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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE CORRELATION BETWEEN RELIGIOSITY AND ASSIMILATION
OF FIRST GENERATION KOREAN IMMIGRANTS
IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN REGION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

BY
YOUNG-IL KIM

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MAY, 1994

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Purpose of the Study

Since the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which abolished the national quota system that had favored northwestern Europeans for decades, the flow and the growth of immigration has shifted from European to Asian and Hispanic countries. The United States is experiencing a transition from a predominately white population rooted in Western culture to a society composed of diverse racial and ethnic¹ minorities. The combined population of the four minority groups² was estimated at 64.3 million in 1992.

¹The term "ethnic" derives via Latin from the Greek ethnikos, the adjectival form of ethnos, a nation or race. According to Glazer, the word "ethnic" refers to a social group which consciously shares some aspects of a common culture and is defined primarily in terms of descent (Glazer, 1975:35). While the term "race" refers to the classification of people according to physical difference, "ethnic" groups are expected to have a supposed biological linkage only to the extent that they share a common descent plus common cultural features.

²Currently, the United States government divides minority groups into four major racial and ethnic minority groups: blacks, or African Americans; Asians and Pacific Islanders; American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts; and Hispanics. The terms black and African American are used interchangeably in this study, as are the terms Hispanic and Latino, and American Indian and Native American.

Between 1960 and 1990, the minority population tripled in size, reaching 61 million (O'Hare, 1992).

Asians and Pacific Islanders had the fastest rate of growth during the 1980s and early 1990s, reaching nearly 8 million by 1992. Accordingly, Korean immigrants in the United States have become one of the fastest growing ethnic groups, reaching 614,547 (1990 U.S. Census). The number of immigrants from Korea between 1980 and 1989, about 338,891 people, accounted for 12 percent of all Asian immigrants (O'Hare and Felt, 1991).

The Korean immigrant population in the Chicago area is 33,465 (1990 U.S. Census). However, the Korean American Association of Chicago and Korean Consulate General of Chicago estimate 130,000 including the undocumented residents and people who hold student-visas. Korean population is heavily concentrated primarily into the North Park and Albany Park areas, and then more roughly dispersed in the north suburban, Niles, Mt. Prospect, Schaumburg, Northbrook, and Palatine areas.

There are 135 Korean Immigrant Churches in the Chicago area (Korean Business Directory, 1993). For the Korean Immigrant Church, community is not only based on geographical location. The church is a cohesive community which may be based on a commonality among the members such as people from the same province, alums from the same school, immigrants who have been living in this country for

the same length of time, or people who desire an evangelistic, spiritual worship experience.

There is an inseparable relationship between the presence of this population and the Korean Immigrant Church. The Korean Immigrant Churches are greatly impacting negatively or positively the acculturation and assimilation of Koreans into American society. I believe that the immigrant church has a definite influence on whether or not immigrant people adopt or reject American society as their own. Some studies have shown that there is relationships between immigrant church and assimilation patterns (Gordon, 1964; Newman, 1973; Hurh and Kim, 1984). It is important to research the relationships between church involvement and assimilation, and to find out the functions of the immigrant church to show how the church exerts its influence.

Thus, the purpose of this dissertation is to examine the roles of the Korean immigrant church and its subsequent relationship to the assimilation of Korean immigrants as a result of their participation in the Korean immigrant church. The study will review theories of ethnic identity, assimilation, and pluralism in American society as they pertain to Korean immigrants. The particular focus explores the correlation of religiosity and assimilation of the first generation Korean immigrants who live in the Chicago area. In order to test the significance of participating in an ethnic religious organization like Korean immigrant

churches, the study compares differences between practicing Christian Korean immigrants and Korean immigrants who have no particular religious involvement.

This study will identify the unique role of the Korean immigrant church as Koreans adjust to American society. It will be important to note the extent to which patterns and degrees of religiosity among Korean immigrants affect their assimilation. Thus, this study has been guided by the following questions: Does the Korean immigrant church help or impede Korean immigrants' adjustment to American society? What are the patterns and degrees of the religiosity of Korean immigrants, and how do these relate to the process of assimilation? I suggest that there is a negative correlation between religious participation in the Korean immigrant community and assimilation in the United States. Another question is: how strong is the ethnic attachment of Korean immigrants to their ethnic community and to the Korean immigrant church? The first generation Korean immigrants, as the recent immigrated minority, have the experience of marginality - feelings of non-acceptance and being a stranger (Stonequist, 1937; Hurh and Kim, 1984).

There is very little in the literature about Korean ethnic assimilation. Although some efforts have been made by a number of Korean scholars, the output has been very narrow, especially in the realm of sociological and religious research. Thus, I see a need to augment this body

of knowledge. It is my intention to formulate a meaningful scale for measuring Korean ethnic religious participation and their patterns of adjustment to American society.

Statement of the Research Problem

The history of ethnic and religious diversity in North America reflects the conflict between divergent ideologies. Crystallizing in the colonial period, two opposing visions of civilized world became dominant. One, drawing on Enlightenment philosophy and the notion of the liberal constitutional state, was pluralistic and incorporated an understanding of society where a variety of religions and races were not only welcomed but expected. The other, influenced by the Greek and Enlightenment understanding of the republic, was homogeneous and was nurtured by a profound insistence that society be of a single, undifferentiated type.

As both ideologies developed during and after the colonial period, they vigorously shaped the history of the United States. However, it is true that the absorption of immigrants had been a goal of American policy makers for some time and that much research had been oriented in this perspective. It had been predicted that the people from differing backgrounds would blend together into a homogeneous American prototype. Many peoples, especially those of north European origin, did blend in with the larger

American population and absorbed the English language and other values deriving from English civilization.

Continuously both language and values have been modified by immigrant groups and adapted to a North American setting since as early as the 17th century.

However, while substantial biological and cultural assimilation did take place, many groups also retained ties of family, friendship, religion, and tradition. That is, ethnic heritages never fully disappeared. It is clear that historically those groups most resistant to change were the ones furthest removed from Anglo-Saxon traditions. These were peoples with articulated links to the past. In this context the situation of the various American Indian groups is significant. Black Americans, cut off from direct access to their African heritage, have changed but have not been truly fully integrated, as reflected in racial bias.

The subject of ethnicity has become an increasingly important area in social science, as the "melting pot" theory has been criticized more and more by social scientists, educators and ethnic groups. Even though each ethnic group identity needs to be emphasized, many individuals are searching for a new sense of self-concept, which is reflected in the reassertion of ethnic consciousness. Greeley (1969), Friedman (1971), and others have suggested that ethnic group identification, values, and life styles are reemerging.

There are millions of ethnic Americans today, including an estimated 7.3 million immigrants and descendants of immigrants from Asian countries (American Council on Education, 1991); and their numbers grow each year. Because of the large numbers of people in ethnic groups in American society, they have no need to melt into the dominant cultural patterns. Instead, they tend to retain a large measure of their own family traditions, religious practices, ethnic customs and cultural patterns. Of course, some others have been assimilated culturally to a considerable degree, but have not yet been fully integrated into the dominant community. Because Asian immigrants, for example, are different in physical appearance. Thus, we need to study more of American pluralism and cross-cultural dynamics in order to more adequately understand the comprehensive picture of American social reality.

