Sensing Through Slowness: Korean Americans and the Un/making of the Home Film Archive

Crystal Mun-hye Baik

Introduction

In the opening scene, two women appear before the camera. Adorned in a bright red dress, the younger of the two grabs the hand of the older woman as they shyly walk toward the filmmaker. Joined by two lanky young men and a young girl dressed in a simple black frock, everyone laughs as they enjoy popsicles. Within twenty seconds, the frame jumps to a different sequence of scenes. In the unfolding imagery, an older woman and adolescent girl pluck pink roses from a front lawn as they greet a young man in front of the house. Gesturing to the camera, the older woman teases the young man as she playfully pushes him off the porch.

Captured on 8-mm color film shot during the early 1950s, this silent footage was taken by Shungnak "Luke" Kim, an evangelical missionary and the reverend of the Korean Presbyterian Church, one of the most important institutions in Los Angeles's Korean community during the first half of the twentieth century.[1] Portraying Reverend Kim's family and friends enjoying a warm evening together, this scene is a snippet from the reverend's collection of home films deposited into the University of Southern California (USC) Korean Heritage Library.[2] An assemblage that includes color and black-and-white films shot over two decades (1948–67), the reverend's films register a tumultuous arc of time encompassing the afterlife of Japanese colonial rule, the Cold War divi-

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sion of Korea, and the beginning of dictatorial rule in South Korea. As one of the only known home film collections to depict Koreans in the United States before 1965, a pivotal year marking key shifts in U.S. immigration policies and significant changes in home film technology, Reverend Kim's footage offers a compelling opportunity to contemplate the materialization of an early Korean presence in the United States. Located at the fault lines of Japanese occupation, U.S. racial violence, and competing Cold War ideologies, Koreans were subjected to Japanese colonial violence and racial exclusion in the United States, even as they became enmeshed in the consolidation of American imperial power in Asia.

In this article, I draw upon the reverend's home film archive to track these historical conditions and the conflicting memories associated with the multiple positions occupied by Korean Americans during this volatile moment. Specifically, through a methodological approach conceptualized as a differentiated analysis, Reverend Kim's films generate meaningful opportunities to sense and make sense of messy subjectivities that exceed oppositional binaries, such as the national versus transnational, colonized versus colonizer, and oppressor versus oppressed. This textured reading of Reverend Kim's film archive, I argue, pushes against the existing parameters of Asian American film and media studies by contending with the ways in which the home film is predominantly depicted as a cultural apparatus that reproduces dominant ideals and norms or as a cultural artifact that taps into the truthful or raw realities of subaltern subjects.

In fleshing out a differentiated approach to the home film, Edward Said's contrapuntal reading practice is an illuminating starting point. For Said, a contrapuntal framework recognizes the complexity of imperialism by attending to the entwined histories of metropolitan and subaltern life that constitute the cultural field. In essence, a contrapuntal practice feels for difference, incongruities, and absence, because imperialism produces historical conditions and subjectivities that are conflicting, contrarian, and at times, ugly. Such ugliness unhinges the dichotomies of colonizer versus colonized, evil versus good, and dominance versus resistance, particularly as everyday life transcends these hard-and-fast delineations. Hence, by identifying the political, historical, and racial conditions that anchor a cultural work, a differentiated reading labors through a condensation of irreconcilable gaps, submerged experiences, and silenced desires informing the "hybrid, heterogeneous . . . and unmonolithic" experiences of colonized subjects.[3]

Yet if a contrapuntal reading underscores the hybridity of cultural content produced at a particular moment, a differentiated reading accentuates this sense of multiplicity by attending to the specificity of the home film medium—and the technological practices, expectations, and yearnings that govern its aesthetic form. As discussed throughout this essay, the home film, despite popular sentiments, is not a perfectly preserved relic embodying self-evident or objective memories. Rather, home footage is indelibly shaped by the political, mate-

rial, and social dynamics of the now, even as it embodies residual elements of the past and gives way to futuristic potentialities.[4] Over time, the home film mutates, accumulating heterogeneous meanings while it is screened to different audiences, inherited as cultural artifacts, forgotten, damaged over time, rediscovered, converted from analog to digital, and archived as historical evidence. Consequently, the surfacing images are not pure distillations of the past but virtual renderings sutured to racialized, gendered, and classed sentiments and made visible by categorical and screening practices. In this way, a differentiated approach asks viewers to treat the home film as a process rather than a fixed and discrete thing by wading through the multifaceted contexts in which the home film first crystallizes, circulates, and is screened and rescreened. Through this understanding, I approach the home film as a source of political and social imaginary that comes into being through the interrelated practices of spectatorship, archiving, and preservation.

In attending to the home film through this nuanced lens, I build upon contemporary discourses regarding the home film in Asian American film and media studies. In the past two decades or so, interest in amateur films, such as home films, scientific short films, missionary ethnographic documentation, and industrial labor films—a web of practices mostly operating outside of the commodity exchange—has garnered considerable excitement and attention in the overlapping circles of film, new media, and digital studies.[5] However, within Asian American scholarship, studies on the home film remain relatively scant. Although critical studies on related film genres, such as the documentary film, visual ethnographies, "fake" documentaries, domestic photography, and digital productions abound in the field, no social and cultural histories focus on the emergence of 8- and 16-mm amateur filmmaking among Asian Americans, and no scholarly works explicitly address the linkages between Korean Americans and amateur filmmaking.[6]

In the limited body of scholarship that addresses Asian American amateur filmmaking, studies oscillate between two opposing frameworks: the home film as a cultural apparatus that reproduces hegemonic relations and the home film as a visual record indexing subaltern knowledge produced by and for subjects excluded from popular media.[7] The latter perspective is especially prominent within Asian American film studies. A subgenre of amateur filmmaking, the home film is commonly defined as a counter-practice offering narratives of resistance and a "history from below," in contrast to mainstream filmmaking promoted by Hollywood studios.[8] Nowhere is this understanding more evident than in the scholarship addressing Japanese American incarceration during World War II. Writing about amateur filmmaking among Japanese Americans who smuggled Kodak brownies and other cameras into internment camps, scholars including Karen Ishizuka characterize the home film as a reclaimed object that makes visible traumatic memories. Emphasizing the "lack of documentation outside the ethnic community," these subversive films fill in the missing holes

of an incomplete history.[9] Subsequently, the home film transforms into an agentive practice, producing images that "stand on their own."[10]

While Ishizuka's important work addresses the uneven field of image production and visual representation, containing analysis within the confines of transparency, resistance, and national belonging forecloses pluralistic readings of this unique visual source. For instance, the treatment of the home film as a recovered relic relegated to a singular moment eclipses the ways in which the footage continues to morph in its material structure and visual content. Due to the celluloid acetate base of 8- and 16-mm film, home films are prone to deterioration over time, because the dissolution of chemicals changes the composition of the visual text. In attempts to address the shelf life of film, professional archivists use a set of preservation practices, including the proper storage of reels, the duplication of footage, and the digitization of analog films.[11] However, digitization is a controversial technique, because efforts to preserve the moving image overlap with processes of erasure.[12] These erasures produce new inscriptions, informing the ways in which home films are deposited into institutional archives and viewed by contemporary audiences.

