Mother America:
Cold War Maternalism and the Institutionalization of Intercountry Adoption from Postwar South Korea, 1953 - 1961

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Acknowledgments

I didn't know it going in, but this dissertation is a culmination of an almost ten-year-long journey. It began in 2007 in a small coffee shop in St. Paul where I listened to adoptees talk about adoption in ways I had never heard before – much more assertive and critical. Their words fractured my own peaceful story with a dissonance that still resonates with me. These adoptees were contributing authors to a newly released anthology, *Outsiders Within.* As a Korean adoptee, their words changed my life, and I have been on my own journey to discover my history. In particular, two adoptees that spoke at that coffee shop have continued to have a presence in my life as supports, mentors, and friends. JaeRan Kim and Kim Park Nelson, thank you for inspiring me to do not only this project as my academic work, but my life's work as well. I have learned so much from you both. JaeRan, you have been a major influence to me, and I have been, and will continue to be inspired by all that you do in the adoption community. I have appreciated all of your support and words of encouragement, and I look forward to continuing our conversations.

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To all of those with a (hi)story to tell.

Make the world your audience.

Abstract

In 1953 an armistice was signed suspending the conflict of the Korean War, a three-year long civil war between what is now the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and the Republic of Korea (South Korea) (Cumings, 2010). Casualties and the wounded numbered well over a million (Halberstam, 2007). Of those who remained in South Korea were hundreds of thousands of widows and children (Korean Institute of Military History, 2001). Many of the children were mixed-blood, born of Korean mothers and fathered by U.S. servicemen. Because of their mixed parentage, they were oftentimes abandoned, unwanted (Burnside, 1956). Mounting publicity of the poor, helpless "waif" was used to implore the American public to come to the rescue of these desperate children (Oh, 2012). Historian Christina Klein (2003) argues that it was felt that intercountry adoption could strengthen foreign relations between the U.S. and South Korea. It became acceptable and expected that American families would welcome mixed-blood Korean children into their homes, thus symbolizing American prosperity and security. Social welfare agencies played a major role in shaping and formalizing intercountry adoption practices in the aftermath of the Korean War.

Numerous scholars, many of them Korean adoptees, have investigated the origins of Korean adoption. They have examined the same time period and utilized the same archival material as this study. What their research has in common with the present study is the critical interrogation of the longstanding dominant adoption narrative of children's best interests served by humanitarian rescue and American benevolence. However, for as significant a role that social work played in formalizing Korean adoption practice standards in the 1950s, there currently exists no research that centers the activities of the profession with respect to Korean adoption. Using historical research methods situated within a maternalist and social constructionist framework, this study undertook a critical analysis of social work child-rescue efforts in postwar South Korea from 1953 to 1961 as embodied by one international social welfare agency: the American Branch of International Social Service (ISS-USA). This social work organization established and institutionalized intercountry adoption practices in the 1950s in its efforts to save mixed-blood Korean children orphaned by the Korean War. The American Branch became the premier expert on international adoption beginning in the 1950s. Its practice standards are still used today.

Content analysis, informed by critical discourse analysis (CDA) and historical discourse analysis (HDA) methods, was conducted on primary source documents of ISS-USA. This archival collection is housed in the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota. Findings revealed both how ISS-USA set up a system of formalized adoption standards, and the extent to which maternalist ideological values influenced by Progressive Era maternalism placed thousands of mixed-blood Korean children into the embracing arms of “Mother America.” First, in order to relieve the emergency situation of the many needy children in postwar South Korea, ISS-USA developed a formalized system of intercountry adoption procedures through what it called *case conference by correspondence,* whereby everything from policy monitoring, practice methods, research, and adoptions were discussed and established through detailed letter writing between ISS-USA social workers, their foreign correspondents, and local and state welfare organizations. Second, in what I call *Cold War maternalism,* I expanded Progressive Era maternalist ideologies that established specific notions of proper motherhood as belonging to privileged white, middle- and upper-middle class Christian women to a national level. Cold War maternalism suggests that given the patriotic pronatalist, anti-communist contextual reality of 1950s America (May, 2008), by deeming American parents as suitable "mothers" for Korean children, in essence, the United States came to be seen as the best "mother" for South Korea and the many mixed-blood Korean children left after the war.

Findings from this study provide another critical perspective of the Korean adoption origin story, but uniquely contribute to this growing body of research by critically examining social work's central role in establishing intercountry adoption standards. Implications for social work research and practice include more focus on critical indigenous research methodologies, the importance of understanding historical aspects of the profession, and the consideration of historical trauma in current social work practice with intercountry adoptees.

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Terminology

Because this is a historical dissertation, I am providing a note on terminology. Many of the terms used will be congruent with language used during the time period in which this study is situated. Please note the following specifications.

- *Religiosity* refers to the socio-cultural evangelical ideology that blended many religious and political institutions during the 1950s.[1] I will use *Christianity* to refer to the spirit in which specific child-rescue practices were shaped and employed.
- In my discussion of camptown prostitution in South Korea and its correlation with the intercountry adoption of primarily mixed-blood Korean children into American homes, I will be using the term *prostituted* rather than *prostitute* in referencing the women whose sexual labor was regulated by the U.S. military.[2]
- *Intercountry adoption* will be the term I use for the placement of Korean-born children with white American families.
- *Orphan*[3] was the term given to those children who had lost one or both parents as the result of the Korean War, or who were abandoned or relinquished by their parents.

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[1] This ideology proclaimed religious values primarily associated with Christianity. While it could also be argued that Christianity reflected more the ethos of the time than religiousness of the time, the values Americans held so deeply and were so dependent on to strengthen their resistance against Communism tapped into religious notions of Christianity.

[2] Sexual assault advocate Sandy Pierce (2009), sums up this rationale best as she writes, “We use the term ‘prostituted’ rather than ‘prostitute’ because we find it unreasonable to assign a label to an exploited person that implies that she is responsible for her own exploitation” (p. 20).

[3] It is worth noting that there were many complex reasons that children came to be “orphaned.” While the term was used during this time period to essentially mean a child

- *Third World*[4] is a term used to broadly classify poorer and un- or underdeveloped nations compared to the United States. In keeping with terminology of this specific time period, I will occasionally use it to reference postwar South Korea.
- Lastly, the term *mixed-blood* was used during the 1950s to refer to children born to Asian women and fathered by white or black American soldiers while the U.S. military was stationed in Korea. In keeping with language of this particular time period, I will use *mixed-blood* in referencing these children instead of the terms *biracial* or *mixed race*.

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without parents, many times orphaned children still had one or both parents, and the extent to which voluntary surrender of the child was made by the birth mother or birth parents was oftentimes suspect.

[4] James Midgely (1990) suggests the term is used today to categorize those countries that have poorer economic and social structures compared to the U.S. He also acknowledges the criticism the term has faced by those who feel it is derogatory in its definition of poorer countries.

Chapter 1: Introduction

As I have embarked on this project, I have been both nestled comfortably within my own story and history as a Korean adoptee, while at the same time, sometimes desperately trying to claw my way out of it. For many years I have questioned my own origins. *Where did I come from? Who am I?* My personal quest for meaning and place has kept me spinning around those two existential questions, and pushed me beyond the boundaries of anything I thought I knew, or could know, about what it has meant for me to be a Korean adoptee. This project represents a culmination of almost a decade of self-discovery, self-definition, relationship building with other Korean adoptees, and philosophical and theoretical inquisitions of the places where history and space collide. I may never know all of the details of my own personal history as a Korean adoptee, but through this project, I have come to know the historical legacy of which I am a part. In some ways, my academic research into the history of Korean adoption offers a peace to my personal unknowns. In other ways, it only adds to the insatiability of my curiosities, and my deep commitment and desire to have my story – the story I share with a global community of Korean adoptees – told through our own voices, identities, and experiences. This project is about our historic and collective meaning. It is about the spaces that were carved out for us, and the spaces we are trying now to construct for ourselves.

> *As we taxied onto the runway, I focused on the cars on the highway as they buzzed by. It was like watching the inner workings of a beehive – constant, frantic, yet synchronous movements. The outside world was alive, full of scurrying and chaos as it clamored its way over the land. But, it was out there while I sat in*

> *my window seat taking in the last scenes from the only country I ever knew as home.*
>
> *Gaining speed for takeoff, I remember feeling every bump in the runway. With each clunk and shimmy as the plane rumbled over the cracks in the pavement below I knew I was still on the ground. I was comforted. Somehow those bumps kept me attached to familiarity, and provided me with the only security blanket I had to cozy up with. As we passed the Fed Ex planes my stomach dropped, and we lifted off the ground. Bound skyward, and eventually west, back through time in one sense, and forward in time in another, I was heading home, to Korea. That moment is forever locked inside me as uninhibited clarity about what was happening. I was leaving this country – this land – that has been home all of my life for the home in which I came from but know nothing about. For almost fourteen hours I sat silently – suspended literally over 35,000 feet in the air, and metaphorically in a realm between two worlds.* (Lee, 2010)

These words were taken from a blog I kept during my first trip back to my birth country. I feel that it captures both notions of meaning and place. I share it here because in my quest to learn more about the history of a child-rescue intervention that brought me thousands of miles away from my home to a new country, a new culture – a new home – I thought much about what it means to be a Korean adoptee. In order to connect as deeply as I could with the archival material that held stories, countless stories, of the origin of Korean adoption, I needed to locate myself within that history.

In his book, *Topophilia,* geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) writes about the adverse effects on someone who has been ripped away from their sense of place. Tuan states, "To be forcibly evicted from one's home and neighborhood is to be stripped of a sheathing, which in its familiarity protects the human being from the bewilderments of the outside world" (p. 99). Similarly, Chen (2012) suggests that the absence of one's genealogical connections to place through the blood tie creates "devastating losses in ontological stability and psychic wholeness" (p. 165). Foskett (2002) discusses the dual reality that is created as adoptees struggle to connect with their lost beginning – the history of one's origins, and the continual dislocation caused by racial and ethnic differences and exclusivity. Homans (2006) argues that adoption origin stories are not so much discovered in the past as they are created in the present. Soo Na (2006) writes:

> Our pain has been ascribed by national borders. We have been distracted by nationalism. We have been distracted from our pain, from our stories, through the usage of arbitrary tracts of land, divided by war, famine, and imperialism. But I don't need a country in order to love, miss you, umma, to be Corean, to be mixed, any more than I need a doctor to tell me my heart's pumping to know I am alive. These things comfort us, people telling us the obvious. And it is these things that distract us. I want you. I wanted you my whole life, and I am projecting my longing for you onto a country. But my love is not limited by arbitrary lines drawn on a Mercator projection. No, not by any stretch of my skin toward yours. (In Trenka, Oparah, & Shin, 2006, p. 19)

The story of the origins of intercountry adoption from South Korea has been quickly gaining both a wide swath of storytellers and of listeners in recent years.

Especially as adoptees, many of them Korean, have entered in to academia, the subject of intercountry adoption, and the long-surviving narrative of humanitarian, religious, and altruistic savior motives has received highly critical analysis. As a result, new stories have emerged from the history of intercountry adoption – stories that reveal the complexities associated with the intersections of race, sex, colonialism, foreign-relations, and national class stratifications. As history professor Elizabeth Danto (2008) explains, "historiography in social work…allows us to expose the stories that are buried – often not consciously – within books, families, political organizations, social classes, and icons of culture" (p. 4). This is certainly the case for stories about the origins of Korean adoption. Given the socio-cultural and political landscape of 1950s America, I believe there is good reason why the benevolent paradigm of child-rescue has endured. However, as adoptees have begun to interrogate that benevolent paradigm, others stories have emerged. This is one of those stories.

In her book, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* indigenous scholar Linda Smith (2012) asserts that the imperialist and colonizing spirit of research has allowed the histories of indigenous people to be told in such a way that they "then become outsiders as we heard them being retold" (p. 34). She also maintains that much of history is stories about power. As a way to resist the imperialistic nature of the retelling of power in which marginalized groups have been effectually rewritten, Smith puts forth an indigenous research agenda that includes a number of methods that are distinctly different from traditional ways of conceptualizing and engaging in research. One of those methods is storytelling. According to Smith, individual stories become part of a larger collective story. The story and storyteller link past and future. She cites Russell Bishop in suggesting that, "storytelling is a useful and culturally appropriate way of representing the 'diversities of truth'" (p. 146). In his book, *Research is Ceremony*, indigenous researcher Shawn Wilson (2008) takes the position as storyteller rather than researcher or author in his thesis. He recognizes the relational experience between storyteller and listener. By imparting one's own life experiences and perspectives into a story, listeners will be better able to absorb the knowledge from the story, and that knowledge becomes shared. "If knowledge is formed in a relationship, it can't be owned" (Wilson, 2008, p. 114).

As a Korean adoptee, I have heard my story a countless number of times. I have talked to other Korean adoptees whose stories are identical to mine. I have been riveted by those adoptees that dared challenge the dominant narrative of Korean adoption. It is in my relationships with them, that I craft this story. The prevailing story of Korean adoption, cloaked in the trappings of altruism, Christian benevolence, and humanitarian motives, has long staked claim in the best interest of the child. Early intercountry adoption practices established a monopoly of American professional knowledge that was spread throughout the world with the transplantation of foreign children into American homes. I tell this story inspired by, and in relationship with, other Korean adoptee scholars and activists who have rightfully reinserted themselves into their own histories.

I was six-and-a-half months old when I came to the United States. Born in Seoul, South Korea, I was adopted by a white, middle-class, Christian, married heterosexual couple, as many Korean adoptees were. Between long chats I've had with my adoptive mother, or flipping through pages of musty old photo albums, I'm not sure where my natural memory begins and where the holes have been filled in with faded photos and conversational trips down memory lane. I remember our social worker though – Mary

Ellen. As I sit here reflecting and preparing to tell this story, I am struck by the full circle my life has taken. As a newly arrived immigrant to the United States many years ago, a social worker was a part of the beginnings of my life in this country. Now I am a social worker. And while the last nearly decade of my personal life has been spent trying to understand my own history as a Korean adoptee, so too am I now in my professional social work career.

What is this profession I belong to? How did it begin? How has it changed over the years? How has it been an integral part of adoption? Why was adoption a key area of practice in the profession? Why were so many Korean children taken from their birth countries? What does it mean to be a social work historian focused on Korean adoption and also identify as a Korean adoptee? These questions have been running about in my head as I've made my way through my doctoral program. I've continued to let them pull me in various directions of inquisition and discovery as I continue to ponder the essences of truth and meaning making in the pursuit of not just my own history, but also the history of a generation of Korean children whose lives were forever altered by the profession of social work.

I want to know what role my profession had in Korean adoption. As a Korean adoptee and a social worker, my personal and professional selves have been intimately connected. These connections meant much to both my present-day life and to the larger historical evolution of my profession and its involvement in the child-placing practice that has given me the life I have today – intercountry adoption. The purpose of this study is to examine the ways in which the maternalist ideologies of the social work profession influenced the child-rescue efforts in postwar South Korea by the American Branch of

International Social Service (hereafter, ISS-USA). I will be focusing on the administrative correspondence of ISS-USA that led to the establishment of systematic child-removal practices of Korean children into American homes during the early years of the Cold War. These archival documents are housed in the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota. The International Social Service (hereafter, ISS) was, and still is, an international casework agency with branch offices located all over the world, including the United States. Because intercountry adoption from South Korea was a significant phenomenon in the United States after the Korean War, with Americans adopting the majority of Korean orphans (Oh, 2015), the operations of ISS-USA are the focus of this study. Background information on ISS will be offered including its establishment of intercountry adoption practices.

Adoptee scholar, Tobias Hübinette (2006) accurately reports that studies of international adoption have primarily come from the fields of social work and psychology, which have maintained the dominant narrative of the practice. In academic research Korean adoptions have long been portrayed as successful by social workers from the early years of Korean adoption to the present day (Hübinette, 2006; Kim, 2010). This study offers a critical social work perspective as it aims to examine the role the profession played in establishing the earliest formalized intercountry adoption practices. In particular it throws into question the idea of the child's best interest in child-rescue work. Therefore, this story disrupts and interrogates the dominant narrative, and provides another perspective of the contested histories of Korean adoption.

From a theoretical perspective, this study is important in that it explores the ways in which American social work practice, as embodied by ISS-USA, was seen as an innovation that was brought to developing countries and societies as a way to help provide relief to specific social welfare needs. With South Korea in ruins, and all infrastructure destroyed from the war, there were no local means to address the growing problem of mixed-blood Korean children – born of Korean women, and fathered by foreign servicemen. With the importance of foreign relations between South Korea and the United States, integral to America's anti-communist containment policies, American social work practices arrived in the war torn country. However, rather than cultivate local leadership, programming, and resources, American expansion efforts along the lines of social welfare reworked the definition of the Korean War orphan as a commodity that white American families could purchase under the guise of American patriotism. Furthermore, the maternalist ideologies that carried specific notions of motherhood furthered the imperialist nature of intercountry adoption by configuring the United States as the only suitable "mother" to imploring Korean waifs. It was from this maternalist spirit that ISS-USA social workers developed formalized intercountry adoption methods that would eventually bring over a generation and counting of South Korean children to American homes.

Chapter 2: Background

In 1945, as World War II was coming to an end, Korea was decolonized from Japanese rule. From 1945-1948 the U.S. had full military occupation of Korea (Cumings, 1997). By 1949 it had withdrawn the vast majority of its troops from the country leaving only a small contingent of about 500 soldiers (Cooley, 2008). The Korean War broke out in 1950, the conflict lasting until 1953. The devastating loss during the war was unimaginable. Almost all the infrastructure in South Korea was destroyed – industries, transportation, and public facilities (Korean Institute of Military History, 2001). Upwards of 33,000 Americans and over 400,000 South Koreans lost their lives. Chinese and North Korean casualties numbered around 1.5 million. Countless others were wounded. (Halberstam, 2007).

In 1953 an armistice was signed, temporarily suspending the fighting and officially establishing a 2.5-mile-wide demilitarized zone between what is now North and South Korea known as the 38th parallel (Cumings, 2010). To this day a peace treaty has never been signed to officially end the Korean War (Kirk & Francis, 2000). Of those left behind in the aftermath of the war were approximately 200,000 widows and 100,000 orphans (Korean Institute of Military History, 2001). According to the Ministry of Social Affairs (ca. 1956), “The number of children’s institutions is three times as many and the number of children in the institutions is four times as many as before the war” (p. 2). Many of the children who were in desperate need of help were mixed-blood children – those born of Korean mothers and fathered by primarily American servicemen.

Social Work and Child-Placing

Throughout American history, attitudes and beliefs about children and childhood have changed. During the colonial years, childhood as a distinct developmental phase was not understood. If anything, children were seen as miniature adults (Tiffin, 1982). By the time of the American Revolution, the shifting economic, political, and religious landscape saw childhood as a period of growth (Ladd-Taylor, 1994). Scientific developments in the latter half of the nineteenth century, such as the theory of evolution, strengthened the notion that children were innocent and malleable, and therefore in need of special treatment and a healthy home environment (Trattner, 1999). It was thought that if children were properly cared for and gently nurtured, their "flexible characters would develop in accordance with proper Christian and American ideals" (Trattner, 1999, p. 111). Concerned with internal failings and social unrest during socio-cultural changes in the nineteenth century, many looked to children to save the nation (Tiffin, 1982). The 1909 White House Conference on Dependent Children strengthened the argument for family care rather than institutional care for dependent and delinquent children, and contributed to the establishment of adoption agencies (Trattner, 1999).

Foster care, residential care, and adoption have long been the central functions of American child welfare agencies (Collins, Kim, Clay, & Perlstein, 2009). However, long before the professionalization of social work, child-placing institutions for homeless children existed, oftentimes under religious auspices. As the profession of social work grew, with its professional concepts and standards of practice, child welfare became an area of major importance (Child Welfare League of America et al., 1959). The Child Welfare League of America, U.S. Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare collaborated on a 1959 publication titled, *Child Welfare as a Field of Social Work Practice.* In it they asserted that:

> The ultimate objective of child welfare services is to assure that children and youth are reared under conditions that are favorable to the development, use, and enjoyment of their individual capacities. Their primary purpose is to provide a remedy for the problems of the child that grow out of deficiencies within the family or in the community. (p. 6)

One such remedy was child-placing. Child-placing practices have long been employed. Destitute and neglected children were placed in other families to work, or bound out as apprentices. During the antislavery period apprenticeships were compared to forced bondage, and dependent children would be institutionalized (Trattner, 1999). Those belonging to lower classes, such as people of color and immigrants, were seen as problematic, and the crowded urban cities in which they lived, unstable (Tiffin, 1982). Given the xenophobic, racist, and anti-immigrant attitudes during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and as the deplorable conditions of asylums and children's institutions came to the attention of the public, a system of placing children into private homes once again developed (Trattner, 1999).

In 1853, the New York Children's Aid Society, founded by Reverend Charles Loring Brace, began one of the more prominent child-placing schemes in American history – the Orphan Train Movement. Fusing mid-nineteenth-century beliefs about child welfare and the significance of Christian values and morality, hundreds of thousands of children, mostly impoverished immigrant children, were relocated to families throughout the Midwest and westward. Believing that fresh air, a hearty work ethic, and Christian values were of utmost importance in the shaping of children, the removal of destitute children was justified, and "those who had been placed out became symbols for the ideals of the Protestant American work ethic" (Holt, 1992, p. 6).

Also occurring during this time was another form of child-placing. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, federal officials devised assimilation policies for indigenous peoples (Jacobs, 2009). Tens of thousands of indigenous children were removed, oftentimes forcibly, from their families and placed in boarding schools. Christian missionaries, governmental officials, and boarding school staff all believed that Christian control and a civilized education could reform Indian children into future American citizens (Coleman, 1993). All government boarding schools forbade Indian students from speaking their tribal languages. They were also given Christian names and forced to cut their hair and don Western attire, some of which resembled military uniforms (Child, 1998). The ultimate goal was the annihilation of indigenous peoples as distinct groups by "saving" their children from lives of poverty and the backwardness of their cultures (Jacobs, 2009).

Child-placing through adoption began as a social service designed to meet the overall needs of the child by providing a substitute for natural parental care. Through casework methods, social workers identified the needs of both the child and its parents. Educational training and fieldwork experience have helped social workers accumulate the necessary knowledge of the needs of children and their families, including practices such as adoption. Furthermore, in graduate schools of social work, social workers continue to contribute to an ever-growing body of literature on adoption practices through research and evaluation of accumulated experiences (Child Welfare League of America et al., 1959).

Casework in social work originated in the late nineteenth century in the friendly visiting of the Charity Organization Society (COS). It was imbued with the morals and values of a white, Christian, middle-class (Trattner, 1999). In the mid-nineteenth century, religion was a part of American society so much so that it was expected to be an inherent part of every day living (Holt, 1992). Through the inculcation of religion, namely Christianity, and industriousness, the character of the poor would be reformed and saved, thus improving their condition (Trattner, 1999).

It was the publication of *Social Diagnosis* by Mary Richmond in 1917 that led to scientific casework. According to Richmond (1917), the methods of casework discussed in *Social Diagnosis* aimed for the betterment of people on an individual basis as opposed to en mass. Perlman (1957) defined social casework as “a process used by certain human welfare agencies to help individuals to cope more effectively with their problems in social functioning” (p. 4). According to Richmond (1917), the charity organization movement, the juvenile court, and the medical-social movement heavily influenced the processes of social diagnosis. Social workers had to learn all they could about the difficulties individuals faced before they could meet their needs. Through a sequence of relationship building with a client and the client’s family, the social worker could gain evidence about the relevant challenging circumstances. Sources from outside family groups would be gathered and culled together with the other evidence leading to diagnosis. Perlman (1957) provided a clear summary of the casework process: “A person with a problem comes to a place where a professional representative helps him by a given process" (p. 4). The developed sequence of intervention, diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment, allowed the treatment of individuals to be "ordered, described, analyzed, and transmitted from one generation of social workers to another" (Trattner, 1999, p. 255).

As history professor Julie Berebitsky (2000) discusses, social work did not have an easy time putting adoption within its professional jurisdiction. The maternalist instinct that had driven many women, especially religious reform women, to open private adoption agencies proved difficult to replace with scientific knowledge. As a result, legislative initiatives were established that required the involvement of child welfare specialists in adoption situations. In 1917, Minnesota became the first state to pass such a law.

After World War II, adoption of foreign-born children into American homes became more commonplace. There are two main reasons for this. First, domestic adoption had become socially acceptable in the United States, and families without children were considered incomplete (Child Welfare League of America, 1956, 1958). In fact, in the early postwar years, it was considered quite an egregious violation to have a child out of wedlock. As a result, adoption became a rule that white unmarried mothers were encouraged, if not forced, to follow (Solinger, 2000). In her study of the *Delineator,* a popular women's magazine in the early1900s, Berebitsky (2000) writes of how the "Child-Rescue Campaign," which ran in the publication from 1907 until 1911, marked the first time that domestic adoption became popular and normalized. Over the years, more attention was given to the entire process of adoption by various professions and institutions, such as research within academia and policymaking in political and legal arenas. Soon enough, families that adopted children proclaimed their pride in their adopted children (Child Welfare League of America, 1956). For example, in The Minnesota Children's Home Finder of the Children's Home Society of Minnesota (Spring, 1953), stories abound of the thrill and happiness of being adoptive parents:

> We're all just fine. R. is growing cuter every day. She's starting to put a few words together now, she speaks quite plainly for such a little gal. Her appetite is still wonderful. She eats about everything we do, and really loves her milk. The judge said it was hard to believe she wasn't our very own, as she certainly looked like us both. (p. 4)

As a result, more families were interested in adopting white infants. Eventually, the number of prospective adoptive families far outweighed the number of children available for adoption (Child Welfare League of America 1958). In the United States during this time there were about 800,000 couples interested in adoption, but only about 50,000 children available (ISS, 1957a). In one local Minnesota agency there were usually three to four hundred requests for adoption for every one hundred children that it placed (CHSM, Summer 1953). Given the situation, Congress passed a series of special, temporary pieces of legislation granting entry of foreign children into the country for adoption. There was no international adoption law (Burns, 1954).

The second reason that intercountry adoption became popular was because of reports from soldiers stationed abroad of the many needy children orphaned by the war. Humanitarian motives fueled efforts to save these children, thereby infusing adoption with a particular kind of patriotism that encased the United States during the early Cold War years (Herman, 2008). For example, in 1955, staff from the Children's Home Society of Minnesota attended the 82nd Annual National Conference of Social Work where they learned of the increasing numbers of intercountry adoption. Although concerned with the lack of research to inform sound practices, the agency did bolster pride in the fact that international adoption "offers a chance to serve U.S. families wanting to adopt children" (CHSM, Summer 1955, p. 5).

Patriotic pronatalism, the notion that linked American cultural citizenship and national security with the high values placed on parenthood and the nuclear family, proliferated during the Cold War (May, 2008). The institutionalization of the nuclear family provided a sense of security in an uncertain world with the family unit representing a safe and dependable place (Klein, 2003). The nuclear family was of utmost importance to an American society that was desperately trying to hold strong against the evils of Communism.

Cold War Ideologies

The 1950s were an uneasy time in American history. Fear of nuclear attacks and the spread of Communism contributed greatly to the country's anxiety during this time. (Marsden, 2014). Many American leaders felt that the U.S. should assume a position of global leadership and power in order to resist the imperialism of the Soviet Union (Appy, 2000). As the country assumed this position of world power, it would have to work hard to prove itself and legitimate its identity to an international audience. As George Marsden (2014) writes, "America had been thrust into world leadership, and this role accentuated the urgency of articulating ideals that would not only help bring unity out of diversity at home, but prove worthy of respect abroad" (p. xxv). Of the ideologies that emerged during this time, the nuclear family and American religiosity gave Americans a sense of purpose and security. “Communism waged war on Christianity” (Stevens, 2010, p. 21), and the home “held out the promise of security in an insecure world” (May, 2008, p. 1).

The nuclear family model. The nuclear family model, complete with its white, middle-class, Christian standards, made clear palpable racial divisions. America’s struggles with racial issues domestically were of concern to the alliances it was trying to build with Third World nations attempting to decolonize. The U.S. held competing ideas about racial hierarchy and domination on the one hand, and equality and color blindness on the other (Borstelmann, 2001). With the race wars at home between African Americans and whites, and with people of color fighting against colonization and white rule abroad (Borstelmann, 2001), how was it that children from Korea came to be highly desired additions to 1950s American families? Adopting Korean orphans into American families perpetuated a racially integrated nuclear family model, thereby reinforcing domestic protections against Communism, which in contrast destroyed the family and replaced it with the state. Furthermore, it represented successful American expansion into Asia, and thus the global family (Choy, 2013), thereby further strengthening anti-Communist initiatives. This was particularly crucial as the United States battled against its own racial polarization (Borstelmann, 2001; Klein, 2003).

Adoption also reinforced the nuclear family model along lines of wholesome family values. History professor Julie Berebitsky (2000) argues that adoption mirrored biogenetic families because of middle-class American sentiment that placed high value on the nuclear democratic family. This particular form of family would “save ‘the family’ from the crisis of divorce and decline that seemed to threaten individual families as well as the stability of the larger society” (p. 3). Adoption also served to reinforce what historian Elaine Tyler May (2008) refers to as patriotic pronatalism – the wedding of citizenship and the nuclear family. As Arissa Oh (2015) states, the adoptee, "verified her adoptive parents' worthiness for inclusion in the nation at a time when status as a parent was equated with citizenship" (p. 152). Furthermore, Oh's concept of Christian Americanism equated being a good citizen with being a good Christian (Oh, 2015).

American religiosity. Religion has had a long history of both producing and consuming sociological knowledge (Fukuyama, 1963). Sociologists Charles Glock and Rodney Stark (1965) suggested that, from a sociological perspective, religion has long supported social cohesion. This notion is informed by the work of Emile Durkheim that revealed the necessity in understanding all of the components that make up a society in order to understand human behavior (Pals, 1996). The use of the term *religiosity* in relation to the religiousness of 1950s Cold War America establishes the sociological rather than the spiritual phenomena of religiousness that typified this time in history.

Midcentury Cold War America was characterized by a time of great unease. Living with the constant fear of the spread of Communism and nuclear warfare, it began to structure its domestic and foreign relations and commitments in such ways that would guarantee national security through containment. The increase in American religiosity permeated both domestic and foreign affairs and formed an identity of sorts as the U.S. desperately tried to fortify its resistance against Communism. In their book, *Religion and Society in Tension,* Glock and Stark (1965) suggested that when a religion is highly integrated into a social structure, everyday actions come to be defined by religious imperatives. In Christianity, man must "accept the political responsibilities of Christian citizenship on the basis of his citizenship in the Kingdom of God" (p. 34). This is quite evident in the American religiosity of Cold War America. Churches and clergy became beacons of assurance and security in an era of nuclear weapons (Kirby, 2012). Although American religiosity was not represented by an official religion of any kind, its heavy Christian influence solidified not only its historical impression, but also more current constructions of American patriotism.

