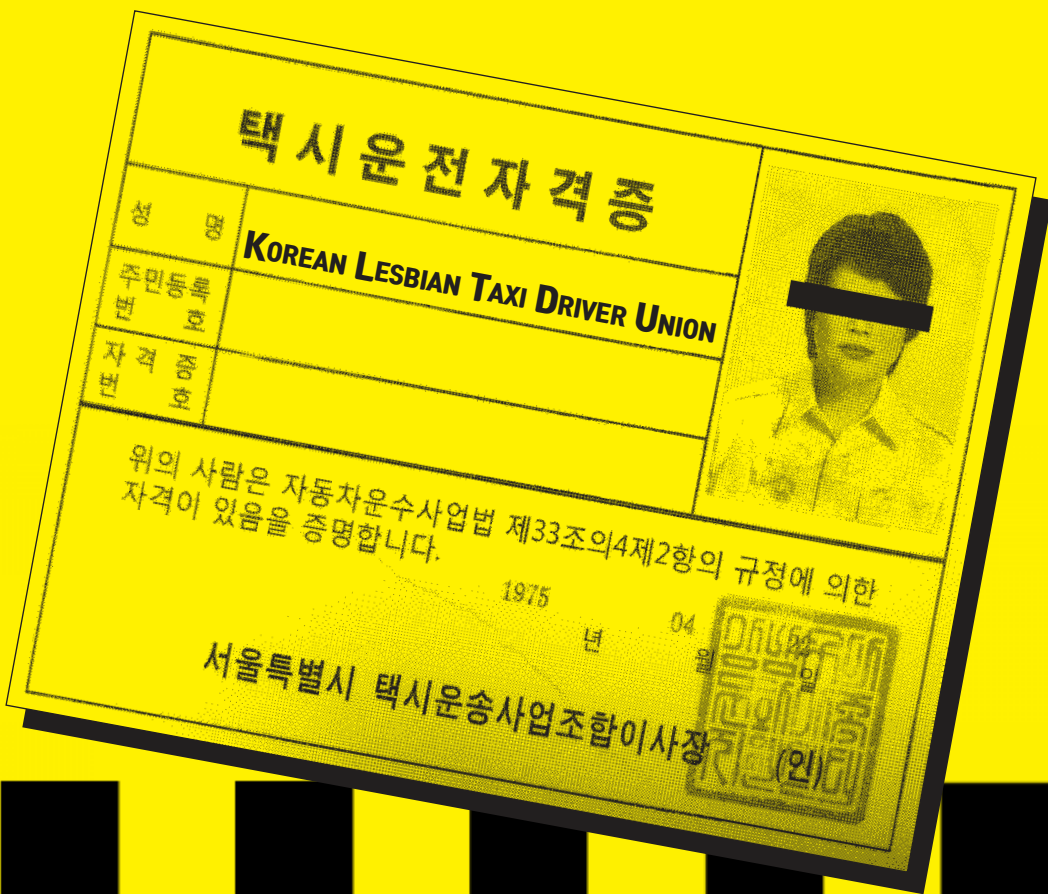


# THE LEGEND OF MR. PANTS





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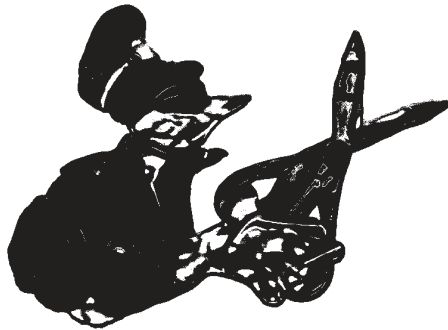
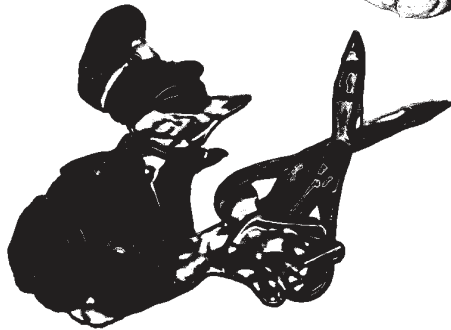
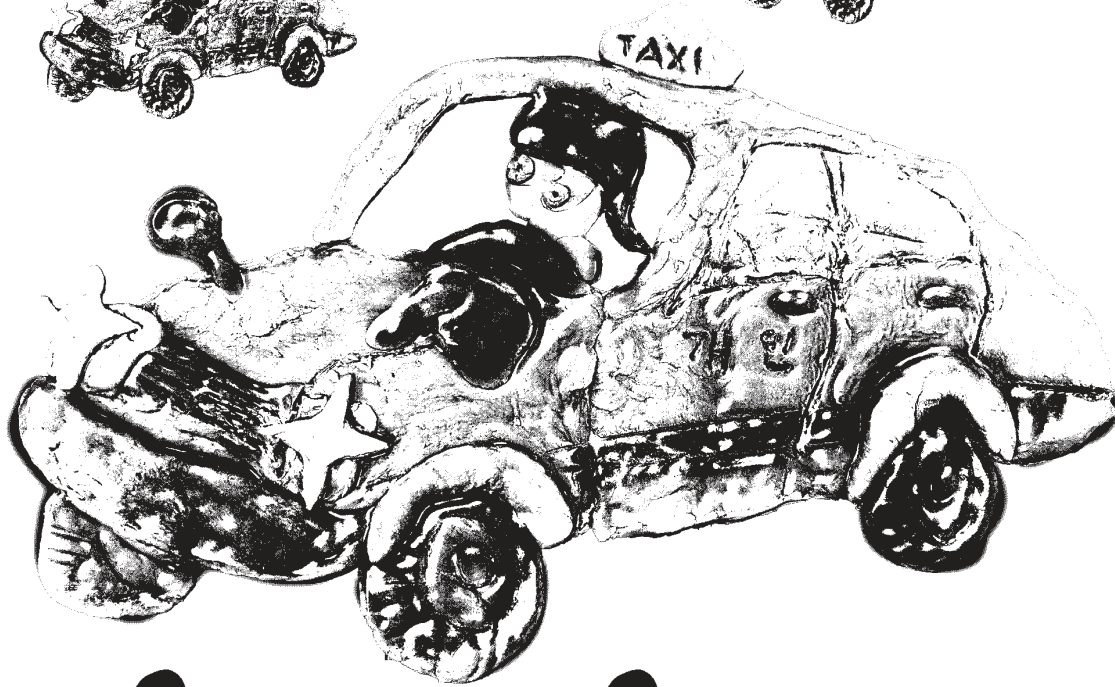
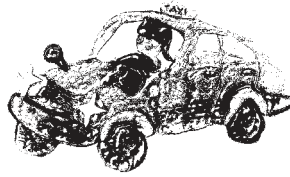
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**THE FLUIDITY OF**  
**LESBIAN RESISTANCE**