Second, despite the articulation of the home film as an accessible medium, its early emergence preceding the invention of Super 8 film in 1965 tells a different story.[13] By 1950, the home film was explicitly geared toward the idealized cellular unit of Cold War America: the white middle-class family. Bolstered by the invention of automated film technology and a booming postwar economy unfettered by shortages, Eastman Kodak and Bell & Howell aggressively marketed the moving image camera as a third eye capable of capturing the precious minutiae of the all-American life, defined by white heterosexual marriage, children, and the suburban house. In Ciné-Kodak endorsements circulated in publications such as *Better Home and Gardens,* the white nuclear family is featured as the sole consumer of home film technology, as parents and children longingly gaze upon projected images of a family vacation in the serenity of their private living room.[14] Defined by ownership and private access to modern gadgets, the home film was a racialized, gendered, and classed mechanism geared toward white upper-middle-class families, at least until the late 1960s.[15]

Although it is difficult to gauge the popularity of amateur film practice among Korean Americans during the first half of the twentieth century, existing scholarship emphasizes the ways in which disposable income, family leisure, and access to modern luxury goods were largely unobtainable ideals. Due to exclusionary legislative citizenship measures enacted by the U.S. government (in 1795, 1882, 1917, and 1924), and U.S.–Japanese mutual agreements that restricted Korean immigration (in 1905, 1907, and 1910), the Korean population in the continental United States remained relatively miniscule. In 1940, approximately 1,711 Koreans resided in the continental United States, with nearly 700 concentrated in Los Angeles.[16] Employed within the service sector or working as small-business owners, agricultural workers, and manual laborers—and

with approximately half of the population legally classified as Japanese imperial subjects and “resident enemies”—most Koreans lived on the periphery of normative life.[17] Indicated by the three collections maintained at the USC Korean Heritage Library, including Reverend Kim’s footage, home films were only accessible to an elite echelon capable of obtaining expensive film equipment through a privileged socioeconomic status or occupational and professional channels that permitted access to such equipment.[18] In the case of Reverend Kim, access to film technology most likely overlapped with his prominent role in the Presbyterian Church as a missionary (early missionaries and other colonial agents were often asked by the church, informally, to document their experiences abroad) and his avid interest in amateur photography and filmmaking as referenced in archival records, including oral histories, maintained at the Korean Heritage Library.[19]

The ramifications of this history continue to influence the ways in which the home film is perceived in the United States. The “home” of the home film, in other words, is not a neutral concept, but a category of knowledge historically linked to the visualization of the nuclear, white middle-class family residing in the suburbs. Although Reverend Kim’s footage seemingly reproduces the dominant norms related to the idealized American home, his films also register the (trans)national implications of racial exclusion, multiple colonialisms, and Cold War politics negotiated by Korean Americans throughout the 1950s and 1960s. This essay, therefore, resignifies the “home” of the home film as an antagonistic formation that mediates the ideals associated with the all-American family and home film practice in the United States while complicating these conceptions through the lives of racialized and diasporic figures, such as Reverend Kim. Consequently, by encountering the home film as a social process that encompasses, rather than resolves, difference and conflict, I attend to a host of subtle tensions and contradictory conditions of colonial life that might otherwise be lost or resist translation into the visual register.

With this contextualization in place, I segue into a discussion of Reverend Kim’s film archive. While situating the reverend’s films in relationship to biographical details, including his role as an American-trained Protestant missionary and the pre-1965 Korean community in the United States—a population described, more often than not, as a negligible, if not invisible, presence—I do not interpret his films as direct representations of his life. Instead, I flesh out the historical, social, and political conditions that shape the emergent imagery while paying heed to the different ways in which the films are archived, circulated, screened, recirculated, and rescreened. Simultaneously, by mobilizing a differentiated reading of the reverend’s footage, I articulate the ways in which the reverend’s films gesture to the density of sociality and possibilities that were or could have been.[20]

The "Home" of the Home Film and Racial Exclusion in the United States

For such a significant figure in the early Korean diaspora, Reverend Kim did not leave a significant presence in institutional archives. Born in 1904, Reverend Kim belonged to a prominent Christian family: his father, Sun Too Kim, was the first college-educated minister in Korea and the first moderator of the Korean Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.[21] Teaching at Pyongyang's Soongsil University from 1933 until its closure by the Japanese colonial government in 1936, Reverend Kim was eventually assigned to the Korean Presbyterian Church in Los Angeles, by then a hub of Korean exilic activity. Landing in San Pedro Port on January 8, 1937, via the *SS Taiyo Mura* on a rare visa obtained through his affiliation with the United Presbyterian Church, a youthful-looking Reverend Kim arrived with his wife, Chong Ok Yung, and their four young children as imperial citizens of Japan [Figure 1].

Fluent in four languages (Korean, Japanese, Chinese, and English) and educated at Princeton Theological Seminary and Yale University, Reverend Kim, in many ways, cut an exceptional figure.[22] Due to his "Americanized" training, Reverend Kim was explicitly selected by the United Presbyterian Church to guide the fledgling Los Angeles congregation. Becoming a U.S. citizen in 1954, Reverend Kim abruptly returned to a newly formed South Korean state in 1958 where he served as the first president of the reopened Soongsil University, relocated from Pyongyang to Seoul, until 1964. Returning to California in the

Figure 1: Visa photograph of Shungnak "Luke" Kim and his family, 1937. Courtesy of USC Korean Heritage Library.

mid-1960s, Reverend Kim continued to partake in reunification efforts in the Korean Peninsula until his passing in 1989 at the age of eighty-six.

This incomplete biographical sketch provides an entry point in which to encounter the reverend's footage. Previously sitting in a dusty box in the closet for decades, Reverend Kim's 8-mm films were loaned to the USC Korean Heritage Library in 2011 by George Kim, the eldest of Reverend Kim's children and a longstanding member of the Korean American Pioneer Council (KAPC).[23] Without the equipment to digitize the footage, the Korean Heritage Library outsourced the digitization process to a third party. When converted from analog to digital vis-à-vis an affordable, lower-resolution technology at the standard definition rate of 720 × 480 pixels, the digitized clips—in total, thirty-four files lasting from twenty seconds to nearly eleven minutes—retained approximately twenty to thirty percent of the original color saturation, bit depth, and surface details of the film resolution.[24] The loss of visual data is suggested by several clues, including hazy imagery, streaky white lines, and uneven color saturation.

Tasked with the responsibility of identifying faces and landscapes included in the footage with limited metadata, the primary archivist at the library organized the films into four general categories: family time, public gatherings, travel, and military events. Creating a bright orange title card containing a succinct description, a date (if available), and the phrase "Shungnak Luke Kim Film" to open each file, the archivist creates the impression of a coherent collection crafted by a single filmmaker [Figure 2]. Here, attention must be paid