The major research problem of this dissertation is the need to examine current and predicted ethnic identity in America, especially as it pertains to Korean immigrants and specifically those living in the Chicago area. Korean immigrants suffer from such things as identity loss: they struggle to live and survive in this strange land, and in the process lose their identity as a marginal being. Second, many Koreans in America suffer from meaninglessness. They work tremendously long, hard hours trying to succeed, perhaps 12-16 hours a day. But after a few years, they feel

that they are frustrated. Furthermore, because they concentrate so completely on their work or business, they suffer from a lack of time for social relationships and from a lack of intimate cohesiveness (Young, 1983). Finally, many Korean immigrants suffer from a lack of belonging. They never really belong in the United States host society, neither do they belong any longer in Korean society. Thus they remain marginalized in this society, living with a sense of rejection from both the host culture and their native culture (Yu, 1983). Here the Korean immigrant church plays a very important role.³

A further consideration is the need to examine various patterns and problems of Korean immigrants' assimilation, such as demographic characteristics, cultural adaptation, amount of adherence to ethnic/racial association, social networks, interpersonal relations, family role adjustment, life satisfaction, and degree of religious participation. The following research inquiries have been formulated: What are the general patterns of assimilation? How strong is ethnic bonding or group solidarity? How strong is racial and ethnic identity? What is the degree of religious participation? How strong is the adherence to ethnic associations or to the Korean Immigrant Church? What are the major problems the Korean immigrants face in their

³In Chapter VII, "Theoretical Suggestions," I will discuss five functions of Korean immigrant church which help Korean immigrants.

assimilation process? What are the possible sources and consequences of such adaptation patterns and problems? Is the melting pot theory adequate for the Korean immigrants living in American society? Derived from the answers to these inquiries, would any new theoretical paradigms and practical implications emerge toward solving ethnic community problems in the United States?

The Korean immigrant church in America is in a different context and setting from the existing Protestant church in America and from the church in Korea. Thus the function of the Korean immigrant church is doubled: It fulfills the existing churches' functions plus deals with the immigrant situation. Since Korean immigrants are struggling socially, psychologically, mentally, and spiritually, the Korean immigrant church must deal with those problems.

Since my major argument concerns the role that the Korean immigrant church plays in acculturation - as Korean immigrants live in the social context of American society, I will present a brief history of American immigration and then Korean immigrant history in the remainder of this chapter.

Brief History of American Immigration

North American society is the product of immigrants from various countries in the world. The United States is a

nation of immigration. Due to the very nature of the U.S. itself, immigration was destined to play a vital role in its development. Almost the whole of North American history has been woven by consecutive waves of immigrants, who have come from many different places, times, and ethnic backgrounds.

Since English settlers established Jamestown in 1607, several waves of immigration have taken place, dramatically affecting American life and society. The first wave (1607-1820) or the Colonial Immigration, consisting of over forty million people, came from northwestern European countries. The vast majority of those immigrants were Protestants. They, especially the Pilgrims and Puritans, brought with them their cherished traditions and customs. These religious, cultural, and social traditions became the core ethos of American values and society.⁴ All of these aspects of their heritage were not only firmly implanted on American soil, but they also laid the foundations for American society.

During the same period of time, the slave trade was introducing Africans onto this continent. The first shipload of African slaves to reach America arrived in

⁴See Max Weber's The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (Talcott Parsons, translated. New York: Scribner's, 1958). Weber argued that the life style and value system of the Puritans which derived from the ideas of Calvinism had helped Capitalism to emerge by giving religious value to hard work, discipline of investment, self-denial, and commitment to a profession. Namely, Weber stressed there was a certain compatibility between the teachings of Protestantism and the early growth of capitalism in America.

Jamestown in 1619. Large scale forced migration of Africans to North America began around 1675. Maldwyn Jones says that during the eighteenth century, countless thousands of Africans arrived from the Guinea coast and the West Indies, perhaps as many as 250,000 (Jones, 1960).

The second wave consisted of immigrants who entered the U.S. between 1820 and 1880. Some historians named this period "The Old Immigration." There were strong correlations of "push-pull" factors in this period of immigration. The factors pushing from Europe were the poor economic conditions, industrial depressions, poverty, extraordinary increase in population, religious intolerance, demeaning social gradations, and political upheavals. Meanwhile, plentifulness and opportunities in America pulled more than 37 million immigrants from the European countries.

The third wave, "The New Immigration" (1880-1930)⁵, included about twenty-six million people entering the United States. Up until around 1880, immigration had originated mostly from northwestern Europe. As the twentieth century approached, however, the ethnicity of the immigrants underwent a drastic change, with folks arriving mainly from eastern and southern Europe, Canada, and South American countries. Unlike the earlier arrivals, most of these new settlers were concentrated in urban areas. The rapid

⁵Some scholars would like to name the immigrants of post-1965 as "new immigration."

development of industries in the newly arising American cities required overseas recruitment. By 1890, for example, one out of three employees in manufacturing and mechanical industries was an immigrant. This proportion continued until the end of this period.

The fourth wave of American immigration, "The Recent Immigrants"⁶ (1930-1990s), have come mostly from Latin American and Asian countries. The legislation of the 1920s, which is known as the National Origin Quota System, imposed immigration quotas and had as one of its goals the ethnic "integrity" of the American population (Burki and Swamy, 1987:514). These laws regulated immigration from the East (Orient) but set no numerical limits on immigrants from the West. The McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 superseded previous laws by setting minimum quotas of one hundred for each eastern hemisphere country. Thus, this new amendments to the U.S. immigration law relaxed restrictions on the immigration of Asians and gave an annual quota of one hundred. However, the year of 1965 was a momentous one in the history of immigration, especially in immigration from third world countries. This year marked the beginning of the dramatic change in the immigration trends/records of the United States of America. That is,

⁶Some people have called this title, "The Recent Immigrants," for this period of immigration.

the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 abolished discriminatory quotas based on racial and national origin;⁷ accordingly, a large number of Asian persons have since come to America. The decade of the 1980s holds the record for the highest number of immigrants. That decade added twelve million more people from other lands to the population of the United States (Takaki, 1989).

Successive waves of Asian immigrants have come to America for more than a century, beginning with the Chinese and Japanese. The first Asian immigrants were drawn to America in the latter part of the nineteenth century by the demand for cheap labor to build the industrial and agricultural infrastructure of the West Coast. The Chinese first came to America to take part in the California Gold Rush, but soon became the major source of cheap labor for early California entrepreneurs. The Chinese were mostly male peasants who came as sojourners with the intention of saving capital while sending money back to their families

⁷Discrimination has existed in America almost as long as immigration itself. Of course, the first colonial pioneers had no difficulty with this problem, but as soon as permanent settlements sprang up in the wilderness of the New World, strangers were treated if not with hostility often with a guarded caution. In this land where the Caucasians became the hosts, the Oriental Mongoloids faced a tough discriminatory treatment. It was particularly the physical and extreme cultural differences that made the Oriental immigrants conspicuous wherever they went. The Asian people have been hounded by discriminatory attitudes until they were barred completely from immigrating to America. In 1882, for example, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed by the United States. This was the first time in America that a whole nationality was kept from landing on its shores.

and, eventually returning to their native villages. Some Chinese established families or permanent residences in America during the first half-century of settlement. The willingness of Chinese to work for low wages ignited violent conflict with white laborers which resulted in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. This law curtailed further large-scale immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States (Nee and Sanders, 1985).

Japanese immigrants arrived on the West Coast and in Hawaii shortly after the termination of Chinese immigration. The Japanese were also male sojourners, but due to differences in village culture, which resulted in weaker ties to family and village in comparison to the Chinese, Japanese laborers soon brought wives to America. Opposition to Japanese immigration gradually increased as economic competition intensified, and resulted in the exclusion of additional Japanese immigrants via the passage of the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan in 1909 and the Immigration Act of 1924 (Nee and Sanders, 1985; Takaki, 1989).

