolve from practical reasons that are historically conditioned. Habitus indicates that bodily actions are the “embodiment of cultural differences encoded in education” (1979[1950]:73) in which bodies commit actions that are meaningful only within the social context in which they are enacted.

In Pierre Bourdieu’s (1977) extension of Mauss’ framework, he examines the relationship between objective perceptions and social structure on human behavior by locating bodily acts within a framework of behavioral strategies. Bourdieu is concerned with integration of the body into social space and its refraction of embedded social relationships and meanings. Bourdieu redefines habitus as “a system of lasting transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and action and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks” (1977:83). Habitus is thus, the product of enculturation that informs one’s interpretation and reaction to social interactions. Bourdieu is careful, however, to distinguish habitus from a deterministic mechanism that uncritically transmits structures onto human behavior, emphasizing improvisation rather than simple obedience to sets of rules. In contrast to Mary Douglas’s (1966) explication of the socially inscribed body and the corps as representation, habitus is best understood as bi-directional, both affected by external stimuli in the performance of bodily practice and informing the ideology and social values generating human behavior. In this way, the body shifts between being an object of reflective and ideological knowledge and, as Csordas states, “the existential ground of culture” (1990:2).

At the same time, it is important to note that critical to this model of habitus is its working at the unconscious level. Bourdieu makes this point clear when he states that habitus is not a product of the orchestrating action of a conductor (1977). Although bodily acts are executed through imitation and are products of conscious learning over time, these behaviors settle into the unconsciousness, becoming “obscure in the eyes of their own producers.” (Bourdieu 1977:121). However, Bourdieu refuses to eliminate agency in human action and behavior, emphasizing individual “interest” and strategy, which takes precedence over customary rules. Predicating these strategies are principles constituted by an amalgam of values, languages, and beliefs collectively identified as *doxa*. *Doxa* informs habitus in the execution of culturally appropriated bodily behaviors and links individual acts to collective identity. Bourdieu emphasizes the inherently improvisatory nature of behavior in which structures may be

manipulated and doxa reconstituted and recreated. This notion of bodily action as strategy lies at the foundation of any notion of bodily memory and its role in the negotiation of the identity of the those defined as “other.” The commitment of experiences to the body on a visceral, phenomenological level contributes to the strategies executed in behavioral performances that continually reference the past.

Conceptions of bodily memory incorporate Mauss’s model of bodily techniques and Bourdieu’s socially informed habitus and should be conceptualized as both a mode of operation and a generative process of existential meaning. Bodily memory produces bodily behaviors elicited by social cues and contexts. It is the psycho-physiological process we can not live without. Bodily memory guides our bodies in dialogue with other bodies in meaningful gestures and recognizable actions. For first-generation immigrants, these forms of bodily memory emerge from consciousness as cultural codes come into conflict. This is evident in generational divergence in mannerisms among resident Koreans. For example, when eating soup, Koreans will typically leave their soup bowl on the table, and using a spoon, will bring the soup to the mouth. Japanese, by contrast, will customarily lift their soup bowls to the mouth and sip the soup directly. This is similarly true when eating from a rice bowl. Koreans, generally, leave their bowls on the table and transport the food to their mouths with chopsticks, whereas Japanese lift their rice bowls to mouth level and, using chopsticks, scoop the rice into their mouths. Another difference is in the way in which food or drink is given and received during meal times. When serving tea or other beverages or when passing food, Koreans will adhere to Confucian age-and-gender-informed norms of etiquette represented by specific hand and arm gestures. For example, if a son offers a dish to his father, he will hold it out with his right hand, while placing his left hand high on his own right arm as a sign of respect. If the same man offers a dish to his friend who is his senior in age by only a few years, the same gesture would be executed, although the left hand would be placed lower on the arm, indicating that there is less of a hierarchical difference between these individuals than between a father and son. Having attributed these customs to Japanese and Koreans, it is important to note that these are not exercised inclusively or exclusively by these groups and that these forms of “cultural” behavior are continually shifting. Rather, these examples are offered to illustrate how bodily behaviors may reflect unarticulated meaning within social groups.

Bodily memory, as illustrated by mannerisms, more closely resembles Bourdieu’s notion of habitus: mannerisms learned and executed, seemingly automatically upon social cue. However, bodily memory also acts as a source of meaning-making and a process of negotiation that, only through struggle, results in bodily action. This is evident in “socio-somatics” described by

Kleinman and Kleinman (1994) as trauma experienced by individuals that manifests itself in neurasthenia (a common syndrome of chronic pain), sleeplessness, fatigue, and dizziness. Kleinman and Kleinman report that individuals having such bodily complaints narrated their physical symptoms within more general stories of suffering that integrate memories of menace and loss associated with the Chinese Cultural Revolution. They write, “symptoms of social suffering and the transformation they undergo, are the culture forms of lived experience. They are lived memories. They bridge social institutions and the body-self as the transpersonal moral-somatic medium of local worlds” (1994:716). Inserting a theory of emotions and linking cognitive processes with physical experience in the form of a bodily memory, Kleinman and Kleinman (1994) argue that these neurasthenic complaints emerge as the locally available vehicle of communicating distress and offer a culturally salient common pathway for the expression of suffering. As such, past experiences are sedimented in the body and reconfigured into a source of meaning-making in which bodily signs and experiences are understood within a personal history framed by sociopolitical events. The body serves as a template of social experience, which is then articulated into stories of collective history. In addition to the evocation of habitus, or the memorization of bodily action, bodily memory provokes reminiscence of psychological experience manifested in physiology.