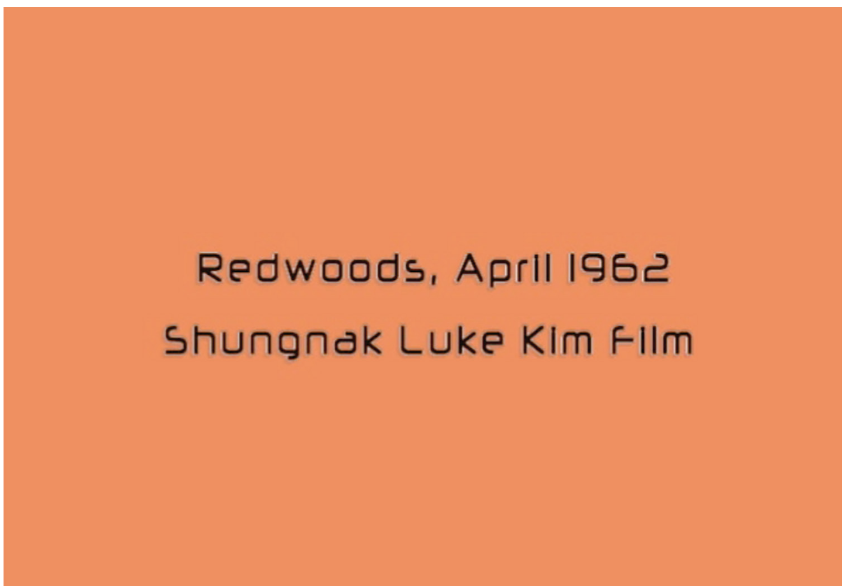

Figure 2: Still shot and opening title card from Reverend Kim's home film "Redwoods, April 1962." Courtesy of USC Korean Heritage Library.

to the key role or roles played by the archivist: as a trained professional, the archivist is charged with specific duties, such as the processing and coding of materials as they are transformed from everyday objects to primary sources, the selection of methods to maintain and store such sources, and the organization of documents into established indices of knowledge. In that sense, the preserved imagery is not unmediated but rather subjective sites of knowledge production shaped by a range of formal processes. In effect, these various techniques mark certain renderings as legible and qualified knowledge at the expense of other possible meanings. Juxtaposing the films with an assortment of other cultural traces and archival fragments, including oral histories with Reverend Kim and his family, I highlight an array of factors that engage and trouble the popular perceptions affixed to the home film.

Here, I return to the film segment introduced at the beginning of this article, which features, as identified by the archivist, the reverend's wife Yung, their teenage children, and family friends posing in front of the house [Figure 3]. Titled "At Home" and lasting approximately two minutes and thirty-five seconds, this digitized film is a stitching of the following scenes: a boisterous gathering of family members and teenagers eating popsicles; Yung and her daughter walking along the side of the family house; the reverend's son and daughter bicycling and roller-skating, respectively, along a grassy sidewalk lined with cars; and a carefully framed sequence of close-ups zooming into a

Figure 3: Still shot from Reverend Kim's home film "At Home." Courtesy of USC Korean Heritage Library.

well-manicured bed of pink and red roses. Throughout this thread of scenes, the filmed subjects seem hyperaware of the filmmaker's presence as they directly stare, smile, and wave at the camera and Reverend Kim. While this arrangement of scenes does not include captions or other referential cues, these images conjure normative assumptions associated with the all-American home or what filmmaker Richard Fung refers to as the "right [kind of] family": the peaceful suburban house surrounded by a white picket fence and rose bushes, the intact nuclear family, and family leisure time.[25] The title of the film, suggested by the archivist, reinforces these speculations: formed by the conjoining of the preposition "at" to the noun "home," "At Home" describes one's arrival to a fixed and familiar destination, a place of convergence and belonging.

But in considering the footage in relation to the reverend's racial identification as Korean American, a perplexing disjuncture crystallizes. Despite the economic resources and social capital he enjoyed compared to other Korean Americans at this time, Reverend Kim could not choose the site of his residence, and his family did not even have the option of owning their house. Due to the prevalence of redlining and racially restrictive covenants that prohibited Asian Americans from residing in vast swaths of a segregated Los Angeles, Reverend Kim and his family were restricted to living in the working class, multiracial neighborhood of South Los Angeles.[26] As offered by the reverend's son, George, the house prominently featured in the film is not a privately owned home but a modest rectory located on the property of the Korean Presbyterian Church.[27]

Situating the imagery of the reverend's home and his family's experiences of exclusion within a social context, racial ideals underlying the "home" of the home film become even more apparent. For Cheryl Harris, Grace Kyungwon Hong, and Joanne Barker, notions of home and subjecthood are intimately linked to ownership, because property is fundamental to the institutionalized meaning of the autonomous citizen in the United States. As underscored by Hong, the United States constructs the citizen vis-à-vis the state discourse of possessive individualism, or the ability to determine one's subjectivity through the ownership of capital.[28] However, in the United States, property has not merely eluded certain peoples: racialized peoples, marked by the interrelated experiences of settler colonialism, dispossession, forced and indentured labor, slavery, and exclusion, are legislated as noncitizens, private possessions, and/or unfree objects to own. Given the prominent linkages among property, labor, and exclusionary citizenship and immigration policies in the consolidation of an Asian American presence in the United States, such subjects have been deemed necessary for and disposable to the making of a U.S. national "home."[29]

Informed by this historical trajectory, I am especially interested in how the ideology of the all-American home operates along several axes in this particular footage, even if such logics are not immediately apparent or obvious to the viewer. Reading between and beyond the (visual) lines, I refer to the contradictory meanings associated with the moving image of the reverend's house, as an

emergent space shaped by feelings of belonging and the politics of exclusion. The "At Home" film, in other words, transforms into a discursive space through which conflicting articulations of home, citizenship, and national belonging are vetted. Although the footage encompasses visible signifiers linked to (and perhaps, the filmmaker's yearning for) the all-American home, such imagery is paradoxically conditioned by exclusionary practices and policies that have, time and again, precluded Asian Americans from the fruits of normative life in the United States, exemplified by property ownership and national citizenship. Through this differentiated reading, the film registers the polyphony or double logic that functions at the heart of American citizenship: the ways in which narratives of the comfortable American home and possessive individualism depend upon obscured histories of exclusion, loss, and dispossession.[30]

Other excerpts in Reverend Kim's archive highlight this vexed relationship among home, citizenship, and belonging, albeit in different ways. In particular, several films from the reverend's archive suggest the ways in which the emergence of Los Angeles's Korean American community is affixed to the desire for national belonging in the United States, as well as the transnational vectors of war, displacement, and deracination. In the film titled "Bazaar," for instance, rough cuts from two church fundraisers from June 1955 and June 1956 are collapsed into a single digital file [Figure 4]. The segment commences with a scene of attendees, including children and their parents, arriving at the community

Figure 4: Still shot from Reverend Kim's home film "Bazaar." Courtesy of USC Korean Heritage Library.

bazaar in a large black automobile, possibly a Cadillac. Catching glimpses of smiling congregants, the panning camera zooms into various booths filled to the brim with savory and sweet foods and an assortment of balloons, stuffed animals, and other prizes for children. Reproducing idyllic images associated with the "visual rhetoric of the family film," the filmmaker (Reverend Kim) seems especially keen on capturing images that feature young couples with their chubby babies, girls in flower-printed dresses, and impeccably dressed women preparing meals and conversing over hot plates of food.[31] After three minutes or so, the film abruptly jumps to a different scene depicting a pickup basketball game between two men in front of the reverend's house. Moving ever so slowly to capture the blooming red roses adjacent to the house, the camera finally rests on a smiling Yung, who is enjoying the game from the front yard. Capturing her profile view, the camera briefly locks eyes with Yung before she laughs and shifts her focus back to the basketball game. In juxtaposing images of a cheerful community event with domesticated depictions of the reverend's family, these merged scenes—again, a by-product of the digitization and archiving process—produce varying connotations of the Korean American "home," ranging from the tightly knit Korean ethnic enclave of Los Angeles to the personal home of Reverend Kim.