Dedicated to  
Jeong Yoon Lee  
The genuine spirit who never  
fails to give the best rides



# THE LEGEND OF MR. PANTS



PRODUCED BY  
HYPERLINK PRESS + TAEHEE WHANG



## INTRODUCTION

“이직 레즈비언이라는 말이 없었을 때에도 여자는 여자를 사랑했다.  
불리는 이름이 달랐을 뿐이다.”

– “옛날 옛적 ‘바지씨’가 살던 그때”,  
SisaIN 2017.07.28

“Even before the word ‘lesbian’ existed, woman still loved woman.  
They were just called by different names.”

– “Once upon a time when there was Mr.Pants...”,  
SisaIN, 7.28.2017

Recently I was asked about my most formative queer experience. For 27 years, juggling the words “Korean”, “American”, and “queer” to describe myself never quite rolled out seamlessly. My initial exposure to mainstream queer culture was distinctly western and American, where bodies like mine were either erased or fetishized. Even after learning about the integral role people of color



played in the path to queer liberation in the United States, I have still often felt an unscalable rift between my queer identity and the Korean parts of my personal life, family, and culture. Perhaps the reason why I spiraled into searching online forums and web archives for Korean queer history was just my simple desire to belong.

Over the past three years with the help of the South Korean queer & feminist online community, I have

learned how to speak about queer women and about their history in my first language (Korean), like the history of the 70s~80s Female Taxi Drivers Union (여자택시운전사회/여운회). After the initial joy of parsing through Korea's LGBTQ record, I couldn't help but notice the gaps and erasures of lesbian history. Lesbian community history before the 90s was left undocumented or consisted mostly of hearsay due to extreme real estate development and social discrimination against women.

Before the word “lesbian” became popularized in Korea, the Korean words for queer women were: 이쪽 (e-jjok, “this side”), 이반<sup>1</sup> (e-ban), 바지씨<sup>2</sup> (baji ssi, “Mr./Ms. Pants”), 반 바지씨 (ban baji ssi, “Mr./Ms. Short pants”), 치마씨 (chi ma ssi, “Mr./Ms.

Skirts”). Despite the vague binary coding behind these words, when a girl asked me if I'm “e-jjok” in Trunk<sup>3</sup>'s crowded basement, it gave me a strange assurance that wherever I'm standing, or navigating, or questioning my identity, I'm on this side and that is just enough. So in a way, learning these words, this history, and in reaching out to other people who have passed on the language, has become the most formative queer experience I have ever had.



1. It is a word play of the word “normal” (il-ban, 일반, 一般) based on Korean counting system. “Il” (일, 一) means one and “e” (이, 二) means two—implying e-ban is something beyond “normal”.
2. “Ssi” is a gender neutral honorific. For the purpose of this zine, ssi will be translated in English gendered term “Mr./Ms.”
3. A gay club located in Itaewon, Seoul, South Korea.

“The Legend of Mr. Pants” is a speculative research zine based on dyke taxi drivers gathered from interviews and archives from 킴리킴리 KiriKiri<sup>4</sup>, Lesbian Biography Research Archive<sup>5</sup> (레즈비언생애기록연구소), the documentary “The Troublers” (2015)<sup>6</sup>, and KSCRC (Korean Sexual-Minority Culture & Rights Center).