Seen by many as a holy war, the Cold War was an ideological battle between Christianity and Communism. During this time, Americans believed that engaged Christianity depended on cultural-political ideologies and institutions for religious guidance (Stevens, 2010). Their goal was to build immunity among the American people against the evils of atheistic Communism (Herzog, 2011). Jonathan Herzog (2011) refers to the *spiritual-industrial complex* as a mechanism by which Christianity and politics meshed in order to erect an ideological, as well as practiced, barrier against Communism. He writes, "American leaders participated in the spiritual-industrial complex to reendow religion with social, cultural, and political meaning…religious faith became the bedrock of freedom and the loadstone of Americanism" (p. 6). In the postwar years there was observable growth in religiousness that included an increase of interest in religious observance and religious commodities (Glock & Stark, 1965). For example, there was an unprecedented increase in Bible sales and distribution during the 1950s (Herberg, 1983). Church attendance also rose significantly. Its functionality became much more centralized as a social hub in suburban areas, and religious affiliation was highly associated with the model and values of the nuclear family (May, 2008). Fukuyama (1963) reported that national home missions boards and state and local church councils employed sociological research methods to help denominations establish more churches in new, particularly suburban, communities. Moreover, in 1954, the Pledge of Allegiance was amended to include the phrase “under God.” It was the goal that in reciting the Pledge, schoolchildren would be rejecting Communist ideologies (Cloud, 2004).

Intercountry adoption from South Korea is one example of how 1950s Christian values became institutionalized under the guise of the nuclear family. America’s belief that its rescue of South Korean orphans was the manifestation of divine intervention served to further its own self-interest in establishing a robust anti-racist, anti-Communist front of familial centrality, wealth, and power to the rest of the world. Of interest, domestically, Korean adoption and the formation of interracial families happened during a time when Asians were still excluded from immigration into the United States based on stringent, anti-Asian immigration policies. Additionally, anti-miscegenation laws were still in effect in much of the country (Tuan & Shiao, 2011). Through the modernizing efforts of the United States in its relationship with Korea, the adoption of South Korean babies was constructed as an anti-Communist act (Oh, 2005). As institutions, groups, and individuals worked fervently to create appropriate and ethical means by which to rescue the growing number of mixed-blood Korean children, the extent to which American religiosity guided these efforts became clear in how it positioned and framed these children as objects of helplessness and innocence lost. This instilled a sense of sentimentality in the American public, who welcomed Korean adoptees as worthy additions to their nuclear families. Moreover, the American people now functioned in a country that held them accountable to their patriotism through their belief and service to God. If left unchecked, Communism would have destructive ramifications on the sanctity of the home and America’s devotion to God (Herzog, 2011). Korean adoption became the American tool of patriotic accountability.

In 1950, Reverend Bob Pierce founded World Vision, Inc., an evangelical missionary organization that provided sponsorships to Korean children. He wrote:

> The more I learn of the compassion and hear of our wonderful Savior and the more I see of the needy world to which He has called us to witness, the more I am convinced that He and the task to which He has called us are worthy of all we spend in His Name. (World Vision, Inc. c. 1955-1960)

Inspired by the work of World Vision, Harry Holt, an Oregon farmer, took the financial sponsorships a major step further by adopting some of these South Korean children, and urging American citizens to do the same (Marre & Briggs, 2009). Holt (ca. 1956-1957) wrote:

> The little boy or girl that may be, by the Grace of God, in your home by this time next year is right now lying on the floor in the cold Korean winter, huddled under whatever covers they happen to have. They are always cold and there is never enough to eat. Most of them are weak with malnutrition and sick with colds and dysentery, and many others with the beginnings of tuberculosis. We would ask all of you who are Christians to pray to God the He will give us the wisdom and strength and the power to deliver His little children from the cold and misery and darkness of Korea into the warmth and love of your homes. (p. 1)

The Religious Roots of Social Work and Adoption

During the Progressive Era, the field of social work was birthed into its professional status by a number of educated women who vocalized the importance of scientific research as paramount in establishing legitimacy of the profession. However, the earlier foundations of work that typified the profession had deep religious roots. The foundational canon of social work professed an obligation to offer aid to those less fortunate. Religious establishments became places of refuge for the downtrodden. In the late 1800s and early 1900s maternity homes operated by white evangelical reform women sought to save unwed mothers through conversion and piety (Kunzel, 1993).

Religious motivation also served as a major impetus for various child-placing strategies enacted throughout American history. For example, in two other major child-placing movements – the American Indian boarding schools and the Orphan Train Movement – it was believed, in large part, that instilling Christian values and morals into young people would guarantee their contributory functionality in adulthood. The ways of their birth cultures were seen as savage or backwards. From 1853 to 1929 the orphan trains placed over 200,000 children, women, and men across the country (Holt, 1992). From the late 1800s until 1930, tens of thousands of American Indian children were removed from their homes and placed in far away boarding schools run by the federal government in a nation-building effort to do away with indigenous peoples (Jacobs, 2014). In both of these cases of mass child-placing practices, the Christianizing of young people was central to the efforts of missionaries and reformers who believed that religiously infused moral development was key to ensuring a productive and responsible citizenry.

In 1956, the Child Welfare League of America, founded in 1920 as a national cooperative organization of child welfare agencies across the country, published its two-volume *Study of Adoption Practice* where discussion was given to the role of religion in adoption, citing the importance of proper moral and spiritual values in the sound development of a child. Because both social work and adoption practices share a religious base, and origins from sectarian entities such as churches and pastors, the study highlighted the importance of a religious education and environment for children. In particular, religious leaders asserted, “that a home in which religion is an integral part is a more stable home, better able to provide permanent security for a child” (p. 13). In writing of the connection between religion and child welfare, Charles G. Chakerian, of the Institute of Church Social Service with the Hartford Seminary Foundation, emphasized, “It could not be otherwise. For both religion and government have for long considered themselves responsible for the welfare of all children in need of protection” (p. 122). He went on to suggest that, “If religion is important in the life of a child, then the religious values and practices of an adoptive home must be assessed” (p. 128).

Christianity and Korea

Korean children adopted into American homes satisfied both foreign relations between the United States and South Korea, and the idea of the nuclear family promoted through the patriotic pronatalism of 1950s Cold War America. It also melded well with the American religiosity that was alive and well during this time as Christianity, in particular, had long united Korea and the United States. The spread of Christianity into Korea began in the late 1880s when American Christian missionaries sought to “enlighten Asia with Christianity” in a “worldwide attempt to Christianize the world” (Hurdis, 2007, p. 172). The criticality of religion in America’s national heritage was engrained into the functioning and belief of the public that God had called upon them to “promote both peace and freedom in the world” (p. 11, Inboden, 2008). Because proselytizing was banned in Korea in the late 1800s, missionaries offered social services as teachers and doctors rather than religious and church-based services (Hurdis, 2007).

Part of the early Christian exchange between the two countries was the emigration of Koreans to Hawai'i to work on sugar plantations in the late 1800s and early 1900s. In order to offset the number of Chinese and Japanese workers who left the plantation in pursuit of other moneymaking endeavors, or who were considered unruly and poor workers, Koreans were brought in as another inexpensive Asian race (Patterson, 1988). According to Patterson (2000), many who emigrated to Hawai'i were peasant farmers that had fled to cities during the end of the 19th century where they came into contact with Protestant missionaries working in Korean cities and ports. Patterson (2000) maintains that it was believed that by converting these farmers from their Confucian-oriented values system to Christianity would provide them with a better life. Patterson continues by reporting that once in Hawai'i, Methodist missionaries designed services aimed at making Koreans better plantation workers. These services included such things as ensuring welfare and wellbeing, mediation between plantation owners and workers, education, and worship, including the construction of churches and the employment of Korean pastors.

In the first half of the twentieth century in Korea, Christianity gained further acceptance during Japan's occupation because it was seen as a form of resistance against Japanese imperialism. Christianity thus encouraged and strengthened a Korean national identity "infused with notions of freedom" (Hurdis, 2007, p. 174). Interestingly, as Christianity politically united Korea against Japanese imperialism, after World War II, Christianity would bind together the United States against the threat of Communism.

Since it was believed that atheistic Communism sought to extinguish religious belief, and Americans felt that faith in God was of the utmost importance, the country used religion to strengthen resistance against Communism (Inboden, 2008). It also used it to strengthen global resistance against Communism. Just as migration of Korean plantation workers to Hawai'i occurred along Christian ties at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, it would be another wave of Korean migration that would further fuse the two countries together along religious and political lines – intercountry adoption of Korean children into American homes, a practice still occurring today.

The State of the Children

Christina Klein's (2003) *Cold War Orientalism* discusses the ways in which Americans could participate in the country's expansion into Asia through integrative and sentimentalized means that they could produce and consume. Korean adoption was one such example. Mounting media attention thrust intercountry adoption into the national spotlight. The 'waif' image was used by many agencies soliciting and providing aid internationally to tug at the heartstrings of the American people so that they would take pity on these poor helpless children, thus creating an ideology of rescue (Briggs, 2003). As rescuers, social welfare agencies, religious missionaries, and adoptive parents constructed Korean children into victims who could not escape bleak chances for survival without being saved by Americans (Oh, 2012). Domestically, decisions to adopt were largely based on religious and moral principles to save impoverished orphan children from the "third-worldness of their country" (Bergquist, 2003, p. 344). Internationally, it was thought that adoption could facilitate better foreign relations between the U.S. and Asia, and thus it became an acceptable and expected American practice, with mixed-blood children being welcomed into nuclear family households as emblems “of a prosperous and secure America” (Klein, 2003, p. 147). The profession of social work played a major role in joining the United States and South Korea through its establishment of intercountry adoption practices.

The American Branch of International Social Service

International Social Service (ISS) is an international social welfare organization with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. The organization’s name comes from the three-pronged definition of *international social service* – social work within one country with individuals not originally from that country, social work requiring work across national borders, and social workers of one country conducting their work in another country (Northcott, Rosicky, Elvin, Ayoub, & Lambert, 2012). The primary purpose of ISS is to “protect, defend, and support” children and families affected by intercountry migration, thereby making it a worldwide leader in child welfare, (ISS, 2015 Who We Are section, Mission and Vision, para. 1). The American Branch of International Social Service (ISS-USA) offers a number of psychosocial and legal services to children and families who have been separated by migration, always keeping the best interest of the child as a top priority (ISS, 2015; Northcott, et al., 2012). For almost a century, ISS has utilized intercountry casework in its service to children and families, a practice it developed and refined over the years since it was founded in 1924 (Northcott et al., 2012).

Today, the expansive network of ISS contains 15 non-profit, legally independent branches, 4 affiliated bureaus – some governmental and some not – and correspondents active in over 120 countries. The American Branch, which is the focus of this study, currently has its office in Baltimore, Maryland (ISS, 2015).

In 1924, six years after World War I, ISS was established in response to the many challenges that arose from the migration of people all over a growing, internationally connected world (ISS, 1957a). What was particularly pioneering of ISS was that its establishment came at a time when cooperation between private and governmental agencies even at the national level was relatively uncharted territory, let alone on an international level. While ISS dealt with the many problems brought to the organization using casework methods locally, the worldly reach of its services led to its application of casework on an international level (ISS, n.d.). In 1959, the then director of ISS, Edna Weber, defined intercountry casework as “a method of extending individualised social services to persons whose problems require study or action in another country; a method of interagency co-operation designed to bring together on behalf of a client social services in more than one country” (Weber, 1959, p. 44). However, applying social casework methods on a global scale was no easy task. According to a publication put out by ISS (n.d.) titled, *International Social Service, a History, 1921 – 1955*, because of differences in socio-cultural, political, and economic backgrounds and attitudes in different countries, ISS recognized that casework meant different things in different countries. Furthermore, as an intermediary between social agencies in different countries, ISS was limited in how much direct contact it had with the individuals being directly affected by its services. In order to establish an effective intercountry casework method, the various ISS branches had to figure out how to establish a close working relationship with one another despite the distance. They also had to learn how to share the knowledge they were gaining with local social workers.

In 1945, World War II came to an end. However, it brought an onslaught of new problems – primarily those of children left abandoned or orphaned in the aftermath of conflict. ISS found an expanded role for itself in intercountry adoption (ISS, 1957a). As stated in *International Social Service, a History, 1921 – 1955* (n.d.):

> Because many of these children, coming without prior social inquiry, are not subject to any of the safeguards customary in local adoptions, the ISS has become acutely aware of the wide divergence in national laws, attitudes and placement practices, and the scant international coordination in protective measures. Indeed, in no one field had intercountry consultation seemed more urgent than about these children transplanted from one cultural and legal setting to another. (p. 60)

The ultimate goal of ISS in the development of its intercountry adoption program was to establish sound practices that resulted in children being adopted into homes within their birth countries even if their natural parents could not care for them (ISS-USA, 1957b). The principles of intercountry adoption, established by ISS in 1957, laid out the specificities in regard to child welfare. In particular, Principle 2 stated that, "sufficient consideration should be given to possible alternative plans for the child within his own country before intercountry adoption is decided upon since there are various hazards inherent in transplanting a child from one culture to another" (Dodds, 1961, p. 2). However, while ISS worked with social agencies in other countries to increase and improve the services it provided to children in need of adoption, the Korean War brought a new kind of problem – the mixed-blood children born of Korean women and fathered by primarily American soldiers.

Because most mixed-blood Korean children adopted after the war went to homes in the United States, it was the work of the American branch of ISS that exemplified the intercountry casework method of *case conference by correspondence*. With its current office in Baltimore, Maryland, ISS-USA was incorporated in New York City in 1926 (ISS, 2015). In 1955 Assistant Director Susan Pettiss (1955b) stated, “We provide service to all the social agencies throughout the United States and correspond with almost all the countries around the world” (p. 1). At that time ISS-USA had eight social workers plus clerical staff (Pettiss, 1955b). After the fighting of the Korean War had ceased, ISS-USA, under the direction of William T. Kirk, set out to use its intercountry casework methods to rescue the many mixed-blood Korean War orphans whose situations were dire, and futures bleak at best. The intercountry adoption methods developed by ISS-USA in the early 1950s became an industry standard and are still used by adoption agencies today.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Chapter Overview

This chapter will examine previous research on the origins of Korean adoption. There are three important research aspects pertinent to this study. First, because this study is situated within a critical framework, the literature reviewed here includes the research by Korean adoptee scholars who have disrupted the long-standing intercountry adoption narrative. Second, because this study seeks to investigate the role the profession of social work played in the establishment of intercountry adoption policies and procedures of mixed-blood Korean children, constructions of motherhood and maternalist ideologies will be discussed within the context of the professionalization of social work. Finally, the sexual exploitation of Korean women by the U.S. military figures prominently into the intercountry adoption story. Since many of these women were the birthmothers of the mixed-blood Korean children that were ultimately placed in to American homes, existing research on camptown prostituted Korean women will be discussed. In as much as their children were politicized in the formalization of Korean adoption, so too were the countless number of Korean women whose bodies were used to bind foreign relations between the U.S. and South Korea.

A Culturally Imperialist Mission

This particular study examines the time period from 1953, when conflict during the Korean War was suspended, to 1961 when proxy adoptions were banned and intercountry adoption was established as a permanent piece of immigration policy in the United States. During this time anti-Communist ideologies and motivations propelled the United States in its particular and urgent interest in Asia after World War II. In the immediate postwar years the U.S. significantly increased its political, military, and economic power in Asian regions (Klein, 2003). When China fell to Communism, and with the Korean War seen as a direct confrontation with Communism, South Korea became even more vital to the U.S. and its mission of continued liberal development abroad (Ekbladh, 2010). Bearing this in mind, scholars and activists have begun to challenge the prevailing discourse of Korean adoption, which speaks largely of the enduring benevolent and humanitarian efforts of so many concerned with the welfare of the Korean orphan. As Chen (2012) asserts:

> Transnational/-racial adoption is seen as an act of altruism, on the one hand, or a strategy of exploitation, on the other, as either subversive or as supportive of the existing social hierarchy, as conforming to either biological or social determinism. Adoptees are seen as either a gift of love or as objects of consumption, adoptive parents as either caring-parents or as consumer-parents. Transnational/-racial adoption is situated within a sphere of domestic and psychological concerns or it is related to global capital and political institutions. (p. 181)

Outsiders Within is an anthology of writings by transracial adoptees, many of them Korean adoptees. Trenka, Oparah, & Shin (2006), editors of the collection, proclaim that the book is a “corrective action” against adoptive parents and professionals, such as social workers and psychiatrists, that have long dominated the literature on adoption. As experts in their fields, they “have been the ones to tell the public – including adoptees – ‘what it’s like’ and ‘how we turn out’” (p. 1). Consequently, this has become the dominant narrative that many adoptees have come to know about themselves. One of the contributing authors, and well-known scholar and activist in adoptee communities, is

Kim Park Nelson. In her piece titled, “Shopping for Children in the International Marketplace” Park Nelson disrupts the long-standing clinical narrative and brings to light the business transactions and compensations – monetary, material, or social – involved in international adoption. She asserts, “The growing practice of transnational adoption can be understood through a simple supply and demand equation” (p. 89). Similarly, in her analysis of how Korean orphans were made into marketable objects, scholar SooJin Pate (2014) posits that the orphan is reduced “into an object or product that can fill orders and be collected” (p. 90). Both authors do acknowledge to varying extents the roles social workers played in intercountry adoption from South Korea, however, neither centralizes the prominence of the profession in terms of creating a formalized system of child-placing methods in the immediate years after the Korean War. Both Park Nelson and Pate provide in-depth discussion related to the crafting of adoptees as commodities for white American parents to obtain, however, again, neither author examines the ways in which the profession of social work contributed to the meaning-making of Korean adoptees and intercountry adoption from a macro perspective in terms of national interests. As such, neither examined the topic from a maternalist framework.

Race has also been an important factor in adoption narratives. Locked in to the business of such adoptions is the fact that oftentimes children from other countries have racial and cultural identities that are different from their white adoptive families. Even though clinical experts have acknowledged these racial differences in transracial adoptions, rarely has race, and more importantly, racism, been factored into more macro understandings of international adoption. Park Nelson (2006) argues that because of the hierarchical differences in adopting children domestically or abroad, and the superiority white parents feel in terms of their parental abilities compared to parents in poor countries, transnational adoption is justified. Park Nelson also contends that white adoptive parents are able to perpetuate their white privilege through the act of adoption as transracial children are assimilated into white American values, behavior, and ideals.

In her book, *Global Families: A History of Asian International Adoption in America*, ethnic studies professor Catherine Ceniza Choy (2013) examines the creation of the global family created through adoption. She defines "global family making" as, "the process involving the decisions made and actions taken by people who create and sustain a family by consciously crossing national and often racial borders" (p. 9). Choy asserts that while social workers were sensitive to race and racism in Korea and the United States, the lived experiences as expressed by adult adoptees through memoirs, visual arts, and documentary films reveals how detrimental the absence of discussions of race and racism in the broader adoption narrative has been. The mark of a successful adoption was the proper Americanization of the Korean adoptee (Choy, 2007). Americanization has been synonymous with Christianization (Oh, 2005; Pate, 2014). With many adoptees growing up in white, Christian families, identifying culturally as American, and isolated from each other, racial discrimination has been particularly challenging to deal with. Korean adoptees oftentimes express feelings of not being American enough as racial minorities, and not being Korean or Asian enough in South Korea and Korean American communities (Kim, 2007). Considering the intersections of race, culture, and religion, scholar and activist JaeRan Kim (2006) says:

> White parents may feel that they are exempt from being racist; after all, they adopted a child of another race. Yet through promoting the 'we are all God's

> children' mentality, Christianity breeds a sort of colorblindness that is often as dangerous to a child of color as overt racism. (p. 158)

Once again, while acknowledging to various extents the views of social workers with respect to race and racism, none of the authors centered the maternalist nature of the profession of social work with respect to its emphasis on the assimilative nature of intercountry adoption in terms of the Americanizing of mixed-blood Korean children as the next generation of American citizens. Moreover, neither author provided any connection with the maternalist ideologies of social work that characterized privileged white mothers – white adoptive parents – as the most fit to raise future American citizens.

Tobias Hübinette (2006) examines international adoption from an anthropological lens focused on migration history. Referencing the genocidal motives behind past practices of forcible child removal, Hübinette questions why international adoption has remained largely uncontested within this framework. In a bold and riveting comparison of international transracial adoption and the Atlantic slave trade, Hübinette argues that the similarities between the two forced migrations were driven by consumer demand and utilized indigenous assistance in procuring the supply – adoption agencies and slave hunters, respectfully. International transracial adoptees and slaves were forced to assimilate to new cultural expectations and identities, with both legally belonging to their families or households. While Hübinette's work could align well with the evolution of the profession of social work in terms of its involvement in child-placing interventions meant to curb delinquent behavior and instill American values, he does not center the profession's role in what he is arguing is the genocidal nature of intercountry adoption. Hübinette's stance is worth further inquiry especially in terms of historical trauma.

Historical trauma has been a framework in which massive forced genocidal events have been examined such as the forced removal of Indigenous groups, slavery, and the Holocaust (e.g., Alexander, 2012; Brave Heart, 2011; Eyerman, 2004), however, intercountry adoption from South Korea has not been examined from a historical trauma perspective.

Arissa Oh (2015) also discusses the ways in which Korean adoptees were assimilated into American citizens through Christian indoctrination. The religiosity of 1950s America, which she terms *Christian Americanism*, drove many American families to adopt the orphaned children of South Korea. Positioning the salvation of these children as missionary work, Oh demonstrates how the fusion of religious and patriotic sensibilities affirmed the Christian goodness and Americanness of adoptive families. Through the adoption of mixed-blood Korean orphans, Americans responded to the Korea situation in three ways. According to Oh, the adoption of these children served as an ideological victory of the Korean War since there had been no obvious defeat of North Korea. The expansion of American families through intercountry adoption reinforced this intimate and vital unit of containment (May, 2008). Stable homes with married parents and children offered a sense of stability and security. The situation in Korea, with the many desperate and abandoned children made Americans realize just how fragile the notions of home and family were. As Oh states, “Seeing the plight of Korean orphans was like seeing their own nightmares made real” (p. 88).

Oh’s work carries a similar macro lens as this study. She focuses on American religiosity as a central influence in the origin of Korean adoption. In many ways, her work aligns closely with that of social work, especially considering the religious roots of the profession. Oh also connects the adoption of Korean children with nation-building in terms of what such adoptions meant for America’s fight against Communism. However, as with other authors writing of the origins of Korean adoption, Oh does not center the social work profession and its role, even from the most secular agencies such as ISS-USA, in reinforcing and perpetuating her notion of Christian Americanism from the formalized adoption practices that it established in the immediate postwar years.

Bridging the Past and the Present

Intercountry adoptees from South Korea were a social experiment whose identities and lives, and the practices that brought them to the United States, have been continually examined since Korean adoption began in the early 1950s (Kim, 2010). In a study of the portrayals of adopted Koreans in Korean popular culture, Tobias Hübinette (2007) concludes that the imagery and messages contradict dominant Western narratives of “successful” adoptees suggesting instead unhappiness in their adoptive countries and a longing for Korea. Anthropology professor Eleana Kim (2010) provides an ethnographic perspective of the complexities involved in having to navigate and negotiate notions of race, nation, and family. Kim explains that transracial transnational adoption has largely been figured as a multicultural and humanitarian gesture, with adoptees as the epitome of “postnational cosmopolitanism.” However, adoptee narratives point to serious limitations of such a utopian notion of international relations. “They are like holographs – turned one way, they appear to be among the most privileged of cosmopolitans, turned the other, they are the ultimate subalterns as ‘orphaned’ and ‘abandoned’ children” (p. 8). In this way, Kim asserts that the idea of belonging is always “a contingent and historical process” (p. 266). The historical justifications of Korean adoption that lie with the global hierarchies of race, class, and gender have never been solved by adoption, rather, they continue to keep adoptees framed within “dominant ideologies of self, family, and nation” (p. 267).

The work of Kim and Hübinette provide rich qualitative data that could be used for further research in social work, especially from a critical perspective that would serve to challenge the dominant clinical narrative that maintains adoption as good, and adoptees as well-adjusted and healthy. While both authors tie in the complexities of the historical aspects of Korean adoption, they do not connect the past with the present from a social work-centered perspective. Even though social workers have contributed to early and ongoing research that maintains the dominant narrative, the profession can also challenge this by including the experiences of adult adoptees. According to Finley (1999), there is a compelling need for more research on adult adoptees. Much of the adoption research has and continues to focus on children and adolescents (e.g., Brooks & Barth, 1999; Burrow & Finley, 2004; Grotevant, 1997; Hamilton, Samek, Keyes, McGue, & Iacono, 2015; Howe, 2001; Swim, Saltsman, Deater-Deckard, & Petrill, 2007; Weinberg, Waldman, van Dulmen, & Scarr, 2004).

Constructions of Motherhood

As both an ideology and a movement, at its core, maternalism was concerned with the perpetuation and survival of a capable citizenry. Because of this, motherhood was a central focus of many reformers. The wellbeing of the child was central to the maternalist agenda (Ladd-Taylor, 1994). Single motherhood represented a significant social problem since it was believed that many single mothers were poor immigrants (Gordon, 1994). Since the maternalist policy template followed racial, cultural, and even religious lines, white, middle-class, Christian women were celebrated as ideal “mothers of the nation’s citizen-soldiers,” while “those whose heredity, homes, and family lives did not fit the ideal” were denounced (Ladd-Taylor, 1994, p. 49). There was widespread fear that the child-raising practices of poor immigrants and people of color would produce inferior generations, leading to social disorder (Gordon, 1994). During the Progressive Era, social workers took their feminine virtues into impoverished inner cities. These educated women took up residence among the downtrodden in settlement houses, which offered a variety of services to help acclimate the immigrant to American ways (Muncy, 1991). It would be this acclimation, or rather, assimilation, that would be one of the defining features of maternalism.

When women were granted the right to vote in 1920, maternalism was weakened as a political movement. Furthermore, with the failure of a child labor amendment to the constitution, the defeat of the Sheppard-Towner Act, and anti-Communist attacks on many reformers including Progressive maternalists, the Progressive Era maternalist movement came to an end by the late 1920s (Ladd-Taylor, 1994). However, history professor Rebecca Jo Plant (2010) reports that maternalism has continued to be used in other contexts to report on almost any political activity in which women have asserted their roles as mothers. In her book, *Mom: The Transformation of Motherhood in Modern America,* Plant stretches Ladd-Taylor’s definition of maternalism to encompass the cultural representations of maternal subjectivity in addition to the gendered aspects of motherhood, and motherhood as a familial and civic duty. American motherhood emerged from the belief that mothers had the ability to transform children. It was conceptualized as an institution, and was likened to “a branch of government, charged with reproducing the populace and upholding the nation's guiding principles" (Plant, 2010, p. 5). The institution of American motherhood would have a significant effect on adoption.

The notion of motherhood has taken on a number of different variations throughout history. Linked with the ideology of maternalism, how motherhood was constructed has broadly shaped child welfare policy and practice in the United States. The establishment of the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912, and policies such as the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921 that focused on maternal health education, serve as examples (Skocpol, 1995). Furthermore, maternalist ideologies have significantly overlapped with the social work profession (Curran, 2005). Social work has always been a female-dominated profession. As evangelist revivals swept the nation in the pre-Civil War years, many women had the opportunity to break out of the domestic sphere, and into the public sphere, primarily within the church (Abramovitz, 2000). From the mid-nineteenth century through the early twentieth century, when social work would become recognized as an established profession (Ehrenreich, 1985), women continued to infiltrate the public sphere. Branded as the *female dominion,* historian Robyn Muncy (1991) traces the evolution of the profession from the years after the Civil War through the Progressive Era. She asserts that the belief system that women possessed certain moral values that required self-sacrifice in order to serve others provided the legitimacy of women to serve in professional helping roles.

Drawing on Victorian constructions of moral motherhood that established Anglo-American, Protestant, middle- and upper-class women as "virtuous, pious, tender, and understanding," mothers were considered "the chief transmitters of religious and moral values" (Bloch, 1978, p. 99). Maternalism in the late 1800s took the form of benevolent intrusions into the lives of the poor to impart Christian morals and values related to moral motherhood. Comprised largely of women, the charity organization societies of the late 1800s provided the basis of scientific charity work that characterized a foundational practice tenet of the profession – the scientific method. As Lubove (1965) states, "Charity organization was the creation of middle-class Protestant Americans, denouncing rigid sectarianism in charitable affairs but inspired by an evangelical sense of mission" (p. 16). Through "friendly visiting," volunteers practiced a kind of service that combined religious and scientific aspects of caring for the needy (Wenocur & Reisch, 2001). "Friendly visitors" were able to uncover important findings that shaped not only public perception of poverty and the poor, but also the emerging profession of social work.

During the Progressive Era, the intrusions moved away from a moral base and were rooted in the scientific expertise of the growing profession of social work. Scientific motherhood still resembled moral motherhood in that it considered women responsible for the mothering of children within the home, and that women needed instruction on how to do so (Ladd-Taylor, 1994; Plant, 2010). The industrial family ethic claimed that reproduction was the centerpiece of a woman's life thereby confining her to the home. It elevated motherhood to ideological heights, and continued the Victorian values that considered mothers as moral mothers (Abramovitz, 1996). However, during the professionalization of social work, and the science and medical expertise it attached to scientific motherhood, there was a shift away from the religious and moral aspects of moral motherhood (Ladd-Taylor, 1994).

Single motherhood was seen as a particular problem (Kunzel, 1993; Solinger, 2000). Social workers of the U.S. Children's Bureau were among the first to take an interest in illegitimacy. Through a barrage of persistent and invasive investigations and studies of maternity homes, they quickly asserted their place as experts of unmarried mothers and their needs (Kunzel, 1993). Beyond just research into maternity homes, scientific motherhood ideologies in general held condescending cultural biases toward poor, immigrant, and minority mothers. Similar to how destitute children were treated, attitudes and beliefs of mothers also followed racial, cultural, and religious lines. White mothers were always defined in stark contrast from immoral and unhygienic ethnic mothers (Plant, 2010). These women needed to be taught how to be mothers, which involved assimilation into white, American, Christian, middle-class morals and values (Abramovitz, 1996).

From the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a national network of maternity homes sought to reclaim and redeem single white unwed mothers. Founded and run by Evangelical reform women, the trappings of Christian benevolence factored in to every aspect of their work (Kunzel, 1993). The women who came to work in the maternity homes proclaimed they felt the religious call to devote themselves to rescue work. They felt their work was a missionary effort that they, as women, were uniquely suited to. (Kunzel, 1993). This kind of social work, with its deep religious values and influence, held critical ground for early social workers because religion wasn't unique to social work, but an inherent value in broader human needs and for social action. Graham Taylor (1913), founder of the Chicago School, said:

> Even some of the most direct calls made upon the workers of Bible days came to them out of plainly discernible processes of experience, by which they had been gradually prepared to be called, and without which they could hardly have been capable of hearing or obeying. (p. 63)

Stemming from social work's more religious roots, the social worker was, in essence, a missionary charged with contributing to and supporting the betterment of people's lives through selfless and benevolent acts of giving and kindness (Margolin, 1997).

In a study exploring the ways that unwed motherhood brought, particularly women, into the conundrum of how exactly to deal with it, historian Regina Kunzel (1993) discusses the stark ideological differences between social workers and their evangelical predecessors. Whereas evangelical reformers focused on the redemption of unwed mothers by way of religious conversion, social workers, who were often white, middle- and upper-middle class women, sought to treat them primarily through the practice of casework, which they pitted in direct opposition to religion. These social workers "claimed 'illegitimacy' to be within their realm of expertise and eventually demanded places of central importance in homes for unmarried mothers" (p. 2).