Bodily memory is deeply embedded in social relationships in which the body navigates and is injected into the emotional terrain of personal interactions. Acknowledging that different physical expressions may reflect different emotions and may communicate diverging social meanings,⁴ Lyon and Barbalet (1994), in their framework of bodily agency, point out that emotion, inherently an activity of reflection, prepares the body for response to external stimuli. Actions are motivated by how we feel and are enacted in anticipation of how our emotions will be transformed. Reminding us that emotion is less an individual internalized process than a relational process informing social interaction, Lyon and Barbalet employ a feedback model in which emotion is understood as socially efficacious, having direct consequences on social structure, and having a social relational genesis. Execution of bodily actions in accordance with social norms is motivated by emotion and derives from one’s perception of self in relation to others. For example, embarrassment and shame have been described as directly affecting bodily performance that links individual behavior to collective conformity (Elias 1978[1939]; Goffman 1959). As such, emotion is understood as having a regulating effect on human behavior.

Building upon Bourdieu’s conception of habitus and doxa, bodily memory must be understood as predicated on personal experience and the expression of human emotion. Bodily memory, thus, is integral to human

agency in producing creative strategies of responding to personal experience. The subjective body emerges through bodily memory in which interpretation of life events are expressed in socially meaningful ways. Thus, bodily memory must be understood in a context larger than any one individual history. Rather, bodily memory is produced, maintained, and reconstituted by the wider social and historical context. As the previous discussion indicates, bodily memory is not simply a repository of culturally conditioned learning. It is a dialectical process between the past and present in which actions are recalled by the body in producing strategies of behavior. Bodily memory is, thus, more than merely a mode of operation eliciting behavior on cue. It is the past relived through the body.

COLONIAL SUBJECTIVITIES

Koreans are Japan's largest immigrant population; they number approximately 650,000 residents and span four generations. Most first-generation resident Koreans migrated to Japan during the Japanese colonization of the Korean peninsula, which began officially in 1910 and ended in 1945. The majority of Koreans migrating during this time were both voluntarily and forcibly recruited as inexpensive labor needed to support Japan's expansion efforts in Asia and the Pacific. During the 35-year period of colonization, migration was controlled by the resident Japanese colonial government in Korea. Push factors, such as the reorganization of agriculture production in the southern "rice bowl" provinces of the Korean peninsula and pull factors, such as the increasing demand for Korean laborers due to the shortage of unskilled, menial labor in Japan contributed to migration of Koreans to the Japanese metropole. Labor emigration from Korea began slowly in the first decades of annexation, accounting for approximately 30,000 Korean migrants. During the period of global depression in the 1920s, this number mushroomed to 300,000. This rise continued with Japan's invasion of China; the number of Korean laborers in Japan more than doubled to 800,000 between 1931 to 1938. During the last period of World War II, it is estimated that approximately 1.2 million Koreans migrated to Japan between 1939 and 1945. Approximately 2.4 million Koreans were living in Japan when Emperor Hirohito formally surrendered to the Allied Forces (Suh 1989).

Over 90 percent of Koreans laborers in Japan were from displaced, impoverished peasant households residing in Korea's southern provinces of Cholla, Kyongsang, and Cheju. Koreans were primarily enlisted through direct company recruitment programs (*gyosha chokusetsu boshu*), professional recruiters (*boshu jujisha*), and the introductions of friends and relatives to potential employers. Koreans worked primarily in labor-intensive industries, such as mining, construction, textiles, and agriculture. The

majority of this workforce consisted of young males. However, approximately 100,000 to 200,000 Korean girls,⁵ most of whom were between the ages of 12 and 20, were forced to work as *jugunianfu* (*chongshindae* in Korean), or “comfort women” for the Japanese military (see Yoshimi 1992).⁶

As colonial labor, Koreans were subjected to inferior social and economic working conditions. Japan Iron and Steel Works, which alone employed over 10,000 Korean workers, typifies the treatment of Korean migrant laborers by Japanese employers. Koreans were expected to work 12- to 14-hour shifts and were segregated from the Japanese employees into work units of between 500 to 600 laborers. These Korean units were managed cooperatively by company supervisors and the local Japanese police force (Hong 1993). Koreans were paid a monthly wage of 80 yen, two-thirds the salary of their Japanese counterparts. In most cases, this inferior sum was further decreased by automatic deductions made by the company to offset the cost of passage to Japan, as well as the expenses of housing, meals, and uniforms. The remaining balance was to be held by the company to be released to the worker upon the completion of the employment contract. The terms of the employment contract were, in most cases, either ignored or rewritten after the arrival of the Korean worker in Japan. As conscripted labor, Koreans had little control over the conditions of their existence in Japan.