During the World War II years, immigration for all Asian groups nearly came to a halt due to continuing hostile feelings of Americans towards Asians, the Japanese in particular. Because America was at war with Japan, treatment of Japanese Americans and immigrants deteriorated to a level far worse than that of the pre-war years. Attitudes and treatment reached a low point with the passing

of President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 which forced the incarceration of 110,000 Japanese Americans.

Since the 1960s, however, the new wave of immigrants have come to the United States from the Philippines, India, and Korea. Waves of refugees from Indochina, especially Vietnam followed. From 1931 to 1960, Asians accounted for only 5 percent of immigrants legally admitted to the U.S. The proportion of legal immigrants from Asia grew to 34 percent by 1970-79, and 48 percent by 1980-90 (O'Hare and Felt, 1991). According to the 1990 U.S. census, the Asian-American population is 6.9 million, up

Table 1.1
Percentage of Legal Immigrants Admitted to the U.S.

Region of Birth	1911-20	31-60	60-69	70-79	80-89*
Asia	3%	5%	12%	34%	48%
North America+	13%	21%	10%	3%	2%
Latin America	7%	15%	38%	41%	35%
Europe	76%	58%	39%	19%	12%
Other	1%	1%	2%	3%	3%

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and Statistical Abstracts of the United States 1941, 1979 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office). * = William P. O'Hare & Judy C. Felt, Asian Americans, No. 19. The Population Reference Bureau, 1991.
+ = Canada is included, but not Mexico.

from 3.8 million in 1980 and up from 1.4 million in 1970. They have become the fastest-growing ethnic minority group in the United States (O'hare and Felt, 1991).

Why did Asian immigrants leave everything and come to a strange world? The "push-pull" factors of the former immigrant waves can also be applied to the Asian immigrants. They were "pushed" by hardships and political situations in the homelands and "pulled" here by America's demand for their labor. They also wanted to grasp, as other waves of immigrants did, another important pulling factor, the American Dream - freedom, better opportunity, and etc.

However, there are some different reasons for immigrating to the U.S. between Europeans and Asians. Nineteenth century European immigrants usually came to the U.S. for economic, religious and political reasons, but, except for refugees, recent Asian immigrants came for reasons of economic betterment or for the education of their children. Unlike the nineteenth century European immigrants, the recent Asian immigrants do not generally consider religious or political factors in their decision to immigrate to the United States (Bryce-Laporte, 1980).

The Asians who immigrated to the U.S. after 1960 generally held a high socio-economic status in their home country. They have high levels of educational attainment and occupational skills that are much in demand in America (Hurrh and Kim, 1980). The majority of these Asian immigrants are a special group of people who decided to leave their homeland to improve their living standards and/or to have better education for their children.

The role of the church in the lives of the immigrants is also quite different. Many Presbyterians who immigrated from Scotland and Ireland, for example, in seeking to continue their religious practices but unable to find trained Presbyterian clergy, became members of Methodist or Baptist congregations in order to continue worshipping. Asians, however, face no lack of trained clergy. Rather, the plentiful availability of ministers is one reason for the rapid numerical growth of Asian-American churches. Asians seek out the immigrant church as much for religious reasons as well as social and psychological reasons, for example, the cohesion of communal life and peace of mind for living in this strange land.

As Korean immigrants form an increasingly large proportion of the immigrant population currently settling in the United States, it is important to see whether the lives and the perceptions of the immigrants themselves have been adjusted to American society or not. It is also useful to study how immigrant institutions, such as religious organizations, serve the Korean immigrants. Before exploring these issues, I will outline briefly the history of Korean immigration to the United States.

Korean Immigration

Historically, the opening of Korea to the West began with the Treaty of Amity and Commerce signed between the

United States and Korea on May 22, 1882. The Treaty stated:

Subjects of Chosen [Korea] who may visit the United States shall be permitted to reside and to rent premises, purchase land or to construct residences or warehouses, in all parts of the country. They shall be freely permitted to pursue their various callings and avocations, and traffic in all merchandise, raw and manufactured, that is not declared contraband by law. (Article VI; Choy 1979:46-47, reprinted in Hurh and Kim 1984:39)

Following the ratification of the treaty, sixty-four students trained in Christian mission schools were encouraged to emigrate to America to acquire an education (Melendy, 1977). These people were not only future political leaders who devoted their lives to fostering Korean independence but also pioneers for the Korean immigration to America. After that, six merchants arrived in Honolulu between 1898 and 1900, and eighteen laborers between 1901 and 1902 (Yang, 1978). So in the ten years after the Treaty was ratified, it is estimated that no more than fifty Koreans were living in the United States.

In 1903, though, it can be said that immigration to America by Koreans truly began. Korean immigration can be divided into three waves. The first wave, consisting of eight thousand farm workers and their families, began in 1903. On January 13 of that year, 102 Koreans arrived in Honolulu. Fifty-four men, twenty-one women and twenty-five children plus two interpreters traveled on a U.S. merchant ship to come to the United States (Yang, 1978). Within the next couple of years, many more had immigrated to America,

bringing the total number of Koreans in the United States to 7,226 (6,048 men, 637 women, 541 children) by 1905 (Hurrh and kim, 1984). Intellectuals, primarily Christians, and students began to leave Korea after it was annexed by Japan. Between 1910 and 1924 over two thousand Koreans came to the U.S. without passports (Kim, 1981). According to the Bureau of Immigration, Korean immigrants admitted between 1901-1932 totalled 8,321.

Living in Hawaii and working on the plantations was not as nice a life as many had hoped to find in America, though. By 1907, some Koreans had migrated again, this time to the contiguous states. In 1920, 1,677 Koreans were living on the American mainland. However, the mainland community of Koreans did not grow very rapidly in the 1920's. In 1940, there were only 1,711 Koreans on the U.S. mainland--an increase of thirty-four in twenty years (Takaki, 1989).

Koreans living on the mainland during and after this first wave of immigration encountered antagonism and racism from the whites. They were not served in some restaurants; they were allowed to rent housing in only the Mexican and Black parts of town. Also during the first immigration period, Koreans were really allowed to maintain no identity of their own. There were many lonely and painful days for the first immigrants.

Immigration to the United States slowed down for quite a few years after this first wave, and later years it was

shut down. It did not pick up again until the late 1960's. There are several reasons, scholars think, that immigration slowed down at this point. First of all, the Japanese, who annexed Korea in 1910 and ruled in Korea from 1910-1945, would not allow any emigration to the United States while they, the Japanese, were in power. The few exceptions to this rule were the "picture brides" (about 1,100), who were allowed to join their husbands in America either on the mainland or in Hawaii between 1910 and 1924 (Kim, 1971; as reprinted in Hurh and Kim, 1984).

A second reason for the lull in immigration was that the Korean government itself did not allow Korean laborers to immigrate. The government did not want the immigrants to suffer hardships; and, it was said that those who immigrated--especially to Mexico--endured quite a bit of difficulty (Kim and Patterson, 1974:87-89; as reprinted in Hurh and Kim, 1984).

The last reason for the slowdown in the early years of the Twentieth Century was an immigration quota put on non-Europeans--especially Asians (Hurh and Kim, 1984)--by the U.S. government. This limit was known as the Quota Act in 1921 and was added to later in what became the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924. The 1924 Immigration Act was very specific and very limiting. Only 100 total Asians could immigrate to the U.S. each year; and, these Asians were discouraged and even forbidden to become naturalized

citizens. Citizenship for Asians could only be gained after the Walter-McCarran Act was passed in 1952 (Lee, 1987).