While evangelical reform women considered the needs of the mother first and foremost, social workers considered the needs of the child first (Kunzel, 1993). While social workers with similar affiliations also agreed on the white, middle-class, and Christian family structure as the best environment for children, they claimed their own authority in child welfare not on the fact that their feminine virtues as women made them natural experts, but on the expertise they held as professionals (Ladd-Taylor, 1994). Unmarried mothers were often "told by family members, social-service agencies, and clergy that relinquishing their child for adoption was the only acceptable option," (Fessler, 2006, p. 9) and would be in the best interest of their child (Kunzel, 1993). During the early Cold War years it was believed that the unwed mother suffered from psychological disorders for being pregnant without a husband. If she were a member of the lower class, an unwed mother would be deemed feeble-minded or delinquent. If she was from the middle-class, she was labeled as neurotic (Fessler, 2006). Despite her diagnoses, of most importance was that the child of an unwed mother could be saved, thus creating a high value on white babies (Solinger, 2000):

> A poor 'white trash' teenager could have a baby in [Apalachia]; it could be adopted by an upper-middle-class couple in Westport, Connecticut, for example, and the baby would, in that transaction, become upper middle class also. (p. 174, Solinger, 2000)

The construction of adoptive motherhood began in the early 1900s with a publication called the *Delineator,* a popular women's magazine. Julie Berebitsky (2000) discusses the influence of the "Child-Rescue Campaign" in the *Delineator* on women who were interested in adopting children. Even before the institutionalization of American motherhood that Plant refers to, the *Delineator* urged women to adopt "by appealing to their sense of patriotic and civic duty, in addition to their motherly instinct" (p. 55). The value of motherhood was elevated through the positioning of adoptive mothers as selfless women choosing to adopt children in order to have a family. Motherhood was based on love and nurturance, not the blood tie. Berebitsky continues by explaining that the *Delineator* provided a platform on which adoptive motherhood could be built and shared. It offered practical information for women interested in finding children to be adopted. It normalized adoption, and offered descriptions of the experience of adoptive mothering.

Harry Holt, who will be further introduced later in this study, has remained a central figurehead in intercountry adoption from South Korea. His wife, Bertha, however, was the one who embodied the desirable qualities of 1950s American adoptive motherhood. Her status as the ideal mother was exemplified in her own six biological children – "all religious, hardworking, and family oriented – in other words, 'perfect children'" (Oh, 2015, p. 95). The adoption of eight Korean orphans exemplified her status as adoptive mother. With the patriotic meanings of parenthood that emerged during the Cold War (May, 1995), together, Harry and Bertha Holt were the model postwar family with Korean children to replenish their family, a hardworking male provider, and a female housewife taking care of the home and children (Oh, 2015).

In sharp contrast to the goodness and priority of the adoptive mother, there was the Korean mother – the Korean unwed mother. Korean unwed mothers were cast in a negative light and deemed unfit to care for their own children (Pate, 2014). However, especially for those who were prostituted in camptowns surrounding U.S. military bases in Korea, their fall from virtue and chastisement as "brazen Western whores" (Cho, 2008) elevated American adoptive parents into Christ-like status as they essentially forgave the birthmother's transgression by saving her child via adoption (Pate, 2014). As the birthmothers of many mixed-blood children, camptown prostituted women are indeed critical links in the story of intercountry adoption from postwar South Korea. The victims of sexual violence regulated by the U.S. military and the U.S. and Korean governments, they literally carried the wounds and scars from militaristic and political brutality – what the military did, and what it took from them. The policing and trashing of their bodies does not paint a picture of innocence. Furthermore, the regulation of camptown prostitution averts our gaze from camptown women as victims to camptown women as "shy Korean maiden[s]" turned "into brazen Western whores" (Cho, 2008, p. 93). Moreover, these women and their sacrifices and suffering have been almost completely erased from our collective memory of intercountry adoption from South Korea. As long as they are maintained as "Yankee whores," they will never be restored to a state of innocence (Cho, 2008, p. 120).

Hurdis (2007) asserts that international adoption privileges "First World nations through the exploitation of Second and Third World nations, specifically women and children" (p. 177). She maintains that we must understand the ways in which children continue to be commoditized into resources that First World nations can afford to purchase. Seen through this framework, Hurdis argues that there is a price placed on motherhood, and a separation of legitimate and illegitimate mothers. Consider terms such as "orphan" or "imploring waif." Contrast that language with descriptions of camptown prostituted women. They were considered *fallen women* who long ago lost social status and self-respect from deviating from the traditional, strict prescribed roles of dutiful and obedient girls, women, daughters, and wives (Moon, 1997). Whether her deviations such as sex outside of marriage, rape, incest, or divorce, were seen as choice or inflicted unwantedly upon her did not matter. In a society characterized by classist distinctions and racial and cultural homogeneity, that they have had sexual relations with foreigners, these women were seen as pariahs – a disgrace to themselves and Korea (Moon, 1997). Because these women lacked social status and financial resources to keep their children, that they gave them up willingly, or were forcibly taken, bestows upon them an identity of illegitimacy in terms of motherhood. Meanwhile, because First World women can afford these children, they were designated as legitimate mothers (Hurdis, 2007).

The authors do well in their discussions of how motherhood has been defined within a maternalist perspective. Additionally, there is ample linkage between the crafting and re-crafting of maternalist motherhood from a social work perspective. Berebitsky (2000) introduces the construction of adoptive motherhood, however, her discussion is relegated to the early twentieth century. Arissa Oh (2015) brings in the Korean perspective of adoptive motherhood in her explanation of Bertha Holt, however, she leaves out the social work perspective. While the Holt's were heavily involved in the rescue of mixed-blood Korean children in postwar South Korea, they were not social workers. In fact, their method of adoption by proxy was admonished by professional social workers. Similarly, SooJin Pate (2014) also provides the adoptive mother perspective in her comparison of Korean birthmothers and American adoptive mothers. Hurdis (2007) adds the economic feature of motherhood with respect to intercountry adoption in her discussion of the affordability of adopting children from foreign countries. However, while all of the authors writing about motherhood provide pieces of the puzzle, none have examined motherhood with respect to the origins of Korean adoption through the maternalist framework that has been so closely associated with the profession of social work.

Military-Regulated Sexual Violence Against Korean Women

Korean adoption was a result of war. It was a rescue mission influenced heavily by Christian values, and designed to send children fathered by foreign servicemen and born of Korean women who were often prostituted by the U.S. military and Korean government, to white homes in the United States and Europe (Hübinette, 2006). These mixed-blood Korean children were outcasts in South Korea and crafted into objects of sentiment and desire to Americans (Briggs, 2003; Choy, 2013; Pate, 2014). In the 1950s the interracial intimacy between American men and Korean women was a crucial link that tied the two countries together (Choy, 2013). Feminist scholar and researcher Cynthia Enloe (2000) asserts that sexual exploitation and militarization have long been bound together, and often reinforced through official policies. She says that, "Together, ideologies of militarism and sexuality have shaped the social order of military base towns and the lives of women in those towns" (p. 51). Certainly, this is the case for South Korea. However, the military-regulated prostitution of Korean women by the U.S. and Korean governments has been left out of the dominant adoption narrative. As U.S. military bases became a permanent fixture in postwar South Korea, the country's long history of the sexual exploitation of women by foreign soldiers revived itself.

The 1953 Mutual Defense Treaty established permanent U.S. military bases in South Korea (Moon, 2007). Camptowns sprung up near these bases, and were essentially manufactured towns that offered the services of clubs, bars, restaurants, and other small businesses to soldiers stationed there (Moon, 2010). Additionally, prostituted South Korean women were employed in the camptown bars and clubs. As the country worked to build some kind of infrastructure after the war ended, the Korean government saw the twofold benefit of camptowns filled with prostituted women – it would guarantee national security, and earn the highly valued foreign currency that would become a major contributor to Korea's economic success (Park, 2013). Sexual services from prostituted women contributed to boosting troop morale, as soldiers were far from any kind of female companionship and often suffered under the constant stress of battle (Hicks, 1994). For South Korea, prostitution ensured the continued protection from North Korea. Additionally, it maintained economic support that proved vital to its post-war recovery as the sexual services of prostituted Korean women brought cash flow to a devastated economy. For the United States, preventing communist takeover in South Korea only served to further its global anticommunist mission. As Enloe (2000) writes, “The prostitution industry had been self-consciously shaped by two governments, each seeking to exert controls that would ensure that its own goals would be met” (p. 91).

It would be the Korean War, and not World War II, that prompted the development of the military-industrial complex (Cumings, 2010). Of particular relevance to this research are the effects that the military-industrial complex had on Korean women. Centuries–long practices of sexual violence against women during times of warfare and conflict is tragically not a new feature of war. Since the United States began its military occupation of Korea in 1945, prostitution had existed. Most prostituted women from the 1950s to the 1970s came from poor rural families. Many of them were considered “fallen women,” having been cast from their families and society because of divorce, rape, incest, and sex or pregnancy before marriage (Moon, 1997). Some prostituted women had run away from home, escaping abuse. Others had been disowned for deviating from their proper and rigid gender roles and responsibilities. Recruiters took full advantage of their destitution, oftentimes posing as employment agencies and enticing these girls and women into a business of suffering (Hughes, Chon, & Ellerman, 2007). Prostitution was not just relegated to the camptowns. Many Korean women engaged in prostitution as a matter of survival. The loss of many Korean men during the war, and the massive poverty left in the wake of the war left some women with no choice but to prostitute themselves to even afford basic necessities such as food (Moon, 2010). However, it would be the egregious offenses committed in the regulation of government-sanctioned prostitution that linked war and occupation with intercountry adoption.

South Korea bears a long history of the sexual exploitation of its women. Regulated prostitution in the country dates back to the late 19th century during a political entanglement with Japan. Subsequent Japanese conflicts such as the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), and World War II (1939-1945) all contributed to regulated systems of prostitution of Korean women by way of pleasure quarters, red light districts, brothels, and comfort stations (Hicks, 1994; Soh, 2004). Referred to as comfort women, they were forcefully enslaved by the Japanese Imperial Army during its annexation of Korea. They were made to attend to the sexual needs of soldiers. It was believed that their services helped provide relief from stresses related to combat, and kept morale high amongst soldiers (Hicks, 1994).

Political scientist Katharine H. S. Moon (1997) posited that, “The buying and selling of sex by Koreans and Americans has been a staple of U.S. – Korean relations since the Korean War and the permanent stationing of U.S troops in Korea” (p. 1). After the Korean War had ended, rather than establishing domestic social services to address the needs of orphaned children, the South Korean government, driven largely by a national agenda of military security and economic development, relied mainly on foreign resources and private humanitarian initiatives (Choi, 1996). Considered socially and culturally fallen women*,* on the one hand prostituted Korean women were essentially forced into military sex work due to the socio-economic state of postwar Korea. On the other hand, they were also necessary commodities under the guise of national security resulting from the geopolitical entanglement of U.S. – Korea foreign policy.

As unwed mothers, prostituted Korean women sacrificed their bodies in all ways possible, including their own children, in order to maintain their country's security and to aid in the rebuilding of a devastated economy. Their bodies literally kept the money rolling in as soldiers paid for their sexual services. Their own mixed-blood children also kept money rolling in as they were crafted into objects of sentimental desire and either adopted to other countries or kept in institutions. With two percent of the Korean national budget spent on social welfare and more than forty percent on national defense, welfare institutions such as orphanages and baby hospitals were almost completely dependent on foreign sponsorships. These institutions held on to as many sponsored children as possible in order to ensure the continuous vital flow of money from foreign organizations (Kim, 2010).

While the prostituted Korean women of military camptowns served as unofficial ambassadors of national security, the South Korean government and adoption agencies encouraged these women to put their mixed-blood children up for adoption (Kim, 2007). Those born from the U.S. – Korea relationship were bodies bearing the marks of militarization. These children were viewed as "bastards of the Western princess," "seeds sown by GIs," and "darkies" or "niggers" (Cho, 2008, p. 118). In desperate attempts to escape camptown life by way of marriage to an American soldier, the women tried to sever themselves from their pasts as prostituted women in order to become more marriageable, even if it meant getting rid of the mixed-blood child that served as material evidence of her past:

> GI babies were found in every conceivable place – at missions, churches, and orphanages; in train stations, shops…public toilets, the market place, and on doorsteps. In the most desperate cases, the babies were left to die in garbage dumps or on mountainsides, or worse, some little blonde-haired babies were washed up on the seashore. (Holt, 1956 as cited in Oh, 2005)

America was seen as a powerful and forward-thinking nation where many Korean women felt life would be easier and more fruitful should they have a chance to escape their extreme situations in Korea through marriage to an American soldier. As Yuh (2002) writes, "In their struggles to forge better lives for themselves and throw off the shackles of poverty and what they saw as backwardness and burdensome traditions, the women were reaching toward modernity. And to them America represented modernity" (p. 77).

These authors offer a side to Korean adoption that has often been omitted. Korean women prostituted by the U.S. military during occupation before and after the war, and during the three-year conflict, are central figures in the Korean adoption origin story. Many of them were birthmothers to the mixed-blood children that would be adopted primarily to white American homes. In particular, the works of Cynthia Enloe and Katherine Moon provide discussions of militarized sexual violence against women, and the effects of this violence on Korean women in terms of national security, respectively, however, neither acknowledges the role that social work played in maintaining the sexual subjugation of Korean women not only to the U.S. military and Korean government, but to white American adoptive parents, and thus, the nation. Issues of race and class differences tie in with the complicated foreign relations set up between the two countries that ultimately determined one kind of "mother" as legitimate and the other as illegitimate. It would be social workers that would literally carry out this value system as they set up procedures that would remove South Korean children from their birth mothers and birth countries, and send them to primarily American homes only to be expeditiously inculcated with American values and morals that led to the erasure of their cultural and ethnic identities.

Social Work professor, Elizabeth Danto (2008), explains that, "Modern writers of social work history aim to reconstruct a record of human activities within a specified time period to achieve a deeper understanding of these activities, generally by situating them within a broad social and political context" (p. 31). She goes on to say that, "The rationale for using historiographic methodology is to fill a gap in information, to include a particular group in the reconstruction of a certain narrative" (p. 32).

The review of the literature shows a number of scholars who are actively challenging the prevailing dominant adoption narrative from perspectives of race, imperialism, religion, and economics. However, given the prominence of social workers and social service organizations active in the child-rescue efforts in postwar South Korea, examining this significant child-placing practice in U.S. history from a specifically social work-centered perspective has not been done. More specifically, the extent to which the maternalist ideologies that have been a part of other child-placing schemes were carried out during the origins of Korean adoption has not been investigated.

To piece together the story of the profession of social work and the institutionalization of intercountry adoption from 1953 to 1961, I will be examining primary source documents from the International Social Service – American Branch (ISS-USA) housed in the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota. My intention is to show the ways in which this nationally recognized and endorsed social welfare agency met the task of rescuing thousands of mixed-blood war orphans in the aftermath of the Korean War. I am also interested in how Progressive Era maternalist ideologies that crafted a specific kind of mother and proper mothering activities were embedded in the work of ISS-USA. Therefore, the research questions guiding this study are:

(1) How did ISS-USA set up a system of intercountry adoption in response to the urgent need of children affected by the Korean War?

(2) To what extent were the Progressive Era maternalist ideologies that established the ideal mother and correct way of mothering by women who possessed specific privileged identities apparent in the methods of ISS-USA?

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

Chapter Overview

This chapter discusses the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that have informed this study. My research aims to provide a critical examination of the profession of social work and its role in the early child-rescue efforts in postwar South Korea as embodied by the international social welfare organization, ISS-USA. Therefore, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks in which I am situating this study allow me to approach my research from a macro perspective. My first research question asks how ISS-USA set up a system of intercountry adoption in the early 1950s. Diffusion of innovation theory and the issue-attention cycle provide the theoretical frameworks for the "how." My second research question asks about the extent to which maternalist ideologies were a part of formalized adoption standards put forth by ISS-USA. The maternalist ideology I am using is predicated on Progressive Era maternalism that differentiated appropriate and fit mothers based on certain demographic features, placing white, middle-class, heterosexual, Christian women at the top. For this study, maternalism provides a conceptual framework within which my analysis of primary sources will occur, and will be the framework for my second research question. Finally, this study is situated in a social constructionist framework. Because I am interested in maternalism in intercountry adoption practices, it is important to know how ISS-USA constructed adoptable children, established the authority of social workers, and defined the responsibility of prospective adoptive parents.

Diffusion of Innovation Theory

Diffusion of innovation theory explains the ways in which innovations are introduced and adopted or rejected within a social system. Everett Rogers (1962) was a strong proponent of diffusion of innovation theory, and his book, *Diffusion of Innovations*, brought the theory into mainstream research. Diffusion, Rogers explained, "is the process by which an innovation spreads…from its source of intervention or creation to its ultimate users" (p. 13). The social relationships and interactions between a variety of actors, such as opinion leaders, change agents, and adopters determine the extent to which an innovation is ultimately diffused into a social system. Opinion leaders are those members of the social system that have and exert their influence, such as prominent individuals working for an organization. Change agents are those who attempt to influence the adoption of the innovation in ways that they feel are particularly desirable. Adopters are those within the social system that respond to the opinion leaders and change agents and adopt or dismiss innovations (Rogers, 1962).

James Dearing (2009) applied diffusion of innovation theory to the field of social work. Seven concepts – intervention attributes, intervention cluster, demonstration projects, societal sectors, reinforcing contextual conditions, opinion leadership, and intervention adaptation – can affect how interventions in social work spread. Dearing explains that attribute categories such as the compatibility of an innovation with the procedures of an organization funnel the perceptions of social work interventions into communication messages about those interventions. Intervention clusters are a related set of interventions and can be offered to potential adopters so as to provide a range of options and ensure reliable adaptations. Demonstration projects offer experimentation of a potential new innovation, or highlight a successful innovation. Societal sectors, according to Dearing, are a group of organizations working in the same domain, for example, child welfare agencies. Potential adopters and implementers exist within societal sectors, which can increase communication and spread of an innovation. Reinforcing contextual factors will play a role in how the framing and timing of interventions are handled to maximize the perception that a given social work intervention is relevant. Opinion leaders serve as messengers that can help with dissemination of an intervention. Finally, intervention adaptation must be done in such a way as to retain the fidelity of the original intervention. Dearing concludes that because of the wide range of social work innovations, diffusion of innovations theory is useful in helping social work researchers study and revise a variety of innovations for different service providers, clients, and settings.

Healy, (2012) points to the international spread of professional social work training and social services by the mid-1930s as “an impressive story of the global diffusion of innovation” (p. 57). Using Rogers’ framework and Dearing’s application to social work, the intercountry adoption procedures developed and formalized by ISS-USA in response to the crisis in postwar Korea represents an innovation. The socio-cultural context of 1950s America lent itself well to the diffusion of this innovation, particularly with respect to American religiosity and the prominence of the nuclear family. The American Branch of International Social Service (ISS-USA) emerged as an opinion leader. The agency had the support of the federal government, and was able to disseminate its practice methods to local and state social welfare agencies all over the country. Harry Holt emerged as a change agent. While also deeply committed to the plight of Korean War orphans, he felt his proxy adoption methods were the most expeditious way to meet the urgent needs of the children. He was able to persuade others as well, including the Child Placement Service (CPS) in South Korea, who for a number of years, had been working closely with ISS-USA. All of these various pieces went into the diffusion of intercountry adoption in American society, even if there were multiple methods.

Through the diffusion of innovation theory, I am able to account for both the spread of American social work practices, namely intercountry adoption, to South Korea, and the diffusion of intercountry adoption across the world. It is also through this theory that maternalist ideologies are analyzed, particularly those that move the idea of motherhood, or parenthood, from explicit gender roles to national interests and security, thereby legitimating the removal of thousands of Korean children to American homes.

Issue-Attention Cycle

The issue-attention cycle was a model put forth by Anthony Downs in 1972 as he explained how American attitudes had been shaped around improving the environment. Downs (1972) showed that the issue-attention cycle involved the sudden capturing of public attitudes about a certain social issue. The prominence of the issue would remain in the public spotlight for a relatively short period of time, and then fade away from public attention, even if the problem was still unresolved. According to Downs, there are five stages involved in the cycle: (1) The pre-problem stage where an undesirable social condition exists, but remains largely invisible to the broader public; (2) Alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm whereby the public becomes suddenly aware of the issue. The alarm that the public feels about the severity of the issue prompts eager involvement in order to try and solve the problem; (3) Realizing the cost of significant progress occurs when the immediate shock of the issue wears off, and the reality as to the monetary and social costs sets in; (4) Gradual decline of intense public interest wanes after people become dissuaded by the costs involved in solving the problem, or simply become bored; and (5) The post-problem stage occurred when the issue that once took center stage entered into a state of limbo where it may occasionally putter into public attention (pp. 39-41).

Downs continues by explaining that the social problems that go through the issue-attention cycle have three characteristics: (1) The majority of society is not directly affected by the problem; (2) Witness of the suffering of those who are affected by the problem is conducted by various social arrangements that are largely available to the majority of the population; and (3) Without social arrangements, such as the media, to frame and dramatize the issue, the actual problem has no intrinsically engaging or gripping qualities, or, if it once did, it cannot sustain them without the help of the media (p. 41).

The issue-attention cycle is a useful model that explains clearly how Korean adoption rose to such public prominence. Intercountry adoption had existed long before the 1950s (Herman, 2008). While it gained more widespread attention after World War II, it was American communist anxieties and the subsequent international relations that the United States initiated that positioned the adoption of Korean orphans as necessary in order to prevent the spread of Communism. Media attention to the issue significantly influenced various child-rescue efforts. As Pate (2014) states, “stories of militarized humanitarianism that proliferated in American news media shaped how these children were to be seen, interpreted, and received by the American audience” (p. 81). The way the media sensationalized the problem drove many Americans to donate money and goods to orphanages, and to begin inquiring how to adopt these children (Kim, 2009). Also, as will be seen, a number of laws and policies were put into place in order to help establish a system of intercountry adoption. These pieces of legislation affected both social welfare agencies attempting to formalize and regulate sound adoption practices, and individuals such as Harry Holt, who took on a personal crusade to save the children of Korea.

The issue-attention cycle brings together the contextual pieces that coalesced during the 1950s leading to the need for institutionalized intercountry adoption procedures. This idea brings forward the zeitgeist of mid-century America, particularly with respect to national religiosity and pronatalism that understood intercountry adoption from South Korea as a national security effort. It also allows me to analyze the extent to which maternalist ideologies were a part of the justification for removing thousands of children from postwar South Korea. Bound up with national interests, through the issue-attention cycle, I am able to explicate maternalist values that suggested American homes and American parents as in the best interest of the child.

Maternalism

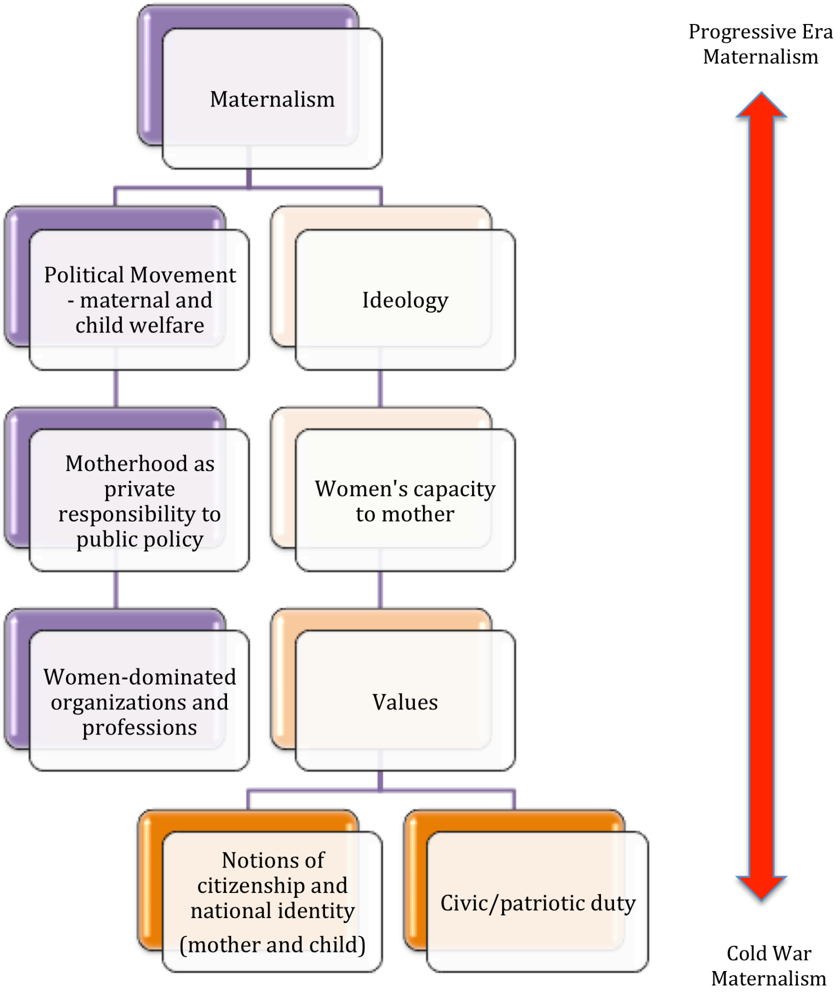
Koven and Michel (1993) assert that maternalism has its roots in social reform movements of the early nineteenth century when women organized around issues pertaining to moral purity. Domestic ideologies that differentiated men and women drove women's humanitarian concerns for child welfare and activist interpretations of religious and moral values associated with the gospel. The moral and compassionate qualities, and the capacity to nurture, became linked with a woman's motherliness.

According to historian Molly Ladd-Taylor (1994), maternalism was an ideology that combined a unique feminine value system of care and nurturance with a woman's capacity for motherhood and duty to care for future generations of citizens. During the Progressive Era in particular, maternalism was understood primarily as a political movement. Reformers identified mothers and their quality of care as central to child welfare. As Skocpol (1995) states, "By the progressive era, indeed, women's associations had concluded that women should act as 'housekeepers for the nation'" (p. 27). Women entered in to the political arena to advocate and develop "a policy template to inspire a 'higher,' more 'American' quality of motherhood" (Mink, 1995, p. 5). Social policies were developed by, and carried the moral values of upper- and middle-class women "for the good of" women of less privileged classes (Skocpol, 1995, p. 72). Intimately connected with nation-building, the features of this "American" quality of motherhood were white, Christian, and modern (Jacobs, 2009). In 1912, the United States Children's Bureau was established as a research agency to coordinate and regulate various child welfare policies and initiatives. As Ladd-Taylor (1994) asserts, it "underscored how thoroughly women's work of child care was politicized in early twentieth century America" (p.74). The Children's Bureau became the lead authority on the welfare of children and families (Trattner, 1999). Maternalist measures such as the U.S. Children's Bureau were considered by political coalitions as "extensions of mother love into the public sphere" (Skocpol, 1995, p. 261).

Even though the political arm of maternalist social movements fell away at the end of the 1920s, maternalist ideologies have remained prominent fixtures in the profession of social work. Laura Curran (2005) states that mid-century social workers were focused on the welfare of children and continued to prioritize notions of motherhood. She asserts that maternalist ideologies underwent a transformation in the early Cold War years due to the changing socio-cultural attitudes toward sustaining middle-class families.

This study borrows from the Progressive Era maternalist ideologies concerned with who was considered the best mother, and the civic responsibility of raising the next generation of capable citizens. It builds on Curran's (2005) discussion of shifts in maternalist ideologies during the Cold War that privileged and protected middle-class families, and asserts that motherhood was expanded to parenthood, in particular, adoptive parenthood. By adopting mixed-blood Korean children into white American homes, what I call *Cold War maternalism* not only bolstered the middle-class nuclear family model, but it asserted white adoptive parents, and thus, the United States, as the only fit "mothers" of the children of postwar South Korea. Figure 1 shows the maternalist framework applied to this study. It focuses specifically on maternalist ideologies concerned with national identity and patriotic duty (the darker orange squares on the bottom right).

Figure 1. Maternalist framework


Progressive Era Maternalism
Maternalism
Political Movement - maternal and child welfare
Ideology
Motherhood as private responsibility to public policy
Women's capacity to mother
Women-dominated organizations and professions
Values
Notions of citizenship and national identity (mother and child)
Civic/patriotic duty
Cold War Maternalism

Social Constructionism

At its root, social constructionism abides by the understanding that reality is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). According to research professor, Kenneth Gergen (2015), social constructionism challenges the idea of truth, and how we arrive at the truth. The critical investigation of ideologies, language, and science – all things that have informed our concept of reality, of universal truth – "pose major challenges to longstanding views of knowledge, truth, objectivity, and reason" (p. 27).

Vivien Burr (1995) suggests that while there is no single definition of social constructionism, it contains particular assumptions at its core:

1. A critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge – we should be critical of the categorical and oftentimes unchallenged labels and attributes that define our social world.
2. Historical and cultural specificity – it is important to realize that all ways of understanding have their own cultural and historical foundations, and that particular forms of knowledge are artifacts of that culture and that historical time period.
3. Knowledge is sustained by social processes – our versions of knowledge become real through our interactions with people, particularly through our use of language. Knowledge and social action go together – our constructions of the world bring about different actions in response to those descriptions. (pp. 3-5)

In 1960, Random House published a children's book by P. D. Eastman titled, *Are You My Mother?* The book focuses primarily on the adventures of a young bird that has just hatched and is in search of his mother. However, the fact that the hatchling asks numerous other animals, and even non-living objects such as a car and an airplane, whether or not they are his mothers suggests the lack of a definition, or even an image, of what a mother is. In their book, *Social Construction of Reality,* Berger and Luckmann (1966) suggest that language is the most important means by which to create and convey subjective meanings. While the small bird in P. D. Eastman's children's book knows the meaning of "mother," he only has half of it figured out, as he does not yet have an image associated with "mother." It isn't until he is returned to his nest, and reunited with his mother, that he forms meaning of whom she is. In his book, *An Invitation to Social Construction,* Kenneth Gergen (2015) discusses the way a small child being pushed in her stroller sees the world of trees, men and women, buildings, and cars. He asserts that even though we take in the same images as the small child, the difference is the meanings we have come to understand of what a tree is, how men and women are distinguishable from one another, and what buildings and cars look like. These meanings have been presented and instilled in us through our social relationships. "Through participation in relationships *the world comes to be what it is for us*" (p. 4).

Analogously applying the examples of the small bird and the small child above, given the massive numbers of suffering children in postwar South Korea, emergency rescue efforts quickly took shape in order to find the most suitable "mothers" for them. This task required both policymakers and professionals to determine what "mother" meant in this case, including what she looked like. Because of their mixed-blood parentage, the children could not stay with their Korean mothers, many of who could not keep them anyway. Nor could the children be taken in by other family members, or adopted domestically. Certainly, the very specific contextual realities of 1950s Cold War America helped craft the meaning of "mother." Given U.S. expansion into Asia, the anti-communist and pronatalist socio-cultural reality that was created by Cold War rhetoric, and surviving maternalist ideologies that defined mothers and motherhood along particular privileged lines, policymakers and social workers in the United States worked together to craft the American family as the best "mother" to the many needy mixed-blood Korean children. Revisions in immigration legislation and the formalization of sound intercountry adoption practices helped these children find their proverbial nests where their “mothers” waited with open arms.

It is the idea of “mother” that my second research question is focused on. How were American parents crafted into suitable mothers? On an even larger scale, how was it that the United States was crafted into the best mother for mixed-blood Korean children? Social constructionism provides a theoretical framework for investigation of the meaning making of “mother” in the adoption of thousands of mixed-blood Korean children during the 1950s. In particular, the administrative correspondence of ISS-USA represents a collection of adoption discourses from an organization understood by the American people, if not most of the world, as a premier authoritative expert on issues concerning child welfare on an international level. As Luckmann (2008) asserts, the social world, including traditions, institutions, and organizations, “are not genetic programmes; they are constructed – and sedimented in a collective memory – in social, primarily, if not exclusively communicative interaction” (p. 281).