However, by placing the home film in conversation with existing archival traces, an underlying current of political tensions take shape. Gleaned from the meeting notes of the Korean Women's Service League (WSL), bazaars were not merely leisurely social gatherings but important fundraisers for political projects. An institution historically affiliated with anticolonial activism in the early Korean diaspora, the Presbyterian Church, through various platforms, provided ample opportunities for congregation members to partake in social actions and war relief efforts, no matter how seemingly mundane or trivial. For Helen Lim, who came of age in Los Angeles during the Cold War, civic-minded activities organized by the church, including gatherings such as bazaars, were key to aiding "the second generation [to] reach its potential," because they urged young Koreans to take "greater responsibilities within the community."[32]

In the case of the 1955 and 1956 bazaars depicted in the reverend's home films, a portion of the collected earnings and donations was strategically channeled into the WSL's Orphan Relief Fund, a project sponsoring recently founded orphanages in Korea.[33] Throughout the Cold War era, Korean orphans commanded an unusual amount of attention and affection from the American public: depicted in popular national periodicals, magazines, and newspapers as destitute urchins in need of loving families, Korean children pulled at the heartstrings of the American citizenry. Spurred by its rise as a superpower during the Cold War, the U.S. government actively encouraged its citizens to embrace the country's newfound role as a liberal humanitarian leader committed to freedom, democracy, and unfettered access to capital.[34] Informed by these popular political sentiments, Korean churches in Los Angeles, including the Presbyterian congregation, coordinated numerous campaigns to provide relief supplies

to a war-torn Korea. Close to Reverend Kim, congregation members such as Richard and Julia Hahn went as far as selling their belongings to start Isabelle Orphanage in Pusan in 1953. Chung-young Song, an affiliate of Reverend Kim, joined the Hahns a year later, in July 1954, to work with the Buddy Home, an adoption agency that placed "mixed-race" orphans in "good" white Christian homes.[35] In an unforeseeable sense, these efforts contributed to the development of a global enterprise that oversaw the adoption of nearly 180,000 Korean children (most of whom were not orphans), mostly to white middle-class families living in Western Europe and the United States, between 1950 and 2000.[36]

What potential inferences, then, might this footage offer? Through a differentiated reading, the film encompasses contradictory impressions foreclosed by cursory glances limited to the surface. Exemplifying how the domestic and seemingly ordinary is always already exceptional, Reverend Kim's footage of "home," in a communal and personal sense, suggests the ways in which war—as a normalized structure of feeling—saturates all facets of daily life. That is, the footage does not merely point to the ways in which Korean Americans participated in community activities and imagined ethnocentric affiliations with a distant "homeland" but also intimates a desire to secure a place in the United States as citizens excluded from political life during a time of war and violence. Bracketed from political citizenship, struggling with the afterlife of Japanese colonial rule, and negotiating the repercussions of Korean division, Korean Americans crafted alternative practices to secure a sense of social viability and public visibility in the United States during and after World War II.[37] For Koreans, community participation tinged with religious notions of compassion proved to be an alluring mode of cultural citizenship or practices of "everyday forms of belonging . . . distinct from legal-juridical forms of inclusion instituted by formal citizenship."[38] In a greater sense, the Cold War gave way to a sentimental engagement dubbed "Christian Americanism," a "fusion of vaguely Christian principles" overlapping "a uniquely American sense of responsibility and the importance of family."[39]

Situated as such, viewers might encounter these fleeting images of the church bazaar paired with footage of the reverend's house through a markedly different analytical lens. For me, the suturing of these two scenes visualize a brand of cultural citizenship that indexes the possible ways in which individual and collective practices of survival, agency, and resistance are not always in opposition to dominant systems of norms and perceptions. While responding to the harsh conditions of Japanese colonial rule and practices of racial exclusion in the United States, this version of cultural citizenship forged during the Cold War also partially depends upon a set of normative ideals that explicitly contextualizes Korean Americans as legible or recognizable citizens belonging to a general American populace.

Multiple Colonialisms and the Transnational Politics of (Un)belonging

Constituted by ideals of the all-American home and the diasporic conditions shaping the everyday lives of Korean Americans, Reverend Kim's archive insinuates how the domestic home and the "over here" of Los Angeles is imagined as part and parcel of the "over there" of Asia. In particular, several films of the collection visualize, to an even greater extent than the films already discussed, the linkages between the domestic and the transnational—and the incongruent elements that emerge when historical subjects are enmeshed in multiple systems of oppression and colonialism. While a colonial subject of Japan, the reverend's identification as an educated, multilingual male missionary affiliated with the United Presbyterian Board of National Missions provided bountiful opportunities for overseas travel. This sense of mobility contours several films in which Reverend Kim documents his travels to Korea, Hong Kong, and the Philippines. By including aerial footage, depictions of indigenous peoples, and informal interviews, these films refuse to be contained within the boundaries of the American middle-class home or the Korean ethnic enclave of Los Angeles. These films bear a striking resemblance to French, British, and American missionary ethnographic travelogues.[40]

In providing this commentary, I touch upon the contentious roles played by Christian missionaries and evangelical Christianity in modern Korea and elsewhere. Nationalism, anticolonial politics, and Christianity within the Korean diaspora are entwined dynamics that defy a single explanation; for example, prominent Korean anticolonial activists, such as Ahn Chang-ho, were also missionaries and religious leaders. At the same time, early Christian institutions and the overarching structure of missionary work were undeniably complicit in the consolidation of U.S. soft power in Asia. Arriving in the late nineteenth century, American Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries are commonly described in contemporary historical scholarship as potent counterforces to Japanese imperialism.[41] However, as cautioned by Hyaeweol Choi and Paul Cha, the relationship between American missionaries and Korea is a complicated one that deserves scrutiny. Despite the linkages between American missionaries and the ideals of freedom, democracy, and equality, these modern notions provided the sentimental grist and groundwork necessary for U.S. imperial encroachment in Asia during the first half of the twentieth century. As champions of the American way of life, missionaries linked "true modernization," or the transformation of Asiatic savages into civilized subjects deserving of salvation, to the transmission of moral values, prescribed gendered norms, and "correct belief" that only Western missionaries could properly impart.[42] Acting as U.S. political emissaries, missionaries also negotiated with Japanese colonial authorities to advocate for U.S. imperial interests in the Philippines and Hawai'i.

The overlaps between religious and colonial motivations in early twentieth century Korea are the most conspicuous in the case of Horace Newtown

Allen, a Presbyterian medical missionary, U.S. diplomat, and close adviser to the last Korean emperor Gojong. Associated with the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA), an alliance of business and plantation owners committed to maintaining white dominance in Hawai'i, Allen collaborated with HSPA agents, such as David W. Deshler, to recruit Korean laborers for the sugar plantation system, contributing to the consolidation of a U.S. settler colonial regime already set in motion by the illegitimate overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893.[43] Between 1903 and 1907, more than 7,000 Korean laborers were recruited for an imported sugar plantation labor force that included Chinese and Japanese workers. Although definitive statistics do not exist, between thirty and forty percent of the first wave of these recruited laborers were identified as Christians or recent converts.[44]

It is through this differentiated lens that I approach Reverend Kim's missionary footage. Caught between two imperial powers, the reverend used his missionary status to contend with the cruelty of Japanese colonial rule, even as his association with the Presbyterian Church entangled him within the enterprise of American imperialism beyond the continental United States. The reverend's position with the United Presbyterian Board of National Missions provided the means to meet and convert "racialized others" throughout Asia. These trips also permitted him to befriend and network with an elite circle of Western religious leaders, politicians, and missionaries. The two minute and forty-two second film, "Asian Tour (Including Hong Kong)," offers an arresting moment to reflect upon this unsettling positionality.