Immediately following the end of the war in 1945, most Korean colonial laborers returned to Korea. However, within a year of Korea’s liberation, rates of repatriation decreased. A significant minority of Koreans laborers in Japan chose to remain, due in large part to Korea’s political and economic instability in the wake of the sudden withdrawal of the Japanese colonial government. News of explosive inflation rates, scarcity of food and other necessities, as well as a high unemployment rate traveled to Japan. In addition, the repatriation program installed by the Allied forces during their occupation of Japan imposed a restriction on Koreans that no more than 1,000 yen in cash and property be taken out of country (Lee and DeVos 1981). This nominal amount significantly influenced Koreans to delay their return home. Increasing antagonism between the North and South contributed to the cautious approach taken by many Koreans in Japan at the time. Korea’s liberation from colonialism seemed partial at best, and its political future seemed precarious to most Koreans. For many Koreans in Japan, waiting for political and economic stability in Korea seemed a more secure option, despite their liminal legal and social status in Japan. It should be emphasized that those who did not repatriate to Korea immediately following the war believed that their protracted tenure in Japan would be temporary and that their ultimate reunion with their families inevitable.

The United States, having identified Korea as being of critical geopolitical importance against the perceived threat of Russian expansion, agreed with Stalin to divide the Korean peninsula at the 38th parallel, giving rise to North and South Korea. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 contributed to the long-term residence of many Koreans in Japan. The division on the peninsula solidified by the Korean War produced a parallel political split among Koreans living in Japan, creating North and South Korean factionalism, despite the southern origins of the vast majority of this population. Resident North Koreans, or *zainichii chosonjin*,⁷ have been represented by Chungryun, the General Federation of Korean Residents in Japan, which functions as the official political organ of the Democratic Republic of Korea (DPRK). Resident South Koreans, or *zainichi kankokujin*,⁸ obtained overseas citizenship of the Republic of Korea (ROK) and adopted Mindan, the Association for the Korean Residents in Japan, as their official political vehicle. Chungryun and Mindan have been critical to the existence of a strong Korean identity in Japan, which has been inextricably linked to the Korean peninsula. These organizations have played significant roles in generating Korean nationalist discourse integral to the diasporic consciousness of postcolonial resident Koreans living in Japan.

The lives of resident Koreans are closely linked to the political relationships that emerged from the nexus of imperial interests of the United States, Russia, Japan, and Europe. The current identities of resident Koreans have been shaped in large part by the political agendas of many nation-states. Dispensing with a framework of ethnicity predicated on primordial essentialism,⁹ the identities of first-generation resident Koreans must be approached through a nuanced understanding of Korean colonial subjectivity, Japanese national identity, and the spread of capitalism. Most important in the negotiation of resident Korean identity have been Japanese ideas of nation, culture, and self. Historian Morris-Suzuki, writing on the development of the idea of Japanese culture, or *minzoku*, describes a colonial project bent on subsuming cultural difference:

The hallmark of "Japaneseness" . . . was the ability to consume difference and transform it into the body of the organically united Volk, so that now we, the Japanese *minzoku*, almost without distinction possess the same myths and legends, speak the same language, cherish the same ideas and beliefs and, as the strongest bond of all, are united from above by the rule of a single unchanging dynasty. [1996:89]

This framework of Japanese *minzoku* was echoed in the assimilationist policies directed at Korean colonial subjects and became the rationale for policies such as the forced adoption of the Japanese language and of Japanese names.¹⁰ The colonial project of eliminating difference is reflected in the familial allegory used by Japan in justifying the occupation of Korea that was characterized as the unruly younger brother in need of guidance.

Morris-Suzuki (1996) makes the important point that the Japanese intra-Asian model of colonialism made greater use of ideas of ethnos, initially emphasizing common solidarity. This approach contrasted with European colonial orientations, where racial difference and concomitant ideas of evolution and hierarchy produced often impenetrable divisions between colonizer and colonized. After the massacre of thousands of Koreans by armed civilians and local police in the aftermath of Great Kanto Earthquake of 1911, the Japanese government established a policy of *Naisen Yuiwa* (Conciliation of Japanese and Koreans) that precipitated assimilation programs designed to fully integrate Koreans into Japanese society. These, however, were less than successful, undermined in part by Korean resistance and, perhaps more significantly, by the Japanese government's own ambivalence in pursuing the alleged goal of integration. In truth, the Japanese government's position towards Koreans wavered from one of incorporation to one of domination. Perceiving Korean laborers as sojourners, historian Michael Weiner writes that "there was little expectation that the immigrants would develop their own ethnic organizations and institutions or attempt to enter into mainstream political and economic structures" (1994:156). Rather, he continues, Koreans were feared as "an alien influx which threatened to dilute the national stock and corrupt the moral "foundations of civic life" (1994:156).

Japanese rhetorical use of *minzoku* contradicted the discriminatory practices levied against Koreans. The inability to subsume difference points to the inherent paradox of the colonial deployment of *minzoku* and a Japanese national identity predicated on notions of racial purity. It is precisely within this awkward space that resident Koreans continue to be positioned. Elderly, first-generation resident Koreans conflate Japanese colonial attitudes towards Koreans with contemporary Japanese ideologies of difference. For most, the colonial legacy continues to affect their current lives in much the same way.