The reason why I’m categorizing this zine as speculative research is because I acknowledge a measure of fabrication in retelling histories that have faced erasure and violence. As a queer Korean American living in New York City, living in the occupied Lenape land, and queer spaces initially carved out by the Black and Latinx queer community, I’m weary of how the erasure of history can be catalyzed by unchecked nostalgia. I admit my own western gaze when writing about this Korean lesbian community. Yet, I feel frustrated that from the perspective of the western definition of queer resistance, the Korean lesbian community doesn’t seem to have engaged in radical direct action till 1990. I feel like there is something wrong in assuming that there were no queer Korean women and queer Korean organizing to counter societal oppression.

By sharing this zine, I hope to help my readers understand that having access to the past is not the solution to the long search of belonging, but rather is a place where we can find the courage and power to pursue the lives that we and our beloved community deserve.

4. “Korean Female Homosexual Rights Organization KiriKiri” (한국여성동성애자인권운동모임 킴리킴리) was founded in 1994 as a Queer Women social justice group based in South Korea. Currently they go by the name “Lesbian Counseling Center in Korea” (한국레즈비언상담소).

5. “Lesbian Biography Research Archive” is a non-profit lesbian archive organization. Their records are accessible to the public on their blog.

6. 불온한 당신(2015), “I, a lesbian filmmaker, encounter people yelling at me to disappear from this world. It is a time of hatred in South Korea. LGBTQ people are the easy targets for hatred. In searching for what makes a marginalized life livable, I embarked upon a journey. I encounter a double life of Lee Mook, a 70-year-old Korean “Mr. Pants” and precarious lives of a Japanese lesbian couple, Ten and Non, after 3/11. “

## CHAPTER 1 : 바지씨 & 치마씨

### MR.PANTS & MS. SKIRTS

“그 당시에 이반(동성애자)은 바지씨와 치마씨로 구분했는데,...  
지금은 레즈비언 관계에서 그런 고정적인 역할이 많이 사라졌지만,  
우리 때는 너무나 일반적인 이성애 커플모습이 익숙한 데다 다양한 커뮤니티가  
없다 보니 항상 ‘남자’와 ‘여자’의 역할모텔을 따라 행동했던 것 같습니다.”

- “40대 레즈비언, 그들의 삶과 사랑”,  
레즈비언생애기록연구소, 2012.12.24

“At that time e-bans (homosexuals) were mostly categorized as ‘Mr. Pants’ and ‘Ms. Skirts’... These fixed gendered roles have disappeared in the current lesbian relationship. Back in our time we were used to heteronormative expression of love and lack of diverse community, so we modeled our roles after the binary of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’.”

- “Lesbians in Their 40s, Their Life and Love Story”,  
Lesbian Biography Research Archive, 12.24.2012

Contrary to its seemingly simple definition, binary<sup>7</sup> is a complicated structure with loaded history in contemporary Korea haunted by the traumatic division from the war<sup>8</sup> and imperialism<sup>9</sup>. Other than the visibly geographic<sup>10</sup> binary, the boom of industrialization and urbanization, fueled by the Cold War, amplified the anxiety of “us vs them” in the collective South Korean national psyche. Those who were once family members were now on the enemy’s side if not lost forever. Without a moment to heal, it is not surprising how the rushed development of capitalism transformed the core values of the community into the willingness to make sacrifices in order to compete with the “enemy”<sup>11</sup> for the sake of survival. There was no room for those who couldn’t fit into the binary.

7. Binary: 1. something made of two things or parts

2. mathematics : a number system based only on the numerals 0 and 1

3: a division into two groups or classes that are considered diametrically opposite



한글이이 빨리 빨리 빨리 빨리 빨리 빨리 빨리 빨리 빨리

8. The Korean War was a war between North Korea (with the support of China and the Soviet Union) and South Korea (with the support of the United Nations, principally from the United States). The war began on 25 June 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea.

9. After the Japanese annexation of Korea, there was a distinctive division within Koreans: for those who sided with the Korean independence movement, a military and diplomatic campaign to achieve the independence of Korea from Japan, and those who worked for the Empire of Japan.

## HOW TO RECOGNIZE MR.PANTS

Hairstyle influenced  
by American Hippie  
culture

**Tailored  
beige leather or  
denim jacket**

**Specially fitted  
'Made in U.S.A' jeans**

Idling in  
Myeongdong<sup>14</sup>

If you are also  
a Mr. Pants, they might  
come over and ask  
'Are you one of us?'  
or  
'Are you on this side?'



Although women's access to the job market increased, there was still an expectation that women be "the flower of the workplace"– both in appearance and mannerisms. With this heteronormative gender expectation, Mr. Pants had a difficult time fitting into society as they refused to follow the normative ideals of feminine appearance; some Mr. Pants dramatically quit<sup>15</sup> their jobs when the workplace enforced a dress code. Social conflict was distinctive when it came to the appearance of Mr. Pants and Ms. Skirts. Usually Mr. Pants refused the social gender expectations up front. Occasionally, some Mr. Pants from the higher end of the class background spectrum were exceptions to these gendered expectations. However, most Mr. Pants were not as fortunate as they were cast out from society when they couldn't comply with these norms. In lesbian relationships, Mr. Pants often took the role of breadwinner in the relationship where they supported and provided for their Ms. Skirts, who had limited access to workforce other than factory and service sector. Therefore, Mr. Pants were often placed in a situation where they have to take dangerous and lower income jobs, which led to the founding of the Female Taxi Driver Union ('여자운전사회, 여운회'), the 70s queer women gathering.