The "tour" in the film's title refers to several possibilities, ranging from domesticated family vacations to professional excursions and exotic expeditions in foreign lands. Encompassing a hodgepodge of frames, the footage seems to embody all of these various elements. At the beginning of the film, the camera captures a medium shot of two women—the reverend's wife, Yung, and an unidentified white woman—conversing cheerfully. As the lens focuses on the two figures, Yung, a stout woman immaculately dressed and with perfectly coiffed hair, shyly glances at the camera as if to acknowledge her husband's presence. The silent exchange between the looked-upon film subject and the looking filmmaker hints at a gendered gaze that is also prevalent in the previously discussed film segments—namely, by framing feminized figures in isolated scenes that are gazed upon and looked at by both the filmmaker and the audience, the filmmaker assumes "the voice and vision of authority."[45] The gendered presumption of Reverend Kim's role as the sole producer of images informs the organizational logics of the home film archive, because each film is marked by and bears his name in the opening frame. Yet even as the reverend captures Yung through dominant optics—for instance, in the collection, Yung is consistently depicted as a silent travel companion, mother, and grandmother—she is also, presumably, the image maker of several films, including "Airport," "Picnic by the Sea," and "Wedding," in which the reverend appears before the camera. In these ever-brief moments of alterity, Yung is framing the moving image. In

several films, Yung seems to decenter the reverend as the pivotal figure of the scene. In "Airport," for example, the camera lens grazes the reverend before resting on a backdrop of airplanes, the dorsal fin of a Northwest plane, and the vast skyscape. In these passing moments, Yung's relationship to or affinity with the camera—what the camera permits her to see, visually touch, or imagine otherwise—emerges as a compelling inquiry. However, beyond these fragments, there are no other institutional records, documentation, or archival traces of Yung. Hidden in plain sight, Yung's absent presence is amplified by the archive's occlusion of Yung's name in its film titles, credits, and descriptions.

Within a minute or so of the beginning of "Asian Tour," the frame suddenly jumps to a different sequence of blurry shots as an ornate church façade is shown, marked by the banner "Ellinwood Fellowship Order." Although easy to miss, this banner provides an important clue regarding the filmmaker's location. Named after Dr. Francis Field Ellinwood, the secretary-general of the Presbyterian Mission Board—and as observed through his monograph, *The Great Conquest* (1876), a fervid supporter of the reeducation of indigenous "heathens" through American evangelization—the Ellinwood Fellowship was part of the Union Theological Seminary in the Philippines, the oldest Protestant seminary in the country, established in the aftermath of Spanish imperial rule in the Cavite province in 1905. Documenting interactions between Yung and two white missionaries, this footage is as carefree as it is calculated: Reverend Kim attentively captures minute details of his surroundings while recording the jovial interactions among his fellow travelers.

With the exception of these scenes, the remainder of the "Asian Tour" film does not portray missionaries or religious buildings. Rather, because the bulk of the unstable footage is shot from moving transportation vessels, including cars and planes, the shots reflect Reverend Kim's masculinized position as the dominant image maker tasked with the goal of evangelizing. The camera records rural surroundings, including unpaved roads, tropical forests, and pastoral farmland dotted with agricultural laborers and water buffaloes. In the last sequence of frames, the camera offers a shaky, 180-degree pan of rustic living abodes set against the backdrop of a forest. Filmed with limited light or damaged during the digitization process, the footage is difficult to make out, but faint outlines of homes with thatched roofs, garments dangling from a clothesline, and an indigenous boy in the immediate foreground appear. Attempting to document select details of his surroundings, Reverend Kim zigzags the camera from left to right, allowing the camera to linger on particular "objects": the roof, the hanging clothes, the young boy. This pregnant pause on the young boy's face produces what Claude Lévi-Strauss and Fatimah Tobing Rony describe as an "ethnographiable moment," because the camera yearns to visually consume and document the fleeting other [Figure 5].[46] The remediation of the imagery in the contemporary moment, particularly through the title "Asian Tour," reproduces this voyeuristic gaze. Through processes of filming, digitizing, archiving, screening, and rescreening this moving image to multiple audiences, the indige-

Figure 5: Still shot from Reverend Kim's home film "Asian Tour (Including Hong Kong)." Courtesy of USC Korean Heritage Library.

nous boy's obscured face—his identity and name still unknown—is an accrued signifier of the desire to know "real life among natives" and, to a greater extent, the Western public's fascination with the exotified terrains of Southeast Asia.[47]

"Asian Tour" also includes aerial scenes taken from a plane, in which Reverend Kim captures swaths of ocean and land from a high altitude. The aerial shots, however, are not confined to this particular home film; aerial imagery is pervasive throughout the archive. To a certain extent, Reverend Kim's fascination with the aerial brushes against what Caren Kaplan and Priya Jaikumar describe as the biopolitical function of the aerial shot.[48] Mobilized by the state since the mid-nineteenth century for surveying purposes, cartographic information, and reconnaissance, aerial observation reflects a desire to spatially know and approximate a place from a power-laden position enabled by distance. Taking into consideration Reverend Kim's work "on the ground" as an American-trained missionary, his preoccupation with aerial imagery points to a convergence of colonial dynamics, political motivations, and religious convictions. Assuming an authorial voice, Reverend Kim encodes "wider socio-spatial relations" through the footage and illustrates the "politicized nature of framing others."[49]

Destabilizing rigid binaries such as the colonizer versus the colonized, the undulating power dynamics embedded within Reverend Kim's films provide an

opportunity to sit with the multiple conditions and political stakes mediated by Korean diasporic subjects during this volatile moment. This uneasy arrangement among privilege, power, and subject positionality percolate in other films as well, including the seven-minute film titled "Korean Army Day, 1961." For me, the reverend's films of the South Korean military, including "Korean Army Day, 1961," "Military Rally," and "Parade Grounds," raise the most speculations in regards to his conflicting political leanings. Shot at the inception of Park Chung-hee's dictatorial rule of South Korea (1961), these films, at first glance, reflect a sense of national and military pride, or at least a sustained fascination with the spectacularly disciplined South Korean army.