Chapter 5: Methodology

Chapter Overview

This study is a cultural historiography of social work child-rescue interventions in postwar South Korea as practiced by one international social welfare organization: ISS-USA. It is both qualitative and historical. Content analysis of primary source documents was informed more specifically by critical discourse analysis (CDA), and more broadly by the philosophical underpinnings of historical discourse analysis (HDA). This chapter provides a description of my research approach including my methodology, data collection and analysis of primary sources, and issues of reliability and validity. I conclude it by discussing the limitations of historiography in social work as it pertains to this study.

Cultural Historiography

The past is created through the written work of historians – until it is written, history does not exist (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). Historical study in social work provides a descriptive narrative of social problems, programs, or policies of the past, and traces ideological themes in the history of social work for the purposes of developing implications for professional practice (Danto, 2008). Through examining aspects of the social world through collection and analysis of records on the past, historical methods can offer different insights into a variety of social processes (Schutt, 2012). In doing so, social work historians are looking for new interpretations or reinterpretations as they seek to "offer an ever-new past to the present" (Brundage, 2008, p. 3). As Danto (2008) explains, critical thinking has "given social workers deeper and richer insights into the lived experience of earlier generations, especially of disenfranchised and marginalized groups" (p. 6). Particularly, cultural historiography disrupts the understanding that facts are objective reality. Instead, it requires the intentional investigation of how social construction has shaped the dominant historical narrative (Danto, 2008). The long-standing origin story of Korean adoption has recently come under critical interrogations by scholars whose own histories and identities as Korean adoptees have influenced the writing and telling of their collective histories – histories that have long been omitted from the dominant narrative.

Schutt (2012) asserts that historical research has much in common with qualitative research. Defined simply, qualitative research relies on data that comes in the form of spoken or written word and observable behavior (Sherman & Reid, 1994). According to Creswell (2007), qualitative research seeks to inquire into the meaning that people ascribe to social problems. It involves a philosophical approach that considers assumptions, paradigms, and frameworks of the researcher. The similarities of historical and qualitative research involve holistic perspectives that are interested in the interrelations between context, events, and processes. Both methodologies are conjunctural, meaning they understand that no aspect of a process occurs in isolation. Historical and qualitative research are also temporal, historically specific, narrative, and inductive in that explanations are derived from uncovering details of the past (Schutt, 2012).

There were two goals of this study. The first goal was to tell the story of how ISS-USA came to the aid of the many mixed-blood Korean children that had been orphaned by the war, thereby creating a network of formalized intercountry adoption practices. The second goal was to determine the extent to which maternalist ideologies focused on the imperative of proper “mothering” of the country’s next generation of citizens were evident in the broader implications of the work of ISS-USA. In this sense, this study was a cultural historiography of social work child-rescue interventions in postwar South Korea.

From a philosophical perspective, ontological and epistemic frameworks were considered. According to Wilson (2008), ontology is the theory of reality. It asks, “What is real?” Epistemology is the study of knowing. It asks the question, “How do I know what is real?” Ontology and epistemology are linked together in that what someone believes to be “real” is going to impact the way they think about that “reality” (p. 33). This study challenged the ontological framework of the dominant adoption narrative by showing discursive patterns buried beneath the “grand narrative” that indicated a child-rescue intervention that considered, cumulatively, the best interests of a nation rather than the best interests of the child. Tuchman (1998) asserts that the point of view necessary in historical work contains “an interpretive framework that implicitly contains some notion of the ‘meaning of history’” (p. 225). The “meaning of history,” Tuchman continues, is what historians debate. My own epistemic framework, or perhaps more revealing, my epistemic friction, created by my intersecting identities as a Korean adoptee, a social worker, and a historian, constantly pitted the grand adoption narrative with opposing myriad narratives of many Korean adoptees, including my own.

Positionality

I approached this study with a constructionist worldview. Social constructionists are interested in the meanings that people apply to their environmental contexts. There is a belief that subjective meaning is formed both through interactions with others, and by contextual socio-cultural influences (Creswell, 2009). I was interested in how social workers of the ISS-USA interpreted the postwar conditions in South Korea with respect to child welfare, and crafted a system of knowledge and power from the meanings they ascribed to the situation that led to the removal of thousands of Korean children from their birth county.

As a Korean adoptee, this study is about my own origins. While I was not alive during the timeframe that this study covers, the origins of intercountry adoption from South Korea is a collective history I share with all other Korean adoptees. Having a deep personal connection to my own research could be seen as jeopardizing the rigor and integrity of this study, however, Corbin and Strauss (2008) assert that, "The touchstone of a potential researcher's experience may be a more valuable indicator of a potentially successful research endeavor than another more abstract source" (p. 23). Creswell (2007) suggests that the way qualitative researchers write is a reflection of their own identities, experiences, and politics. Even though this study is meaningful from a personal and professional standpoint, I wrote from a place where those connections have brought up "other possibilities of meaning" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 80).

Methods

Data Collection and Analysis

Russell Schutt (2012) discusses four types of historical and comparative research – historical events, historical process, cross-sectional comparative, and comparative historical research. Because I am focusing on a relatively small time period immediately following the Korean War, and the subsequent intercountry adoption of especially mixed-blood Korean War orphans, this study is considered historical events research. I used a cross-sectional design to examine institutional practices of ISS-USA from 1953-1961. The practices, policies, and research from this time period informed the continued evolution of the intercountry adoption industry, though my research does not cover that expanded timeframe.

The administrative records of ISS-USA were chosen both from previous research in which I consulted these documents, and in consultation with the archivist of the Social Welfare History Archives. I went through appropriate actions with the Institutional Review Board at the University of Minnesota to verify that my historical study was exempt from review since no living subjects would be used, and only administrative public information was to be consulted. Additionally, I contacted ISS-USA to obtain permission to include their archival material in my dissertation research. I spent numerous hours over numerous weeks in the archives reading room pouring through boxes of ISS-USA material. Scrupulous notes were taken while in the archives, and requests for photocopies were made for necessary documents requiring further examination. No photos were allowed of ISS-USA records. My two research questions guided the readings of selected documents: (1) how did ISS-USA set up a system of intercountry adoption in response to the urgent need of children affected by the Korean War? (2) To what extent were the Progressive Era maternalist ideologies that established the ideal mother and correct way of mothering by women who possessed specific privileged identities apparent in the methods of ISS-USA?

Data Sources

The data sources for this study included primary sources from the archival records of ISS-USA housed in the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of

Minnesota. As Danto (2008) reports, “the primary source has been the gold standard of historical research, the one place where a historical fact is virtually unquestioned” (p. 62). Records of ISS-USA provided a rich collection of administrative correspondence that detailed the journey of this organization in its establishment of sound intercountry adoption practices beginning with the rescue of children after the Korean War. Primary sources from the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA) and the Children’s Home Society of Minnesota (CHSM) were also utilized in order to provide contextual and supportive information pertaining to the work of ISS-USA.

Primary Sources. Jóhannesson (2010) suggests that using documents and other texts is important because they offer “insights into the reasoning behind social practices and institutional structures” (p. 254). Because I was interested both in how ISS-USA established a system of formalized intercountry adoption standards, and the extent to which maternalist ideologies were embedded in those standards, I chose to examine the correspondence of ISS-USA administrators. Archival records of ISS-USA maintain 556 linear feet in the Social Welfare History Archives. In order to hone in on the documents most relevant to my study, I first accessed the Social Welfare History Archives online catalog of ISS-USA, which contained a detailed outline of the contents of each box in the collection. I looked specifically for boxes with contents that matched my time frame, 1953 to 1961. From there, I looked for key words or phrases on the folders within each box that I thought might contain information that would help answer my research questions. For example, anything having to do with adoption policies, practices, and research would help to illustrate how ISS-USA went about setting up a system of formalized intercountry adoption procedures. This included information on immigration and migration, other adoption schemes such as proxy adoptions, conference papers, and other organizations or committees involved with ISS-USA during this time period. Contents from the following boxes were used:

- Box 1: Administrative: annual meetings
- Box 3: Administrative: committees
- Box 4: Administrative: general correspondence
- Box 10: Programs: Adoption
- Box 11: Programs: Adoption
- Box 12: Cases
- Box 13: Programs: immigration…
- Box 14: Immigration and Naturalization Service
- Box 16: National Institute of Mental Health
- Box 17: Programs: Regulations…
- Box 20: Other organizations: Arabian…
- Box 21: United States. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
- Box 22: Other organizations: International…
- Box 23: Other organizations: Project…
- Box 34: Countries: Japan
- Box 35: Countries: Korea…
- Box 46: Minors in Migration conferences
- Box 47: Historical

The majority of the records I used were letters written from social workers at ISS-USA to their foreign correspondents, as well as to social workers and administrators of local child welfare organizations in the United States. Staff wrote of the constant monitoring of immigration policy, and necessary changes to adoption practices each time the legislation changed. They also wrote extensively of their disapproval of Harry Holt and his adoptions by proxy, each time explaining the dangers of Holt's method, and advocating for the soundness of the more traditional method established by ISS-USA. The correspondence between ISS-USA and Mrs. Oak Soon Hong of the Korean Child Placement Service (CPS) was of particular importance. This early relationship between ISS-USA and CPS in South Korea eventually led to the establishment of a South Korean branch of ISS and the expansion of American social work into South Korea. Finally, research reports that were presented at national and international social work conferences were examined. This early research set a precedent for intercountry adoption practices. It showcased preliminary assessments of how the adoption standards established by ISS-USA were said to serve the best interest of the child, and resulted in successful family formations.

Secondary Sources. Secondary sources are often used to describe, explain, or interpret primary sources (Danto, 2008). Because other authors have written on the historical origins and significance of Korean adoption during the same time period as I covered in this study, I relied on their secondary source information to supplement my primary source investigations. Additionally, others have written extensively on the history of social work, maternalism, and notions of motherhood. All of these factors were important features in this story of Korean adoption. As previously stated, in the existing literature on the history of Korean adoption, there is a gap involving the centering of the role that social workers and the social work profession played in the early child-rescue efforts that led to the institutionalization of Korean adoption.

The works of SooJin Pate, Kim Park Nelson, Tobias Hübinette, Eleana Kim, Catherine Ceniza Choy, and Arissa Oh were heavily consulted as secondary sources because of their critical analysis of the history of Korean adoption. I also relied on the works of Katherine Moon and Grace Cho for their contributions to the literature on the sexual exploitation of many Korean women by the U.S. military. Finally, I used secondary sources pertaining to maternalism and the social work profession and how they factored deeply into the notions of motherhood, child-placing, and societal strength. Robyn Muncy, Molly Ladd-Taylor, and Gwendolyn Mink have written extensively about maternalism in the history of social work. Margaret Jacobs has contributed to the literature on maternalism in her assessment of how this practice ideology was carried out in the removal of Indigenous children to federal boarding schools. Rebecca Jo Plant and Julie Berebitsky have written about the constructions of motherhood, which is intertwined with maternalism. Because the focus of this study was on how the profession of social work created a formalized system of intercountry adoption after the Korean War, the sources pertaining to maternalism and motherhood were particularly relevant.

Reliability and Validity

Rigorous social science research must pay careful attention to the reliability and validity encompassed in the chosen research methodology. In qualitative research, reliability and validity are addressed through the attainment of trustworthiness and credibility. Strategies such as triangulation, prolonged engagement, and persistent observation can help a qualitative researcher establish trustworthiness and credibility

(Belcher, 1994; Sherman & Reid, 1994). In historical research reliability and validity are determined through the credibility of what is contained within a primary source text as well as the reliability of the source (Danto, 2008). Historians work to determine the original function of primary sources, and discern what purposes they were intended to serve versus the purposes they actually served at the time of their origination (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). Danto (2008) suggests that sources be evaluated for external validity – the origin and authenticity of the source – and internal reliability – the credibility and competency of the authors.

History professors Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier (2001) explain that historiography "is based precisely on the understanding that our knowledge of any event comes to us through sources which we know are not perfect reflections of 'reality,' which are constructions of reality" (p. 149). Therefore, in addressing reliability and validity in historical research, the analysis of primary source documents must carefully consider the location in time and place of the source, or the historiographical, and the historical, or such necessities as where and when the source was created, by whom was it created, and its intended meaning (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). Based on Howell & Prevenier's discussion on analysis of primary source documents, external validity for this study was addressed by establishing the date the document was created, where it was created (i.e., agency, city, country), who created it (i.e., agency administration, politician, pastor), and its authenticity – is the source what it claims to be, and is it an official document of any kind? Internal reliability was addressed by examining and assessing the meaning of the document, and delving into authorial authority – the author's status in relation to the document, their accuracy, and reliability of their interpretations. Because data collection involves both the gathering and organizing of primary sources, and the process of verifying authenticity (Danto, 2008), my analyzing process began with the creation and use of a data collection instrument (see appendix 9 for an example). This instrument served as both a catalog of my primary sources, and as a rubric for determining authenticity and explicating purpose.

Content Analysis

Content analysis informed by critical discourse analysis (CDA) methods was used to analyze the administrative correspondence of ISS-USA. Content analysis is a systematic way of describing qualitative data (Mayring, 2000). Gilgun (1994) suggests that content analysis is done through three specific procedures: coding, using researcher comments and memos, and including previous research and theory. Codes are names given to concepts or hypotheses that emerge from the data. Comments and memos capture researcher observations. Comments are offered within the text as subjective comments or brief insights. Memos appear at the end of field notes as an analytical and reflective synthesis of what the researcher is learning. Content analysis reduces the amount of material. Only those pieces of the material that are relevant to the research question are examined (Schreier, 2014).

Critical Discourse Analysis. My analysis of primary source documents was informed primarily by critical discourse analysis (CDA). According to van Dijk (2003), CDA "primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 352). Phillips and Hardy (2002) assert that social reality is made real through discourse, and that discourse gives meaning to our social interactions. They distinguish between discourse analysis and other forms of qualitative approaches that seek to determine meaning in an established social world. Discourse analysis “tries to explore how the socially produced ideas and objects that populate the world were created in the first place and how they are maintained and held in place over time” (p. 7). As Fairclough (2003) states, “different discourses are different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the word” (p. 124). The primary function of language is to provide a medium in which groups and institutions can render certain identities and activities as meaningful, thereby attributing usually dichotomous measurements of power, status, and value to those identities and activities (Gee, 2005). van Dijk (2003) discusses the micro and macro levels of language and discourse relative to the social order. For example, he suggests that a racist speech by a governmental official during a debate is a discourse at the micro level of social interaction. However, that racist speech can lead to the creation or perpetuation of racism at the macro level.

According to van Dijk (2003), the social power of groups and institutions is a central concept of CDA. He defines power as control. The more power a group has, the more it is able to control others. There is a presupposition of a power base built on privilege and access to social resources such as force, money, status, and knowledge. van Dijk also contends that context plays an influential role in the “discourse-power circle.” Context includes an overall definition of the situation, setting, ongoing actions, and the interactions of those involved in various social or institutional roles. People tend to accept certain ideas of beliefs through discourse from authoritative, trustworthy sources such as experts or professionals. van Dijk summarizes by offering, “given a specific context, certain meanings and forms of discourse have more influence on people’s minds than others" (p. 357). When considering the context of 1950s America during the Cold War, my argument maintains that the institutional discourse from ISS-USA had a major impact not only on what Americans thought of Korean orphans, but on their actions to adopt them into their homes. With the connections ISS-USA had with other national organizations such as the Child Welfare League of America and the U.S. Children's Bureau, it was seen as an authoritative entity in all matters related to child welfare.

Historical Discourse Analysis. Historical discourse analysis (HDA) is used to identify discursive themes in texts or discourse, and how those themes constructed normative views of social interaction (Jóhannesson, 2010; Park, 2008). According to Park (2008a), "Historical discourse analysis is a mode of critical social analysis" (p. 394). As a poststructuralist approach HDA is situated opposite the traditional positivist methods that claim an objective, rather than a subjective, history. Historical discourse analysis also understands history as discursively produced, and that discursive productions represent various power structures (Park, 2008a). As with other kinds of text analysis, scholars have frequently drawn from the works of French philosopher and social theorist, Michel Foucault. According to Peräkylä (2005) and Wickham & Kendall (2008), Foucault's work provides critical discourse analysis on how power influences the crafting of object and subject. Accordingly, the propositional content of a text, rather than the linguistic, is examined in order to extract presuppositions. The location of texts within time is important for contextual purposes, and, in keeping with Foucautian influence, it is understood that texts inform practices. According to Park (2008a), the task of the historian using HDA is "to uncover and critique the technologies of power that have come to legitimate certain ideas as truths" (p. 394).

Consider two examples. Park (2008b) traced the discursive constructions of the refugee as subject within American social work discourse in the first half of the twentieth century. Her study not only revealed the ways in which the needs of refugees were met by the profession, but also illuminated the ways in which the profession inscribed constructs such as difference and belonging. In her historical research, SooJin Pate (2014) discusses the ways in which orphans were crafted into adoptees thereby shaping them into objects that could be saved by savior-like Christian American couples. The adopted Korean became "a model minority…who has easily and seamlessly assimilated into his or her white American family and into mainstream American society" (p. 132). It is within this same framework of power differentials created through written text, and their subsequent practices, that analysis of the archival documents in this study was analyzed.

As Jóhannesson (2010) suggests, historical discourse analysis questions common assumptions. One of those assumptions, according to Jóhannesson, is that the intentions of those who develop and establish policies and practices matter. By using historical discourse analysis, "what matters are the consequences of the policy, how it connects with other policies and practices, how it plays out in practice" (p. 260). Using this methodology, I examined the administrative correspondence of ISS-USA. A primary textual analysis of the ISS-USA documents allowed me to identify the development of intercountry adoption practices, and the socio-cultural contextual perspective in which they were developed (Fairclough, 2003). A secondary textual analysis allowed me to "transgress the text toward something other than it" (Derrida, 1976, p. 158). In this sense, the historical discourse analysis resembles critical discourse analysis in that it serves to critically exhume alternative interpretations, realities, and implications of intercountry adoption.

Analysis of Primary Sources

Content analysis was conducted on the primary source documents gathered from ISS-USA records in the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota. Since I was not able to take photos of the documents, photocopies of archival records from ISS-USA were procured from the Social Welfare History Archives. Using the data collection instrument I developed for cataloging and analyzing my primary sources (see appendix 9 for a sample page), I first arranged my inventory by collection, box, and folder numbers. This was the easiest to do because I examined each document in the order in which it was placed in each folder in each box, and the files were not always in chronological order. Next, I arranged the photocopied documents by topic. These are the topic categories I created:

- CHSM: History/Overview
- CHSM: Home Finder
- CWLA: Adoption General
- ISS-USA: American – Korean Foundation
- ISS-USA: In Korea
- ISS-USA: Intercountry Adoption General
- ISS-USA: News Articles
- ISS-USA: Organizational History/Overview
- ISS-USA: Other Organizations
- ISS-USA: Pearl Buck

- ISS-USA: Policy
- ISS-USA: Practice
- ISS-USA: Proxy (Holt, Mrs. Hong)
- ISS-USA: Religious Groups
- ISS-USA: Reports
- ISS-USA: Research
- ISS-USA: Social Welfare – Korean Perspective
- ISS-USA: Stats

Relevant documents for each topic category were filed together with an index card stating the category as I have listed here, a brief list of contents, and any notes for further organizational consideration (Figure 2). Additionally, notes from reading and analyses of each document were filed with each stack (see Figure 3 for an example). These notes contained the box and folder number where each document came from. They also contained specific passages, with page or paragraph number cited for reference purposes, from various pieces of correspondence that aligned with my research questions. Additionally, the notes page contained any information that elicited further insight upon deeper reading, and my own comments or questions in reaction to the selection. I also kept an archives journal that contained more free-flowing thoughts as I was reading through archival material. These entries contained general descriptions of document contents, questions that arose while reading, or thoughts or arguments that emerged during data collection (see appendix 10 for an example). Notes were made on the photocopied documents as well, particularly during my second reading.

Figure 2. Topic index card and contents

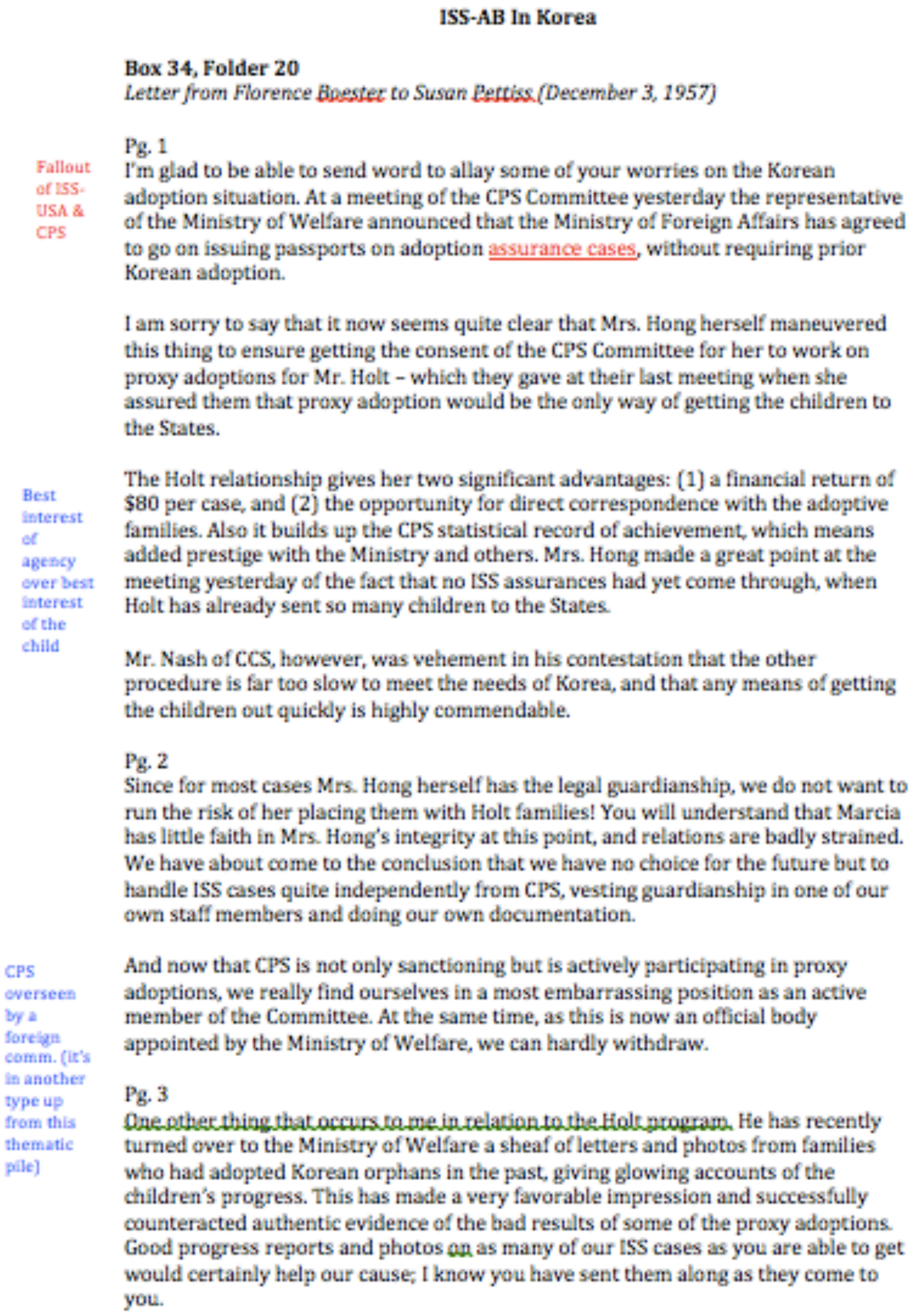
ISS-USA: In Korea

- Set-up of ISS-Korea
- ISS-Korea
- Reports about ISS-Korea
- Reports about conditions in Korea
- Social welfare agencies in Korea (i.e., CPS)
- The fallout of ISS-Korea, ISS-USA, and CPS
  - CPS' subsequent relationship with Holt and proxy adoptions

Note: Maybe include in this file

- ISS-USA American – Korean Foundation
- ISS-USA: Social Welfare – Korean Perspective

Figure 3. Sample notes page



ISS-AB In Korea

Box 34, Folder 20
Letter from Florence Boester to Susan Pettiss (December 3, 1957)

Pg. 1

Fallout of ISS-USA & CPS

I'm glad to be able to send word to allay some of your worries on the Korean adoption situation. At a meeting of the CPS Committee yesterday the representative of the Ministry of Welfare announced that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has agreed to go on issuing passports on adoption assurance cases, without requiring prior Korean adoption.

I am sorry to say that it now seems quite clear that Mrs. Hong herself maneuvered this thing to ensure getting the consent of the CPS Committee for her to work on proxy adoptions for Mr. Holt – which they gave at their last meeting when she assured them that proxy adoption would be the only way of getting the children to the States.

Best interest of agency over best interest of the child

The Holt relationship gives her two significant advantages: (1) a financial return of $80 per case, and (2) the opportunity for direct correspondence with the adoptive families. Also it builds up the CPS statistical record of achievement, which means added prestige with the Ministry and others. Mrs. Hong made a great point at the meeting yesterday of the fact that no ISS assurances had yet come through, when Holt has already sent so many children to the States.

Mr. Nash of CCS, however, was vehement in his contestation that the other procedure is far too slow to meet the needs of Korea, and that any means of getting the children out quickly is highly commendable.

Pg. 2

Since for most cases Mrs. Hong herself has the legal guardianship, we do not want to run the risk of her placing them with Holt families! You will understand that Marcia has little faith in Mrs. Hong's integrity at this point, and relations are badly strained. We have about come to the conclusion that we have no choice for the future but to handle ISS cases quite independently from CPS, vesting guardianship in one of our own staff members and doing our own documentation.

CPS overseen by a foreign comm. (it's in another type up from this thematic pile)

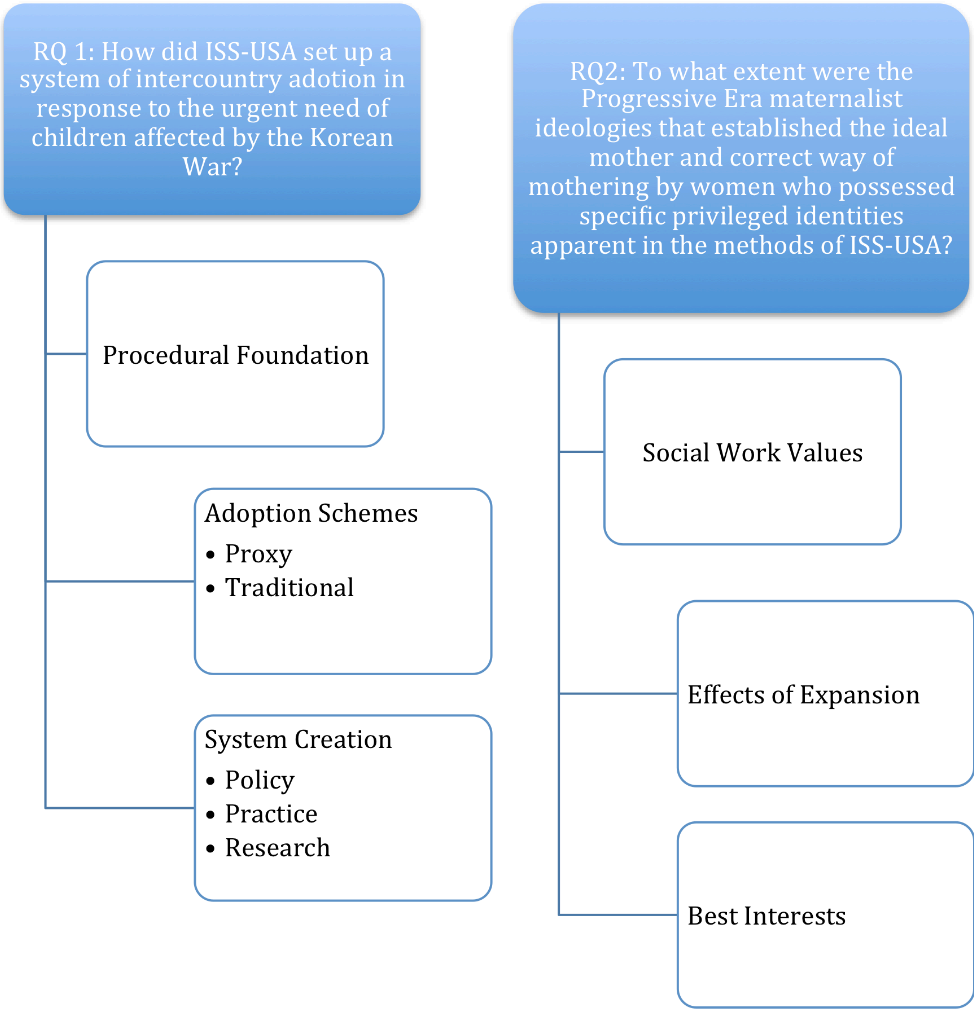
And now that CPS is not only sanctioning but is actively participating in proxy adoptions, we really find ourselves in a most embarrassing position as an active member of the Committee. At the same time, as this is now an official body appointed by the Ministry of Welfare, we can hardly withdraw.

Pg. 3

One other thing that occurs to me in relation to the Holt program. He has recently turned over to the Ministry of Welfare a sheaf of letters and photos from families who had adopted Korean orphans in the past, giving glowing accounts of the children's progress. This has made a very favorable impression and successfully counteracted authentic evidence of the bad results of some of the proxy adoptions. Good progress reports and photos on as many of our ISS cases as you are able to get would certainly help our cause; I know you have sent them along as they come to you.