After this Act was in effect, the second wave of Korean immigration to the United States began. This second wave was made up of Koreans who entered the United States between 1945 and 1964. Several factors account for this wave of immigration. One of the factors in this wave's coming was the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. As a result of the war, 6,423 war brides and 5,348 orphans immigrated to the U.S. Those Koreans who immigrated of their own accord (were not connected to an American husband or were not being adopted by American parents) during these years, stayed pretty much in the western part of the United States. It was not until the third wave of immigrants that they began to move farther inland. Then in 1952, the United States passed a major revision of its immigration laws of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act (Reimers, 1985), which dropped the earlier Asian exclusions and assigned a quota of 100 immigrants to each of the countries in the Asian-Pacific Triangle. Some denominations, such as Methodist church and Presbyterian church, sent their pastors and graduate students to America for further study.

The third wave of Korean immigration to the U.S. has been the largest so far. This wave began after the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 came into being. This Act abolished discriminatory quotas based on racial

and/or national origin, thus opening the doors for Koreans, other Asian and hispanic immigrants.

Table 1.2
Korean American Population and Number of
Korean Immigrants to the U.S.A.

Year	Total Asian	Korean Pop.	K. Immigrants
1910	249,926*	5,008	--
1920	332,432*	6,181	--
1930	489,326*	8,332	--
1940	489,984*	8,568	--
1950	599,091*	7,030+	10
1960	877,934*	--	1,507
1970	1,429,562*	69,150	9,314
1980	3,466,421	357,393	32,320
1990	3,726,440	614,547	21,628

-Sources: Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, various census volumes for the years shown. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports

Note: a dash (--) represents unknown data.

*Total only of Asian groups listed for the year.

+Data for Hawaii only.

At the start of this new period of immigration, seventy-five percent of the immigrants were professionals, especially those in the medical and scientific fields. This high percentage of professionals was due to the "preference system" that the U.S. government used during this initial time. After the mid-1970's though, professional immigration as such declined quite a bit due to a minor revision in the Immigration Law. In the 1976 revision, the preference

system changed from sixty percent professional and forty percent family, to forty percent professional and sixty percent family, allowing more families and laborers to immigrate (Lee, 1987).

Racial antagonism has been less obvious since the beginning of the third wave than it was during the first two waves of immigration to the United States. But, just because it is less visible in more recent years, does not mean that it is non-existent. While race relations may not be antagonistic neither are they totally cordial. There are very few restaurants or theaters that will not serve people because of race; but there still are such places that will be rude to people who are not white, including Koreans. Also, there are Korean students who find tension between themselves and other students and between themselves and non-Korean faculty based on cultural and ethnic differences. So, Korean Americans of the third wave of immigration are still struggling with issues of racism and antagonism as their forbearers did.

In the year of 1965, only 2,165 Koreans were allowed into the U.S. The 1970 U.S. Census, though, reported that 69,130 Koreans were living in the U.S. And, during the period of 1976 and 1988, the number of Korean immigrants each year has exceeded thirty thousand annually (U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service, 1975, 1985, and 1990). The 1980 U.S. Census revealed 354,593 Korean-Americans were

living in the U.S. Between 1965 and 1990, more than 430,000 Koreans immigrated to the U.S. And by 1990, according to the U.S. Census, there were nearly 614,547 Koreans in the United States.

As these large numbers of Korean immigrants arrived in America, they began to make their way eastward. Most of the Koreans in the Midwest today stem from this group that came after 1965 (Lee, 1987). The U.S. Census shows that 24,351 Korean-Americans who lived in Illinois (354,593 total in the U.S.) in 1980, and 21,020 of these lived in the Chicago area. The estimated number of Koreans living in the Chicago area by 1986 was 42,000 (Asian Human Services of Chicago, Inc., 1987, as reprinted in Kahng, 1989). Most Korean immigrants arrive in America through a family connections. A study of Korean immigrants showed that 58 percent of them had relatives in the U.S. before they themselves came (Hurh and Kim, 1990; Kahng, 1987).

As we have seen thus far, Korean immigrants are one of the most rapidly growing new immigrant groups. Their composition is strikingly different from the old immigrants from Asian countries who were predominantly adult male laborers.⁸ They are the youngest, with a median age of 26.1 (26.9 in Chicago area), compared with 32.11 for

⁸In 1900 the Chinese immigrants had a sex ratio of 1,887 males per 100 females and the Japanese immigrants had a ratio of 349/100 in Hawaii and 2,370/100 in the mainland United States (Lyman, 1974:88).

Japanese, 30.2 for Filipinos and 28.7 for Chinese (Lee, 1987). The Korean American population also has the highest percentage of women of any Asian immigrant groups. The 1980 Census for the Chicago area showed that 53.7 percent of Koreans in Chicago are women. They are also the most highly educated group among all Asian groups - 71 percent of them completed high school and 36 percent graduated from colleges (Hurh & Kim, 1984).

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed the purpose of this study, statement of problem, a brief history of American immigration and Korean immigration. A rich body of academic literature exists on immigrants and its related subjects from Europe, China, and Japan. However, very few ethnographic and empirical studies on immigrants from Korea to the United States are available today.

The Korean immigrant population in the Chicago area as well as in the United States is rapidly growing. The number of Korean immigrant churches, accordingly, is increasing. The church is a cohesive community and it plays a dynamic role in the very formation of ethnicity as the immigrants create their own subethnic community. Also, the Korean immigrant church impacts the acculturation of Koreans into American society. Therefore, this dissertation studies an association between assimilation and religiosity in Korean

immigrant society.

In Chapter II, I will examine two contradictory views of homogeneous or diversified American society. Before exploring these views, I will sketch briefly the chapter outlines in this study. In Chapter III, I will discuss the interplay between religion and ethnicity. In Chapter IV, I will elaborate the methodology used in this study. In Chapter V, the focus will be on the demographic profile of the sample and the findings from the regression analyses relating to my hypotheses. In Chapter VI, I will examine the conceptual approaches of social settings of Korean immigrants in relation to the host society. In Chapter VII, I will present five functions of the Korean immigrant church. And in the final chapter, I will provide an overview of the results of this study.

CHAPTER II

THEORIES OF ASSIMILATION AND PLURALISM:

QUEST FOR ETHNICITY IN AMERICA

There are millions of ethnic Americans today who are immigrants themselves or descendants of immigrants. In the United States explanatory theories of racial and ethnic relations have been concerned with migration and social integration of those immigrants.

Since the colonial period a distinctive American identity began to emerge. Some scholars argued the need for a national consciousness. The fact that the American people were of diverse ethnic strains was not overlooked in discussions of nationality. Thus, over the course of the American history, several ideas or theories of assimilation and pluralism have developed. The major theoretical framework used to explain Americanization of immigrants has been the assimilation theories. These theories have been the theoretical bedrock of sociological research on race and ethnicity and the dominant paradigm until the 1960s.

The theories of pluralism argue that the immigrants may become Americanized in time, but at the same time, they retain much of their own cultural heritage. The pluralism

paradigm emphasizes the value of maintaining ethnic diversity and co-existence within the American society as a realistic solution to problems of ethnic relations. There have been divergent interpretations on the concepts of assimilation, pluralism and ethnicity. I shall briefly discuss three different assimilation theories and three positions of pluralism.

Theories of Assimilation

In considering the relationship between various ethnic groups and national unification, it is usual to start with assimilation and then followed by pluralism. Ever since the earliest days of the country has been the Anglo-Saxon which mainly was derived from the Puritans, the dominance of WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) culture never disappeared in American society. Thus, it is adequate to start with the model of Anglo-conformity.