Yet as indicated in several oral histories, the reverend's relationship with the Park dictatorship was quite tumultuous. Critical of Park's draconian methods and the infliction of state violence upon civilians, the reverend actively organized against the South Korean government by pressing U.S. senators to investigate atrocities committed by the Park regime.[50] In private quarters, the reverend also expressed solidarity with leftist organizations that called for armed resistance against Japanese imperialism and condemned U.S. militarized intervention in the Peninsula, such as the Korean National Revolutionary Party (KNRP) and its associated bilingual newspaper, the *Korean Independence*.[51] Despite his critiques of communist regimes, Reverend Kim visited North Korea on several occasions and personally met with Kim Il Sung, the first premier of the Democratic Republic of Korea and a family friend from Pyongyang (Ch'oe 1,088).[52] In an oral history conducted by his youngest son Paul Kim in 1986, the reverend ends the interview by expressing a desire to return to North Korea without providing further details.[53] The unresolved rumors surrounding Reverend Kim's political affiliations were not without repercussions. With the sedimentation of anticommunist sentiments in the United States in the post-World War II era, the House Un-American Activities Committee maintained tabs on suspected communists, including Reverend Kim.[54] These affiliations also strained his relationship with conservative members of the Korean Presbyterian Church, so much so that the congregation—the establishment he helped to build from the ground up—declined the family's request to house the reverend's funeral services in 1989.[55]

Despite these leftist leanings, the reverend's full range of professed political affiliations was quite broad. During the Japanese colonial era, the reverend expressed support for mainstream anticolonial institutions, such as the Korean National Association. He also cofounded the Korean Relief Society, a U.S.-based welfare organization dedicated to bringing food, clothing, and medical supplies to Koreans displaced by war. In 1958, the reverend temporarily returned to South Korea to work with the educational sector of the conservative Syngman Rhee government, becoming the first president of Soongsil University in the post-Korean War era and a member of the Fulbright Commission in South Korea (1960–63).[56]

To a certain degree, the reverend's scope of political associations might be read as a conscientious tactic to resist a bipolar world order dictated by the United States and U.S.S.R. Aligning himself with leftist organizations and building relations with leaders across the political spectrum, the reverend possibly used this flexible positionality to strategically navigate dangerous political waters during the Cold War.[57] Repelled by the Park military government, Reverend Kim, nevertheless, analogizes his return to South Korea to a dutiful "son" returning to a broken "home." In a *Los Angeles Times* article published in 1958, the reverend states, "The people of Korea need Christian leaders after all the years of Japanese rule and war. . . . It is my duty to go back for 10 years' service." Reverend Kim's commitment to the project of national reconstruction was certainly not an anomaly among Korean exiles, because the initial cadre of South Korean government officials, including Rhee, resided in the United States and Hawai'i during the Japanese colonial era.

This layered perspective underlies my reading of "Korean Army Day, 1961." Rather than reflecting an unequivocal investment in a militarized South Korean state, the footage embodies a compression of conflicting feelings—hope and an obligatory sense of duty, as well as mistrust and apprehension—toward a fragmented homeland. The film begins with a hazy, dreamlike aerial shot of a majestic mountain surrounded by plush white clouds. Saturated by a soft pink tone, most likely caused by film damage, the scenery unexpectedly jumps to different sequence of shots marking the beginning of an opulent ceremony. Surrounded by a crowd of men dressed in sharp suits, including Harry S. Kim, a successful businessman who made his fortunes in central California's agricultural sector, soldiers discharge symbolic rounds from cannons arranged across a field. As suggested by the abrupt break between the two scenes, it is unclear as to whether the mountain landscape was part of the original film or arbitrarily stitched to the footage through the digitization process. Intentional or not, the inclusion of the surreal mountain scenery is strangely reminiscent of stately paintings of the active volcano Paektu, recognized in Korean mythology as the ancestral origin of a homogeneous Korean people and often referenced by the North Korean state as the sacred heart of a unified Korea. In an uncanny sense, the ethnocentric depiction of the mountainous landscape gestures to the reverend's own sentiments of filial duty toward a unified peninsula.

Portraying the Armed Forces Day parade as it runs through the thoroughfares of Seoul, the remainder of the film signifies what Joseph Roach describes as performances of surrogacy: the ritualistic parade, reenacted every year, stands in for the moment in which South Korean forces broke through the thirty-eighth parallel during the Korean War. Men, impeccably dressed in dark military gear and marching at a perfectly synchronized pace, perform militarized masculinity as they ride in army tanks replete with missiles and guns. However, women are clad in feminine ensembles, including short skirts, hats, and billowing traditional Korean attire, or *hanbok.* Smiling as they politely wave at the crowd, the feminized performers replicate the state-dictated role of virtuous citizen

[Figures 6 and 7]. While the parade reproduces and reifies the heteropatriarchal norms prescribed by the state, the spectacular staging of these ideals within a delimited space underscores their manufactured performativity.

In a haunting sense, the reverend's footage also grazes upon a sinewy web of memories that cannot be filmed. Shot on October 1, 1961, the Armed Forces Day parade overlaps with the beginning of Park's military dictatorship, implemented earlier in May 1961 following the coup d'état of a democratically elected parliamentary system. Ruling with an iron fist for nearly two decades, Park, responsible for transforming South Korea into an American satellite during the Cold War, ushered South Korea into a period of expedited growth often referred to as "the Miracle on the Han." Vacated from these spectacular images, however, is the underbelly of the lauded process of development. As offered by Seungsook Moon, the South Korean state was forged in the peculiar cauldron of militarized modernity: supplied with lucrative financial packages from the United States and Japan, South Korea constructed an advanced capitalist economy and a sophisticated state infrastructure dependent upon the marshaling of a docile population through the state apparatuses of gender violence, torture, and surveillance. During a period of intensive industrialization and economic growth (1963–87), the South Korean state implemented universal male conscription for military service and enlisted hundreds of thousands of young men for heavy industry work. Women were aggressively recruited for backbreaking, low-skill factory work in light industries centered on the production of furniture, electronic appliances, and other home-based commodities essential to the fortification of a consumerist-based society.

Figure 6: Still shot from Reverend Kim's home film "Korean Army Day, 1961." Courtesy of USC Korean Heritage Library.

Figure 7: Still shot from Reverend Kim's home film "Korean Army Day, 1961." Courtesy of USC Korean Heritage Library.

Within the context of a bifurcated gendered economy, another lucrative service industry, aimed at maintaining positive relations between South Korea and its liberator, the United States, took shape from the ashes of the Korean War: the military sex economy, in which thousands of young Korean women were recruited to provide affective and sexual services for American servicemen. According to declassified government documents, the South Korean government interpreted a vibrant military sex economy as necessary for the maintenance of national fiscal health and security, as well as the protection of proper Korean society.[58] Often, the state reminded sex workers that they were participating in a mandate to transform a seemingly vulnerable South Korea into an anticommunist stronghold and a self-sufficient global competitor.[59]

In consideration of these various factors, Reverend Kim's footage seems to touch upon a core contradiction propelling the accelerated making of a contemporary South Korea: the ways in which the grand schema of military strength, autonomy, and freedom is premised upon gender violence. The shine and glimmer that pervade Reverend Kim's imagery hint at this paradox, even as they banish these complexities from plain sight. Captured on a portable camera, the wobbly footage vacillates between close-ups of the parade—for instance, the capturing of soldiers' shoes and the intricate machinery of artillery tanks—to medium shots of soldiers marching in immaculately formed rows. For brief yet

noticeable moments, the camera also drifts to the dimmed edges of the frame, catching glimpses of unnamed buildings, towers, and obscured streets. This peripheral vision gestures to spaces just beyond the camera's reach. Perpetually unfolding in and through militarized space, the performance is literally bound by the material by-products of state militarization: the Yongsan military garrison and adjacent complexes housing the U.S. Eighth Army, unmarked buildings containing detained civilians, and makeshift *kijichons,* or camptowns encompassing sex parlors, restaurants, and bars hastily built for the U.S. military. Reflecting Gil Hochberg's conceptualization of "visible invisibility," this footage draws attention to bodies and spaces hidden within the film's fuzzy seams.[60] These obscured elements, or visible invisibilities, intimate the reverend's commentary regarding the Park regime's knack for disappearing civilians designated as state enemies: "People do not know now, how many young people were killed because he [Park] controls television, the newspapers, any words [that] could come out."[61]

Conclusion

The camera fixates on a breathtaking vista: surrounded by sepia-tinged trees and a backdrop of mountains, a piercing blue lake fills the screen. Lingering on the landscape, the camera momentarily rests on two laughing men as they intermittently stare at the lens and point to an unseen object beyond the frame. Following the length of their arms, the camera focuses on the mesmerizing horizon that the men are captivated by. Lasting just under two minutes, the film ends with a close-up of a woman. Staring at the lake, then into the distance, she faces the camera and smiles, mouthing unheard words as she reenters the car.