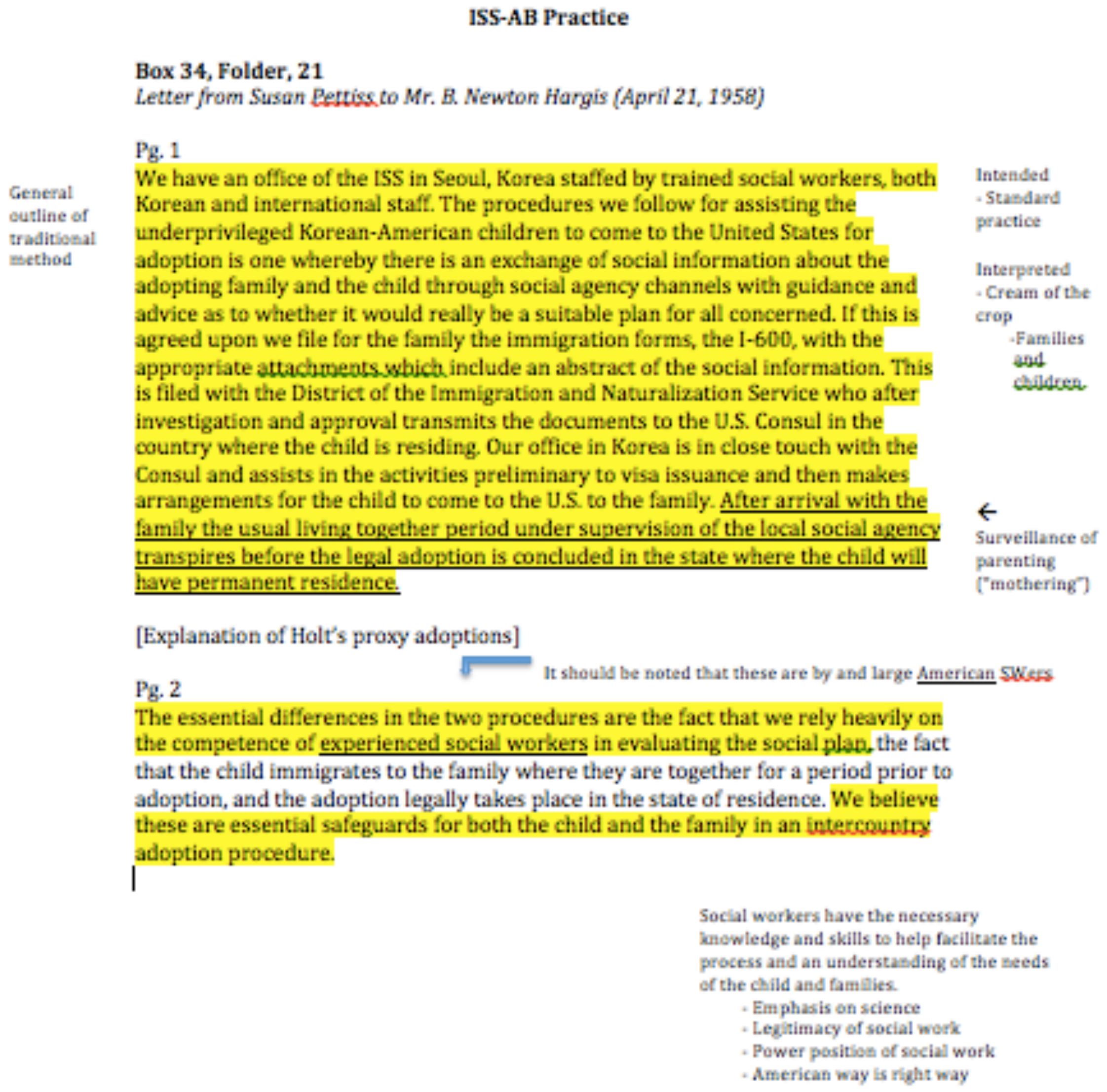
After all documents were organized, the coding process began. Coding is the development of concepts from the data. It involves interacting with the data by asking questions about it and comparing it to other data. It is “‘mining’ the data, digging beneath the surface to discover the hidden treasures contained within data” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 66). Coding of the administrative correspondence of ISS-USA revealed two categories: (1) procedural foundation, and (2) social work values. There were two themes that emerged for procedural foundation. They were: (1) adoption schemes, and (2) system creation. There were also two themes that emerged for social work values. They were: (1) best interests, and (2) effects of expansion. Figure 4 shows the organization of these categories and themes.

Figure 4. Content analysis categories and themes


RQ 1: How did ISS-USA set up a system of intercountry adotion in response to the urgent need of children affected by the Korean War?
Procedural Foundation
Adoption Schemes
• Proxy
• Traditional
System Creation
• Policy
• Practice
• Research
RQ2: To what extent were the Progressive Era maternalist ideologies that established the ideal mother and correct way of mothering by women who possessed specific privileged identities apparent in the methods of ISS-USA?
Social Work Values
Effects of Expansion
Best Interests

After initial coding that revealed the two main categories of “procedural foundation” and “social work values,” I went back through all of the documents and notes for a second reading. During this process, I was focused on the transgression of the text (Derrida, 1976). This was the part of my content analysis that was informed by critical and historical discourse analyses. While technical linguistic analysis was not germane to my research, the extraction of context-specific, value-laden child-rescue strategies was. In an effort to address my second research question, I had to read deeper into the texts in order to determine if maternalist ideologies were infused in the creation of formal intercountry adoption practices. It was during this second reading that the category of “social work values,” and its two themes, was found. During this process, I carefully re-read through all of the documents and notes. I highlighted certain passages that seemed to reveal something beyond its original intention. I made notes in the margins with cues and questions for myself. Figure 5 shows a sample page from my critical content analysis.

Figure 5. Sample critical content analysis



ISS-AB Practice

Box 34, Folder, 21
Letter from Susan Pettiss to Mr. B. Newton Hargis (April 21, 1958)

Pg. 1

We have an office of the ISS in Seoul, Korea staffed by trained social workers, both Korean and international staff. The procedures we follow for assisting the underprivileged Korean-American children to come to the United States for adoption is one whereby there is an exchange of social information about the adopting family and the child through social agency channels with guidance and advice as to whether it would really be a suitable plan for all concerned. If this is agreed upon we file for the family the immigration forms, the I-600, with the appropriate attachments which include an abstract of the social information. This is filed with the District of the Immigration and Naturalization Service who after investigation and approval transmits the documents to the U.S. Consul in the country where the child is residing. Our office in Korea is in close touch with the Consul and assists in the activities preliminary to visa issuance and then makes arrangements for the child to come to the U.S. to the family. After arrival with the family the usual living together period under supervision of the local social agency transpires before the legal adoption is concluded in the state where the child will have permanent residence.

General outline of traditional method

Intended
- Standard practice

Interpreted
- Cream of the crop
  - Families and children.

← Surveillance of parenting ("mothering")

[Explanation of Holt's proxy adoptions]

It should be noted that these are by and large American SWers

Pg. 2

The essential differences in the two procedures are the fact that we rely heavily on the competence of experienced social workers in evaluating the social plan, the fact that the child immigrates to the family where they are together for a period prior to adoption, and the adoption legally takes place in the state of residence. We believe these are essential safeguards for both the child and the family in an intercountry adoption procedure.

Social workers have the necessary knowledge and skills to help facilitate the process and an understanding of the needs of the child and families.
  - Emphasis on science
  - Legitimacy of social work
  - Power position of social work
  - American way is right way

Limitations

Historical research in social work can provide a fascinating glimpse into past worlds of social work practice. However, as with any type of research, there are limitations. As Schutt (2012) reports, limitations include damaged or missing documents, biased representations of events, and the impossibility of truly reconstructing the feelings of individuals involved in past events. Howell and Prevenier (2001) also state that oftentimes, original documents do not survive. And similarly, McDowell (2002) discusses the challenges with gaps in evidence inhibiting the confirmation of facts. The Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota house 556 linear feet of archival records from ISS-USA. This extensive collection contains administrative files, policy and program information, country files, and case records of the organization from 1923 through the mid 1990s. However, even though this collection is quite comprehensive, having more sources does not necessarily translate into the historian's ability to accurately report fact. There were many instances where documents were missing, such as letters in reply to social workers at ISS-USA from foreign correspondents or other state or local social welfare administrators, or vice versa. Additionally, on occasion documents were missing information such as dates, identifying information of authors, or information pertaining to document origination.

Being able to ascertain the true intentions of those involved in historical events is extremely difficult. So many different pieces go in to an individual's intentions. Social, political, economic, or ideological forces, or any combination of these may have driven them (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). Moreover, as Howell and Prevenier (2001) contend, historians cannot be sure about the facts offered in archival data for they represent biased opinions or views based on "the dominant powers in a system" (p. 82). This was certainly the case for this study. As an international authority figure in issues of child welfare, the administrative correspondence certainly reflected the organization's status and expertise. Even though Harry Holt and proxy adoptions were discussed at length in this study, these opposing child-rescue practices were still methods on the same side of the coin.

Lastly, Howell and Prevenier (2001) suggest that historians who are personally involved in the history they are writing are less able to distance themselves from it, and are more likely to interject their own opinions or beliefs. The authors state that, "For such historians, it is often too easy to interpret the past in terms of the shared ideology rather than in terms of the ideas and circumstances that shaped the ideology of the past. As a Korean adoptee engaged in research about the larger historical legacy of Korean adoption, it has been challenging at times to step back and view the project from as objective a position as possible.

Chapter 6: Findings

In this chapter, I set my discussion of the findings from the CDA- and HDA-informed content analysis of ISS-USA administrative correspondence within a maternalist framework. As will be explained, from how adoptions were carried out, to the values infused in the formalization of intercountry adoption, I show how the best interests of many others were served to the exclusion of the children. First I will discuss the nuts and bolts of ISS-USA and their establishment of sound intercountry adoption practices. Second, I will show how ISS-USA adoption methods prioritized the best interests of individuals, adoptive parents, organizations, and nations to the exclusion of the children.

Two broad categories emerged from the analysis of my primary sources: (1) procedural foundation, and 2) social work values. Procedural foundation was connected to my first research question, and contained two themes: (1) adoption schemes, and (2) system creation. Adoption schemes referred to the two differing adoption practices operating during this time – proxy adoptions and adoptions using traditional methods as proposed by ISS-USA. System creation referred to the three main aspects of the establishment of ISS-USA intercountry adoption standards as a whole – policy, practice, and research. The second broad category, social work values, was connected to my second research question. Two themes emerged during the second reading of my primary source documents: (1) effects of expansion, and (2) best interests (refer to Figure 4 in the previous section for visual layout of categories and themes).

Category 1: Procedural foundation

My first research question was concerned with how ISS-USA established its system of formalized adoption standards. Much of the administrative correspondence during my specified timeframe (1953-1961) focused heavily on the explanation of the differences between proxy adoptions and more traditional methods put forth by ISS-USA. In its dissension to proxy adoptions, ISS-USA provided detailed accounts of their traditional adoption methods. These methods were developed in response to current immigration legislation at that time, and provided evidence of success that informed early research of the placement and adjustment of Korean children into American homes. As such, two themes emerged here: (1) adoption schemes, and (2) system creation.

Theme 1: Adoption Schemes

Reports from many ISS correspondents revealed the urgent situation in South Korea. Senior Case Consultant of ISS-USA, Margaret A. Valk (n.d.), reported the alleys being “cluttered with women and children, beasts and debris” (p. 2). Mrs. John M. Burnside, Chairman of the Korean Adoption Program of the Joint Committee (1956), reported that while any orphan institutionalized in Korea faces a harsh life, “the orphan of mixed parentage carries on his innocent shoulders the burdens of being unwanted, resented and unclaimed” (para. 4).

In addition to the children, correspondents also wrote of what they witnessed in the many overcrowded orphanages: “For the most part they lack heat, adequate water supply, and adequate staff. Children come and go; they die” (Valk, 1956, p. 2). Mrs. Burnside (1956) wrote:

> It is difficult to speak dispassionately of the children whom we saw in many institutions. We saw children with the swollen bellies and match-stick legs of malnutrition; we saw children with sores and skin diseases on faces and heads and with eye infections, nearly all were suffering from colds; we saw children dressed

> in thin rags, their feet and hands purple from the cold; we saw dying babies lying in rags on cold floors; we saw scores of apathetic children who sat silent and motionless; we saw children with solemn, searching looks on their faces; we saw children who played quietly and silently and unsmilingly. (p. 3)

Dr. Bob Pierce, director of World Vision Inc., recalled:

> Last Sunday night a Korean girl with a child about 2 years old came to a World Vision orphanage asking to leave the child there. When asked why, she said the father was an American soldier who left her, and her Korean parents would not allow her to stay in the home with the baby. There was a Korean man willing to marry her if she would get rid of the child. The orphanage, already crowded, advised the girl it was not possible to accept the baby and sent the girl away. At 5 a.m. the next morning, the orphanage officials found the baby half frozen on the steps outside the building. (Wagner, 1956, p. 1)

Part of a letter quoted in *The Waiting Children*, by Pearl Buck (n.d.), implored the American public to do something to help these suffering children:

> We have more than forty babies now on bottles, tiny babies, and other are coming in every day. We have toddlers everywhere, sleeping wherever we can bed them down. The older children try to help, but the summer heat is upon us and disease is rife. Many of the little ones will die. We know that. We know, too, that good families in the United States want to adopt such children. Why doesn't your country let them in? (p. 1)

The reports coming from Korea ignited the humanitarian efforts to save the children of war that characterized the mid-century Cold War years. Rhetoric of rescue spoke to the benevolent and religious aspects of 1950s life as American citizens began chasing their desires to save these poor, suffering children (Herman, 2008). With Cold War America absorbed in family making across racial and national boundaries, "'Adopting' a child enabled a sense of participation in U.S. foreign policy" that every American could fulfill (Klein, 2003, p. 158).

In 1953 Congress passed the Refugee Relief Act, which allowed 4,000 orphans under the age of ten to be adopted to the U.S. by American citizens (Kim, 2010). A major limitation of the Refugee Relief Act was that it would expire at the end of the year in 1956. Another limitation was that the Refugee Relief Act allowed no more than two orphans to be adopted into one family at a time. Because of the immense need to rescue the many destitute children in Korea, individuals and organizations desperately worked to find ways to get the children quickly to the United States before the Refugee Relief Act expired.

Postwar Korean adoption initiatives in the 1950s marked the first time that more formal international adoption practices were being implemented. Whereas foster homes and orphanages had been used during World War II as temporary aid, those involved in the intercountry adoption of Korean children understood it to be a permanent removal of these children from their families and country (Marre & Briggs, 2009). With the urgent situation in postwar Korea, many individuals and organizations worked quickly to devise best practices for quickly removing mixed-blood Korean orphans. Various organizations, especially Christian organizations such as World Vision, Inc., Save the Children Federation, and Christian Children's Fund joined forces with ISS-USA in order to build and strengthen institutions and resources for orphaned children (Oh, 2005). Two adoption initiatives emerged – adoptions by proxy, and traditional adoptions. And so, the race was on to save the children.

Proxy Adoptions. Harry Holt, a devout husband and father from Creswell, Oregon emerged as a mid-1950s savior to the plight of mixed-blood Korean children. His name continues to be iconic in adoption communities around the world. He is most notably known for his adoption of eight *Amerasian*[5] children from Korea. Although he was not a social worker, and his proxy adoption methods were condemned by social workers, it is important to discuss his relevance to the origins of Korean adoption in the 1950s. Proxy adoptions and traditional methods established by ISS-USA were competing child-placing practices in response to the emergency child-rescue effort in postwar South Korea. Both methods proclaimed to serve in the child's best interests, and both were crucial in the removal of as many mixed-blood children as possible after the war. Furthermore, with respect to best interests, Holt's proxy adoption methods "challenged the expertise and autonomy of social work professionals" (Choy, 2013, p. 85). In this sense, professional and organizational interests were paramount. Pearl Buck, another iconic figure in intercountry adoption from Asian nations, maintained that children were held hostage by social workers that were after their own interests (Herman, 2008).

In a letter from Raymond Riese (1958), Child Welfare Director of the State Public Welfare Commission in Portland, Oregon, written to Dr. Paul Martin, Commissioner of the Elkhart County Health Unit in Elkhart, Indiana, it was explained that Holt had become interested in the Korean children through a radio program sponsored by World Vision, Inc. Like others who expressed concern in the urgency of getting mixed blood children out of Korea, Holt also felt this urgency and had little patience for adoption procedures by social service agencies. As Holt (1955) said in a personal letter to his constituents, “We have decided that as long as the welfare agencies will not give their whole hearted co-operation, and because the time is so short that we will, Lord willing, set up a method of adoption by proxy.”

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[5] Amerasian is the term used by Harry Holt and others who have written about his work in reference to the mixed blood Korean War orphans.

Holt continued his activities under a new law passed in September of 1957 (Public Law 85-316), an amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act that essentially allowed for adoptions by proxy (Hyde & Hyde, 1958). Adoptions by proxy allowed parents to adopt children from another country without the approval of a social service agency or immigration office before a visa was issued to the child. Acting as power of attorney for adoptive parents, Holt would adopt a child for them in Korea, and the child would not have to be adopted again under state law, thus saving legal costs. Additionally, the lengthy paperwork, home visits, and probationary periods of traditional methods would be avoided, thus significantly expediting the process. Because these children were considered children of citizens of the United States, they were entitled to enter the country on a non-quota basis (Hyde & Hyde, 1958; Riese, R. W., 1958).

As Holt’s proxy adoptions gained more and more attention, ISS-USA and other social service agencies grew increasingly concerned with the appropriateness and ethicality involved in this kind of adoption. With the involvement of the U.S. military in the Korean War, the urgent troubles of the war orphans and the quick-fix proxy adoptions swept across America. However, soon stories of returned children, maltreated children, and even deaths of children at the hands of their adoptive parents began to percolate into the public’s perception of proxy adoptions. “Adoption-by-Proxy Cases Frequently Mean

Trouble." "They're Available Sight Unseen Overseas But Heartbreak May Be Involved." "Babies By Mail Often Racket Deal" (Lowry, ca. 1954-1960.). These are just some of the headlines used by newspapers around the world to draw attention to rising concerns over proxy adoptions.

In their study of proxy adoptions, Hyde & Hyde (1958) did acknowledge the extreme situation that, for many, justified proxy adoptions. The authors stated that those involved in adoption work, in considering issues with proxy adoptions, must also consider:

> …the pressures that have given impetus to a procedure that disregards State laws and community safeguards; that is, the existence abroad of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of homeless children, subject to abuse, neglect, illness, social ostracism, and death, for whom any home, however risky, may seem to be the chief hope for survival. (p. 2)

However, growing numbers of complaints arose that involved children who were suffering at the hands of their adoptive parents. Adoptions by legitimate social service agencies, such as ISS-USA, provided necessary safeguards organizationally and in concordance with state laws that maintained the well-being of all those involved in intercountry adoption (Reid, J. H. as cited in Hyde & Hyde, 1958). The debate between proxy and traditional adoption methods created significant conflict among the various parties. Harry Holt's proxy adoptions were highly scrutinized by ISS and ISS-USA. In a document titled, "ISS Position in Regard to Adoption by Proxy," ISS stated:

> It is our conviction that it is socially unsound to establish the legal adoption tie between a child and future adoptive parents who have never lived together and

> who do not have any intimate acquaintance with each other. It is also our conviction that no child who is orphaned and for whom a home cannot be found in his own country, should be deprived of an opportunity to come to the United States for adoption by a family under the same conditions and safeguards provided for American children. Our organization's services through our foreign branches and overseas correspondents are available abroad for working out arrangements for bringing foreign orphans to American families for later adoption in the United States. These arrangements include review of suitability of the child and the adoptive parents, preparation of the child and family before the child arrives, and help and counsel to family and child after the latter's arrival during the living together period prior to legal adoption." (ISS, 1958, p. 3)

Raymond Riese (1958) expressed his concern regarding Holt's proxy adoptions, questioning whether or not there were adequate protections in place for the children since no social welfare agency needed to be involved. The State Public Welfare Commission had been in contact with Senator Neuberger and Representative Green of Oregon, who both were influential in making proxy adoptions possible, discussing with them recommendations to correct the situation for the welfare of the children. Other organizations, such as the United States Children's Bureau and the Child Welfare League of America were also aware of Holt's activities. Because the children entered the adoptive homes as the children of the adoptive parents who were American citizens, child-caring and placing statutes of that time could not apply. It was also believed that the favorable publicity and community support that Holt had nationally would make any attempts to take legal action particularly challenging. Thus, it was believed that "the only solution to correct these well intended but unprofessional activities which did not provide adequate protection for children would be a change of law or regulations making it illegal to issue visas for children adopted by proxy" (Riese, 1958).

Traditional. In contrast to adoptions by proxy, professional social welfare organizations employed traditional adoption methods that they argued served in the best interest of the child. These methods included in-depth screening and assessments of the child and, more importantly, the family. Home studies revealed the character, dynamics, and necessary demographic information of prospective adoptive parents. The entire placing process was overseen by a social worker from the local agency and by staff from ISS-USA. Before the legal adoption could be completed, there was a probationary period of up to a year where the placement was monitored by the local social worker that would then vouch for the parents' ability to properly care for the child. The main proponent of traditional adoption methods was ISS.

In a publication put out by ISS in 1967 titled, "Results of Leadership, Demonstration, and Training in South Korea by International Social Service, 1954 – 1966," a "new kind of time bomb" was ticking away. It represented the "explosive potential and human waste of increasing numbers of children of mixed parentage" (ISS, 1967, p. 1). Mixed-blood Korean children were severely stigmatized both because of their racial differences, but also because of their illegitimacy from being born of Korean prostituted women and foreign soldiers. (Davison, n.d.; Tahk, 1982). This situation led ISS on a massive undertaking of setting up sound intercountry adoption procedures for the removal of these unwanted children.

Theme 2: System Creation

Through its method of case conference by correspondence, ISS-USA institutionalized intercountry adoption practices. Designing and refining its practice methods around ever-changing orphan legislation and broader immigration policies, ISS-USA set up a system of sound practice methods in response to the crisis in postwar South Korea. Through early research initiatives the organization established some of the first literature on international child-placing making it the premier expert on intercountry adoption.

Policy. After World War II, with the passage of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, intercountry adoption grew in popularity in the United States (Pettiss, 1958a; Krichefsky, 1958). However, capitalizing on American expansion into Asia, and subsequent U.S.-Asian integration, Christina Klein (2003) argues that the sentimental discourse developed by intellectuals and policymakers forged bonds between Americans and Asians both domestically and internationally. Within the United States, these bonds were manifested in the reform of immigration and naturalization laws that allowed for Asians to more easily enter the country and become naturalized citizens.

The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 serves as a prime example of integration to which Klein referred. With its passage, Korean adoption would leave an indelible mark on immigration policy. Congress granted responsibility to the U.S. State Department for implementing the Orphan Program under the Refugee Relief Act (Pettiss, 1958a). The Orphan Program allowed for 4,000 nonquota visas for orphans under the age of ten who could be adopted abroad or in the U.S. if assurances were given by a citizen couple that they would legally adopt the orphan and provide proper care. A prospective adoptive couple had to select a recognized welfare agency to underwrite their assurance of adoption (Krichefsky, 1958). The Refugee Relief Act required the involvement of an authorized or licensed U.S. child welfare agency before a child could enter the country In her article in *Child Welfare* on the effects of foreign adoptions on U.S. adoption standards, Susan Pettiss (1958a) indicated that there were two major national agencies recognized by the U.S. government for the Orphan Program, the Catholic Committee for Refugees of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and ISS. She maintained that both of these organizations worked closely with the U.S. Children's Bureau, the Child Welfare League of America, and the American Public Welfare Association in order to continually review procedures and practices in intercountry adoptions.

Practice. A specific method of intercountry casework emerged called *case conference by correspondence* (ISS, Inc., n.d.). This method required ISS and all of its branch offices and correspondents to share knowledge and coordinate practices with other agencies domestically and around the world through letter writing. In addition to the particular details of each case, ISS letters also had to be written in such a way so as to bridge cultural gaps and establish rapport across difference and distance. In her 1959 article, "The Practice of Intercountry Casework," ISS director Edna Weber identified four main areas that case conference by correspondence had to consider – language barriers, particularly those challenges associated with translation; cultural differences; time; and legal systems and challenges, especially those associated with immigration and nationality regulations, and those concerning the family such as guardianship of children, marriage, and divorce in different countries. Weber offered this example:

> A seven year old German orphan girl was sent by her legal guardian, the child welfare authority of the place where she was born, to Argentina for adoption by a

> German family which had emigrated there some time before. The placement did not work out well, and the child welfare authority of the town in Argentina where she was living took responsibility for replacing the child. Subsequently a difference of opinion developed between the two child welfare authorities concerning the suitability of the new placement. The German child welfare authority invoked the concept that nationality prevailed over place of residence and insisted that its advice concerning the placement should be followed. The Argentinian child welfare authority invoked the concept that residence prevailed and that the child was under its exclusive guardianship. (p. 46)

In considering the best interest of the child, Weber stated that correspondence for situations like this needed to begin between social workers. However, given language and cultural barriers it was not practical for the social workers in each country to communicate with one another. Acting as an intermediary ISS assisted agencies in different countries by channeling correspondence through its branches and workers in the countries involved rather than directly to the clients or agencies themselves (Weber, 1959).

In a 1957 publication titled, *In a World They Never Made: The Story of International Social Service,* a sampling of just one day's mail in the American Branch was given, among them such requests as, "An American and his Japanese wife want to adopt his wife's eight year old nephew, an orphan living in Central Japan," (p. 21) or "The Child Welfare Division of a public agency in Maine asks advice on how to handle the adoption of a boy in Lebanon by an uncle in Maine," or "The unwed mother of a child born in Germany complains that the child's natural father, an American, had admitted paternity and promised to support the child, but had sent only one check" (p. 22). Each letter was interpreted and then sent to the social worker or agency that had the knowledge and capacity to deal with the case. Sometimes the agencies or social workers were local. Sometimes letters needed to be routed to other ISS branches or correspondents in other countries (ISS, 1957a).

Throughout the 1950s and into the 60s, as U.S. immigration legislation continued to change, ISS-USA adjusted its methods in tandem. As seen with the proxy adoption method, no social welfare agency needed to be involved in any step of the adoption. This sped up the process and reduced the amount of fees that adoptive parents incurred. As Susan Pettiss (1958b) stated:

> The essential differences in the two procedures are the fact that we rely heavily on the competence of experienced social workers in evaluating the social plan, the fact that the child immigrates to the family where they are together for a period prior to adoption, and the adoption legally takes place in the state of residence. We believe these are essential safeguards for both the child and the family in intercountry adoption procedure. (p. 2)

By 1954, ISS-USA had pieced together a procedural outline in how it would apply intercountry casework methods to the intercountry adoption of Korean children (see Appendix 2). The American Branch of International Social Service worked with Korea and other U.S. agencies to establish a program that would find homes in other countries for mixed-blood children (ISS, 1967). Eugenie Hochfield (1963) reported that after it was determined that a child was available for adoption overseas, child welfare agencies would begin the placement process. A long distance relationship of sorts was started between the potential adoptive parents and the child. The relationship was mediated by social workers in both countries involved.

The "Procedures for Processing Foreign Children for Immigration and Adoption by American Citizens" (1961) outlined the adoption process as follows:

1. Receive the home study from the local child welfare agency.

2. Obtain a case history of the child with accompanying documents.

3. Forward information about the child to the local agency to discuss with the adoptive parents.

4. Forward the home study material to the ISS branch or correspondent in the child's country.

5. After all agencies and individuals agree to the social plan, the adoptive parents will complete the ISS form I-600 (the "Petition to Classify Alien as an Eligible Orphan") that will be filed with the proper district office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Documents to accompany the I-600 form are as follows:

The family will provide –

- Birth certificate or naturalization certificate for each parent
- Marriage certificate
- Employment statement or income tax return
- Bank statements
- Fingerprint card obtained from police or Immigration Service

ISS will provide –

- An abstract form on the child
- Release by the parent or guardian for the child's adoption

- Proof of death or disappearance of parent or parents
- Child’s birth certificate or excerpt from family register

The local agency will prepare –

- The abstract of the family’s case history
- A statement that pre-adoption requirements of the State have been met according to the INS and the particular State Department of Public Welfare

6. The INS will make investigations both in the US and abroad, and will forward their recommendations to their Regional Office for approval and notification to the appropriate U.S. Consular official in the country of the child’s residence, advising ISS of the action.

7. The US Consular official will make and examination and investigation of the child’s eligibility for a non-quota visa, which will include health examination of the child and a review of documents.

8. The visa is issued.

9. Reception of the child by the adoptive parents will be confirmed by the local agency to ISS, and ISS will notify the branch or correspondent in the child’s country.

10. Supervisory reports will be made to ISS by the cooperating local agency and sent to the cooperating local agency or guardian in the child’s country until adoption is complete.

11. The local agency will inform ISS when the adoption decree is issued and the branch or correspondent in the child’s country will be appropriately notified. (ISS-USA, 1961, pp. 2-3)

Home Studies. In a 1957 document titled “Home Study Material for Intercountry Adoption Applications,” ISS-USA provided an explanation of the home study, including information of the adoptive parents to be captured for “matching” purposes (see appendix 7). The descriptive and evaluative information that ISS-USA received during the home study assisted in the decision-making process as to the suitability of prospective adoptive parents to adopt a foreign child. The information gave the agency “a picture of the family, the setting and community in which they live, and their hopes and expectations for an adoptive child” (p. 2). Some of the information collected was the description of all family members. This included such things as physical appearance, personality, and education and ambitions. Family attitudes toward home and community were also assessed. Medical information of the adoptive parents was necessary. If infertility was a reason for intercountry adoption, the home study narrative had to include the prospective adoptive parents’ reaction to that reality. The experience prospective adoptive parents had with handling children, including those from other cultural backgrounds was discussed, as was their motivation for adopting a foreign child (see appendix 5 for full summary of adoptive home study) (ISS-USA, 1957a).

Formalities in Korea. In a document titled “Rules of Procedure for Adoption of Korean Child by American Adoptive Parent” (ca. 1954-1955) from the Child Placement Service (CPS) in South Korea, American parents had to submit a written statement of adoption to whichever administrative authority had jurisdiction over the registered domicile of the child. This was in accordance with the Korean Family Registration Act, the closest the country had to an intercountry adoption law. In addition, a certificate assuring the eligibility of the prospective adoptive parents had to be submitted by a recognized social welfare agency from the state in which the adoptive parents lived (see appendix 6) (CPS, ca. 1954-1955).

Supervision. After a Korean child came in to an American home, there was a period of six months to a year in which the family was supervised by a social worker from the local social welfare agency. In "Guide for Supervisory Reports," ISS-USA (n.d.) outlined the procedure and information collected. Supervision reports captured such information as the child's health, development, interactions with siblings and classmates, language adjustment, and personality and emotional needs. In terms of the parent-child relationship, first reports included information on such aspects as parents' initial reaction to the child; handling of the language barrier; day-to-day experiences with feeding, sleeping, and playing; discipline; complex issues that came up concerning racial differences between parents and child and within the community; and the parents' ability to help the child work through feelings of their past life. Progress of adjustment was captured in the child's experiences with new day-to-day activities and any comparative comments regarding past and present life, and the parents handling of this. Finally, the later reports served to describe the overall development and acceptance of both the parental role and integration of the child in to the family.

Research. As ISS-USA continued to revise its intercountry adoption practices, it published and presented research on the effects of adoption on foreign-born children. As social work professionalized, it came to borrow and rely on many theories and concepts from such disciplines as sociology and psychology. Of particular relevance to intercountry adoption was the early 1950s work of John Bowlby in his observations of institutionalized children and the effects of maternal deprivation. Bowlby's monograph, "Maternal Care and Mental Health," was published by the World Health Organization in 1951. In it he concluded that a child who is deprived of maternal care would suffer defects to his character throughout life. Bowlby goes on to suggest that the proper care of children lacking a normal home life is of a moral and social responsibility (World Health Organization, 1962). Freudian theories that intersected with Cold War notions of family, anxiety, and marriage and sexuality also broadly influenced the psychoanalytic casework methods of social workers prevalent during this time (Burnham 2012, Curran, 2005; Hendershot, 2001; Rieff, 1959). The use of a vernacular steeped in psychological paradigms helped elevate the professional prestige of social work (Curran, 2005).

The overwhelming reports of research conducted by ISS-USA were that the Korean children were adjusting well in their new homes. In her article, "Adjustment of Foreign Children in Their Adoptive Homes," Letitia DiVirgilio (1956), a caseworker with the Boston Children's Aid Association, reported that, "All of them seem to show evidence of being glad to be here" (p. 21). The "evidence" was mostly based on what social workers assessed to be healthy adoptive mother-child bonding. DiVirgilio wrote, "It has been heartening to observe these children as they begin to show signs of sadness when a new adoptive mother leaves the room, joy when she returns, hopefully marking the beginning of a capacity for deeper relationships" (p. 16). Similarly, Margaret Valk (1957), senior case consultant with ISS-USA reported that, "difficulties experienced by children and parents alike are to be expected and remain within normal limits, while the happiness of both seems as satisfying as in any local adoption placement" (p. 5). In Valk's report, the "happiness" seemed to be interpreted from the extent to which Korean children had become disinterested in their pasts. "We have seen how some children have already wanted to forget their language." "Other reports show that some children at this stage do not want to be reminded in any way of the past they have left behind" (Valk, 1957, p. 14).