10. DMZ: The Korean Demilitarized Zone is a strip of land running across the Korean Peninsula. It is established by the provisions of the Korean Armistice Agreement to serve as a buffer zone between North Korea and South Korea. The demilitarized zone (DMZ) is a border barrier that divides the Korean Peninsula roughly in half. It was created by agreement between North Korea, China and the United Nations Command in 1953.

11. North Korea is thought of as the "external enemy" along with other communist countries.

12. The Five-Year Plans of South Korea (경제사회발전 5개년계획) were an economic development project of South Korea during Park Chung-hee era. It encouraged the sacrifice from laborers and farmers in an unsafe and inhumane work environment. Factories often preferred female workers since cheaper labor force as they were paid 70% less than the male workers.

13. Royal Noble Consort Sun of the Haeum Bong Clan was the second consort of the crown prince of Joseon. She was banished after it was discovered that she was sleeping with one of her ladies maids.



In literature, "Tales of BangHanLim" (방한림전, 1840) writes about the married life of Mrs. Bang in fictional China. This fiction writes about the life of crossdressing Mrs. Bang and her lover Yung who not only gets married but also adopts a son.

14. Myeongdong in the 70s were the place for a lesbian community. Gender neutral tailors and "Cafe Chanel", which was a woman-only cafe, was the meet-up place, the community, and the sanctuary for lesbians of the time.

15. "가깝게 지내던 후배가 있는데 은행에 입사해서 얼마 안 되서 그만됐다고. 유니폼이 스커트에 그 게 입기 싫어서 그만둔 거라구. 팜들이 생활력이 강한 데는 이유가 있어. 일반생활의 흐름에 잘 적응하고 따라가려는 면이 있어." I know a younger friend who soon quit their bank job because they didn't want to wear a skirt uniform," One Mr. Pants jokingly confessed, "There is a reason why femmes are the truest survivor. They know how to adjust and go by the flow of the world."– "Lesbians in Their 40s, Their Life and Love", Lesbian Biography Research Archive, 12.24.2012

## CHAPTER 2: 여운회

### FEMALE TAXI DRIVER UNION

“(바지사들이) 택시 운전사로 일할 당시엔 여성 운전사끼리의 모임인 ‘여운회’ 동료들과의 만남에 순경들이 따라왔다. 박정희 정권 시대, ‘데모를 막는다’는 명분이었다. 순경들은 “단합이 잘 되니까 막아야 한다”며 모임 장소를 둘러싸고 그들을 ‘여자 장패’라 꾸짖었다.”

– “여성 택시운전사 사찰했던 박정희 유신, 그때 그사람들”,  
미디어오늘, 용지수, 2017

“When (Mr.Pants) used to work as a cab driver, the police traced Female Driver Union members and their gatherings. During the Park Chung Hee era, the state was weeding out any signs of demonstration. Police would target their gathering places and scrutinize them as a female gang organization.”

– “Spying on Female Taxi Driver Union In Park Chung-hee Era”,  
MediaToday, Yong Ji-soo, 2017

In Korea’s 60s and 70s, driving a taxi was considered to be a higher income profession. Without a strict attire regulation, driving a taxi became the most popular job within the butch lesbian community as they could be sealed away from the judgemental gaze behind the wheel. So it is not surprising that the first recorded Korean lesbian community is a Taxi driver union.

When Female Taxi Driver Union (FTU)<sup>16</sup> was founded in 1965, it didn’t start out as a gathering of queer women. Nevertheless, the union was majority lesbian. It was around the 70s when FTU took on a very distinctly queer identity with a wide community network: around 90% of the members consisted of cab drivers and the rest were in folk music/theater troupes (국악/국극)<sup>17</sup> or were small business owners. Since only banquet halls (buddhist temples or wedding event spaces)

would fit all participants, FTU membership was estimated to be around 1,200 to 1,300. Even for smaller gatherings such as birthday parties, a minimum of 70 couples would show up to celebrate. The nationwide lesbian network was made possible due to female taxi drivers’ unprecedented mobility. Unrestricted by patriarchy that bound women to their husband and family, the members drove across different states and created local queer hubs in each of the major cities. FTU became a gathering space that encompassed Mr.Pants of all ages from teenagers to middle age.

FTU aimed for their member’s financial independence and fostered communal living by providing sanctuary for queer women—at any big or small events, they looked after one another like family. This kinship was based on seonbae & hoobae (senior and junior) hierarchy based on age.