I end this article with an excerpt from the film "Lake Tahoe." In the footage, two men walk along a flat cliff overlooking a lake; before the film ends, Yung, the reverend's wife, appears on the screen, flirting with the camera's incessant glare [Figure 8]. In viewing this visual fragment, I am continually struck by its remarkable and mundane imagery; admittedly, there is something moving about this early documentation of Koreans in the United States. In particular, the transient footage of Yung produces questions regarding her marked presence in and absence from the archive. Even as a figure who appears in and most likely contributed to the shooting of several films, her missing status in the official archive alludes to an arc of subjectivities, memories, and moments that are always already occluded from bodies of institutional knowledge.

By grappling with this palpable absence, I am also left with other uncertainties. What, exactly, does Reverend Kim's footage tell us? In addressing this query, I highlight the ways in which ambiguities of his films register the opacity of historical subjectivity. Ensnared within the intersections of Japanese colonialism, U.S. racial violence, and postwar expansion into the Pacific, Koreans grappled with a Cold War paradigm that quashed alternative worldviews. These

Figure 8: Still shot from Reverend Kim's home film "Lake Tahoe." Courtesy of USC Korean Heritage Library.

films, I argue, permit spectators to contemplate, if just for a moment, a horizon of contradictory conditions and historical possibilities foreclosed by dominant bipolar logics. The practice of differentiated reading asks spectators to delve beyond the immediacy of the surface, challenging the ways in which we might see and sense the home film.

In a broader sense, a differentiated reading practice raises important questions for Asian Americanists, particularly as the normative schematics of imperial violence are scrutinized. In studying marshal sites, spaces, and bodies mapped by multiple imperialisms, a differentiated analysis allows for a rethinking of the cultural field, or a critical examination of the mundane through a nuanced, rather than a strictly oppositional, lens. This variegated approach provides a range of opportunities to consider an untidy constellation of relations and colonial anxieties that defy or cannot be limited to dyadic accounts of power. These deep readings might raise concerns and skepticism. After all, the lure of empirical research and disciplinary knowledge production depends upon its adherence to stable categories, clearly marked parameters, and observable phenomena. Subsequently, by refusing to limit one's interpretations to purely textual elements, scholars are at risk for projecting onto films "things … that do not really seem to be there."[62] While it is vital to honor the integrity of source materials and rigorously contextualize one's reading or readings of

visual sources, detaching the home film from the established measures of transparency, indexicality, and objectivity propels new interpretative moves and exciting methodologies. As suggested throughout this essay, these "generous detours around proper knowledge" do not merely trouble disciplinary boundaries but open new pathways of thinking while acknowledging what simply cannot be known.[63]

The limitations of knowledge production speak to the asymmetrical relations that underlie the culling of a memory archive. As a discursive project, the archive makes visible discrete moments in time, even as other histories, memories, and subjectivities are forgotten. This understanding of the archive destabilizes the seemingly oppositional relationship between visible and invisible, knowable and unknowable, and recorded and undocumented. Filmic fragments gesture to residual memories that resist the field of vision, even as these pasts continue to decompose in the contemporary moment. In this context, a careful rumination of home films does not reify liberal narratives of citizenship, belonging, and national allegiance. Instead, a differentiated reading of the filmic grain contends with the violent sentiments and socialities that give way to the utter complexity of colonial life.

Notes

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1. In academic and archival sources, the spelling of Reverend Kim's first name is not consistent, ranging from Sung-nak, Sungnak, and Shung-Nak to Shungnak.

2. Shungnak "Luke" Kim, "Family Home Films, 1948–67" (Los Angeles: Korean Heritage Library, University of Southern California), digitized files, accessed July 20, 2015.

3. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), xxv.

4. Here, I am especially indebted to Raymond Williams's and Lisa Lowe's nuanced articulations of culture, as culture transforms into shifting terrain embodying elements of the past, present, and future.

5. For instance, refer to recently published volumes including *Learning with the Lights Off: Educational Film in the United States;* Karen L. Ishizuka and Patricia R. Zimmerman, eds., *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008); and *Amateur Filmmaking: The Home Movie, The Archive, the Web.* Although not exclusively focusing on home films and moviemaking, the Orphan Film Symposium (http://www.nyu.edu/orphanfilm/), organized by New York University's Cinema Studies, is also an important resource for home film scholarship.

6. Although the vital scholarship of Darrell Hamamoto and Sandra Liu, Jun Xing, Peter Feng, and Glenn Mimura momentarily addresses home films and amateur filmmaking, such analyses are largely secondary, because critical focus is placed upon documentary or experimental films that use home films.

7. There are nuances within this body of scholarship. Richard Fung's work on amateur filmmaking, independent cinema, and the home movie is particularly exceptional. A film practitioner and critical scholar based in Toronto, Fung addresses in his work the complexity of the home film and the disjuncture that emerges as one reencounters the home movie at different moments in time. Richard Fung, "Remaking Home Movies," in *Mining the Home Movie* (see note 5), 29–40.

8. For Zimmerman, different forms of amateur filmmaking were not isolated practices but overlapped with one other. Reverend Kim's home films embody footage resembling missionary

ethnographic films and community documentation. Patricia R. Zimmerman, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995), 1–2.

9. Karen Ishizuka, “The Moving Image,” in *Mining the Home Movie* (see note 5), 123.

10. Robert Rosen, “Something Strong Within as Historical Memory,” in *Mining the Home Movie* (see note 5), 110.

11. For more information regarding the digitization and archiving process, refer to Giovanna Fossati, *From Grain to Pixel: The Archival Life of Film in Transition* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009).

12. Laura Capell, “Digitization as a Preservation Method for Damaged Acetate Negatives: A Case Study,” *American Archivist* 73 (2010): 235–36.

13. Emphasized by Zimmerman in *Reel Families,* home film technology did not become accessible to a broader public until the invention of 8-mm gauge film in 1965.

14. Haidee Watson, “Electric Homes! Automatic Movies! Efficient Entertainment!: 16-mm and Cinema’s Domestication in the 1920s,” *Cinema Journal* 48, no. 4 (2009): 14.

15. As indicated in Bell & Howell’s 1952 annual report (Zimmerman, *Reel Families,* 115), only six percent of American households had the financial means to purchase amateur film technology.

16. Helen Lewis Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, 1939), 28–30.

17. Katherine Yungmee Kim, *Los Angeles’ Koreatown* (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Press, 2011), 45. Also refer to Sun Bin Yim, “The Social Structure of Korean Communities in California, 1903–1920” in *Labor Immigration under Capitalism,* ed. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 515–48.