Social workers were well aware of the scant literature available on the adjustment of children adopted domestically, let alone internationally. There just wasn't much to corroborate their findings. "Our information about their adjustment is based on written progress reports received from the local child welfare agencies supervising the placements, letters received from parents, and verbal discussions with local adoption workers whenever the opportunity arises" (Valk, 1956, p. 5). In their findings, they chalked the "evidence" of "happy" placements to their own placing methods. As DiVirgilio (1956) stated, "It also may be that the agencies abroad have been skillful in their selection of the children who can make the best use of an adoptive home" (p. 21). A year later, Valk (1957) asserted a similar belief:

> That so many children have been able to adjust to their adoptive home with such comparative ease is largely due to the soundness of the legislative structure of the orphan program under the Refugee Relief Act in setting up safeguards for children entering the United States for adoption. (p. 16)

Valk continued by suggesting that, "early observations point to happy and normal adoptive relationships for these Eurasian and Afro-Asian children placed with American families, especially under the auspices of social agencies" (p. 16).

Even though social workers proclaimed many happy placements with Korean children adjusting well in American homes, they also acknowledged how uncharted intercountry adoption really was. Valk (1957) admitted that, "It is too early to give more than observations concerning the initial adjustment of Korean-American children in their adoptive home" (p 5). DiVirgilio (1956) cautioned against making generalizations citing that, "The ground is not explored. The program is a new venture" (p. 19). Susan Pettiss (1958a), Assistant Director of ISS-USA, reckoned that even though "it is still too early to make any conclusive evaluation, we do have a basis for optimism about placements of foreign children in general" (p. 2). Much of the research on intercountry adoptions was based on not much more than assumptions. It was clear that no attention was given to the ongoing process of adjustment as adopted children grew older. As Oparah, Shin, and Trenka (2006) argue, for so long and for so many reasons, the voices of adult adoptees have been unheard. Since adoption began in South Korea in the early 1950s, "white adoptive parents, academics, psychiatrists, and social workers have dominated the literature on transracial adoption…[telling us] 'what it's like' and 'how we turn out'" (p 1).

Category 2: Social work values

Social welfare does not exist in a vacuum anywhere. It is impacted by the politics, economy, and dominant religion of any society. These broad institutions, and their ever-changing interactions, create the societal values that define social problems and construct various interventions to deal with those problems. In the United States, social welfare, from problem definition to intervention development and implementation, may be the work of social workers (Day & Schiele, 2013). As previously exemplified, the needs of children in postwar South Korea were both eloquently and painfully crafted into a problem that no American should turn their backs on. Among others dedicated to providing relief, social workers at ISS-USA established what they determined as sound intercountry adoption practices that served in the best interest of the child. Two themes emerged here pertaining to: (1) effects of expansion, and (2) best interests.

Theme 1: Effects of Expansion

During the early years of the Cold War the United States focused its foreign policy efforts in Asia through a variety of means, including adoption. The belief was that by adopting a child from Asia, political obligation and pleasure were inextricably linked. Adoption meant that Americans could learn about other countries and other people about which they knew relatively little. It also meant that its generosity in providing for Asian children would offset any notions of the U.S. as an imperialist nation. Furthermore, adoption reinforced the nuclear family, which was highly privileged as the ideal form of personal relations (Klein, 2000). As Burns (1954) said, “A flight over and back for even so brief an errand as taking delivery of a child, has come within the pocketbooks – and, what is more, within the imaginations – of many” (p. 2). In passing a number of laws allowing for the immigration of orphans, the “helping hand of the United States was outstretched” to Korea (Krichefsky, 1958).

Especially since World War II, mid-century social work had been shaped by the needs of soldiers and their families. Casework offered to the middle class became a feature of postwar social work practices (Trattner, 1999). As adoption pushed beyond national boundaries, and with the intercountry casework practices of ISS, in a global display of diffusion of innovation, American social work practices expanded into South Korea through ISS-USA. Margaret Valk (1956) reported that there was no governmental welfare, and certainly no general child welfare program in South Korea after the war. With much of the Korean budget spent on the military, there was not enough money within the Korean Ministry of Health and Social Affairs to begin such a program. Valk also reported that the directors of the orphanages had no special training or experience in child welfare. The Korean Ministry of Social Affairs (ca. 1956) reported that a lack of trained staff in the field made this work particularly challenging. It was felt that an American social worker needed to be in South Korea to help advise the government and CPS, especially in terms of further developing its body of knowledge of American child welfare practices (Pettiss, 1955a).

A number of American-trained social workers thus went to Korea to help set up a coordinated system of child-placing through what eventually came to be the South Korean branch of the ISS. In particular, Miss Helen McKay, Mr. Ed Francel, and Mrs. Ellen Trigg Visser were trained child welfare workers, and also had considerable related experience in the U.S. and in Europe (Chamberlin, 1956). Additionally, in 1955 three Korean social workers had been sent to the University of Minnesota to complete their education in social work. The Korean social workers were on a fellowship that had developed between the then director of the University of Minnesota School of Social Work, John Kidneigh, and the Unitarian Service Committee. The fellowship was developed in order to advance social work training in South Korea by improving practice through in-service training (Unitarian Service Committee, Inc., 1956).

American social workers worked directly with CPS and the Ministry of Social Affairs in South Korea to coordinate intercountry adoption. They recommended to Dr. Pierce of World Vision, Inc. the employment of an American social worker to work with the doctor on site at the Reception Center, a World Vision orphanage. The American Branch of International Social Service (ISS-USA) also conducted demonstration projects designed to not only establish sound intercountry practice, but to additionally show how such practices could be maintained in the best interests of all those involved. Moreover, it aimed to strengthen the knowledge and skills of Korean workers so that they could eventually provide the services themselves (ISS, 1967). Although Korean workers did increasingly become involved in the coordinated efforts of ISS-USA and ISS-Korea, the American branch recognized that much of the foreign welfare services being brought into South Korea were American.

In so many Third World nations there is an extensive reliance on Western social work models (Midgley, 1990). Postwar South Korea was no exception. Even though ISS-USA desired to indigenize international casework in South Korea, American models of intervention became the reference point for Korean social work (Khinduka, 1971). Because case conference by correspondence was derived from the casework practices of American social work, intercountry casework represented the "exportability of American casework methods to foreign settings" (Pettiss, 1956, p. 1). While these services helped alleviate the needs of many needy groups, the overall effect actually discouraged Korean authorities from taking responsibility in meeting the social needs of their people (ISS-USA, 1962).

Theme 2: Best Interests

In her study on child welfare reform, history professor Susan Tiffin (1982) explored the contradictions within reform efforts in the Progressive Era. She suggested that these efforts sought to achieve both social order and social justice. However, a complex set of tensions and contradictions resulted in the overall restrictiveness of reform programs. In examining the expansion of value-laden American social work, in particular, intercountry child welfare casework, the question begs asking: In whose best interest did the efforts of ISS-USA actually serve? Certainly, the organization had long proclaimed that the best interest of the child was first and foremost. Dicy Dodds (1961), Associate Director of ISS, discussed the agency's fundamental principles of adoption. These principles governed the intercountry adoption practices of ISS since 1957. The commitment of ISS to the best interest of the child were exemplified in the following principles:

> *Principle 1*: That adoption is the best substitute for care by the child's own parents or close relatives, provided that adoption is based fundamentally on the welfare of the child. (p. 1)
>
> *Principle 2*: That sufficient consideration should be given to possible alternative plans for the child within his own country before intercountry adoption is decided upon since there are various hazards inherent in transplanting a child from one culture to another. (p. 2)
>
> *Principle 7*: That an adequate home study of the prospective adopters should be completed before a child is suggested to or placed with a couple in view of intercountry adoption, as well as an adequate study of the child's background, physical conditions, and personality development. (p. 5)
>
> *Principle 9*: That before legal adoption is completed, there must be a trial period of not less than six months under the supervision of a social worker attached to a qualified agency. (p. 6)

The international agency also recognized that the best interests of the adoptive parents should also be considered in finalizing an adoption. In 1958 ISS stated that the legal bond established by adoption is determined by a court of law "on the basis of social evidence that is in the interest of the child and adoptive parents" (p. 1). It is the last part of this quote, "and the adoptive parents," that deserved further investigation.

Deeper reading of primary source documents revealed that the work of all involved in the creation of a system of intercountry adoption carried a certain self-aggrandizing and self-congratulatory tone. This occurred on a micro level, with the efforts of select individuals being highly recognized and praised for their tireless and selfless work, to the most macro level with concern for entire nations being central to proper adoption and integration of mixed-blood Korean children.

Individuals. In a report issued by ISS in 1967 recalling the problem of mixed-blood war orphans, the work of General Lyman Lemnitzer, the then commander of United Nations forces in South Korea, seemed to be in jeopardy if the children weren't quickly removed from the country. "A generation dispossessed and rejected, these children could become adults ripe for any kind of criminal or subversive leadership. They could have a tremendously disruptive effect on the stability that Lemnitzer was trying so hard to build" (ISS, 1967, p. 1). What this suggests is that the dedicated work of foreign help would be squelched by mixed-blood children if they were permitted to stay in their own country. The efforts of a foreign serviceman condoned the removal of the children.

Another example of an individual being exalted was the efforts of Harry Holt. John Aeby, editor of *Hi Families* magazine wrote in the preface of Bertha Holt's book, *The Seed from the East* (1956):

> They were just obeying God. God used this couple to show the world that a family's love can transcend the boundaries of race and nationality. Together they

> form a wonderful story of how God can use ordinary people to accomplish extraordinary works.

Especially given the focus on Christianity in the face of atheist Communism during the Cold War, that Holt was driven by a religious impetus carried that much more significance from a national perspective. Even though, as Arissa Oh (2005) explains, no evidence pointed to Holt identifying as a Christian Americanist, his work "as a Christian" was publicly upheld "as an affirmation of his Americanness" (p. 175). The Washington Post (1955) featured an article on Holt titled, "'Pied Piper' Corrals 12 Korean Babies, Flies Them to America for Adoption." The use of the term "Pied Piper" connotes an act of heroism in that Holt's removal of mixed-blood children not only saved the children, but also probably more importantly, saved Korea. For his heroic acts, Holt was recognized and decorated by the Korean government, as revealed in a 1957 letter from the director of ISS-USA, William Kirk.

The falling out that occurred between ISS-Korea and CPS provided yet another example of how the best interest of an individual took precedence over the best interest of the child. The Korean Branch of International Social Service and CPS severed their relationship at the end of 1957 when it was discovered that the director, Mrs. Oak Soon Hong, had been partaking in proxy adoptions with consent of the CPS Committee. Her relationship with Mr. Holt was advantageous in that CPS would enjoy a financial return of $80 per case; proxy adoptions would allow Mrs. Hong direct contact with adoptive parents; and because children were placed much faster by proxy than by traditional methods employed by ISS-USA, the statistical record of achievement gave both Mrs. Hong and CPS added prestige (Boester, 1957a). Here it is apparent that monetary gains and agency status were more important to Mrs. Hong and CPS than the welfare of the children they was responsible for. Since ISS viewed proxy adoptions as risky and harmful, that Mrs. Hong traded the lives of children for her own gains illustrated how her best interest, and the best interest of CPS took priority.

Adoptive Parents. In her book, *Kinship by Design,* Ellen Herman (2008) discusses the unprecedented and ambitious goal of creating families "safely and well by making them public, on purpose, and according to plan" (p. 1). Herman goes on to argue that researchers of early adoption placements "attempted to naturalize adoption, convinced their discoveries about nature, nurture, attachment, and identity would refine policies related to qualifications for adoption, placement timing, and failed adoptions" (p. 3). In this sense, the adoption methods practiced and endorsed by ISS-USA, as well as subsequent research on those adoptions, centers the attention on the adoptive family. Also, in considering contextual pieces of 1950s Cold War America that privileged middle-class nuclear families, all of the policies and practices established by policymakers and professionals ensured that adoption, and therefore, family-making, was governable (Herman, 2008). As ISS-USA (1957a) outlined:

> The family, in signing the immigration forms, and the agency, in approving placement, [have] formally agreed to ensure proper care to the child under the agency's supervision until legal adoption has been completed. This agreement, which is included on the forms used to apply for the child's admission to the United States, is made to the United States government. In addition to this accepted responsibility, the family and the agency have an obligation to inform the child's legal guardian abroad, and the cooperating agency in the child's

> country, about the child's welfare and progress. Close cooperation, by the family with the local agency, and among the agencies here and abroad involved in the adoption plan, is required." (p. 2)

As adoption became more and more publicly accepted and practiced, child welfare agencies largely abandoned their mission of serving the best interests of the child, instead focusing their services on couples who wanted babies. In this sense, social workers served as brokers for couples interested in adoption (May, 1995). In *Children of Calamity,* John Caldwell (1957) discussed the ways in which orphan children were conveyed as products for purchase. Citing cables that came into the Christian Children's Fund, Caldwell offered some of their headlines: "Rush me 500 orphans," or "Need 200 Korean, 10 Japanese mixed-blood, 50 Chinese, 10 Arabs" (p. 29). Christina Klein (2003) likened this to department store backorders. Kim Park Nelson (2006) explains this in terms of the supply and demand aspect of international adoption whereby white parents adopt children from foreign countries, an exchange that involves not only money, but also "white parents' desire to enrich their lives by parenting a child from a foreign culture" (p. 89). The American Branch of International Social Service (ISS-USA) certainly fulfilled the dreams of white American parents wishing to adopt Korean children. As an intermediary between local welfare agencies in the United States and South Korea, the organization filtered the "department store backorders" filled with specific children American couples wished to adopt.

Because of the urgent situation, some social welfare agencies actually relaxed their screening standards for prospective adoptive parents. In a memo to district supervisors from Hilmer Olsen (1961), the Wisconsin State Department of Public

Welfare indicated that while their screening practices of prospective adoptive couples wishing to adopt a Korean child would follow the same procedures as domestic adoptions, they were willing to “approve the marginal applicant for these children,” whereas in a domestic situation, the “marginal applicant” would be rejected (p. 1). This is a primary example of how the best interest of the child was relaxed to benefit more parents given the situation in South Korea. In a document titled “Home Study Material for Intercountry Adoption Applications,” ISS-USA (1957a) stated that couples “with humanitarian or spiritual motivations,” and “those with a highly developed interest in, or ties with other cultures predominate among the families recommended for the adoption of a foreign child” (p. 2). Considering the contextual factors of 1950s Cold War America with respect to American religiosity, and Christina Klein’s (2003) notion of Cold War Orientalism, the privileging of prospective adoptive parents whose values and moral investments fit with the larger needs and interests of the United States is exemplified here.

Unfortunately, when the best interest of the child is not paramount, complications can arise. This is exemplified in the ways in which proxy adoptions served the best interest of adoptive parents over the child. In their study of proxy adoptions, Hyde & Hyde (1958) alluded to this when they suggested that, “When the wishes of prospective parents rather than the child are the primary concern, however well-intentioned the parents may be, the adoption process becomes skewed, and children’s need will not be met” (Hyde & Hyde, 1958, p. 20).

Organizations. The American Branch of International Social Service was not immune to positioning itself on center stage either. While it touted the best interests of the child, it also continually asserted its expertise, which all other reputable social welfare agencies both domestically and internationally were strongly encouraged to follow. In large part, this was due to legal requirements. One of the most significant factors about the Orphan Program under the Refugee Relief Act was the precedent established in U.S. immigration law of the social agency's role in the responsibility for establishing and maintaining safeguards for minor, unaccompanied children immigrating to this country (Pettiss, 1958a). The American Branch of International Social Service showcased its expertise by publishing some of the earliest research on adjustment of transracial adoptees, and by presenting its work at national social work conferences. At the 1956 National Conference of Social Work, Susan Pettiss, Assistant Director of ISS-USA, illustrated the international prominence of the agency in terms of intercountry casework:

> Very little attention has been given to the forgoing of an intercountry casework practice as a tool that can be applied in two or more countries to find social solutions to individual family problems reaching into each of these countries. The International Social Service has been building practical experience during the past thirty-five years in its attempt to put social casework theory to work on the international level. (p. 1)

The global positioning and recognition that ISS-USA held established a misbalance between the indigenous capacities it was trying to encourage, and the domineering assertion of Western methodology. International social work historically had largely involved a "unidirectional flow of ideas and practice approaches from industrial and developing countries" (Midgley, 1990). The international headquarters (ISS) stated that, "In the United States, adoption is a social institution established to provide a homeless or orphan child with a new home, and to integrate him as a permanent part of a new family" (p. 1). The integration piece is interesting because, as the previous discussion on research pertaining to the adjustment of foreign children into American homes illustrated, one part of successful integration was the child intentionally forgetting his or her past. The other piece of integration is Arissa Oh's (2005) concept of Christian Americanism. It has been demonstrated that Harry Holt embodied this ideology, however, even though ISS-USA maintained a secular position in its humanitarian child-rescue work, the Christian connection between the United States and South Korea was even more prevalent during the mid and late 1950s. Susan Pettiss (1955d), assistant director of ISS-USA, stated that, "Our experience has led us to believe that approximately 95% of all our applicants are Protestant" (p. 1). Pate (2014) reports that many prospective adoptive parents specifically requested Korean children because of their religious affiliations. Through their churches or other religious connections, they heard of the situation in South Korea from missionaries reporting from abroad. Because ISS-USA had no orphanages of its own, it worked with other orphanages – many of them run by missionaries and other religious organizations. Pate continues by discussing how these orphanages were concerned with both the physical and spiritual wellbeing of the children. Oftentimes the orphanages held religious programming for the children such as Sunday and bible school classes, church services, and Christian hymns being sung by children's choirs. Echoing Arissa Oh's (2005) notion of Christian-Americanism, Pate (2014) asserts that, "Christian training became an integral part of Americanization" (p. 125).

Another example of an organization's best interest being served is with CPS. As stated previously, Mrs. Hong and CPS enjoyed financial benefits for carrying out adoptions by proxy. Additionally, with more children placed faster through this method, organizational statistical favorability increased. It was clear that ISS-USA had no immediate knowledge of Mrs. Hong's doings. Far East correspondent for ISS, Florence Boester (1957a), wrote:

> I am sorry to say that it now seems quite clear that Mrs. Hong herself maneuvered this thing to ensure getting consent of the CPS Committee for her to work on proxy adoptions for Mr. Holt – which they gave at their last meeting when she assured them that proxy adoption would be the only way of getting the children to the States. (p. 1)

Unfortunately, as a result, the relationship between ISS-USA and CPS deteriorated. As Boester (1957a) conveyed to ISS-USA assistant director, Susan Pettiss, "You will understand that Marcia has little faith in Mrs. Hong's integrity at this point, and relations are badly strained" (p. 2). One result of this falling out was ISS-USA focusing once again on its own image. As a member of the CPS committee, and with no prior knowledge of Mrs. Hong carrying out adoptions by proxy, ISS-USA found itself in quite a predicament that it needed to quickly separate itself from:

> And now that CPS is not only sanctioning but is actively participating in proxy adoptions, we really find ourselves in a most embarrassing position as an active member of the Committee. At the same time, as this is now an official body appointed by the Ministry of Welfare, we can hardly withdraw." (Boester, 1957a, p. 2)

By 1958 ISS had completely severed its relationship with CPS. The newly formed Korean branch of ISS (ISS-Korea), which formed in April of 1957 and worked closely with CPS, was headed by an American social worker. In 1958 when all ties between ISS- and CPS were cut, ISS-Korea was able to increase its staff so that it could take over full care of orphans.

Nations. In addition to the best interests of foreign individuals working to improve conditions in South Korea, the work of ISS-USA also demonstrated the ways in which the children were positioned as potential deviants. Their removal would save them from poverty and delinquency by civilizing them into productive citizens, thereby making them useful to Americans (Jacobs, 2009; Pate, 2014). Gaither Warfield (1958) of the Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief expressed similar concerns when he stated:

> One must always remember that an unloved child growing up in the wrong home can easily become delinquent. With oriental features this child will be known in the American community, and any misconduct – natural under the circumstances – will be held against Korea and other Far Eastern countries. (p. 2)

Here, the presumption is that mixed-blood Korean children are likely to act up in their American communities. Because they stand out racially, their delinquency will reflect poorly on South Korea. The main concern here is on the image of the country rather than the best interests of the child.

The ways in which intercountry adoption from South Korea privileged the United States is woven throughout the analysis and findings of this study. In particular, because of the pronatalist attitudes of 1950s America, and the re-crafting of the adoptive mother as adoptive parents, adoptive parenthood represented the vehicle by which the United

States could reinforce its resistance to Communism. Christina Klein (2003) writes of American expansion into Asia during the Cold War. She offers that the Cold War was presented to Americans as "something that ordinary Americans could take part in, as a set of activities in which they could invest their emotional and intellectual energy" (p. 7). Intercountry adoption from South Korea after the war became one of the activities in which Americans partook. Because of the voluntary nature of formation, as opposed to coercion and violence, racial integration, and a justification for permanent U.S. extension of power across the world, the multiracial and multinational families that were formed by intercountry adoption represented a model of postwar integration (Klein, 2003).

The extent to which American social work had been established in South Korea and informed the mass removal of mixed-blood Korean children to white American homes also represents the ways in which the interests of the United States were privileged at the expense of the child's best interest, even though the profession claimed its practices were meant to serve the best interest of the child. In this way, the profession of social work became a kind of official gatekeeper of national security.

Europe and the United States both have involved histories in the colonization of poorer and underdeveloped nations. The establishment of social work in these countries was largely under Western influences rather than from indigenous sources. Unfortunately, this has called into question the relevance of curricula and practices in non-Western countries (Lyons et al., 2012). With respect to the professional value of social justice, Hölscher (2012) suggests that conceptualizing social justice within an international context is a complicated matter. If social justice is rooted in notions of inclusion and exclusion, Hölscher offers that, with its simultaneous commitment to social justice and human rights, international social work is caught between inclusion and exclusion with respect to the sovereign state. “Notions of universal human rights, citizenship, and social justice are linked to one another such that they at once constitute and pull in different directions the modern state, and with it, social work” (p. 50). Healy and Link (2012) assert that the profession of social work has been associated with imperialism and colonialism because of this. Lyons et al. (2012) similarly suggests that, historically, the forces of colonialism that privileged whiteness and oppressed indigenous populations were instrumental in the establishment of the profession in poorer countries abroad.

In attempts to unravel and define inclusion and exclusion in the context of other countries, “international exchange has at times been characterized by unselective imposition and borrowing of foreign models of education and practice” (Healy & Link, 2012, p. 13). This has led to the establishment and maintenance of a superior-inferior relationship between the West and non-Western nations (Healy & Link, 2012). Unfortunately, according to Khinduka (1971), “the current conception of professional social work, which is undoubtedly dominant and the most fully elaborated conception, is generally irrelevant and sometimes dysfunctional to the resolution of the major issues that beset the poor nations” (p. 64). Nevertheless, social work continues the international scope of its work, especially with issues pertaining to child welfare.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Two research questions guided this study: (1) how did ISS-USA set up a system of intercountry adoption in response to the urgent need of children affected by the Korean War? (2) To what extent were the Progressive Era maternalist ideologies that established the ideal mother and correct way of mothering by women who possessed specific privileged identities apparent in the methods of ISS-USA? This chapter first provides a discussion of my findings from CDA- and HDA-informed content analysis. This discussion is situated within my theoretical frameworks, and will show how the social work values that informed the procedural foundation of intercountry adoption, as practiced by ISS-USA, possessed a maternalist ideology that broke beyond the gendered ideologies that characterized Progressive Era maternalism. In what I have termed *Cold War maternalism*, the maternalist nature of social work child-rescue efforts in postwar South Korea took on a national scope that determined the most suitable mother to mixed-blood Korean War orphans as the United States of America – their mother America.

Establishing the System: Values and Procedure

A primary analysis of the administrative correspondence of ISS-USA revealed how the organization implemented a coordinated system of intercountry adoption of mixed-blood Korean War orphans in the early 1950s through a process called case conference by correspondence, the painstakingly slow process of communicating with agencies, social workers, and governmental institutions around the world through letter-writing. In addition to securing what it felt were sound child welfare practices, ISS-USA also withstood the pressures of other individuals and groups driven by religious motivations that felt that expediency was paramount given the urgent need of suffering children. The unavoidable time-consuming activities of communicating practice standards, scientific rationale for those standards, counter arguments to other adoption schemes such as proxy adoptions, and coordinating the multitude of technical and legal steps involved in the immigration of a foreign child to American parents speaks to the professional values and standards ISS-USA held itself to. Even though it also recognized the need to process children as expeditiously as possible, ISS-USA refused to compromise quality for quantity.

From our current technologically advanced perspective, sixteen years in to the twenty-first century, nowadays, even e-mail seems rather antiquated given the widespread use of text messaging and face-to-face interactions in real time via FaceTime, Google Hangouts, and video conferencing. Additionally, social media gives us immediate access to countless happenings around the world. We are continually bombarded with the lived experiences of others – the lives they lead, the conditions in which they live, and the oppression many face from broken and corrupt systems. The effects of cyber-movements such as #blacklivesmatter is testimony to how quickly actions can be translated from online awareness raising to real life organizing in the wake of grave injustices. Considering where we have progressed in just over 60 years since the suspension of the Korean War, how ISS-USA institutionalized intercountry adoption is an incredible feat. Having none of the technological advances that we do today, ISS-USA established the industry of intercountry adoption through letters.

The immediate emergency situation of the mixed-blood children in the aftermath of the Korean War was just part of what was feared would become a larger problem if not dealt with immediately. As Catherine Ceniza Choy (2013) writes, it left “new categories of people seemingly without a future” (p. 22). Novelist Pearl S. Buck (n.d.) wrote:

> And they will not be Korean children. They will be new kind of children, war children, belonging to no country and to every country. They are children who are born displaced, children not wanted in the lands of their birth, and not recognized by the land of their fathers. (p. 1)

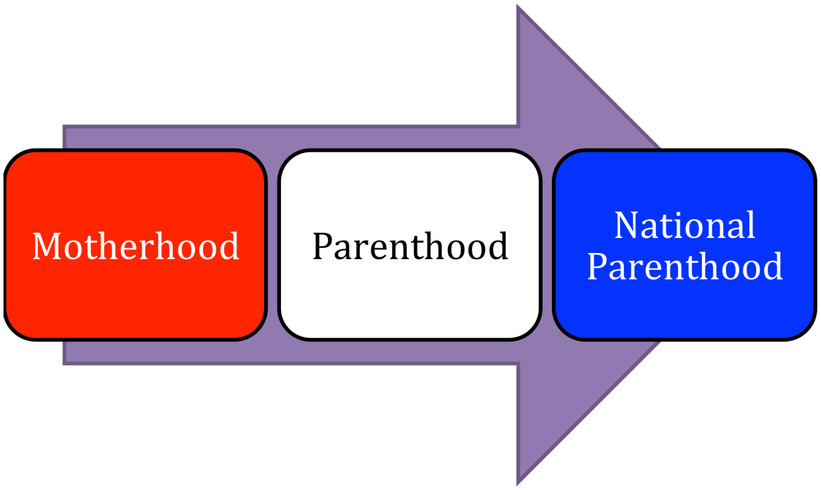
Between 1945 and 1961 American political, military, and economic expansion into Asian countries grew at unprecedented levels (Klein, 2003). Included in the modernizing effects of such expansion was the diffusion of American social work. In 1954 the American – Korean Foundation (AKF) formed with the purpose of helping in the reconstruction efforts in Korea. With respect to the problem of the many mixed-blood children, AKF planned to send a team of child welfare experts to South Korea. Ultimately, ISS was asked to provide the inter-country service in the United States through its American branch. The Child Placement Service (CPS), a child-placing organization established in 1953 and attached to the Korean Ministry of Social Affairs (Young, 1958), coordinated the intercountry service in South Korea. From 1954 until the spring of 1957, ISS-USA and CPS would conduct business with the assistance of part-time supervision and guidance by an American social worker. Mrs. Ellen Trigg Visser of the Korea Civil Assistance Command took on this role. It was not long before the need for a full-time child welfare specialist was needed, and in 1955, one was recruited by the U.S. Department of State – Miss Helen McKay. However, when AKF withdrew its financial support to CPS, and Miss McKay decided to leave her position, ISS was asked to take over the work entirely (Intercountry Adoption Program with Korea (1953-1958), n.d.). Thus, in 1957, ISS-Korea came in to being. Miss Marcia Speers was recruited to oversee this newly created branch of ISS (Boester, 1957b).

Given the fallout between ISS-USA and CPS, the creation of ISS-Korea appeared to be a necessary step in linking the U.S. with South Korea for safe adoption of Korean children. However, the ISS-Korea-ISS-USA relationship is another example of how the best interests of the United States were served first. The ISS-Korea-ISS-USA tie created an institutional sending pipeline through which Korean children were sent to American homes. It was regulated by American social workers who ensured the supply of Korean children to meet the demands of primarily white American parents.

Maternalism and Korean Adoption

The second reading of the primary source documents provided an opportunity to interrogate the well-intentioned system established by ISS-USA. Wodak & Meyer (2001) define critical discourse analysis as "fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (p. 2). It is within text that one may address the intricacies of power dynamics within social systems, including the actors, meaning-making, and how text can initiate and maintain social action (Kress, 1989). To borrow the words of Laura Epstein (1999), beyond just writing the story of how ISS-USA formalized intercountry adoption from South Korea in the early 1950s, I was also interested in "unraveling the discourses…that swirl about, invent, develop, remove, and reorganize thought, intentions, plans, disorder, and disjunctions, forming a changing set of practices and rules that establish and reestablish the practices existing and becoming" (p. 12). Employing critical discourse analysis techniques to my second reading of primary source documents revealed a particularly maternalist spirit to the formalization of intercountry adoption from South Korea. Figure 6 shows the evolution of Progressive Era maternalism to Cold War maternalism.

Figure 6. Cold War maternalism



Similar to other scholars who have provided a critical framework in their studies of the origins of Korean adoption, this revelation calls into question whether or not the child's best interests were truly served. In considering the maternalism involved in Korean adoption, I argue that the interests of American parents, and thus, the country, were of the greatest importance, while the interests of the children were subsumed in issues of national security.

The intercountry adoption work by ISS-USA was imbued with maternalist ideologies that have long permeated the profession of social work. The early Cold War years have predominantly been characterized by rigid gender roles and "domestic banality" (Curran, 2005, p. 112). Elaine Tyler May (2008) reports that the roles of breadwinner and homemaker were embraced during the post-World War II family boom; the 1950s considered the "last gasp of time-honored family life" (p. 7). Career-oriented male breadwinners provided for their families while female housewives took care of the home and childrearing responsibilities (May, 1995). With the social work profession focused on child welfare issues and the prioritizing of correct mothering, the situation in postwar South Korea reimagined motherhood across national and international boundaries.

During the postwar and early Cold War years, as has been seen, national security went hand in hand with domesticity, an ideology realized in the focus on the nuclear family and what it represented in terms of hope for the nation's future (May, 1995). The nuclear family-focused maternalism espoused by mid-century social workers was a revision of its Progressive Era predecessor. It still clung to the importance of the mother-child relationship, but excluded the political movement that allowed women to break into the public sphere and influence policies affecting mothers and children (Curran, 2005). The postwar white, middle-class ethos asserted that the only occupation for women was motherhood. In addition, fatherhood also became a measure of good citizenship (May, 1995). Adoption thrust the family into the public eye where its very meaning, and the meaning of parenthood, was crafted and re-crafted (Berebitsky, 2000).