Anglo-Conformity Model

The roots of Anglo-conformity can be traced to Anglo-Saxonism in England. Anglo-Saxonism began as a form of ethnic pride, the origins of which historically go back to the political controversies of the English Civil War and at the time of the Norman interference in the mid-17th century. It became one of the elements of republicanism ideology in the 18th century. Thus, Anglo-Saxonism was closely

identified with love of freedom, dedication to republicanism, and a commitment to law and limited government. These elements remained the substantive core of Anglo-Saxonism, but it came to be understood in more distinctly racial terms (Turner, 1841).

Throughout its development, Anglo-Saxon racialism was intimately related to ideas of American nationalism and to the implications for immigration policy, religious preference, and inter-ethnic-group relations. It was generally accepted, for example, that Protestantism was the natural religious expression of the freedom-loving, independent-thinking Anglo-Saxons.

The phrase, "Anglo-conformity," was initiated by Stewart G. Cole and Mildred Wiese Cole (1954). Since the founding of the American nation, the largest population was English and Protestant in origin, and they became the dominant society. A handful of immigrants from other European countries were absorbed by the host group as a standard pattern in American life.

Anglo-conformity demanded the complete renunciation of the immigrants' ancestral culture and the substitution of the behavior, attitudes, and values of middle class WASPs, America's core group (Gordon, 1964). It was later known as "pressure-cooking assimilation." This model can be expressed as $A + B + C = A$, where A, B, and C represent the minority groups present in a society and A signifies the

result, the dominant group. The equal sign(=) stands for the interaction that takes place. The majority (A) dominates in such a way that minorities (B and C) become indistinguishable from the dominant group. Regardless of how many racial, ethnic, or religious groups are involved, assimilation dictates conformity to the dominant group (Newman, 1973; Hirschman, 1983). While there is zero recognition of other ethnicities, there is almost one hundred per cent assimilation.

The assimilative pressures increased with the onset of World War I and the "one hundred percent Americanism" movement, culminating in the demand for and eventual enactment of restrictive immigration legislation in the 1920s.

The Melting Pot Idea

In the theory of Anglo-conformity, which has probably been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation in the American historical experience, it was expected that newcomers would adapt to the pre-existing culture and social structure. The melting pot ideology took a more sympathetic view of the immigrant's heritage by assuming that it would contribute to an indigenous American type resulting from the blending of the cultures of the majority and minority groups. The theory of the melting pot, then, assumes that there should absolutely be one way to be and live in

American society; a way in which all individuals and ethnic groups are melted into a new breed, culturally and biologically, the American people. The melting pot is a symbol of total (100 percent) assimilation. It is a form of fusion which describes the result of a minority and a majority group combining to form a brand new group. This combining can be described as $A + B + C = D$ and D symbolizes the result, the new melted American people.

The melting pot hypothesis received its full expression in the works of two writers of the time: Frederick Jackson Turner and Israel Zangwill. Turner (1920) introduced his thesis in 1893.¹ Turner's thesis was that the dominant influence in the shaping of American institutions and democracy was not this nation's European heritage in any of its forms, or the forces emanating from the eastern seaboard cities, but rather the experiences created by a moving and variegated western frontier. Turner argued, "the frontier promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people... In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics. The process has gone on from the early days to our own (Turner, 1920).

¹Frederick Jackson Turner was an historian from Wisconsin who had taken his graduate work at Johns Hopkins. He presented a paper to the American Historical Association, meeting in Chicago in 1893. The title of the paper was "The Significance in the Frontier in American History."

The "frontier melting pot" thesis had its counterpart in an "urban melting pot" ideology, which presented a broader view of this country's experience with immigration and assimilation. Although the melting pot imagery had long existed in the public consciousness, the term "Melting Pot" was actually inaugurated by Zangwill, who wrote a play called *The Melting Pot* which had a long run in New York City in 1908.² Zangwill's intention was that old-world nationalities of the newly arrived immigrants should be forgotten since they now lived in America and that all ethnic individuals or groups should be fused into a new superior American nationality. This idea became the dominant assimilation theory for three or four decades in the United States.

The ideas of the melting pot and the Anglo-Conformity came under attack by many social scientists in the 1960s and 1970s. Such scholars have fostered a different vision of pluralism from those of half a century before. Scholars who have considered a new understanding of ethnicity include Greeley (1974, 1972); Glazer and Moynihan (1963, 1975); Newman (1973); Novak (1971); Gordon (1964); Isaacs (1958); and others. These authors had come to the conclusion that the dynamics of ethnicity in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s had changed.

²Zangwill's play was published later in 1925.

Triple Melting Pot Theories

Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, who carried out research on intermarriage trends between 1870 and 1940 in New Haven, Connecticut, reported astonishing findings. She argued that while the rate of choosing a mate from the same national origin was decreasing, there was a strong tendency to marry within one's religious group, or more specifically, within one of three major religious groups: Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. She thus suggested that there was a "Triple Melting Pot" in American society based on religion (1944) and that religious ties were more important than ethnic ties. The triple melting pot thesis can be described as $A + B + C = P + R + J$, where P represents Protestants, R stands for Roman Catholics and J for Jews.

The triple pot theory was later reinforced by theologian Herberg (1955, 1983). He also suggested that there were three melting pots rather than one in American society, indicating that anyone living in America was not really an American if he or she did not belong to one of the above mentioned three religious groups. Herberg contended that the American phenomenon was toward fusion within each of the three religious groups.

He also made the assumption that among immigrants the third generation was particularly significant. While the first generation still retained the language and customs of the home country, the children of the second generation were

often caught up in an attempt to ignore their cultural origins, assimilating into the dominant group. Herberg argued that the third generation was marked by a return to a search for identity. For members of this generation, identity was not found in the ethnic enclaves that they had left behind but was discovered in religion, because religion provided an effective vehicle of social identity by providing an answer to the question, "Who am I?"

Although this ideology was a unique synthesis of affirming the vision of cultural pluralism, this view was challenged by Greeley (1969) and others, who deplored the fact that Americans devote too little attention to the ethnic groups that still flourish in our society. He felt that the "triple melting pot" judgment was premature and that people still seek their intimate friends and marriage partners within their own ethnic groups. As an example he pointed to the continuing antagonism between the Poles and the Irish, which is not resolved by the Catholic religion common to both.

Theories of Pluralism

While the theories of assimilation were proposed as social ideologies, the way cultural pluralism was presented had a different context. In other words, cultural pluralism in the first period (by 1910) was spoken of as a Utopian idea, an American hope in the minds of university

intellectuals. After World War II, however, a notion of pluralism developed along with the civil rights movement by Blacks, and became more realistic, more down to earth.

What came next, after the Anglo-Conformity model, then the melting pot theory followed by triple melting pot theory, was the realization of the variety in ethnicity, religion, and race. Gordon (1961:274) says, "Cultural pluralism was a fact in American society before it became a theory..."

Cultural Pluralism

Kallen (1915; 1924), an American Jew, was one of the intellectuals who developed the idea of cultural pluralism. Kallen was a philosopher who wrote from the point of view of history and psychology.³ He sought to counter three sources of contention about race: the racist teachings of the Ku Klux Klan, the popular understanding of assimilation as a means of neutralizing the perceived threat of immigration, and the appeal of the amalgamationist vision of the melting pot as promulgated by Israel Zangwill. Kallen argued that neither the process of imposing the characteristics of the majority on minorities (assimilation) nor the combined "melting" of groups to produce a "new" American race (amalgamation) was compatible with democracy.

³Kallen was a Harvard educated philosopher with a decided concern for the application of philosophy to societal affairs.