18. The USC Korean Heritage Library is the only known institution to house pre-1965 Korean American home films.

19. For readings concerning amateur filmmaking, Christian missionaries, and the colonial archive (and overlaps between ethnographic and missionary films), refer to John Homiak and Pamela Wintle, “The Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Institution” in *Mining the Home Movie* (see note 5), 41–46; Patricia R. Zimmerman, “Geographies of Desire: Cartographies of Gender, Race, Nation and Empire in Amateur Film,” *Cinema and Nation* (Spring 1996): 85–98; Wolfgang Fuhrmann, *Imperial Projections: Screening the German Colonies* (New York: Berghahn, 2015); and Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe, eds., *Empire and Film: Cultural Histories of Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 2011).

20. By “density,” I refer to the ways in which imperialism produces subjectivities that do not always take recognizable forms but continue to dwell in and inhabit the everyday.

21. Reverend Sun Too Kim, obituary, *Los Angeles Times,* October 15, 1949, 4.

22. Reverend Shungnak “Luke” Kim, “Letter to Reverend Robert R. Crothers,” August 22, 1966, RG 414 File_Kim, Shungnak Luke_ (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society), accessed June 16, 2015.

23. The KAPC is an organization created by the descendants of the initial cohort of Koreans who immigrated to Hawai’i for sugar plantation labor and other forms of labor.

24. As noted by Fossati in *From Grain to Pixel,* film-to-digital transfer retains the original quality of the film stock if digitized at the ultra-high-definition level, or 3,840 × 2,160 pixels (4K) (75–80). However, such a process requires resources beyond the means of most university-based archives, including the Korean Heritage Library, particularly in regards to the exorbitant cost of data storage.

25. Fung, “Remaking Home Movies,” 32.

26. George Hise, “Border City: Race and Social Distance in Los Angeles,” *American Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (2004): 545. Also refer to Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

27. George H. Kim, transcript of an oral history interview, March 15, 2014, 7 (Los Angeles: Korean Heritage Library, University of Southern California), accessed July 20, 2015.

28. Grace Kyungwon Hong, *The Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Culture of Immigrant Labor* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 17.

29. Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016).

30. As suggested by Lowe, the project of modern liberalism, which includes the “narration of political emancipation through citizenship in the state,” is only possible through “racialized expropriations of many kinds.” Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 3, 7).

31. Roger Odin, “Reflections on the Family Home Movie as Document: A Semio-Pragmatic Approach,” in *Mining the Home Movie* (see note 5), 260.

32. David Yoo, *Contentious Spirits, Contentious Spirits: Religion in Korean American History, 1903–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010, Kindle Version), 1795.

33. Korean American Digital Archive, "Women's Service League Notes (1949–1962)," KA-DA-M23330 (Los Angeles: Korean Heritage Library, University of Southern California), accessed February 18, 2013.

34. Christina Klein, "Family Ties and Political Obligation: The Discourse of Adoption and the Cold War Commitment to Asia," in *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945–1966,* ed. Christian G. Appy (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 41.

35. "Mixed-race" was a term widely used by U.S. military servicemen, popular U.S. media, and adoption agencies throughout the 1950s, when most adoptees from Korea were the progeny of U.S. servicemen and Korean women. Hyung-ju Ahn and David K. Yoo, *A Centennial History of the Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church (1904–2004)* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church, 2004), 136–37. Also refer Julia Hahn and Richard Hahn, oral history interview, June 10, 1999 (Los Angeles: Korean American Digital Archive, Korean Heritage Library, University of Southern California), accessed February 18, 2013.

36. Eleana J. Kim, *Adopted Territory: Transnational Korean Adoptees and the Politics of Belonging* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

37. Richard Kim, *The Quest for Statehood: Korean Immigrant Nationalism and U.S. Sovereignty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 10–13.

38. E.J. Kim, *Adopted Territory,* 103.

39. Arissa Oh, "A New Kind of Missionary Work: Christian, Christian Americanists, and the Adoption of Korean GI Babies, 1955–1961." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 33, nos. 3–4 (2005): 161–88.

40. For a discussion of ethnographic documentaries and the genre of the travelogue, refer to Fatimah Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996).

41. Yoo, *Contentious Spirits.*

42. Paul Cha, "Unequal Partners, Contested Relations: Protestant Missionaries and Korean Christians, 1884–1907," *Journal of Korean Studies* 17, no. 1 (2012): 6.

43. Lee Houchins and Chang-su Houchins, "The Korean Experience in America, 1903–1924," *Pacific Historical Review* 43, no. 4 (1974): 550.

44. Ilpyong Kim, ed., *Korean Americans: Past, Present, and Future* (Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym International, 2004), 15.

45. Heather Norris Nicholson, "'As If by Magic': Authority, Aesthetics, and Visions of the Workplace in the Home Movies, circa 1931–1949," in *Mining the Home Movie* (see note 5), 221. In addition, for an incisive critique regarding the gendered gaze within cinema, refer to Laura Mulvey's seminal essay, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, No. 3 (Autumn 1975): 6–18.

46. Rony, *Third Eye*, 7.

47. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, "The Imperial Imaginary," *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London: Routledge, 1994), 100–36.

48. Caren Karen, "Sensing Distance: The Time and Space of Contemporary War," *Social Text,* June 17, 2013, http://socialtextjournal.org/periscope_article/sensing-distance-the-time-and-space- of-contemporary-war/, accessed June 20, 2013. Priya Jaikumar, "An 'Accurate Imagination': Place, Map and Archive as Spatial Objects of Film History," in *Film and the End of Empire,* ed. Lee Grieveson and Colin McCade (London: BFI Publishing, 2011), 167–88.

49. Nicholson, "As If by Magic," 221.

50. Reverend Shungnak "Luke" Kim, transcript of an oral history interview with Paul Kim, March 2, 1978, personal family papers, 9, accessed July 20, 2015.

51. Reverend Shung-Nak "Luke" Kim, transcript of an oral history interview, February 14, 1986 (Los Angeles: Korean Heritage Library, University of Southern California), accessed July 20, 2015. The interview focuses on the reverend's affiliations with KNRP as he shares extraordinary knowledge of the organization's internal structure. For a broader contextualization of leftist politics in Los Angeles' Korean community, refer to Euk Sik Yang, "Korean Revolutionary Nationalism in America: Kim Kang and the Student Circle, 1937–1956" in *The Korean Peninsula in the Changing World Order,* ed. Eui-Young Yu and Terry R. Kandal (Los Angeles: California State University, the Center for Korean American and Korean Studies, 1992).

52. G.H. Kim, transcript, March 15, 2014, 34.

53. S. Kim, transcript, March 2, 1978, 9.

54. G.H. Kim, transcript, March 15, 2014, 36. Also refer to Yang, "Korean Revolutionary Nationalism," 193.

55. G.H. Kim, transcript, March 15, 2014, 37.

56. S. Kim, letter, August 22, 1966.

57. G.H. Kim, transcript, March 15, 2014, 33.

58. Seungsook Moon, *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 37.

59. For an elaboration of militarized sex labor, national security, and South Korean state development, refer to Lee, *Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea.*

60. Gil Z. Hochberg, *Visual Occupations: Violence and Visibility in a Conflict Zone* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 37–38.

61. S. Kim, transcript, March 2, 1978, 9.

62. Julia Noordegraaf and Elvira Louw, “Extended Family Films: Home Movies in the State-Sponsored Archive.” *Moving Image* 9, no. 1 (2009): 98.

63. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents,* 71.