In following Progressive Era maternalist ideologies pertaining to nation-building and the Americanization or Christianizing of especially immigrant populations and persons of color, what I call Cold War maternalism*,* was infused in the child-rescue efforts of mid-century social workers involved with intercountry adoption efforts in postwar South Korea. Cold War maternalism reconstructed notions of motherhood, and moved motherhood to the broader parenthood, and even to nationhood. M. M. Slaughter (1995) redefines Mother to include the person who rears the child rather than who also bears the child suggesting that, “In this usage, there is nothing in nature that requires women to Mother, or prevents men from doing so” (p. 73). It is from Slaughter’s reframing of Mother that Cold War maternalism is about parenting – the construction of parenting from a maternalist perspective. That is, maternalist parenting still carries the hierarchical Progressive Era ideologies about which demographic characteristics etch out the best parents, and the assimilative features of good “mothering” in shaping future responsible citizens. South Korea was the child, in multiple senses, and America its mother.

Described as a “hermit nation,” (Dr. Bob Pierce as cited in Wagner, 1956), Korea was a “poor and primitive country” with towns that were “sordid and dirty;” the homes “hovel-like” (Wagner, 1956, p. 1). Agencies attempting to help the children left abandoned or deserted after the war had to deal with a complete lack of social welfare. As Far East Representative Florence Boester (1957b) reported, there was “inadequacy of feeding, housing, and medical facilities; lack of trained leadership; maddening difficulties in the means of communication and travel; absence of coordinated social resources” (p. 4). In terms of the birth mothers of mixed-blood Korean children, their families had deserted them. According to Valk (1956), “Missionaries who work up near the 38th parallel where there are stationed many foreign servicemen describe the woods being full of girls with such children” (p. 3). The children were described as animal-like. They were “dirty, untrained, and not properly fed” (Pettiss, 1955c, p. 1). American assistance was desperately needed.

Virtually no social welfare structure at any level existed in Korea (International Social Service Korea Project, n.d.) after the war. There were “not even half a dozen fully trained Korean social workers in the country," as social work had not been established as a profession (Boester, 1957b). Child Placement Service (CPS), until its connection with ISS-USA in 1954, had been the only government-affiliated child-placing service in South Korea after the war. But as Susan Pettiss (1955c) reported, "no one on staff knows the first things about American adoption practices" (p. 1). The director, Mrs. Hong, was "an untiring and devoted individual," however she was found to be "unsatisfactory in preparing adequate case histories on the children and in operating organizationally" (Young, 1958, p. 1).

Positioned as helpless and unable to care for its many needy children, the United States came to South Korea's aid. To properly save the Korean orphans, they needed to be turned in to good Americans. An example of the assimilative features of Cold War maternalism is evidenced in the Christianizing, and thereby Americanizing, of Korean orphans that Arissa Oh (2005, 2015) writes about. Harry Holt in particular "combed the highways and byways for mixed-blood children and raided orphanages throughout the country (Intercountry Adoption Program with Korea (1953-1958), n.d.). In order to save these children, Holt believed that "this placing of children is a ministry and we are responsible to God to see that wherever possible they be placed where they will receive fundamental teaching" (Holt, ca. 1956-1957, p. 1). While ISS-USA maintained its stance as a secular agency, it still sent the vast majority of children to Christian, more specifically Protestant, homes.

Cold War maternalism puts parenting within a national and international scope by asserting that the adopted Korean child became the joint childrearing project of American parents, and therefore the nation, as Third World countries were "mothered" out of the grips of Communism and into modernity. *State maternalism*, a term coined by Yvonne Zylan (2000), refers to the state's responsibility to care for mothers and children. It shared with Progressive Era maternalism the importance of the mother-child-relationship and the impact of that relationship on maintaining a healthy society. Cold War maternalism carries on this ideology and expands it to the "national family," and the familial relationship as the litmus test for a healthy society. By ensuring that Korean children would become "'American' by unlearning their cultures" (Mink, 1995, p. 79), social workers of ISS-USA ensured that the national security of their country was stable by creating a system of intercountry, transracial adoption that encapsulated the primacy of international mothering through two-parent nuclear families. Miss Bessie C. Irvin of the State of California Department of Social Welfare, an agency well-connected with ISS-USA, stated that, "we do not feel that a single woman is able to offer a real 'family' to a child…Children will have a better opportunity to adjust to a strange country if they are able to be placed with both a mother and a father in their substitute home" (Irvin, 1955, p. 1).

Cold War maternalism represents yet another shift in maternalist ideologies. With a focus on the nuclear family, and pronatalist attitudes of mid-century Cold War America (May, 2008), the adoption of South Korean children into American homes became one way in which the middle-class family was created and sustained. Furthermore, with the expansion of American powers into postwar South Korea (Klein, 2003), including American social work practices (Pettiss, 1956), Cold War maternalism not only continued to reinforce adoptive motherhood as a symbol of patriotism (Berebitsky, 2000), but also held the adoptive family responsible for properly raising transracial adoptees as

American citizens. From a cultural standpoint, this meant that in terms of nation-building, the citizenry would be "white, Christian, and modern" (Jacobs, 2009, p. 26). As scholars such as Arissa Oh (2005, 2015) and SooJin Pate (2014) assert, Korean orphans were inculcated with American and Christian morals and values both before they came to the U.S. and certainly after they were placed in their families. As Jacobs (2009) states, white Americans "wished to create a white nation, their model of cultural assimilation suggested that one was not necessarily born white, but could become so" (p. 73).

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The purpose of this cultural historiography was to critically examine the ways in which the profession of social work institutionalized intercountry adoption procedures through the work of the international social casework agency, ISS-USA. The two questions that guided my research were: (1) how did ISS-USA set up a system of intercountry adoption in response to the urgent need of children affected by the Korean War? (2) To what extent were the Progressive Era maternalist ideologies that established the ideal mother and correct way of mothering by women who possessed specific privileged identities apparent in the methods of ISS-USA?

Primary source records of the ISS-USA were obtained from the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota. Content analysis, informed by critical and historical discourse analysis methods, revealed that through what ISS-USA called case conference by correspondence*,* formalized adoption procedures were set up to address the urgent needs of thousands of mixed-blood children after the Korean War. Case conference by correspondence involved the arduous task of letter-writing between social workers all over the world to convey information related to policy, practice, and research in terms of child welfare. The meticulous details of current policy specificities, practice standards and discussion of what was in the best interest of the child, and early research findings regarding adjustment of foreign-born children into American homes were all composed in letters that also had to paint a captivating contextual picture for each case. The American Branch of International Social Service (ISS-USA) proclaimed a compassionate undertone in establishing its scientifically sound practice methods. An example of this is seen in a quote from Mrs. John M. Burnside (1956), Chairman of the

Korean Adoption Program of the Joint Committee, imploring her board to help not from a place of scientific reasoning, but from a place of sympathy to the desperate needs of the children:

> I only wish that each member of this Board could visit Korea to see the plight of these helpless children for, on your return you would feel as I do, that we can help to alleviate their tragic situation, and that such help must be given generously, and as soon as possible. (para. 4)

While the establishment of sound intercountry adoption practices provided many children with the opportunity for a good life in a good home, this study found that the American profession of social work did little to help Korea figure out ways in which it could keep its own children. Rather, the belief was that American homes and American parents would be better suited for children displaced by the Korean War. In what I call Cold War maternalism*,* maternalist ideologies from the Progressive Era that equated white, middle-class, heterosexual, Christian women with being the measure of a good mother, were expanded to a national, even international scope. The presumption was that white, middle-class, heterosexual, Christian, American adoptive parents were the best parents for South Korean children, and more broadly, the United States was a nation more fit to "parent" war torn South Korea – figuratively and quite literally. Cold War maternalism revealed the ways in which the best interests of the nation as a whole, including ISS-USA and American adoptive parents, was served far before the best interests of the Korean children.

Intercountry adoption is not a new phenomenon. Children from other countries have long been coming in to the United States with promises of new and better lives. This has certainly been the case for many Asian nations, especially during the Cold War years as children from South Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, to name just a few of the sending countries, were adopted in to American homes. More recently, China has been a major exporter of mostly girls adopted by American parents. Historian, Erika Lee (2015), presents Asian American immigration history as an immigration story, referring to it as the "'push and pull' idea," where "conditions in one country – like war, natural disaster, civil unrest, and economic instability – push desperate peoples out while the United States pulls them in with better-paying jobs, land, and freedom from persecution" (p. 4). Similarly, Tobias Hübinette (2006) suggests that:

> it is no coincidence that the countries supplying the most children for international adoption to the West, and primarily to the United States, almost all fall under the American sphere of influence and have been exposed to American military intervention, presence, and occupation. (p. 145)

This study has shown that attempts to formalize a system of sound intercountry adoption practices actually served in the best interest of many others to the exclusion of the children themselves. The best interest of the child has long been at the heart of child welfare services, however, as Joyce (2013) states, "adoption is an industry driven largely by money and Western demand" (p. 6). In revisiting Hübinette's (2006) question of why Korean adoption has remained largely uncontested within discussions of the genocidal motives of other forced child-removal campaigns, the findings of this study exemplify the heroism in saving mixed-blood Korean children during the 1950s. This heroism overrides any indication of forced removal, forced assimilation, or genocidal tendencies. Adoptees were crafted into national emblems of diplomacy that would not only unite the United

States and South Korea, but would save America from Communism. On a domestic scale, maternalist ideologies identified American parents as suitable "mothers" for these children. On a global scale, maternalism defined America as "mother" to South Korea and its children. In her book, *Cold War Orientalism,* Christina Klein (2003) also captures this notion in her discussions of the ways in which the United States "raised" Asian nations to mirror their "American 'parent'" (p. 176).

Tracing the maternalist ideologies in past child-placing events throughout history such as the orphan train movement and the American Indian boarding schools, this study has revealed that similar ideologies were evident in the origins of Korean adoption. Fast forward sixty years and maternalist ideologies in child-rescue are still alive and well. In 2010 an earthquake destroyed Haiti. While American parents had endured long waits to adopt Haitian children before the earthquake, the devastating effects of the natural disaster expedited the process. In her book, *The Child Catchers,* Kathryn Joyce (2013) discusses the ways in which Haitian children were crafted into sentimental objects that pulled at the heartstrings of the American people. As Joyce writes, "Again and again Haitian children were characterized as prisoners in a backward nation, their ambiguous orphanhood overshadowed by their status as victims" (p. 5). Sixty years prior, mixed-blood Korean children were presented in the same way. Also similar to the Korean adoption origin story, the response to the situation in Haiti was driven in large part by religious values – a "savior complex" that "assumes that tickets to America for a handful of children are an appropriate fix for an entire culture living in poverty" (Joyce, 2013, p. 6). Finally, much like postwar South Korea, the situation in Haiti elevated the charitable and integrated nature of the United States to a global stage.

In over sixty years of using formalized intercountry adoption practices, and with many years of child-placing practices before the early 1950s, two questions beg asking: 1) has the profession of social work learned anything from its own history with respect to child-placing? 2) Does intercountry adoption serve in the best interest of the child? At least up through the timeframe of this study, Cold War maternalism suggests that there is serious concern as to whether or not social work, and adoption as a social work practice, has served the best interest of the child. Intercountry adoption practices that were formalized in the immediate postwar years of the Korean War served more of a political purpose that considered the best interest of the United States over the child. Certainly in 2010, in the aftermath of the Haitian earthquake, it appears that again, while perhaps less obviously political, and more religious, the adoption of Haitian children also served the best interest of the United States over the children.

Findings from this study provide implications for further social work research and practice in intercountry adoption. First, much of the extant literature on intercountry adoption has examined the experiences of children and adolescents. More research needs to be done with adult adoptees. As has been seen in this study, many times, the experiences of adult Korean adoptees has been quite different from the grand adoption narrative that has been constructed in part by existing adoption research. Using a historical trauma lens can provide a valuable framework from which we can understand the history of Korean adoption and the effects it has had on the lived experiences of many adult adoptees today. Sloth (2006) states:

> …research influences – or should influence – adoption policy and practice. Research results interpret adoptees' realities. They inform our assumptions about

> what is right and wrong in adoption. Therefore it is vital that intercountry adoptees, as the 'objects' of performed research, assess research results and compare them with lived experiences to ensure their validity and reliability. We cannot leave this task to nonadopted academics alone. (p. 253)

This is especially useful to adoption agencies or other organizations providing pre- and post-adoption services. It is imperative that professionals are able to connect the histories of their clients with present-day realities and challenges in order to effectively work with those seeking assistance (Knight, 2015). Adoption professionals should be having discussions with prospective adoptive parents about the long history of Korean adoption and the discrepancies between what clinical research has shown compared to the actual lived realities of adoptees as they move beyond childhood and adolescence. For those Korean adoptees who seek counseling services, trauma-informed practice methods that focus on client-centered and client-driven interventions (e.g., Harper, Stalker, Palmer, & Gadbois, 2008) can be helpful in that they consider the holistic perspective of the person, including their history, and allow for client control over their treatment. These practice implications can extend beyond Korean adoptees to include all transracial transnational adoptees. As scholar and activist John Raible (2006) states, "Finite, outcome-oriented research ignores the ongoing, lifelong impact of the adoption experience itself on adoptees," and, "Most of the existing research has failed to capture the continual negotiation and performance of fluid racial identities over the course of the life span" (p. 181).

As has been demonstrated by this research, there have been two approaches to child-rescue – those driven by religious motivations, and those backed by scientific knowledge in child development. During times of crisis, be it war or natural disasters, oftentimes the line between religion and science becomes blurred in child-rescue efforts. It is important that the profession of social work understands where this line is, and the implications it can have on the methodologies employed in intercountry adoption practices. As Hübinette (2006) explains of the history of Korean adoption, at one end is the contextual story of migration both historically and in relation to other child-placing schemes. At the other end is the social control aspect of adoption, particularly with respect to regulating and controlling Korean women's bodies in the name of social development and national security. Applying this spectrum to the role of social work in intercountry adoption, at the one end, the profession needs to understand its own historical child-placing stories both from a historical context, and situated within larger narratives of international child-rescue. At the other end, the profession needs to disrupt the social control aspect of intercountry adoption. This calls into question the profession's commitment to culturally appropriate practices.

Finally, the profession of social work should seek to understand that complex intersections of race, class, and sex in intercountry adoption. Does social work truly have the child's best interest at heart when so often it seems there are complex political obligations that are maintained literally through the sale of children from poorer nations to wealthier ones? How does the profession reconcile this colonial aspect of its own history? As Hübinette (2006) points out, in the larger narrative of the genocidal aspects of forced migrations, "Only international adoption remains largely uncontested, made legal through various 'international' conventions that in reality privilege Western concepts of adoption" (p. 143). Furthermore, how does the profession understand its role in a multibillion dollar moneymaking industry fraught with corruption? Joyce (2013) states, "People with good intentions have become a market, the demand side of an industry that can be as profit-driven as any other, and they have significant cash to spend" (p. xiii). Because the supply side – the number of available children – is comparatively smaller than the demand side, it has resulted in children's records being laundered, turning them into "manufactured" orphans – they have no family, at least on paper (Joyce, 2013).

These are hard questions the profession must ask itself. It must turn introspective and retrospective in order to not only revisit the story of professionalization and child-placing, but also to critically assess this history in order to make changes. One major area in which this work could be done is in social work curricula. There are only a small number of schools of social work that offer a standalone social welfare history course at the graduate level. In addition to increasing the numbers of schools that offer such courses, the curriculum should be designed to critically engage students in the history of their profession. More specific to bridging the past to the present with respect to intercountry adoption, though this certainly could be applied to other stories that have been left in the margins of social work history, the perspectives of those whose lived experience it was and still is should be centered. Linda Smith (2012) writes, "To resist is to retrench in the margins, retrieve 'what we were and remake ourselves'" (p. 4). Adoptees are indeed beginning to retrench themselves in the margins in order to discover their personal and collective pasts, and interrupt prevailing discourses that have continued to disregard their perspectives. We know all too well, and for far too long, "what it means, what it feels like, to be present while [our] history is erased before [our] eyes, dismissed as irrelevant, ignored" (Smith, 2012, p. 31). It is time the story be told from our own lives.

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Appendix 1

International Social Service Fundamental Principles in Intercountry Adoption

Principle 1 That adoption is the best substitute for care by the child's own parents or close relatives, provided that adoption is based fundamentally on the welfare of the child.

Principle 2 That sufficient consideration should be given to possible alternative plans for the child within his own country before intercountry adoption is decided upon since there are various hazards inherent in transplanting a child from one culture to another.

Principle 3 That increased efforts should be made in each country to examine at as early a stage as possible whether certain children should be adopted within the country, rather than remaining indefinitely in institutions because of rather slight family ties; that careful examination should be made of the value to the child of such ties which act as an obstacle to adoption.

Principle 4 That efforts should be made in each country to find adoptive homes, within the country, for children with certain mental or physical defects, and for children whose family background presents an obstacle to adoption.

Principle 5 The extremely careful consideration should be given to all possible alternatives before a child is removed from his own relatives for adoption; that a parent, regardless of social and legal status, should have the opportunity for full consideration of what is involved, including legal and psychological consequences, before a decision is made that adoption is the best plan for the child; that concepts of modern child and family welfare should prevail over economic and social factors.

Principle 6 That those who have ties, legal or emotional, to the child should be helped to understand thoroughly the meaning of adoption in the culture of the new country; that the child, if old enough, should also be prepared for the implications of adoption and life in the new country; that unless this can be done and the consequences accepted by all concerned, the child should not be considered suitable for intercountry adoption.

Principle 7 That an adequate home study of the prospective adopters should be completed before a child is suggested to or placed with a couple in view of intercountry adoption, as well as an adequate study of the child's background, physical conditions, and personality development; that it is recognized that a home study of the adoptive parents may have a limited value when the parents are living in a temporary setting, so that there are often valid reasons not to consider such couples as prospective adoptive parents unless they live in one setting for a sufficient length of time where they can be studied by a social worker who is sufficiently familiar with their culture, and an appraisal of them in their own home community can be obtained, before a child is suggested to or placed with them.

Principle 8 That the process of matching together child and adoptive parents in intercountry adoption should be a shared responsibility between the child welfare agency which makes the home study of the prospective adopters and the child welfare agency responsible for the child, with the participation of the specialized international social agency acting as intermediary between the two. All relevant factors which are accepted as valid in matching child and adoptive parents in local adoptions shall be taken into consideration, with special attention to the factor of religion.

Principle 9 That before legal adoption is completed, there must be a trial period of not less than six months under the supervision of a social worker attached to a qualified agency, able to understand the cultural patterns of the prospective adopters and of the child; in the case of older children, this period should be longer.

Principle 10 That care must be given, before the adoption plan is finalized, that pertinent documents necessary to complete the adoption are available, particularly that all necessary consents are in a form which is legally valid in both countries; that it must be definitely established that the child will be able to immigrate to the country of the prospective adopters and can subsequently obtain their nationality.

Principle 11 That care must be given to assuring adequate protection of the child in his new country, that in view of the difficulty of exercising guardianship functions across national boundaries, the value of the former legal guardianship needs to be examined; that legal responsibility for the child in the new country should be established promptly.

Principle 12 That steps should be taken to assure that the adoption is legally valid in both countries.

Source: Dodds, D. (1961). *Fundamental principles in intercountry adoption.* International Social Service – American Branch (Folder 34: Children: Intercountry Adoption General, 1954 – 1962, box 10) Social Welfare History Archives, Elmer L. Anderson Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN

Appendix 2

International Social Service – American Branch Tentative Procedural Outline

Local (or State) U.S. Agency	ISS(American Branch)	ISS Branch or Correspondent Abroad
		Contact agencies and institutions to locate suitable children available for adoption in the United States.
Make home studies and approve for adoptive placement.		Make or arrange for case studies on children located.
Send summary information (form) on approved parents to ISS indicating type of child desired.	Establish files for available children and approved adoptive homes.	Forward to ISS in U.S. case studies on children determined available & adoptable.
	Do a preliminary sorting and matching of children with adoptive parents, submitting 2 or 3 children's cases to the local agency for selection by the parents.	
Examine children's histories and discuss with adoptive parents.		Collect necessary documents & releases for child's immigration & adoption, & forward to ISS in U.S.
Return to ISS cases of children not selected.		
Check legal requirements for adoption, importation, etc. to determine whether any obstacles for adoption of the particular child		

in that state		
Notify ISS of final choices of parents sending a summary of case information on the parents.		
	Forward case information on adoptive parents for the local agency in the country of the selected child’s residence.	
		Notify local children’s agency of selection of the child, submitting case information on the parents. Advise ISS in U.S. of final documentation on the child.
	Notify local agency of approval & provide information about completing necessary immigration forms.	
Assist parents to complete necessary immigration forms (DSR-6) & documenttation and forward them to ISS.		
Conclude statement of understanding with ISS as to future responsibility of each agency for continued supervision, care & replacement in case of breakdown, etc.		
Indicate whether parent		

or parents will go over to get acquainted with the child & to accompany child to U.S., or prefer transportation arrangements completed abroad.		
	Check immigration forms, add necessary documentation about the child & forward to the U.S. Dept. of State. Notify overseas branch of action.	
		Assist in any way possible in processing for visa. Make tentative transportation arrangements, contacting the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration for a transportation loan where necessary.

Source: International Social Service – American Branch (1954). *Tentative procedural outline.* International Social Service – American Branch (Folder 4: Inter-country adoptions committee –I.S.S. Reports, box 3). Social Welfare History Archives, Elmer L. Anderson Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Appendix 3

Ideal Intercountry Adoption Activities

Sending Nation: Core Social Work Practices	Receiving Nation: Core Social Work Practices
Note: All activities that lead to a decision to release child to ICA are supposed to either support biological families in caring for their child OR attempt to place a child in a domestic care situation including adoption (in country) prior to the ICA decision.	
Unbiased birth-parent counseling when the parents are known and ethical relinquishment services	Prospective parent counseling about and for adoption; may be in the form of basic information
OR	
Appropriate child abandonment procedures to ensure the child is not stolen or sold and is a bona fide abandonment case	
Placement assessments to determine a child's placement potential for in-country care or ICA	Placement assessments to determine a prospective family's capacity to adopt as part of the family's home study, which then results in report writing
Birth-parent social and medical history investigation and report writing (based on birth-parent interviews in ideal cases)	
Child institutional care practices, including early childhood and youth interventions to enhance growth and development so that children may be ready for placement transition	Training prospective families and agency social workers in relevant ICA content, including child developement and medical issues as well as country-specific topics and issues of institutionalized children
Training of institution staff in appropriate child care strategies	Provision of support programs for families during the placement process, including training, in order to assist with the transition and follow-up care – including post-placement

	assessments and reports and referrals as needed
Social service administration of adoption practices (including judicial and immigration requirements) with oversight of ethical relinquishment practices	Social service administration of adoption practices (including judicial and immigration requirements) with oversight of ethical placing activities in a transparent system.
documentation of the process and long-Term storage of adoption records	Documentation of the process and long-term storage of adoption records

Source: Table 11.2 in Rotabi, K. S. (2012). International adoption. In L. M. Healy & R. J. Link (Eds.), *Handbook of international social work: Human right, development, and the global profession* (81-87). NY: Oxford University Press.

Appendix 4

List of All Forms

Form No.	Form Title
1	International Social Service What is it and How it functions
10	Ltr informing referring agency that service has been requested
11	Follow-up letter on case previously referred.
12	Ltr to Branch or agency reporting that follow-up is being done
13	Enclosure to Nos. 14, 15, 16 and 17, Ltr to Armed Service Bureau for address of servicemen or ex-servicemen.
14	Naval Personnel, Washington, D. C.
15	Military Personnel Records Office, St. Louis, Mo.
16	Office of the Adjutant General, Washington, D. C. Department of the Army
17	Office of the Adjutant General, Washington, D. C. Department of the Air Force
18	Registration of Birth Abroad of Children Born to U.S. Citizens
23	Ltr covering forwarding of reference reports to ISS Branch
24	Lts to ISS Germany re- referral letters
34	Greek/English Vocabulary
36	Korean/English Vocabulary and Korean Songs
40	When you Adopt a Child From Korea
41-b	State of Adoption for Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs
41-c	Affidavit of Support for Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs
45-a &b	Instructions for Preparation of Affidavit of Support and Affidavit of Support
45c &d	Chinese Affidavit of Support and Supplement
46	Brief ltr to accompany referral of case
48	Health History and Physical Examination of Child
48-a	Family Health History
51	Report on Child's Development and Behavior
67	Certificate of Adoption in Greek
67-a	Certificate of Adoption (other than for use for Hong Kong)
68	Form Recording Completed Adoption of Hong Kong children
69	Certificate of Adoption – Japan
72-a &b	Japanese English Vocabulary, I & II
73	Letter acknowledging a delay of service
100	Immigration Provision for Orphans
100-a	Ltr filed with I-600 Petition and other documents
101	Procedures for Processing Foreign Children for Immigration and Adoption by American Citizens
102	Preparation for Petition and Abstract to Accompany Petition
102-a	Abstract of Case Record of Family
102-b	Report on Child

108	Greek Legal Procedures Affecting Greek Children Coming to the U.S. for Adoption
108-a	Covering Memo for Sending Greek Adoption Documents to local agency
109	Power of Attorney (for use in Greek adoption cases)
109-a	Special Statement to be signed by American Judge in connection with adoption of Greek children
110	Check form Re progress on adoption cases
112	Baptism of Unnamed babies from Metera Baby Center
113	General Information Greek Children
129	Intercountry Adoption Costs
140	When You Come to Meet Your Child
141	Medical Consent
144	Alert for Reception of Child
145	Notice of Child's Arrival
151	Hong Kong Orphan Cases (Qualification for Orphanhood under U.S.P.L.)
152	Your Child From Hong Kong
152-a	Cantonese Words and Phrases for Chinese Children
158	Travel Arrangements for Children Coming from Eastern Asia
158-a	Publicity Release
161	Practical Hints about Your Korean Child
162	Korean Legal Procedures Affecting Children Coming to the U.S. for Adoption
163	Procedures Affecting Foreign Born Children Adopted in the United States
164	Hong Kong Legal Procedure Affecting Children Coming to the United States for Adoption
165	German Legal Procedures Affecting the Adoption of German Children by American Families
165-a	Statement – German Civil Code
165-b	Certification – American Citizen at Time of Adoption
166	Home Study Material for Intercountry Adoption Applications
166-b	(Guide for Summary of Adoptive Home Study) Face Sheet Summary
167	Legal Procedures Affecting German Children Living in the U.S. with the Mother and Stepfather
167-a	Mother's Request for Transfer of Guardianship
169	Supervision in Intercountry Adoptions
170	The British Provisional Adoption Order
171	For Action/Information
172	Abstract of Case Record of Family
173	Summary of Family Study
MM-6	ISS Position in Regard to Adoption By Proxy

Source: ISS-USA (n.d.). *Intercountry casework forms.* International Social Service – American Branch (Folder 3: Miscell. Forms for Adoption Proceedings, box 11). Social Welfare History Archives, Elmer L. Anderson Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Appendix 5

Guide to Home Study

1. Basis of study and recommendations: Number of office interviews, and with whom; number of home visits, and with whom.

2. Reason for application for foreign child.

3. Description (for all members of the immediate family) of physical appearance; personality, activities and interests; education and ambitions, nationality background; family attitudes toward intercountry adoption; home and community.

4. Economic position: employment; income; assets and resources.

5. Nationality and racial make-up and attitudes of community.

6. Medical report, current, completed by physician. (N.B. If medical basis for childlessness, add PAPs' emotional reaction to it.)

7. Describe PAPs: Experience in handling children, and reaction in discussion of common problems at various stages in a child's development and growth, and experience, if any, with people of other cultural backgrounds.

8. Discussion of type, age and sex of child for whom PAPs and worker agree they would be suitable.

9. Worker's evaluation of motivation for adoption, and for adoption of a foreign child.

10. Any additional comments by worker or PAPs of special qualifications as adoptive parents.

Source: International Social Service – American Branch (1957a). *Home study material for intercountry adoption applications.* International Social Service – American Branch (Folder 3: Miscell. Forms for Adoption Proceedings, box 11). Social Welfare History Archives, Elmer L. Anderson Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Appendix 6

Child Placement Service Certificate of Adoption

1. Adopting Father:
    - a. Name
    - b. Domicile
    - c. Date of Birth
    - d. Occupation
    - e. Nationality

2. Adopting Mother:
    - a. Name
    - b. Domicile
    - c. Date of Birth
    - d. Occupation
    - e. Nationality

3. Child to be Adopted:
    - a. Name
    - b. Domicile
    - c. Date of Birth
    - d. Occupation
    - e. Nationality

I hereby certify that in the matter of the adoption of the above-named child to be adopted by the above-named Adopting Father and Adopting Mother, all pertinent laws of the Republic of Korea have been complied with and that said adoption is in all respects legal and valid as of the date of the notification thereof to the above-named, Head of Local Administrative agency of the residence of the Adopting Father.

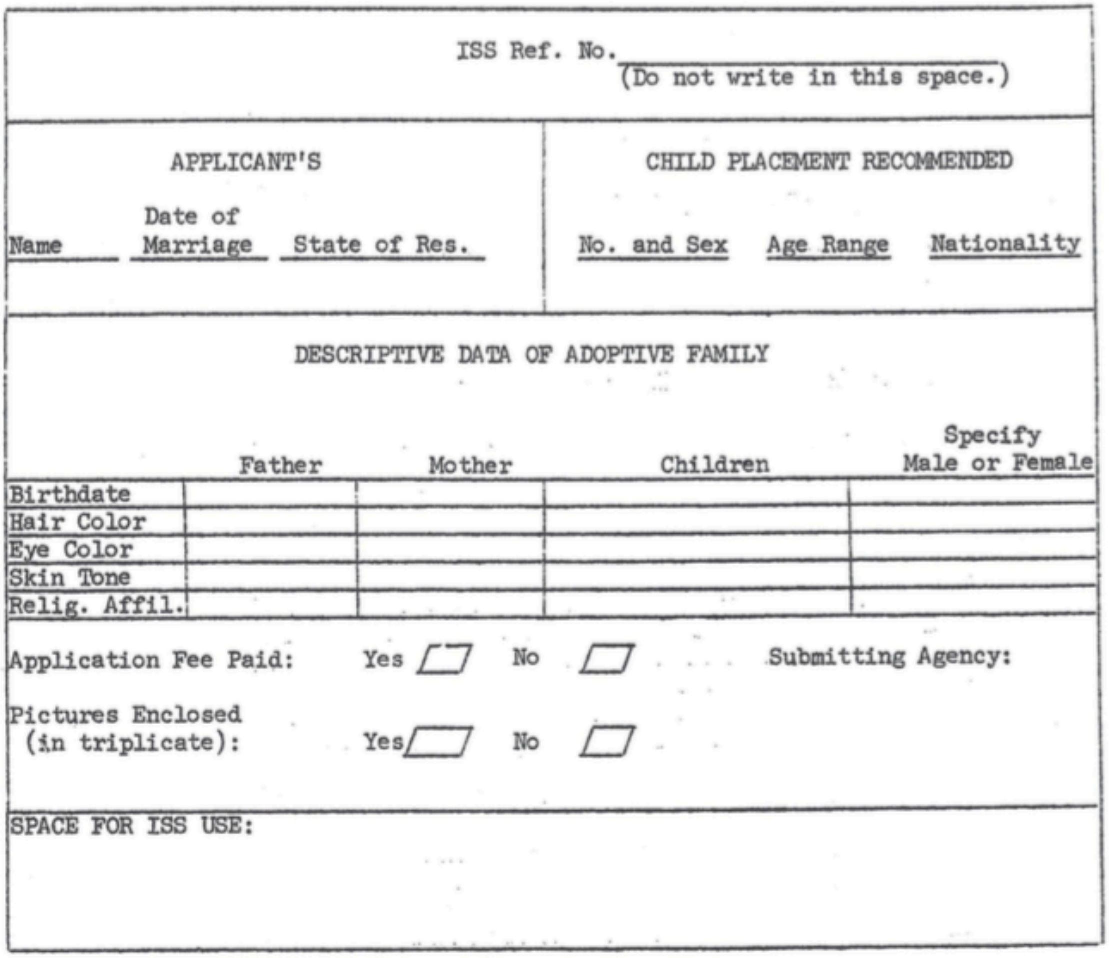
Dated, ____________________day of ________________19_____

____
Judge of the
____
District Court of the
Republic of Korea

Source: Child Placement Service (ca. 1954-1955). *Rules of procedure for adoption of Korean child by American adoptive parent.* International Social Service – American Branch (Folder: ISS-Branches, Korea, “RRA-5” Refugee Relief Program, 1954-Dec. 1955, box 35). Social Welfare History Archives, Elmer L. Anderson Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Appendix 7

ISS-USA First Screening for Matching Form



ISS Ref. No.__________________
(Do not write in this space.)