GENERATIONAL LOCATIONS

Aging, first-generation resident Koreans who migrated to Japan as adolescents and young adults during the Japanese occupation of Korea are currently in their seventies, eighties, and nineties. Advanced age and its associated illnesses have increasingly isolated this cohort, preventing most from actively participating in the Korean community. In addition, contrary to the popularized belief that most elderly Asians live in extended family households, a significant proportion of Korean elderly live alone. This is explained in part by the increasing economic difficulties faced by multi-generational families that wish to cohabit in urban centers such as Tokyo and Osaka, where large numbers of resident Koreans reside. As

reflected in the general Japanese population, elderly resident Koreans will often choose to live apart from their adult children. However, the disruption of Korean family networks in Japan must also be understood as the manifestation of return migration to the Korean peninsula. In the 1960s the North Korean government introduced a large-scale repatriation program for resident North Koreans. During this period tens of thousands of resident Koreans “returned home.” Several first-generation resident Koreans explained that the second generation was often the first to repatriate, as the first generation delayed their return in order to sell property, close down businesses and make final arrangements for their move to North Korea. However, during this period, news of the less-than-favorable economic and political conditions in North Korea made its way back to Japan. Reaction by North Korea to dramatically scale down its repatriation campaign and the decision of resident North Koreans to remain in Japan created the separation of many resident North Korean families. On a smaller scale, a significant number of South Korean resident Koreans also repatriated to the Korean peninsula. Typically, a second-generation resident Korean married a South Korean national and returned to the Korean peninsula, leaving behind his or her family in Japan.

In addition to the absence of familial support for many elderly, first-generation resident Koreans are the long-term effects of institutional and attitudinal discrimination that have prohibited resident Koreans from enjoying full participation in Japanese society. Discriminatory practices in the areas of education, employment, and housing have severely narrowed opportunities for resident Koreans. The majority of elderly, first-generation resident Koreans had limited schooling in Korea and were not able to enroll in Japanese high schools or colleges. Many first-generation resident Koreans are not confident in written Japanese or Korean.¹¹ This creates difficulty in carrying out everyday activities such as reading letters, newspapers, maps, and signs. Such obstacles are often compounded by the challenges of limited mobility associated with advanced old age. Discriminatory hiring practices have resulted in the categorical rejection of non-Japanese applicants, localizing first-generation resident Koreans¹² as self-employed in small businesses and short-term contract work, hence barred them from pension programs. In addition, the national “old age” pension program excludes a significant number of elderly, first-generation resident Koreans.¹³ Prior to 1985, resident Koreans were not eligible for pension benefits. Although new legislation discontinued this policy, no retroactive provision was made for those who were already over the age of 60 at the time of the reform. As a result, elderly, first-generation Korean residents currently in their mid-70s, -80s and -90s do not receive old age pension benefits despite having paid taxes to the Japanese government throughout their working lives. These elderly men and women are forced

to continue to work, to depend on their family for support, and to apply for poverty assistance from the government. These examples of the institutionalized discrimination continue to affect the everyday lives of resident Koreans and are integral to the interpretive process of constructing life stories.

Generational divergence in the formation of Korean identity has produced age-ranked differences in orientations to both the Korean peninsula and in attitudes towards acculturation processes in Japanese society. First-, second-, third-, and fourth-generation resident Koreans are shaped by their different locations within Japanese society. These locations mark the intersections of individual and national histories from which each generation takes up a different orientation to Japanese, Korean, and resident Korean history. Describing the elderly first-generation as primarily defined by homeland politics, Ryang (1997), in her ethnography of resident North Koreans living in Tokyo, argues that the second generation suffers from ambivalence with respect to the Korean homeland and Japan, producing the uncomfortable position of being neither here nor there. In contrast, Ryang identifies third-generation resident Koreans as “post-diaspora” in their ability to shift freely between multiple identities as circumscribed by language and national “fate.” Here, Ryang seems to concur with Norma Field’s (1993) discussion of the “third way,” which describes the strategy of younger generations of resident Koreans who attempt to maintain an identity that is independent from the destiny of the Korean homeland. The third way, while retaining a common resident-Korean social memory embedded in the legacy of Japanese colonialism, recognizes Japan as a site of permanent residence and supports efforts to include resident Koreans as part of the Japanese national body. Both Ryang and Field conclude that the third generation of resident Koreans departs from the diasporic consciousness of first- and second-generation resident Koreans who maintain a sense of dislocation and unrealized historical restitution for their lives in Japan. While it is certainly true that generational differences exist and that these emerge along the political faultlines of Korean national identity, to divest first-generation resident Koreans of ambivalence towards Korea elides the continual struggles that many of these individuals experience in negotiating their identity.

First-generation resident Koreans have served an integral role in establishing political, economic, and social institutions within the Korean community. They have also been instrumental in forming Korean national identity within postwar Japanese society. This aging population acts as a bridge, connecting the resident Korean community to the Korean homeland through primary memories and experiences of life in Korea. Elderly resident Koreans in Japan have become so identified with Korean authenticity founded on proto-nationalist politics that they are often blamed by

younger generations for a dogmatic embrace of the Korean nation-state (see Lee 1996). First-generation Koreans are often treated as the last bastion of what is “real” in Korean culture. As Halbwachs (1950) has emphasized, the elderly serve a critical role in maintaining the collective memory; they are artifacts that cannot be ignored in the present. However, as is the case in much of the literature on migration and cultural identity, generational status has come to serve as shorthand for acculturation in ways that has left the identities of first-generation Koreans largely unproblematized.¹⁴ The conflation of historical location with generational position undermines the continual negotiation of identity politics for the aging population of first-generation resident Koreans. While concurring with Ryang’s claim that the identities of first-generation resident Koreans are largely anchored in the idea of a Korean homeland, it would be remiss to overlook the struggles and ambivalence often experienced by first-generation resident Koreans in shaping their identity in Japanese society. In reality, long-term residence in Japan has rendered many elderly Koreans unable to articulate what remains “Korean” about them, as they lament they have forgotten much of their original country. Couched in a rhetoric of shame and remorse, elderly Koreans complain about their decreasing command of the Korean language and their unfamiliarity with contemporary Korean society. Despite participation in Korean organizations such as Chungryun or Mindan, elderly, first-generation Korean residents also grapple with the meaning of the Korean homeland with respect to their lives in Japan, often revealing ambivalence that has been largely associated with succeeding generations. As a result, first-generation resident Koreans live with the paradoxical dualism of embodying cultural authenticity for the resident Korean community yet, also, struggling with the meaning of Korean identity in their everyday lives in Japan.