Between 1910 and 1924 more immigrants than ever before entered the United States. As their numbers swelled, a backlash steadily increased, generating hate literature and a renewed cry for restrictive legislation. The result of this continued agitation was the series of immigration statutes that sought to curb the flow, focusing particularly on Southern and Eastern Europeans. And the malaise helped accelerate public acceptance of both assimilation and amalgamation as national emphases. As discussed in the previous chapter, legislation in 1917, 1921, and 1924 reduced the numbers of the most diverse of the immigrant groups and the most difficult to assimilate - Asians. Actually, it was the Johnson Read Act of 1924 that cemented a national origins quota system into place, a policy that remained essentially unchanged until 1965.

This powerful series of laws not only supported the views of those who sought to end immigration as a major force in American life, but it also generated the Americanization movement. The Americanization movement demanded deference to the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture and called on immigrant groups to assimilate. The movement was so strong and so broadly based that it became official policy in a number of states. Even private industry was caught up in it and proudly contributed to the effort.

Kallen, however, was convinced that racial differences could not be reduced and that such an ideological movement

of Americanization could not be the best interests of a democratic social order. Thus he coined a new term and a new ideology, that is, cultural pluralism. The term "cultural pluralism," which is used to designate Kallen's radically anti-assimilationist viewpoint, was first presented in his 1915 article. Kallen felt that all immigrant heritages deserved to be protected and strengthened. He formulated his philosophy of cultural pluralism and the idea of a harmonious mixture of national groups within America as a way of defending those heritages. Thus, he envisioned a utopian society in which ethnic groups would maintain their distinctiveness but coexist in harmony and respect.

Kallen held that ethnic nationalities neither should nor could be transformed into any generic American nationality. That is to say, he affirmed that although there had been a unitary American nationality, it had been dissipated by the great waves of immigration, with the result that by 1915, America was not a nation with its own distinctive nationality but a political state within which dwelt a number of different nationalities.

With this thought in mind, Kallen saw two policy options: to work for unison or for harmony. And he believed that the first option, which is the attempt to enforce conformity to a common pattern, would violate America's democratic ideals and the spirit of its

institutions. Therefore, he suggested the goal of harmony, holding out the vision of "a possible great and truly democratic commonwealth"⁴(Kallen, 1915). The goal of harmony was in line with the realization that groups as well as individuals have rights and could usher in a truly democratic social order.

Norman Hapgood also emphasized ethnic realities in America and its harmony. He was aware of the possible loss of identity for people who blended totally in with the mainstream population. He wrote, addressing a Jewish group, that they should not to be disappeared into the general population. He said that "Democracy will be more productive....if it has a tendency to encourage differences. Our dream of the United States ought not to be a dream of monotony" (Hapgood, 1916). Americans, according to Hapgood, should be able to live in "harmony."

In 1920, Isaac Berkson and Julius Drachsler, both educators, separately published their views of immigration assimilation. Both of them felt it was important to allow ethnic groups to remain whole in and of themselves. They did, however, have some reservations about Kallen's

⁴Kallen was impressed by the way in which the various ethnic groups in America were coincident with particular areas and regions, and with the tendency for each group to preserve its own language, religion, communal institutions, and ancestral culture. Thus he argued, "the United States are in the process of becoming a federal state not merely as a union of geographical and administrative unities, but also as a cooperation of cultural diversities, as a federation or commonwealth of national cultures" (1915; 1924:116).

idealism, in that they did not feel that individual cultures could be preserved for very long in America - a place which encourages people to blend in (Gordon, 1964).

As well as this point of agreement, Berkson and Drachsler also had some points of difference with each other and with Kallen, as they approached assimilation. Berkson did not like Kallen's idea of a "commonwealth" for three reasons. First, Berkson did not give a lot of weight to the "existence of powerful hereditary racial qualities." Second, he felt that identifying particular geographic spots in the United States as the place of one ethnic group, as Kallen did, was not relevant for America. And, third, Kallen's view went against democratic principle because it tried to predict a person's "fate" based on his or her ethnicity (Gordon, 1964).

Berkson's first two points of contention with Kallen were not strong, as Kallen's later writings showed that he dropped his original viewpoints on both of these subjects. Berkson's last criticism, however, raised an issue that is relevant still today: "...cultural pluralism may be democratic for groups, [but] how democratic is it for individuals?" Is a person who truly wishes to become Americanized, free to do so in America? Berkson developed a "community" theory as a positive response to these problems of cultural pluralism. He said that each ethnic group should be allowed to maintain its own community as

well as to broaden its group into the existing culture(s) around them (Gordon, 1964).

Drachsler's disagreements with Kallen came out of Drachsler's research on cross-cultural marriages in New York City right before World War I. He found, in his study, that the percentage of second generation immigrants who marry outside their ethnic group rises significantly from the number of first generation immigrants, thus showing that distinct ethnic groups began to disappear. Because Drachsler thought this melting process happened too quickly for the good of the community, he recommended that ethnic communities be intentional about maintaining their heritage. This intentionality would slow the melting process as well as - when the process did begin to happen at a significant rate - insure that the resulting mixture would be enriching to all cultures involved, rather than detrimental to one (Gordon, 1964).

Cultural pluralism, then, can be described as a process of living in both worlds at the same time in order to take advantage of primary group associations for personal, familial, and cultural needs, while utilizing secondary group contacts in the civic, economic, and political environments (Kallen, 1924). Kallen envisioned unity in diversity, like the individual instruments of an orchestra, each producing a distinctive sound and yet making a beautiful harmony. Using the mathematic scheme, one can

describe cultural pluralism as $A + B + C = A' + B' + C'$, where groups coexist peacefully in one society, asserting each ethnic identity (Newman, 1973; Berry and Tischler, 1978; Hurh and Kim, 1984).

Structural Pluralism

Gordon (1964) delineated a seven-stage model of the assimilative process, including the role of structural assimilation and the multi-dimensionality of the assimilation process. That is, he discussed the process of adaptation, from cultural assimilation - the way minorities adopt patterns of dress, customs, or languages of a dominant culture - to structural assimilation - the acceptance of minorities by the mainstream. Various aspects of that process include, on the part of the minorities, intermarriage with the mainstream of the host society and a tendency to identify themselves as American, and on the part of the mainstream, the elimination of prejudice, discrimination, and conflict.

Gordon argued that not only are pluralism and assimilation interrelated, but they interface through the association of two sets of variables (Newman, 1973). These include race, religion, and ethnicity as well as class, urban-rural residence, and sectional patterns of residence. In making these observations, he assumed that the study of minority groups is related to the social context in which

they occur.

It seems to me that the theme of Gordon's work is that cultural pluralism has been disappearing as a result of structural assimilation. Structural pluralism, however, not only continues but grows stronger. Furthermore, structural pluralism has developed as the ethnic group crystallized around religious and racial identifications. Therefore, he reached the conclusion that pluralism in American society is no longer cultural pluralism; it is ethnic pluralism on the basis of religious and racial elements.

Multi-Ethnic Pluralism

Some sociologists in the past understood the persistence of ethnicity in American society as dysfunctional and saw the end of ethnicity as practically a foregone conclusion. Warner and Srole (1945), for example, asserted that "the future of American ethnic groups seems to be limited; it is likely that they will be quickly absorbed." Handlin mentioned the destruction of immigrant values and their replacement by American culture. Many other writers have argued that ethnicity would dissolve. Ethnicity was expected to disappear not only because of assimilation but also because higher social class and status demanded that it vanish (Abramson, 1973; Yinger, 1976).