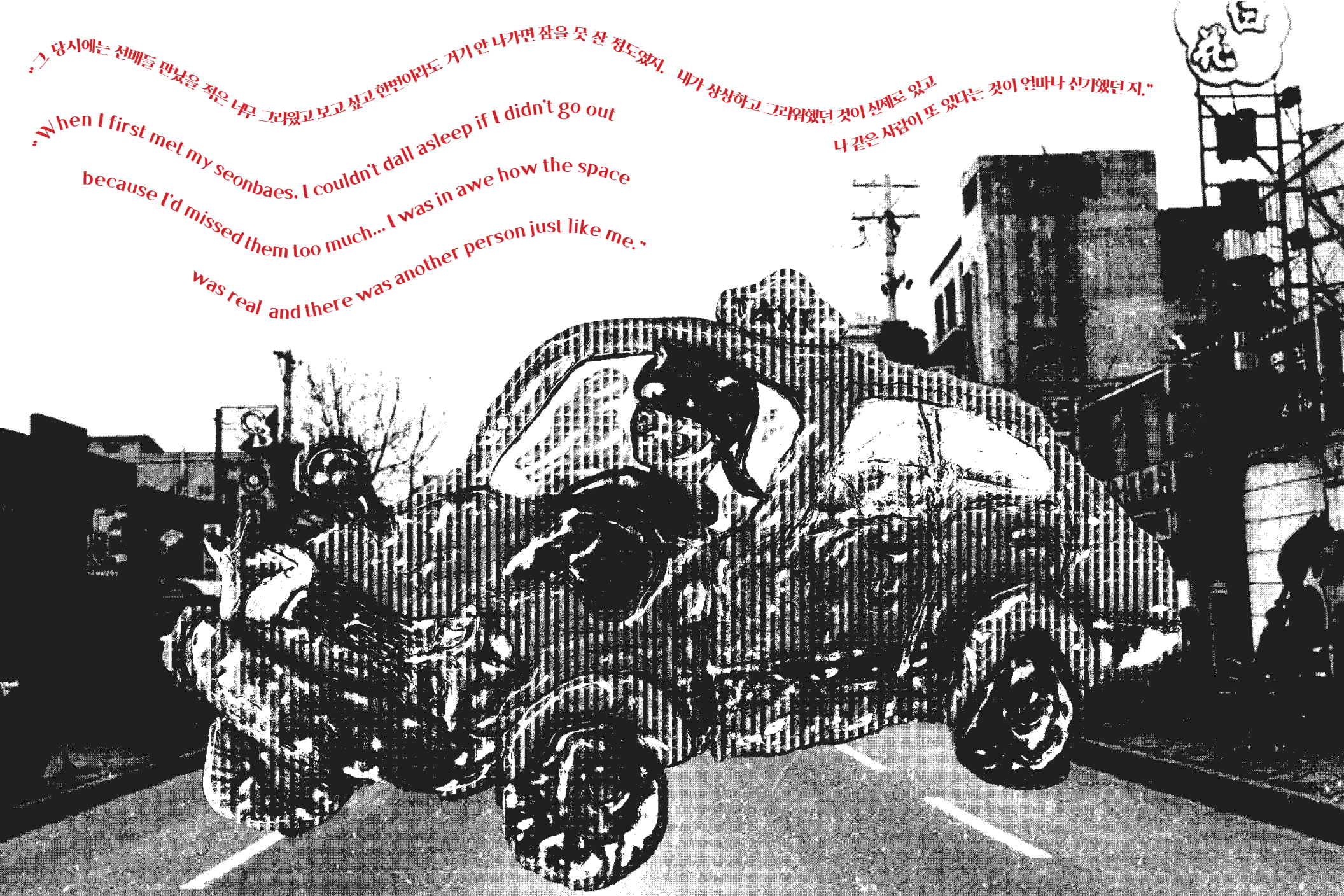


16. Most of the lesbian community records before 1990s were researched and gathered by KiriKiri which was published in 1994.” Female Taxi Driver Union (FTU)” 여자택시운전사회(여운회) was first mentioned in this publication.



“그 당시에는 선배들 만났을 적은 너무 그리웠고 보고 싶고 한번이라도 거기안 나가면 잠을 못 잘 정도였지. 내가 상상하고 그리워했던 것이 실제로 있고  
나같은 사람도 있다는 것이 얼마나 신기했던지.”

“When I first met my seonbaes, I couldn't fall asleep if I didn't go out  
because I'd missed them too much... I was in awe how the space  
was real and there was another person just like me.”



After the unfruitful attempt to get a legal recognition as a labor union, FTU continued for 20 years<sup>18</sup> until it got officially disbanded in 1985. With internal conflict around FTU president elections in 1985, the gathering became scattered into regional meetings of 20 people or less. FTU's role and impact as a labor union is under speculation, however, it was still a network of support for queer women in rapidly changing South Korea.

In preserving lesbian space, the queer women community faces more hurdles such as financial disadvantage and social pressure for marriage—often Ms. Skirts were pressured into getting married. Considering these challenges, especially in comparison to those of other LGBT communities, FTU's 20 year history is remarkable considering the 70s & 80s authoritarian political climate.

South Korea's economic achievements after the Korean War were marked by the enormous legal powers granted to the president during the 1970s~80s. Behind the gilded Miracle on the Han River<sup>20</sup> was the heavy binary of "Us VS Them" enforced by a strict night curfew, heavy police raids, and government censorship. To suppress any mounting opposition, the military dictatorship openly violated civil liberties often with the excuse of "weeding out Pro-North Korean Commies." Examples of this are inhumane labor regulations the Samchung Re-education Camp<sup>21</sup> and the massacre at Gwangju Uprising<sup>22</sup>. Citizens were subjected to organized violence under the name of social cleansing. LGBTQ people were easy targets, and were considered dangerous to the nation's safety and future, and thus branded as "Commies."