APPLICANT'S

Name ____ Date of Marriage ____ State of Res. ____

CHILD PLACEMENT RECOMMENDED

No. and Sex ____ Age Range ____ Nationality ____

DESCRIPTIVE DATA OF ADOPTIVE FAMILY

	Father	Mother	Children	Specify Male or Female
Birthdate				
Hair Color				
Eye Color				
Skin Tone				
Relig. Affil.				

Application Fee Paid: Yes ☐ No ☐ Submitting Agency:

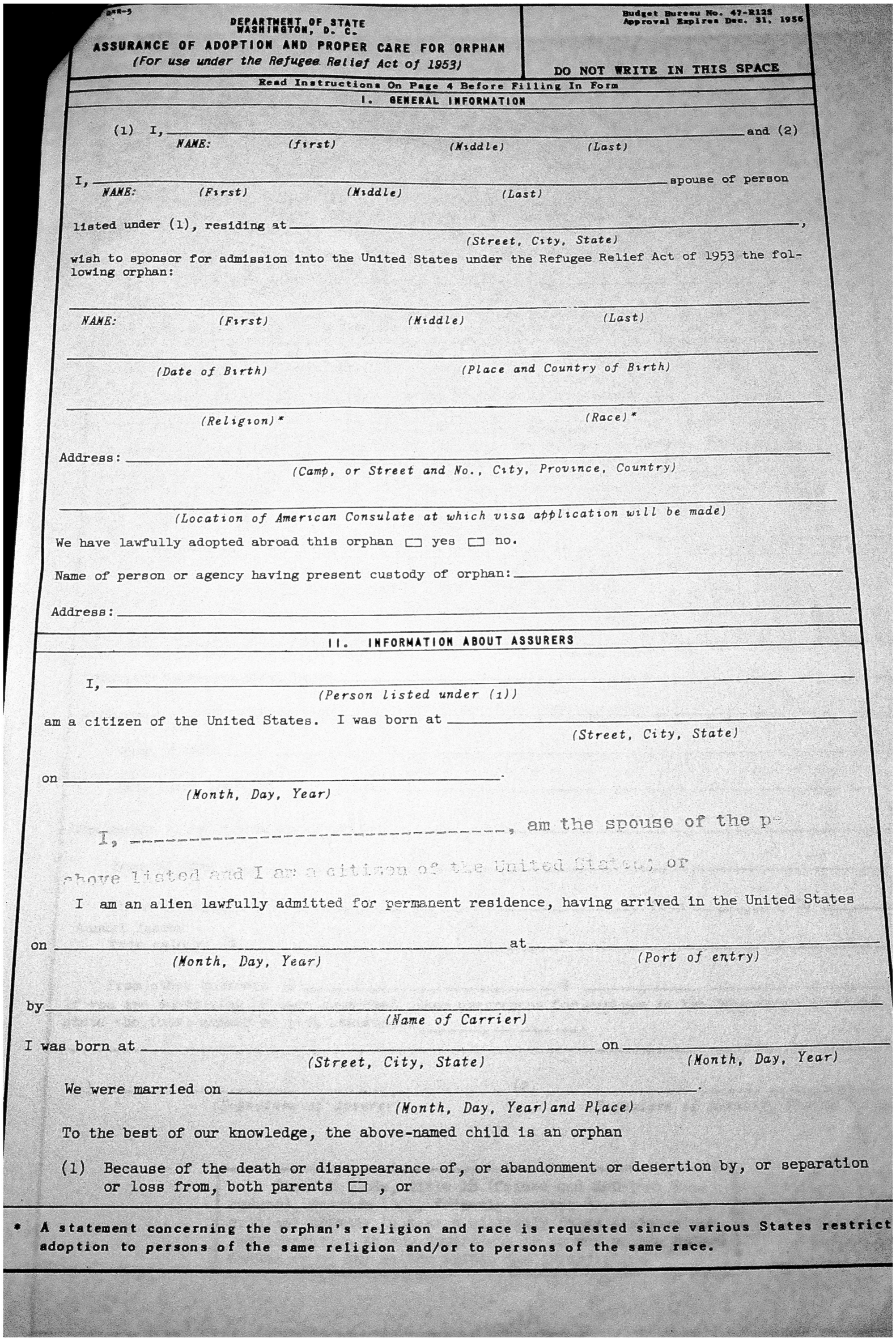
Pictures Enclosed (in triplicate): Yes ☐ No ☐

SPACE FOR ISS USE:

Source: International Social Service – American Branch (1957a). *Home study material for intercountry adoption applications.* International Social Service – American Branch (Folder 3: Miscell. Forms for Adoption Proceedings, box 11). Social Welfare History Archives, Elmer L. Anderson Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Appendix 8

DSR-5 Form



DSR-5

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

ASSURANCE OF ADOPTION AND PROPER CARE FOR ORPHAN
(For use under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953)

Budget Bureau No. 47-R125
Approval Expires Dec. 31, 1956

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

Read Instructions On Page 4 Before Filling In Form

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

(1) I, ________________________________ and (2)
NAME: (first) (Middle) (Last)

I, ________________________________ spouse of person
NAME: (First) (Middle) (Last)

listed under (1), residing at ________________________________,
(Street, City, State)

wish to sponsor for admission into the United States under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 the following orphan:

____
NAME: (First) (Middle) (Last)

____
(Date of Birth) (Place and Country of Birth)

____
(Religion) (Race)**

Address: ________________________________
(Camp, or Street and No., City, Province, Country)

____
(Location of American Consulate at which visa application will be made)

We have lawfully adopted abroad this orphan ☐ yes ☐ no.

Name of person or agency having present custody of orphan: ________________

Address: ________________________________

II. INFORMATION ABOUT ASSURERS

I, ________________________________
(Person listed under (1))

am a citizen of the United States. I was born at ________________________________
(Street, City, State)

on ________________________________.
(Month, Day, Year)

I, ________________________________, am the spouse of the p

above listed and I am a citizen of the United States; or

I am an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence, having arrived in the United States

on ________________________________ at ________________________________
(Month, Day, Year) (Port of entry)

by ________________________________
(Name of Carrier)

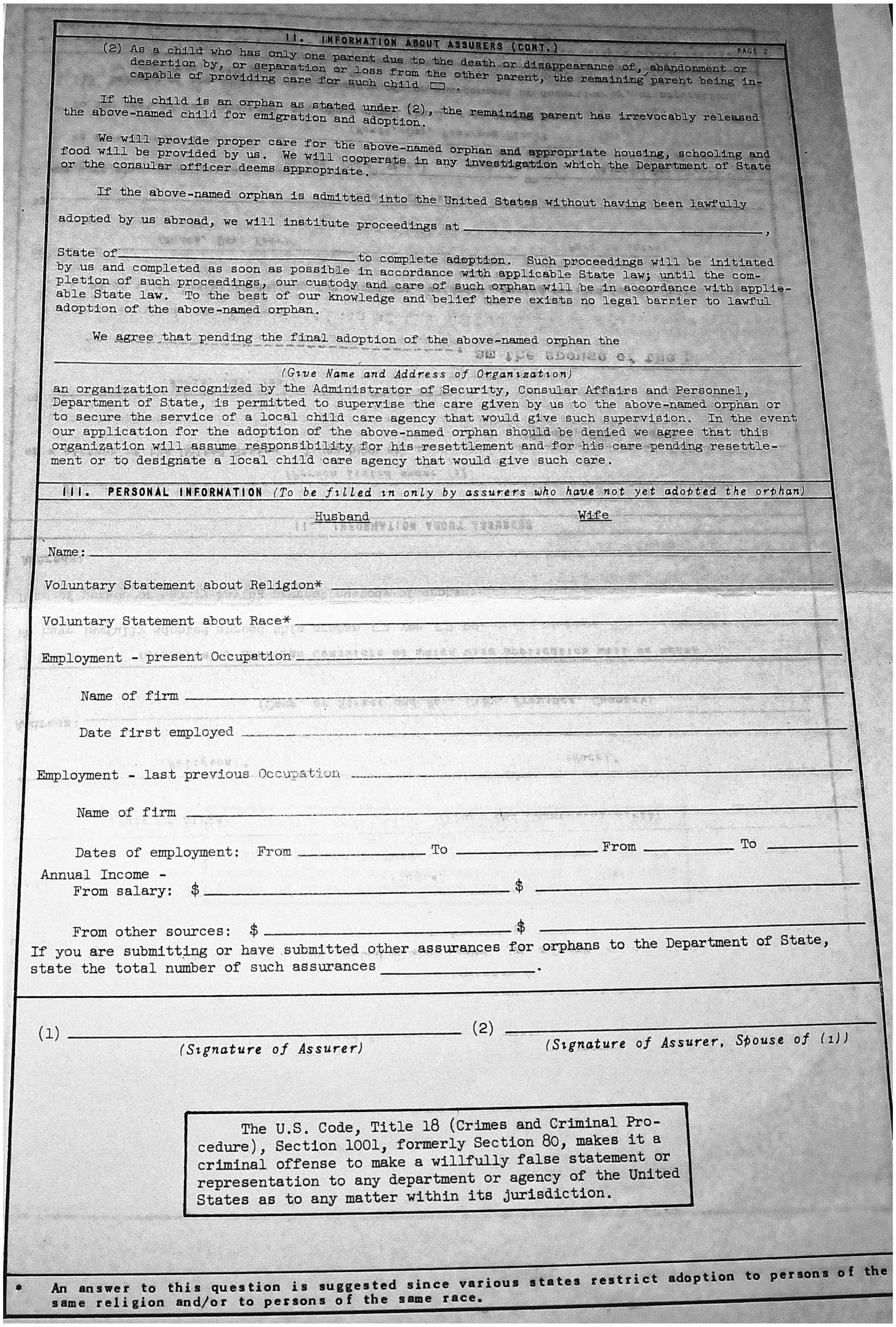
I was born at ________________________________ on ________________
(Street, City, State) (Month, Day, Year)

We were married on ________________________________.
(Month, Day, Year) and Place)

To the best of our knowledge, the above-named child is an orphan

(1) Because of the death or disappearance of, or abandonment or desertion by, or separation or loss from, both parents ☐ , or

* **A statement concerning the orphan's religion and race is requested since various States restrict adoption to persons of the same religion and/or to persons of the same race.**



II. INFORMATION ABOUT ASSURERS (CONT.)

PAGE 2

(2) As a child who has only one parent due to the death or disappearance of, abandonment or desertion by, or separation or loss from the other parent, the remaining parent being incapable of providing care for such child ☐ .

If the child is an orphan as stated under (2), the remaining parent has irrevocably released the above-named child for emigration and adoption.

We will provide proper care for the above-named orphan and appropriate housing, schooling and food will be provided by us. We will cooperate in any investigation which the Department of State or the consular officer deems appropriate.

If the above-named orphan is admitted into the United States without having been lawfully adopted by us abroad, we will institute proceedings at ______________________,

State of ______________________ to complete adoption. Such proceedings will be initiated by us and completed as soon as possible in accordance with applicable State law; until the completion of such proceedings, our custody and care of such orphan will be in accordance with applicable State law. To the best of our knowledge and belief there exists no legal barrier to lawful adoption of the above-named orphan.

We agree that pending the final adoption of the above-named orphan the

____

(Give Name and Address of Organization)

an organization recognized by the Administrator of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, Department of State, is permitted to supervise the care given by us to the above-named orphan or to secure the service of a local child care agency that would give such supervision. In the event our application for the adoption of the above-named orphan should be denied we agree that this organization will assume responsibility for his resettlement and for his care pending resettlement or to designate a local child care agency that would give such care.

III. PERSONAL INFORMATION *(To be filled in only by assurers who have not yet adopted the orphan)*

Husband — Wife

Name: ______________________

Voluntary Statement about Religion* ______________________

Voluntary Statement about Race* ______________________

Employment - present Occupation ______________________

Name of firm ______________________

Date first employed ______________________

Employment - last previous Occupation ______________________

Name of firm ______________________

Dates of employment: From ________ To ________ From ________ To ________

Annual Income -
From salary: $ ______________ $ ______________

From other sources: $ ______________ $ ______________

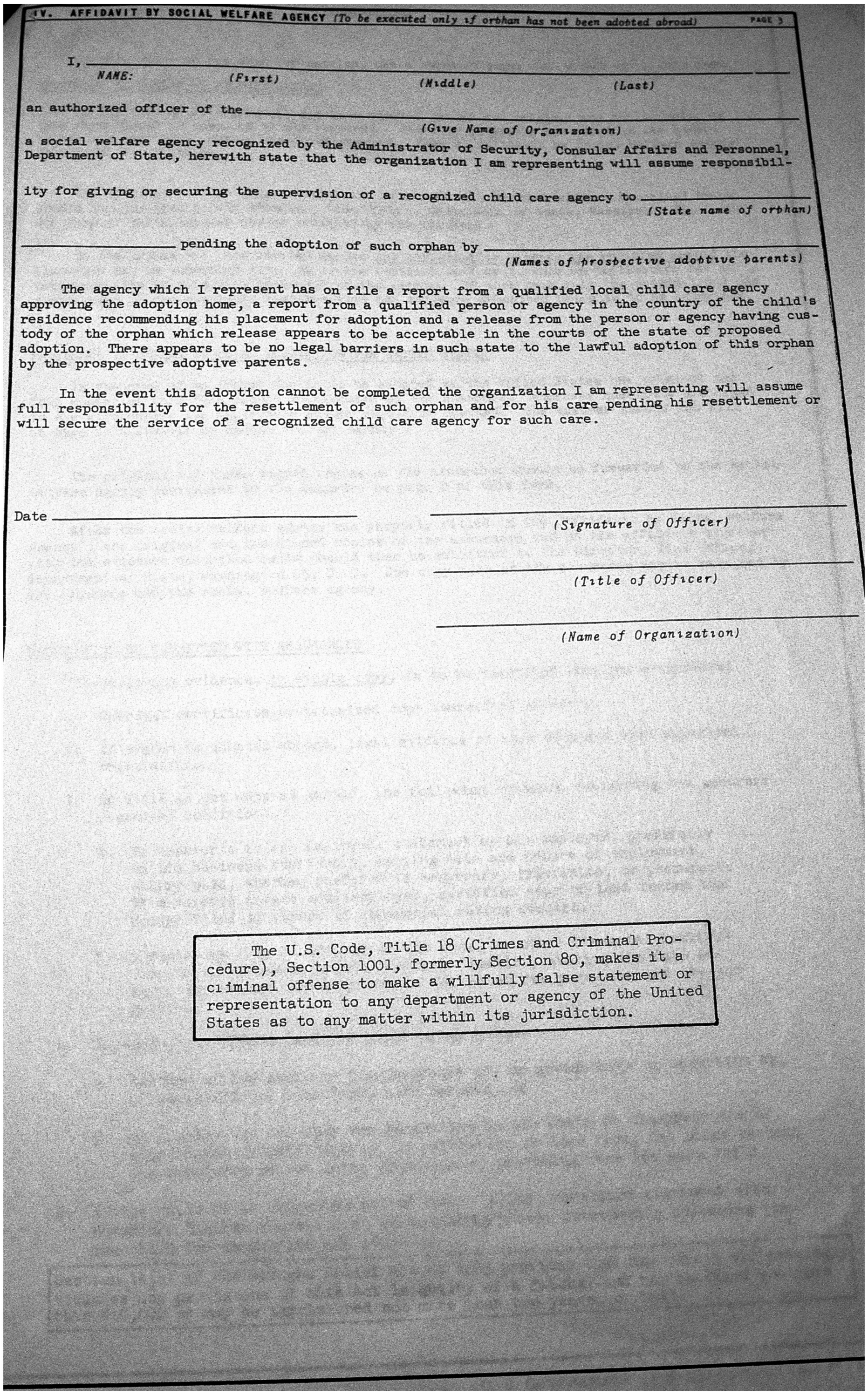
If you are submitting or have submitted other assurances for orphans to the Department of State, state the total number of such assurances ____________.

(1) ______________________ (2) ______________________

(Signature of Assurer) *(Signature of Assurer, Spouse of (1))*

The U.S. Code, Title 18 (Crimes and Criminal Procedure), Section 1001, formerly Section 80, makes it a criminal offense to make a willfully false statement or representation to any department or agency of the United States as to any matter within its jurisdiction.

* An answer to this question is suggested since various states restrict adoption to persons of the same religion and/or to persons of the same race.



IV. AFFIDAVIT BY SOCIAL WELFARE AGENCY *(To be executed only if orphan has not been adopted abroad)* PAGE 3

I, ____
NAME: (First) (Middle) (Last)

an authorized officer of the ______________________________
(Give Name of Organization)

a social welfare agency recognized by the Administrator of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, Department of State, herewith state that the organization I am representing will assume responsibility for giving or securing the supervision of a recognized child care agency to ______________ (State name of orphan) ______________ pending the adoption of such orphan by ______________________ (Names of prospective adoptive parents)

The agency which I represent has on file a report from a qualified local child care agency approving the adoption home, a report from a qualified person or agency in the country of the child's residence recommending his placement for adoption and a release from the person or agency having custody of the orphan which release appears to be acceptable in the courts of the state of proposed adoption. There appears to be no legal barriers in such state to the lawful adoption of this orphan by the prospective adoptive parents.

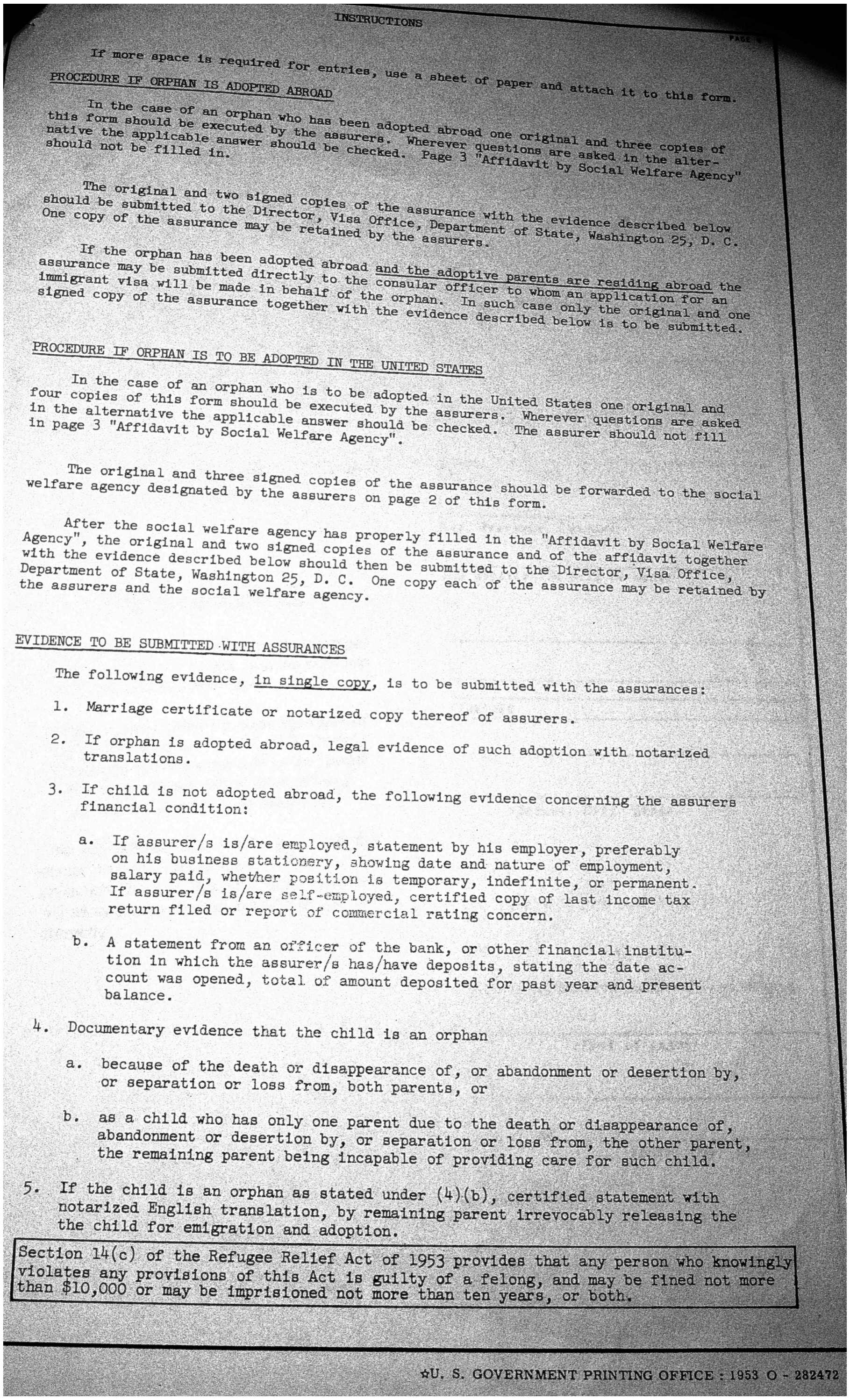
In the event this adoption cannot be completed the organization I am representing will assume full responsibility for the resettlement of such orphan and for his care pending his resettlement or will secure the service of a recognized child care agency for such care.

Date ______________________ ______________________
(Signature of Officer)

____
(Title of Officer)

____
(Name of Organization)

The U.S. Code, Title 18 (Crimes and Criminal Procedure), Section 1001, formerly Section 80, makes it a criminal offense to make a willfully false statement or representation to any department or agency of the United States as to any matter within its jurisdiction.



INSTRUCTIONS

If more space is required for entries, use a sheet of paper and attach it to this form.

PROCEDURE IF ORPHAN IS ADOPTED ABROAD

In the case of an orphan who has been adopted abroad one original and three copies of this form should be executed by the assurers. Wherever questions are asked in the alternative the applicable answer should be checked. Page 3 "Affidavit by Social Welfare Agency" should not be filled in.

The original and two signed copies of the assurance with the evidence described below should be submitted to the Director, Visa Office, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. One copy of the assurance may be retained by the assurers.

If the orphan has been adopted abroad and the adoptive parents are residing abroad the assurance may be submitted directly to the consular officer to whom an application for an immigrant visa will be made in behalf of the orphan. In such case only the original and one signed copy of the assurance together with the evidence described below is to be submitted.

PROCEDURE IF ORPHAN IS TO BE ADOPTED IN THE UNITED STATES

In the case of an orphan who is to be adopted in the United States one original and four copies of this form should be executed by the assurers. Wherever questions are asked in the alternative the applicable answer should be checked. The assurer should not fill in page 3 "Affidavit by Social Welfare Agency".

The original and three signed copies of the assurance should be forwarded to the social welfare agency designated by the assurers on page 2 of this form.

After the social welfare agency has properly filled in the "Affidavit by Social Welfare Agency", the original and two signed copies of the assurance and of the affidavit together with the evidence described below should then be submitted to the Director, Visa Office, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. One copy each of the assurance may be retained by the assurers and the social welfare agency.

EVIDENCE TO BE SUBMITTED WITH ASSURANCES

The following evidence, in single copy, is to be submitted with the assurances:

1. Marriage certificate or notarized copy thereof of assurers.
2. If orphan is adopted abroad, legal evidence of such adoption with notarized translations.
3. If child is not adopted abroad, the following evidence concerning the assurers financial condition:
    a. If assurer/s is/are employed, statement by his employer, preferably on his business stationery, showing date and nature of employment, salary paid, whether position is temporary, indefinite, or permanent. If assurer/s is/are self-employed, certified copy of last income tax return filed or report of commercial rating concern.
    b. A statement from an officer of the bank, or other financial institution in which the assurer/s has/have deposits, stating the date account was opened, total of amount deposited for past year and present balance.
4. Documentary evidence that the child is an orphan
    a. because of the death or disappearance of, or abandonment or desertion by, or separation or loss from, both parents, or
    b. as a child who has only one parent due to the death or disappearance of, abandonment or desertion by, or separation or loss from, the other parent, the remaining parent being incapable of providing care for such child.
5. If the child is an orphan as stated under (4)(b), certified statement with notarized English translation, by remaining parent irrevocably releasing the the child for emigration and adoption.

Section 14(c) of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 provides that any person who knowingly violates any provisions of this Act is guilty of a felong, and may be fined not more than $10,000 or may be imprisioned not more than ten years, or both.

☆U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1953 O - 282472

Source: Department of State, Washington D. C. (1953). *Form DSR-5.* International Social Service – American Branch (Folder 4: Intercountry Adoptions, Committee – ISS Reports, box 3). Social Welfare History Archives, Elmer L. Anderson Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Appendix 9

Sample from Data Collection Instrument: Box 3 from the ISS-USA collection

Dissertation Data Collection Instrument
Social Welfare History Archives
RQ1: How did ISS-USA set up a system of intercountry adoption in response to the urgent need of children affected by the Korean War? **RQ2:** To what extent were the Progressive Era maternalist ideologies that established the ideal mother and correct way of mothering by women who possessed specific privileged identities apparent in the methods of ISS-USA?

General							
Source	**Collect**	**Folder**	**FolderTitle**	**Box**	**BoxTitle**	**Orig**	**Copy**
An introduction to International Social Service	ISS-USA	4	“An Introduction to International Social Service,” 1960	3	International Soc. Serv. Amer. Branch Records, Box 3, Administrative: committees	Original	

External Validity			
When	**Where**	**Who**	**Authentic**
No date on the document, but the folder says 1960.	If this document originated at Headquarters, they are located in Geneva, Switzerland.	No specific author or organization is listed as the author, but it is probably safe to assume that ISS is the author.	Yes, it is a broad overview of the organization (at the international level).

Internal Reliability			
Meaning	**AuthInfo**	**AuthIntend**	**AuthInterp**
To give an overview of ISS - how it is structured, what its values are, and what it does both at the international level, but also in each of its branches and delegations.	The author is ISS - possibly the International Council.	Yes	Yes

Notes		
About	**Comments/Quotes**	**Questions/Ponderings**
This is a publication that introduces the reader to ISS (the international organization) including org structure and function.	Page 1 (after the Table of Contents). Chapter I. Statement of Purpose and Scope: "ISS is a private, international, non-sectarian organization established in 1921, whose primary purpose is to provide specialized service to those persons whose individual or family problems extend across national boundaries, rendering such service without national, political, racial or religious bias. The second purpose of ISS is to use the special knowledge, gained from its day-to-day experience in serving individuals, toward the modification of those conditions which give rise to the creation of the individual problems with which it seeks to help." "Pg. 14. Chapter IV. What are the General Principles of ISS? Number 4. "The organization shall operate on a non-sectarian (or more correctly a super-sectarian) basis; by this is meant that no one unit can be controlled by any single religious group, that insofar as practicable it shall include representatives of various groups, and further, that persons in need of the kind of service the organization can give, shall be given such service regardless of their religious	The parts I am highlighting in this document are mostly to help justify the use of it for this study - because of its employment and training of social workers.

	belief, but always with due consideration and respect for this belief." Pg. 17. Chapter V. Method of Work. Section 1. Intercountry Casework. Para. 3: "Furthermore, the founders of ISS visualized an individualized method of service at a time when casework was still almost unknown as a method of helping individuals to solve their problems. The fusion of the ISS principles with modern casework methods is intercountry casework." Pg. 17-18. Chapter V. Method of Work. Section 1. Intercountry Casework. Para. 5: "Working for people through local resources but on an international scale requires certain basic qualifications and skills. ISS workers should have training in social work and should be experienced social workers within their own countries." " Pg. 20. Chapter V. Method of Work. Section 2. Application of the Results of Casework Experience in a General Way. Part 2. Training. Sub-part b) For Social Work Students: "Stage" - almost all Branches provide field work placements for students in Schools of Social Work in their countries, in order to give	

	them some orientation to problems of an intercountry nature and of services to meet such problems, lectures - many ISS staff members are called upon to give lectures at Schools of Social Work in order to increase understanding of social problems of an international character and of intercountry casework service." "Pg. 32. Part VIII: Other Relationships. Part 1. International Conference of Social Work: "ISS as a whole is an Associate Member of the ICSW. Some of the Branches take an active part in the various National Committees of the ICSW, and ISS is usually rather well represented at the biennial Conference, at which it has sometimes held a special meeting. ISS was instrumental in the action taken by the ICSW at its 1954 Conference held in Toronto, Canada to present a resolution to the Social Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations stressing the urgent need for studies in countries throughout the world of legislation and practices in the adoption of children with a view to creating a better status for the adopted child.”	

Key	
Source	What kind of document is it?
Collection	From what collection did the source come?
Folder	Number of the folder in which the document was found.
FolderTitle	Title of the folder in which the document was found.
Box	Number of the box in which the document was found.
BoxTitle	Title of the box in which the document was found.
Original	Is the document original, a copy, a copy of a copy?
When	When was it created?
Where	Where was it created?
Who	Who wrote it?
Authentic	Is it what it claims to be?
Meaning	What was the intended meaning of the source?
AuthInfo	What is the position or status o the author?
AuthIntend	Did the author intend an accurate report?
AuthInterp	Are the author's interpretations reliable?

Appendix 10

Sample Archives Journal Entry

Archives Reflections
Day 9: July 17, 2015

Maternalism Boxes 21, 22, 23

- Women as mothers Social work/social welfare
    - Domestic motherhood
    - Scientific motherhood
    - All women capable of being mothers
    - Women charged with raising the responsible citizens
- Religious motivations
    - Christian morals and values
    - Women maternalists sometimes came from Christian missionaries
- Motherhood as political
    - Female Dominion
    - Policy reformation
        - Assistance to mothers, especially poor single mothers
        - Child welfare

Support mothers so children could stay in the home.

- However, child-placing
    - Immigrant children
    - Indigenous children
    - Korean children (international)
        - Removal from Korean mothers and re-homes to American mothers Box 17

Need to establish the demographic of ISS-USA

- Could look again at board and committee members Box 1, 3, 7, 8, 9
- Are there personnel files?

Need to show the culture of ISS-USA to illustrate a "female dominion" beyond just culture.

- Culture of adoption
    - Policy work Box 13, 14
    - Research and reports
    - Best interest of the child
        - Proxy adoptions vs. traditional

Religious impetus

- Can rely on some of the independent adoptions schemes to show this
  Box 10, 20
- Secondary sources

Show a progression/evolution of domestic motherhood → scientific motherhood → international motherhood

- US = mother
- Korea = child (in many ways)

ISS set up the procedural foundation that "instructed" the "American mother"/"Mother America"

"Mother America" and "mothering"

- Homes with a mother and a father
- Single women not deemed able to provide "family" (see letter from Bessie Irvin to Mrs. Hong dated June 21, 1955, box 35, Folder RRA-5 1954-Dec. 1955).