By the beginning of the 1800s, Anglo-Saxon immigrants and their descendants established the foundations of Anglo-

Saxon socio-cultural traditions and values; and they became the most powerful and influential dominant ethnic group in the land of America. The immigrants who came from Northern and Western Europe came closest to a complete realization of the goal of total cultural and structural assimilation because they were most like Anglo-Saxons physically and culturally. Although the immigrants from Southern, Central, and Eastern Europe tried to establish and maintain their own life styles and institutions on American soil, their efforts were largely doomed from the beginning because the Anglo-Saxon controlled the economic and political systems. In fact, the degree to which they were physically, culturally, and psychologically unlike Anglo-Saxons partially accounted for their lower level of cultural and structural assimilation (Gordon, 1964).

Furthermore, non-European immigrants and their descendants, such as African-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Hispanic-Americans, have faced a much more serious problem than Southern and Eastern European immigrants. While society demanded that they assimilate culturally in order to integrate socially, politically, and economically, it was very difficult for them to assimilate because of their skin color. Even when they succeeded in becoming culturally assimilated, they were still structurally isolated, and were denied full, unqualified entry into the organizations and institutions sanctioned by the larger society. They became,

in effect, marginal persons (Stonequist, 1937), for they were not accepted totally by the mainstream systems. Therefore they have not only maintained a stronger sense of their culture and identity, but also consider themselves to be more "ethnic" than other groups.

Glazer and Moynihan (1963) wrote of a new sense of ethnicity that they observed in New York City. They argued that the melting pot phenomenon did not really happen in American society. Rather, the ethnic groups have retained much of their distinct cultural heritage, keeping their ethnic identity. That is, more ethnic minority Americans have emphasized self-determination and identity in the unique life-styles of their own cultural heritages.

In rejecting the idea that group differences had disappeared in the melting pot, Glazer and Moynihan developed the theory that as a group is assimilated it also keeps adapting and develops a modified identity (1963). As a result, even though members of a certain immigrant group may lose their native language and some customs in the second and third generations, they still tend to maintain their family and friendship ties and religion, as well as economic and political interests. The ethnic groups may be culturally assimilated to a large extent, yet the majority of them desire to hold on to their own religious and cultural traditions as they live in America.

The new ethnicity was carried even further by Michael

Novak, who wrote of the growing sense of cultural identification among white ethnics (1971). Novak argued that the European ethnic groups had been forced to abandon their ethnic and cultural heritage. He was attacking the melting pot ideology, which, he said, had insisted that the only identity of value was American.

For many first-generation immigrants who sacrificed their names and their ethnic identities, the promise of the melting pot was the hope that their children and their grandchildren would have a different life. Of this, Novak, a third-generation Slovak, cried out: "What has happened to my people since they came to this land nearly a century ago? Where are they now, that long-awaited fully Americanized third generation?" (Novak, 1971). So, he became an outspoken leader of the new pluralists, who touted cultural pluralism as an ideology.

The 1970s and up to the present years have seen a significant impact upon the realization of new ethnic identity, assertiveness, and/or assimilation. The characteristics of ethnic groups in the United States have changed substantially since these theories of assimilation were developed by sociologists. The following figures prove it. In the 1960s there were 1.6 million European and Canadian immigrants, and in the 1970s only 957,000, while Asian immigration jumped from 362,000 in the 1960s to 1.5 million in the 1970s. Immigration from Mexico rose from

432,000 to 624,000; and immigration from Africa, only 33,000 in the 1960s, rose to 87,000 in the 1970s. From 1820 to 1960, 82 percent of all legal immigrants came from Europe, but between 1975 and 1979, only 15 percent originated in Europe, 41 percent from Latin America, 35 percent from Asia. By the mid-1980s, Asia had become the largest source of immigration. By 1987, Asians accounted for 43 percent of immigration, persons from Latin America and Caribbean nations 41 percent, and Europeans only 10 percent (The Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1989). These figures indicate that there must be a new and different multi-ethnic pattern in America.

I believe that further study is needed in American pluralism and cross-cultural dynamics in order to understand the comprehensive picture of American social reality more adequately. The questions that need to be asked include the following: Why have some ethnic groups assimilated more than others? Why are new theories and studies needed? In considering these questions, it must be noted that in the studies of the Chicago School of Sociology, the target group was the old immigrants who were largely unskilled laborers and farmers. But the current pools of Asian immigrants are different from the old immigrants. That is, since the change in U.S. immigration laws in 1965, there has been massive immigration from many different countries, including South American and Asian countries. As a group, the new

immigrants have been highly skilled and highly educated, including many professionals and technicians. Their occupational structures are different from the old immigrants, as are the sizes and characteristics of their groups. The shape and fabric of intergroup relations between the dominant society and these new immigrants will necessarily be different from what has been previously experienced by minority groups in this country. Fresh studies are needed to deal with a new situation.

Korean immigrants are one of the fastest growing minority groups in America. The number of immigration from Korea between 1980 and 1989 accounted for 12 percent of all Asian immigrants, which is about 338,890. How do they adapt themselves in the new country? What are the major problems they face in the adaptation process? What are the possible origins and consequences of such adaptation patterns and problems? What kind of roles do the Korean immigrant churches play for the immigrants? Might any new hypotheses or practical implications emerge toward solving ethnic community problems? To provide some answers, Hurh and Kim (1984) examined the new immigrants' demographic characteristics, sociocultural adaptation, family relations, religious participation, and life satisfaction. Each dimension of the immigrants' adaptation is analyzed in light of existing sociological theories and the empirical surveys and intensive interviews conducted in the Chicago and Los

Angeles areas. They focused on two basic sociological patterns that confront Korean immigrants in this country, ethnic confinement to the Korean community and its related form of assimilation. The authors have made some provocative suggestions about the status of Koreans in America that they seek to strike a balance between assimilation and pluralism. That is, one of the findings of the authors is that the Korean immigrant church has provided the means which Korean immigrants can maintain their ethnic identity and, at same time, which they can be assisted to adjust to American society.

There is no metaphor which can capture completely the complexity of ethnic dynamics in the U.S. "Melting pot" ignores the persistence and reconfiguration of ethnicity over the generations. "Mosaic" is too static a metaphor; and it fails to take into account the easy penetration of many ethnic boundaries. Nor is "salad bowl" appropriate; the ingredients of a salad bowl are mixed but do not change. "Rainbow" is a tantalizing metaphor, but rainbows disappear.

John Higham acknowledged the recent surge of ethnic consciousness in Send These to Me: Immigrants in Urban America (1974). He wrote of pluralistic integration, in which pluralism was contained within a larger conception of social integration. Believing that American life does not permit a rigidity of group boundaries and a fixity of group commitment, Higham nonetheless acknowledged in the last line

of his book a concern that Americans had a serious problem "in rediscovering what values can bind together a more and more kaleidoscope culture."

The most accurately descriptive metaphor which best explains the dynamics of ethnicity, for Lawrence H. Fuchs (1990), is also "kaleidoscope." Seeing the new dynamics of ethnicity, both in variety and interaction and in the spread of diversity to every section of the nation, Fuchs explains that when a kaleidoscope is in motion, the parts give the appearance of rapid change and extensive variety in color and shape and in their interrelationships. The viewer sees an endless variety of variegated patterns, just as takes place on the American ethnic landscape. He suggests building a stronger and more humane multi-ethnic society, one in which individuals are free to express their ethnic traditions and interests, making ethnic diversity a source of unity.