Due to lack of evidence, it is hard to say if the FTU actually un-

dertook any other direct political resistance towards the authoritarian regime other than existing as a queer social space. Nonetheless, with the authoritarian state looming over, one can only speculate about how the FTU was able to sustain this nationwide network with more than 1,000 members.

17. Some of the Folk theater were all-female musical theater troupe like Takarazuka Revue where women were allowed to cross-dress. They were popular during the 1940s ~1970s.

18. Han Chae-yoon, "History of Korean Lesbian Community", Jinbo Pyungron Vol.49. 한채운, 한국 레즈비언 커뮤니티의 역사, 진보평론 제49호 2011년 가을호에서

19. Till early 1980s, women in the professional field had to resign their position when they turned 25. It was considered inappropriate for women to continue their professions after their marriage.

20. "The Miracle on the Han River refers to the period of rapid economic growth in South Korea following the Korean War (1950-1953), during which South Korea transformed from a developing country to a developed country. The term "Miracle on the Han River" was coined after the phrase "Miracle on the Rhine" was used to refer to the economic rebirth of West Germany after World War II." -Wikipedia

21. The Samchung re-education camp was a South Korean military detention centre set up in 1980, during the military rule of Chun Doo-hwan. More than 60,000 people, many of them being innocent civilians, were arrested without warrants and faced violent treatment in the camps. -Wikipedia

22. Initially a leftist student-led demonstration in Gwangju province, it was a popular uprising against Chun Doo-hwan's military coup from May 18 to 27, 1980. Estimates suggest that up to 606 people may have died. Support or denial of the Gwangju Uprising has long acted as a litmus test between conservative and far right groups and beliefs, and mainstream and progressive sectors of the population. -Wikipedia

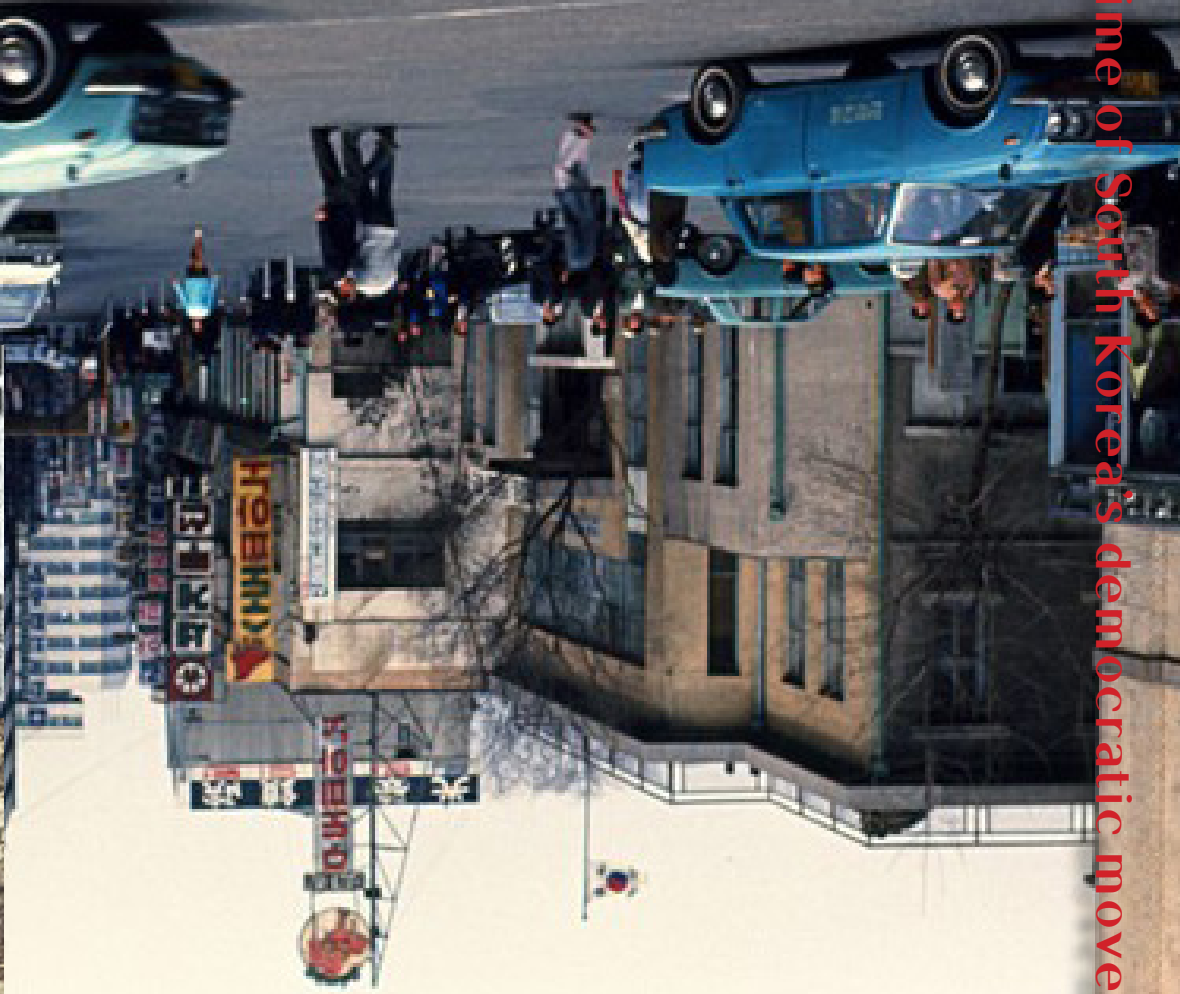
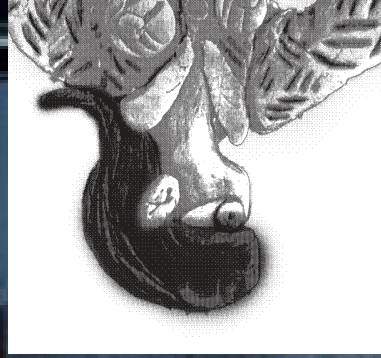