POSTCOLONIAL IDENTITY AND THE EATING OF DIFFERENCE

Salient to the different generational locations of resident Koreans within Japanese society is the role of Korean food. The importance of food in establishing and maintaining group identity has been addressed by those interested in immigrant identity (Brown 1984). Food choices may be understood as performative and integral to the communication of identity. Diet, like other practices, must be understood as historically produced and laden with symbolic meaning. It is the product of individual engagements with such signs and symbols. Uma Narayan emphasizes that questions of how “people connect what they eat to their personal, social and political identities, of how they use what they eat to distinguish themselves from others” should be of central importance to those concerned with national identity (1997:161). Narayan explores what she refers to as

“‘food colonialism’—where eating ethnic foods would further contribute to Westerners’ prestige and sophistication because their eating was enhanced by a few sprinkles of spicy information about the ‘cultural context’ of the ethnic food eaten” (1997:181). Food, thus, becomes the vehicle of “orientalism” (Said 1978), where the colonizer literally consumes knowledge of the other. Narayan argues that the anglicization of Indian food is an extension of the historical legacy of colonialism in which the other is appropriated and incorporated on the terms of the colonizer.

Narayan’s thesis is illuminating when discussed with respect to the intra-Asian colonial relationship between Japan and Korea. Beyond a mere residual of a Korean cultural heritage, Korean food is imbued by the “othering” process inherent in the Japanese colonial project. Korean food, specifically kimchee, is not a benign cultural category in Japanese society. Rather, distinctions drawn between the more mildly flavored Japanese cuisine and the relatively spicy Korean foods are anthropomorphized in the essentialized differences between the two groups. Associations between the allegedly unrefined and fiery Korean food and the “inferior” character of the Korean people have fueled prejudice and stereotypes of Korean people and were particularly prevalent during the colonial period. These forms of attitudinal discrimination continue today as reflected in the joke: “How can you tell who the Korean is in a crowd? Find the one who smells like *kimuchee*.”¹⁵ Such attitudes were well known within the resident Korean community and were even repeated in jest among the younger generation. Such levity was not evident among the older generation. Rather, the eating of Korean food was described as a serious practice of great importance. In maintaining food habitus, elderly Koreans reinscribe their identity in bodily behavior, consciously resisting the changing nature of their “tongue” through their extended residence in Japan and their advancing age. Retaining the meaning of Korean food with respect to resident Korean history and position within Japanese society, “traceless incorporation” (Connerton 1989) of alimentary bodily codes of Japanese national cuisine is resisted even at the cost of bodily suffering.

The continuing role of bodily memory elicited by eating habits is illustrated in the case of Koo Young Ja, a 78-year-old resident Korean, who, like Cho Han Chul, experienced discomfort when eating spicy Korean food. Koo has been hospitalized twice in the past year for pneumonia, and her health had been significantly compromised. Suffering from acute gastritis, she was told by her physician to stop eating all salty and spicy foods. When she prepares her own meals, Koo generally follows her doctor’s advice, although she insisted on serving me kimchee when I visited, saying that I should not be deprived because of her “weakness.” Koo said that if I were careful to train my body to eat kimchee regularly, but in modest amounts, I would be spared of her pain and suffering. She was convinced

that if she had somehow taken more care in developing her eating habits when she was younger, she could have prevented her current dietary problems. She identified her inability to eat her native foods as her own failure.

However, despite her physical problems, Koo would regularly eat the kimchee served at luncheons provided after Korean church services she attended every Sunday. During these meals, elderly Koreans, predominantly women, gather together in a tatami room, separate from younger members of the church. These meals serve as an important time of social interaction for elderly women to catch up with each other's news while partaking of Korean food. It is a weekly event that Koo Young Ja looked forward to because it was one of the few, regular opportunities for her to speak Korean and visit with women she considered her friends. The meals served by the younger, middle-aged women of the church to the congregations tended to be modest, consisting of beef broth, rice, and a few side dishes, including kimchee. On the numerous occasions that I joined the elderly women, I observed Koo Young Ja, and several others who complained of gastric problems, eating kimchee. During my weekly visits with Koo Young Ja, I would often discover that she had become ill, which she, without hesitation, attributed to her eating kimchee the previous Sunday. When asked why she persisted, she explained that when she first arrived in Japan, she craved kimchee but that it was difficult to find. As a young wife, she struggled with making it herself. She remembers, "I was young and didn't know how to make it very well. I cried when my first few batches were too salty, or when they spoiled because I didn't put in enough salt. It was such a tragedy to have wasted all the ingredients on such awful tasting kimchee." In time, she met other young Korean women who were also struggling to provide the Korean staple to their families. By banding together, these Korean women assisted each other in the preparation of kimchee and shared freshly made supplies. When asked whether the Japanese ate much Korean food during this time, Koo draws a comparison between Japanese attitudes towards Burakumin and Koreans. Koo explains, "Japanese looked down on Korean food just as they do on the meats that the Burakumin eat . . . all 'low class' [original in English] and dirty." Koo is quick to add that Korean food is currently popular in Japan, yet, she remains steadfast in her belief that Korean food continues to be considered inferior to Japanese. Koo describes how the mere odor of kimchee will trigger a visceral reaction, evoking a barrage of memories of events in her life. She explains:

The pungent odor of kimchee—the hot peppers, the salt, the garlic—makes my stomach ache . . . not in the way that the doctors think. It's not because of an ulcer. My stomach and heart ache together from even just smelling Korean food, because it brings back all the hardship I have suffered in my life. Even if I wanted to forget, I cannot. My body has absorbed the past like a sponge. Forgetting is an impossibility.

For Koo, eating Korean food is entrenched in her personal history as an immigrant during colonialism and her belief in the lingering prejudice against Koreans in contemporary Japan. She remarked, “My grandchildren don’t eat very much Korean food these days, and they particularly don’t like the taste of kimchee. I have tried to train them, but how can I do this when I, myself, don’t eat it. It is simple, really. I think that if I am Korean, I should eat kimchee.”

Born without preference or predisposition to certain flavors over others, one’s taste for specific foods is socially conditioned. Repeated exposure to foods prepared within the family unit initiates the repertoire of preferred foods and tempers one’s sense of taste. However, beyond mere sensory conditioning, which begins as a young child and continues throughout adulthood, are the contextualization and social meanings imbued in the preparation and sharing of specific foods. In the case of elderly resident Koreans in Japan, the loss is one of bodily forgetting in which the taste fades from bodily memory. Attempting to maintain the symbolic connections reflected in bodily tastes and diet, Korean elderly such as Cho Han Chul and Koo Young Ja nurture their bodily memory by resisting physiological changes resulting from their advanced age. Elderly, first-generation resident Koreans attempt to rectify this bodily insufficiency by rejecting the transformed body and reinscribing it with their “native tastes” and by using a rhetoric of moral failure and cultural inauthenticity, rather than recognizing the change as an inevitable result of aging.

CONCLUSION

The difficulty that many elderly, first-generation resident Koreans experience eating spicy Korean food reflects their struggles negotiating their identity in Japanese society. In utilizing the concept of habitus as developed by Bourdieu (1997), it is best to understand eating practices as learned behavior. Habitus arises from the virtually unconscious choices individuals make as they carry out the practices of everyday life. Selection and consumption of food can be considered as habitus. However, the framework of habitus alone fails to address what is at stake in the kinds of choices people make and the interpretative processes that may inform decisions of diet. Rather than mere imprinting of behavioral codes, food selection for many elderly resident Koreans is inseparable from historical location and the meanings attached to Korean food in Japanese society. Habitus, as conceptualized by Bourdieu, often suffers from the same totalizing effects of assumptions of bounded communities in which behavioral codes are treated as uniform and unproblematic. In focusing on the notion of bodily memory, this article goes beyond Bourdieu’s thesis by arguing that the body must be understood as inherently a subjective entity that

exercises strategy through emotion. The body, through gestures and movements, not only reproduces the cultural norms of place defined by structures of social interaction, but also transforms these structures by renegotiating the values on which they are founded. In this way, individual actors who move in and out of different contexts emerge as active manipulators of symbolic knowledge.

A consideration of bodily memory in the study of immigrant lives addresses the limitations of current models of migration that are founded on notions of "culture" as bounded, monolithic, and self-evident. *Culture*, the hallmark term of anthropological inquiry, has been problematized and often rejected as falsely homogenizing certain societies in emphasizing cultural differences. This has often resulted in a reification of sociocultural hierarchies (Abu-Lughod 1991). In addition, notions of bounded spheres of culture do not reflect the lives of people who constantly traverse (both physically and symbolically) spaces that are thought to be discrete. The boundaries between the place where one community begins and another ends have become less clear than they once were. This has resulted, no doubt, from the frenetic movement of actual bodies between borders leading to increasing queries about the transnational. It is becoming all too clear that geography has lost much of its authority due to the hyperkinesis of global capitalism, which has hastened the dissolution of borders. As such, understanding of cultural identity as inherently tied to one's occupation of a particular place needs to be problematized (Gupta and Ferguson 1992). The recognition of the "global ethnoscape" (Appadurai 1996) throws this into relief, as anthropologists acknowledge the increasingly amorphous qualities of "the field" and the complexity of identifications of the immigrant, the national, and the citizen. Such recognition of the multivalence and hybridity of that which has been defined as culture is evident by increasing nuanced writings on the cacophony of values, beliefs, and behaviors coexisting on the same social terrain. One result has been the increasing interest in diaspora identity. Diaspora studies address the limits of the imagining of a national community (Anderson 1987) and reflect the reality of immigrants who maintain ties outside national borders. Bodily memory has particular relevance for this field because it deals with questions of how such linkages are made. In an examination of the continual rejuvenation of the past and of the interwoven narratives of personal, communal, and national events, the idea of memory experienced through the body offers a view of the processes of identity formation that the lens of nationality may not. In this way, the body acts as a *lieu de memoire*, which, like an archive, cemetery, monument, or anniversary is a site "where memory crystallizes and secretes itself" (Nora 1989), existing in place of a "real" homeland.