the radical fluidity of lesbian resistance rooted in mutual survival during the critical

and heteronormativity. I want to imagine

As the dictatorial binary still haunts the present day stateless, political ideology,

time of South Korea's democratic movement.





## CHAPTER 3 :

### THE FLUIDITY OF LESBIAN RESISTANCE

“비록 확연히 눈에 띄지는 않지만 꾸준히 그들만의 장소의 명맥을 유지해온 게이 남성들과는 달리, 레즈비언 여성들의 경우는 특정한 지역을 그들만의 장소로 발달시키지 어려웠다. 레즈비언 여성들 또한 자신들만의 커뮤니티를 형성했다고 하나, 이들에 관해서는 ‘여전히 전설로 남은’ 채로 있다.”

- “LGBT, 우리가 지금 여기 살고 있다: 현대 한국의 성적소수자와 공간”,  
강오름, 2015

“Unlike the gay community who were able to pass on their space under the radar, it was a struggle for lesbian women to maintain and nurture their queer space. There are claims that lesbians also had their vibrant communities back in the day, but now these claims only remain as ‘myth’.”

-“LGBT, We Are Here: Contemporary Korean Sexual Minority and Their Space”,  
Kang O-rum, 2015

After the organization’s break up in 1985, FTU members continued carving out their own queer spaces. Scattered into regional gatherings, former FTU members still kept in contact with each other in small circles despite changing careers, marriage, and now old age. Although they may not have had the same structural organization, there is evidence of queer networks other than FTU. Unfortunately, there is not much concrete history on these queer women’s networks due to lack of documentation other than the oral history of the remaining members.

Even though the FTU primarily functioned as a queer women’s sanctuary, it is unclear if the FTU had radical political motives as there is a lack of information on its politics. It is also unjust to dismiss the significance of the FTU as merely a queer social space because

it might not have explicitly mobilized queer liberation or democratic movements according to Western definitions of these terms. Western political discourse centers direct actions against the largest systems. Yet, for a marginalized individual, their existence and survival itself is resistance in the oppressive system. If the institutional power can resound at the individual level, in reverse, small everyday gestures are tied with the mobilization against the power structures we seek to dismantle. In

recording history, political movement needs to reconsider the impact of intimate interactions cultivated within communities. Even in Korean democratic revolutions, these gestures of care such as feeding, sheltering, and even offering blood transfusions<sup>23</sup>, are omitted because the participants were mostly women and they considered these something they ought to do, not part of the revolutionary cause. With the intersection of working class and educated women living under the authoritarian and patriarchal state, it is hard to believe that the FTU didn’t have any political organizing.

Mr. Pants were often a direct target of discrimination because they didn’t fit into heteronormative femininity. They were targeted by police because of the way they dressed. During the 70s, the US hippie-influenced fashion was heavily regulated by the state because it was believed to be encouraging leftist ideology that was against the nation’s progress. Any sign of “revolution” or “Pro-North Korean

Legible acts of  
resistance like  
Protest & Activism

when people who are  
living under  
oppression don’t feel  
like resisting and do  
something else  
instead - Andrea L. Chae

When living  
your life is  
resistance



Image Credit: Melanie Hoff & Neta Bomani

23. “The Forgotten Hwanggeum Dong Red Light District Women during Gwangju Uprising,”  
”5.18 때 피를 나눈 ‘황금동 여성들’은 왜 잊혔나”, Jung Mi-kyung, May 18th 2018, OhMyNews



민경이 한마음으로  
간첩을 잡아내자!!



내무부 치안국

Commies' that was noticed not only in terms of clothes, longer hair for men, but also in music, film, art, and literature, was considered a threat to the nation's development and survival. Anyone who disrupted this progress was arrested without proper warrants. This created a surreal spectacle where police would chase after men with scissors and rulers in hand to cut their hair. With their long hippie hair, denim jackets, and jeans, Mr. Pants often got mistaken as men and joined in running from the police. To be released from arrest, and after heavy beating, they had to reveal their chests or genitals to prove that they were not men.

"One time at a bar, a group of military men threw a boiling stew-pot at us to knock us down and kicked us with their boots..."<sup>24</sup> Kim Yoon Myung-Woo, founder of Korea's first lesbian bar "Lesbos," recalls a violent moment that she and her seonbae faced once men found out they were women. Not only were Mr. Pants subject to police persecution as individuals, but FTU meetings were also the target of police raids and surveillance. The police imagined the union as of leftist organizing space, but also accused the FTU of being a female gangsters organization. The police's inconsistency in screening Mr. Pants (leftists, gangsters, etc.) shows that it was their gender and sexuality nonconformism that was considered problematic. With this level of state oppression, it's hard not to wonder if FTU had community guidelines to support one another that could be found in other organized democratic and liberation movements. In fact, it's difficult to accept that they had no part in South Korea's democratic movements in the 1970s & 80s.

As the dictatorial binary still haunts the present day stateline, political ideology, and heteronormativity, I want to imagine the radical fluidity of lesbian resistance rooted in mutual survival during the critical time of South Korea's democratic movement. Many grassroots political movements by women, students, and small business owners were blanketed under the 70s~80s democratization revolution against the authoritarian government. Conversely, this also means any small leftist leaning organizing such as FTU could be con-

sidered as a part of democratic revolution. If queer women from a wide range of social standings intersected as a mobilized network called the FTU, what was the FTU's impact on the other parts of their lives as drivers, factory workers, sex workers, students, academics, wives, mothers, or citizens? The fluidity of Korean lesbian resistance should consider all the social boundaries these FTU members occupied and forms of undocumented participation that can't be understood through the current model of history writing. If there was an unwritten language of solidarity, how would the FTU have branched out/extended into other areas of political resistance?

FTU's solidarity is not entirely fictional when observing female worker unionization history. During the 1970s the female factory workers were at the forefront of unionization in the labor movement. In the 1980s, 90% of factory workers were women who worked in sweatshop conditions earning 70% less in wages than male workers. Female worker unionization was seen as a threat to authoritarian military dictatorship and patriarchal capitalism and they took the workers demands as an insolent challenge to the "father figure." The Military dictatorship suppressed labor unions by spreading propaganda that unionization hinders economic growth, supports the communist agenda, and contributes to social ills. Despite the social discrimination, female laborers improved their work environments and social standing by unionizing: their achievements included a shift from low income wages to a living wage, acceptable meal plans, accessible education, and safe workspaces. During this time, the Mr. Pants community, which was also part of the FTU, was in solidarity with other working class women especially with Sex workers' rights organization. Mr. Pants, who found difficulty fitting into normative society, found a space in sex workers community. In Red-light Districts, which often catered to soldiers and workers on US military bases, Mr. Pants were embraced without judgement.

24. "Kim Yoon Myung-Woo, Lesbian in her 60s", a series of interview collected by "Lesbian Biography Research Archive"

25. Oyaji (오야지) modified a Japanese word for "boss" often referring to a gang's leader.



“When we dressed like a man they simply thought ‘Oh, I guess it’s their lifestyle’ and never sneered at us. The pimps and the oya-jjis<sup>25</sup> always treated us with respect even though they knew we were such people. They treated us like men, like seonbaes and hoobaes, like human beings.” Kim Yoon Myung-Woo recalled her time in the Yangdong Red-Light District in the early 1980s. Even before Kim Yoon and her seonbaes started to congregate in the area, the Yangdong red-light district was full of Mr. Pants who were living with sex workers as their partner or panderer.

With these entangled communities, it was natural that the lesbian community would support sex workers’ rights organizations in solidarity. In her interview, Kim Yoon Myung-Woo mentions how her seonbaes were good friends with Genarihue(개나리회)<sup>26</sup> and often would “help them out”. Genarihue was a grassroots sexworkers’ rights organization founded by 250 sex workers in Yongsan district of Seoul in 1981. At that time, it was considered a radical and progressive group which organized education workshops such as “how to refuse unruly clients,” “protecting against abusive panderers,” in addition to writing lessons, bookkeeping lessons, lessons on “how to create bank accounts,” for treating drug & gambling addiction, and STD protection<sup>27</sup>. Although it didn’t have a nationwide following, Genarihue was a support network very similar to the FTU where members would promote each other’s financial independence and well being. There is no specific information on how Mr. Pants or FTU members supported the sex worker community against abusive gang members and police. Yet by observing solidarity between unionized workers, it is possible to imagine how they supported and protected each other against police raids, bailed them out of jail, took care of their injuries after demonstrations, and even simply gave them a ride.

I want to view the kind of solidarity that occurred between Genarihue and Yangdong Mr. Pants as a case of how Queer women’s organizations intersected with and integrated into other communities of

working class women, students, and leftist intellectuals. There might not have been a direct inheritance of their survival knowledge, but I want to believe that a dyke taxi driver aided democracy by creating an undocumented web of care using their freedom and ability to network across South Korea.

26. “Brave Women, Riding on Wolf” 용감한 여성들, 늑대를 타고 달리는, 삼인, 2002, pg 256-318

27. The History of Social Minority Organizing and Their Characteristics” (소수자운동의 전개과정과 그 특징), 2009, Yoon Soo Jong

# THE LEGEND OF MR. PANTS

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