In addition, the notion of bodily memory is helpful in understanding the struggles for identity in the transgression of cultural boundaries and in the intersection of the temporal dimension of historical time and individual and communal aging. While the former has received increasing critical appraisal in the emphasis on globalization, the passage of time, phenomenologically embedded in the experiences of aging, has yet to be fully developed as a source of subjective meaning with respect to migration. Specifically, the aging body has predominantly been treated as merely the template of inevitable biological processes inscribed by a succession of social roles. Attempts to re-evaluate aging and the body have focused only on a manipulation of such roles, maintaining a dominant teleology of the lifecourse characterized by a progression from birth to death that emphasizes the gradual deterioration of the physical corps. This paper argues that bodily memory reconfigures the aging body as a source of meaning-making punctuated by moments of time, destabilizing categories of young versus old, and reflecting fragmentation inherent in constructions of the self. Bodily memory, creating moments of reflection on one's aged body in conjunction with a younger self, provides a narrative structure in which the story of migration and aging is constructed.

In this discussion, I have emphasized the ways in which the body informs construction of the self by incorporating memory and linking the past with the present. Bodily memory is not merely a reproduction of learned behavior, but responds to changing social contexts. The intrinsic location of the body within various social networks elicits and transforms the corpus of memories by which actors are able to navigate. Thus, bodily memory is inherently a source of social memory, a product of inter-relationships. Divergence in bodily memory reflects not only differences in past experiences, but also variance in personal strategies in negotiating identity futures. This is illustrated in generational differences in bodily behaviors among first-generation resident Koreans in Japan who act according to what is at stake for them in the ongoing struggle of identity politics. Bodily memory problematizes Cartesian separation of mind from body by shifting the body from being objectified knowledge to a source of existential meaning. The body as "being away" is both literal in the experience of migration, as well as metaphoric, as in the feelings of dissonance between the embodied body and the desired body. Recognition of unwanted change in bodily behaviors and constitution occurring through traceless incorporation shifts the embodied self into the objective body that lies somewhere outside of conceptions of individual identity. The body becomes both tool and target of a strategy, which, as in the case of the "dys-appearing tongues" of elderly, first-generation resident Koreans, attempts to make the body consistent with the projected self. As such,

bodily memory remains a dialectic between objectified knowledge and existential meaning in the struggle for identity.

SANDRA SOO-JIN LEE is a lecturer in the Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

NOTES

Acknowledgments. The research and writing of this article was made possible by a doctoral dissertation award from the National Institute on Aging (#R03AG11982-01) and a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship on Aging Studies.

1. When introduced in the text, the proper names of resident Koreans are written in the traditional form of surname first followed by the given name. Thereafter, the surnames alone are used in referring to particular individuals in the remainder of the text. Consistent with my interactions with elderly resident Koreans, I do not address these individuals who are considerably my senior by their given names, as it would be disrespectful and inappropriate to do so. In both Japan and Korea, elderly men and women are more often referred to as “Grandfather so and so” or “Grandmother so and so,” regardless of whether the individual in question is actually related to the speaker or even has biological grandchildren. The practice of avoiding given names reflects neo-Confucian-based values that emphasize age-ranked social hierarchy. Given names are generally used only for children or for younger people who share an intimate relationship with the speaker.

2. *Burakumin* refers to Japanese who continue to be stigmatized by their low rank in the social hierarchy of a caste system that was officially dismantled during the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Individuals believed to be descended from burakumin continue to experience pervasive prejudice and discrimination in Japan due to their continued association with so-called unclean occupations that handle, for example, the flesh of animals and the human dead. See Neary 1997.

3. *Harabuji* is the Korean word for grandfather.

4. See Scherer and Ekman 1984.

5. So-called comfort women were predominantly Korean, however women from Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, the Netherlands, Papua New Guinea, Malaysia, Manchuria, and Myanmar were also retained to provide sexual services of the Japanese military. (See Chai 1993.)

6. According to Yoshimi 1992, the use of comfort stations was ordered by the Japanese government in response to the “Nanking” incident, during which thousands of Chinese civilians were brutally murdered, raped, and wounded by the invading Japanese army.

7. *Chosenjin*, used to refer to North Koreans, is a residual term used during colonialism to refer to Korean people, in general. Confusingly, the term *chosenjin* is infused with derogatory connotations associated with negative Korean stereotypes in Japan.

8. *Kankokujin* is a term used after the Japanese War to refer to South Korean nationals.

9. Miyahara (1994) rightly points out the diverging meanings of the *ethnic*, or *esunikku*, as used in Japanese from current sociological meanings. He points out that *esunniku* carries an exoticized, negative connotation and is used primarily in popular speech to refer to ethnic food, fashion, and music.

10. For contemporary writings on name selection by resident Koreans, see Fukuoka 1994; Hwang 1998; and Ijichi 1994.

11. Resident Korean community organizations have created several language programs for this aging population. Elderly resident Koreans are able to take literacy classes in both Japanese and Korean at these *halmoni gakko*, or grandmother schools.

12. Although changes in such practices have occurred in recent years, discrimination against resident Koreans continues, affecting younger generations.

13. Japanese nationals who have retired at the age of 60 (men) or 55 (women) are automatically eligible for old-age pension that, depending on the type of employment held by a pensioner, averages approximately 100,000 yen a month.

14. For a discussion on generational status on diaspora identity, see Lee 1999.

15. Kimchee is sold in Japanese supermarkets and is spelled *kimuchee* in *katakana*, the Japanese writing style reserved for foreign words.

REFERENCES CITED

Abu-Lughod, Lila

1991 Writing Against Culture. *In* *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Richard G. Fox, ed. Pp.137–162. Sante Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Anderson, Benedict R.

1987 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Appadurai, Arjun

1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, Linda Keller

1984 *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

Chai, Alice Yun

1993 Asian-Pacific Feminist Coalition Politics: The *Chongshindae/Jugunianfu* (Comfort Women) Movement. *Korean Studies* 17:67–91.

Clifford, James

1994 Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology* 9(3):302–338.

Connerton, Paul

1989 *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Csordas, Thomas J.

1990 Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology. *Ethos* 18(1):5–47.

Dirks, Nicholas B.

1995 Introduction: Colonialism and Culture. *In* *Colonialism and Culture*. N. Dirks, ed. Pp. 1–26. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Douglas, Mary

1966 *Purity and Danger*. New York: Praeger.

Elias, Norbert

1978(1939) *The Civilizing Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Field, Norma

1993 Beyond Envy, Boredom, and Suffering: Toward an Emancipatory Politics, or Resident Koreans and other Japanese. *Positions* 1(3):640–670.

Fukuoka, Yasunori

1994 *Zainichi kankoku chosenjin: Wakai sedai no aidentiti*. Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha.

Goffman, Erving

1959 *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Lives*. New York: Anchor Books.

- Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson
1992 Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1):6–23.
- Halbwachs, Maurice
1950 *La memoire collective*. Paris: Universitaires de France.
- Hong, Sang Jin
1993 *Korean Forced Laborers: War Victimization and Japan*. Osaka: Toho Shuppan, Inc.
- Hwang, Koosil-ja
1998 Names. *Movement Research Performance Journal*. 17(Fall-Winter):22.
- Ijichi, Nonko
1994 *Zainichi chosenjin no namae*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten.
- Kalcik, Susan
1984 *Ethnic Foodways in America: Symbol and Performance of Identity*. In *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*. L. K. Brown and K. Mussell, eds. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Kleinman, Arthur, and Joan Kleinman
1994 How Bodies Remember: Social Memory and Bodily Experience of Criticism, Resistance, and Delegitimation Following China's Cultural Revolution. *New Literary History* 25:707–723.
- Leder, Drew
1990 *The Absent Body*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lee, Changsoo, and George DeVos
1981 *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lee, Sandra S.
1996 *Social Memory and Ethnicity: The Aging of Korean Residents in Japan*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Berkeley: University of California.
In press *Temporary Resting Places: Generation, Migration, and Memory in Diaspora*. Special Issue. Committee on Refugees and Immigration.
- Lyon, M. L. and J. M. Barbalet
1994 Society's Body: Emotion and the "Somatization" of Social Theory. In *Embodiment and Experience*. T. Csordas, ed. Pp. 48–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mauss, Marcel
1979(1950) *Body Techniques, Sociology and Psychology: Essays*. Pp.70–87. New York: Routledge.
- Meisami, Esmail
1988 *Aging of the Nervous System: Sensory Changes*. In *Physiological Basis of Aging and Geriatrics*. P. S. Timiras, ed. Pp.156–178. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice
1962 *Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge Press.
- Miyahara, Kojiro
1994 What is "Ethnic"?: Some Problems of Language Use in Contemporary Sociology. *Shakaigaku Hyoron*. 44(4):6–19.
- Morris-Suzuki, Tessa
1996 *A Descent into the Past: The Frontier in the Construction of Japanese History*. In *Multicultural Japan*. D. Denoon, et al., eds. Pp. 81–94. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Narayan, Uma
1997 *Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity, and Indian Food*. In *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third World Feminism*. Pp. 159–188. London: Routledge Press.

Neary, Ian

1997 Burakumin in Contemporary Japan. *In* Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity. Michael Weiner, ed. Pp. 50–78. London: Routledge Press.

Nora, Pierre

1989 Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire. *Representation* 26:7–25.

Ryang, Sonia

1977 North Koreans in Japan: Language and Ideology. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Safran, William

1991 Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora* 1(1):83–99.

Said, Edward

1978 Orientalism. New York: Pantheon Books.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, and Margaret M. Lock

1987 The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 1(1):6–41.

Scherer, Klaus R., and Paul Ekman

1984 Approaches to Emotion. Hillsdale: L. Erlbaun Associates.

Suh, Kengsuku

1989 Kominka seisaku kara shimon onatsu made (From Imperial Subjects to Fingerprinting). Iwanami Shoten.

Tuchman, Gaye, and Harry Gene Levine

1993 New York Jews and Chinese Food: The Social Construction of an Ethnic Pattern. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 22(3):382–407.

Weiner, Michael

1994 Race and Migration in Imperial Japan. London: Routledge Press.

Yoshimi, Yoshiaki

1992 Jugun Ianfu: Military Comfort Women. Tokyo: Otsuki Shoten.