Much like the technicolor revolution in television and movies, society is undergoing a technicolor revolution. The old idea of the melting pot where everyone goes in different but comes out the same is being discarded. There is a new recognition that while each ethnic group maintains its own identity, traditional culture and heritage, in the convergence of these multicolor groups the colorful landscape of Americana emerges. Individuals are not transformed into "Americans", but each ethnic group stands

distinguishably beside the others, each maintaining its valuable tradition and culture and contributing to American society. We need to create a new way of researching and formulating what I call "multi-dimensional ethnic pluralism" in which ethnicity must be looked at not only from a single dimension, but from many different dimensions, such as the racial, religious, social, cultural and economic dimensions (Kim, 1992).

Summary and Conclusion

I have discussed the debate between the followers of the Coles (Stewart and Mildred) and Zangwill and the supporters Kallen. Each of the ideologies has developed in concert with the American societal experience. Meanwhile, the discussion on assimilation and pluralism has always been dialectical.

Zangwill put forth the idea of a giant cauldron, a melting pot, which emphasized total assimilation that each minority group becomes part of a continual process of fusion. Kallen conceived of a model that was more like an orchestra than the crucible of the melting pot. The power of the American experience, he argued, was not in a process that reduced cultural differences to obscurity but rather one in which they would remain as symbols of a freely expressed identity.

Glazer and Moynihan wrote of a new sense of ethnicity

that they observed in New York City. The new ethnicity was carried even further by Novak, who talked of the growing sense of cultural identification among white ethnics. These developments suggest that ethnic diversity has increased in a climate that emphasized freedom of expression and identity in American society.

Unlike European immigrants who could be melted into American society relatively easier than Blacks and Asians, Korean immigrants differ from the dominant ethnic groups in physical appearance. Therefore, it is presumable that the assimilation theories are not appropriate for Korean immigrants. Rather pluralistic theories are applicable to them.

CHAPTER III

INTERPLAY OF RELIGION AND ETHNICITY

In this chapter, I will discuss what functions of religion play in the lives of immigrants. That is to say, what relationship religion has with ethnicity in American culture and society. Religion in America not only shaped cultural patterns of immigrants' lives, but also it encouraged them and guided them throughout the centuries of American history. Religion has provided shared values and beliefs that have helped bind ethnic groups as they live as immigrants in the United States. Religious beliefs have transcended differences of ethnicity that have divided American society. Therefore, religion and ethnicity are interrelated in forming American culture.

The Role of Religion

Religion can be explained from a variety of perspectives. Three of the most influential approaches are the functionalist, the Weberian,¹ and the conflict

¹In The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1904; 1958) Max Weber argued that a link existed between the base of the Protestant world view and the subsequent emergence of capitalism in Western societies. He observed that religious ideas are among the many factors which influence

theories.² The functionalist perspective was influenced by Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and the conflict perspective by Karl Marx (1818-1883). Each of these men analyzed religion in very different ways. In this dissertation, however, I will discuss only the functionalist approach because it is most applicable to the Korean ethnic communal bond and their religiosity in the United States.

The Functionalist Approach

Functionalists insist that religion, found in societies the world over, must be beneficial, or functional to society. Religion must make a contribution because human societies have always had some form of it. For the functionalists, religion is a very influential force in human society. It not only exists as an important aspect of human social life but also is a significant contributing factor in social integration. One of the most important studies of this aspect of religiosity was done by Durkheim,

social behavior. According to Weber, personal values, attitudes, motives, and feelings characteristic of Puritan ethics affected the American people in such a way that a profit-oriented business economy emerged. Weber concluded that religion has a pervasive social dimension which cannot be set apart from the range of everyday conduct.

²Conflict theorists claim that religion is one of the many ways that powerful elites exploit the masses who are the explosive forces of a society. Thus, religion functions to soothe and to distract the working class, and to perpetuate the domination of the privileged. For Marx, religion is not necessary because it is a false representation of reality and it underestimates human powers and dignity of creation.

who relied on the ethnographic reports of anthropologists to piece together a powerful understanding of the function of religion.

In his classic study, Suicide(1897, 1951, 1966), Durkheim calculated the precise suicide rates of men and women; of the married and unmarried; of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; of every different profession, and so on. More specifically, Durkheim compared the rate of suicide in different areas with the religious affiliation of the inhabitants and found that, in each instance, areas that were predominantly Protestant had higher suicide rates than areas that were mainly Catholic. Durkheim then reasoned that what differentiated Protestantism from Catholicism was the greater degree of free inquiry and spiritual individualism that Protestantism permitted. He demonstrated that the suicide rate varies inversely with the degree of religious, political, and family density. He established a positive statistical relationship between the suicide rate and educational and religious institutions.

What Durkheim was trying to prove was that social structures of high intensity prevent an individual from killing oneself. That is, he wished to demonstrate the power of social ties and to answer the question of what holds society together. Thus, he contended that the forces that hold society together are invisible, but are inevitable.

The main underlying body of theory presented in Durkheim's The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (1912, 1965) is fundamental in character; that is, it concerns the functional role of religion in society. Durkheim saw religion only in its function of establishing and reaffirming group solidarity and as possessing symbolic significance for a group or society. In this book he argued that religion has a social origin. Through living in community, people come to share common sentiments, with the result that a collective conscience comes into being, experienced by each member, yet far greater than merely the sum of the individual consciences.

Since all societies feel the need to uphold and reaffirm their collective sentiments, societal members come together as the church. According to Durkheim, "the idea of religion is inseparable from that of the church" since it is "an eminently collective thing" (1965, 1898). Even when religion seems to be entirely within the individual level, claimed Durkheim, religion creates and reinforces social solidarity. Collective life in a society is the source and the object of religion. Thus, the relationship between religion and society is inseparable. In summary, Durkheim was very interested in functions (or dysfunctions) in relation to the social (moral) order and religiosity; and his main focus in his writings was on the social order and social solidarity.

Functions of the Organizational Church

One might analyze the functions and dysfunctions which local congregations perform for their member-families and/or the wider community/society by discussing what kinds of factors the church contributes to members of the church and society. Here I will emphasize what the church does for the individual and social group. I will also examine the provision of meaning and belonging for the individual and for the larger social group as the immigrant churches have played such roles for immigrants in America. This provision of meaning and belonging are linked with the communal aspect of religion.

According to Greeley (1972), religion is uniquely qualified to provide meaning and a sense of belonging in a complex modern society. Meaning comes through believing; a sense of belonging through participation in the community of belief, and therefore, the measurable strengths of these consequences reflect the degree of religious commitment. He states that religion has functioned as a provider of meaning, but he also sees its role as a supplier of a sense of belonging.

Geertz (1966) suggested that religion serves as a template in establishing meaning. It not only interprets reality but also shapes it. The template of religion "fits" experiences of everyday life and "makes sense" of them; in turn, this meaning shapes the experiences themselves and

orients the individual's actions.

Consistent with this argument, Spreitzer and Snyder (1974) and Clemente and Saver (1976) found positive relationships between church attendance and psychological well-being. They asserted that church participation and interaction within a supportive religious community of believers positively relates to higher levels of well-being such as positive self-conception, absence of distress, and life satisfaction.

Roozen, McKinney, and Carroll (1988) confirmed the functional dimension of church in which congregations perform a number of functions. They act as social and economic institutions in addition to providing spiritual and psychological support. They are agents of socialization for the members; status-giving agencies that are avenues for location of oneself within community life; and sources of social solidarity, control, and reform, as well as important symbols of continuity.

McLoughlin (1978) discussed the role played by the church in the old times (the 19th century), suggesting that when the nation faced a crisis, the church had a significant impact on American culture and politics, often reorienting or redefining the core of American values and the direction of society. The church encouraged a sense of the uniqueness of American nationality, revitalizing the spirit of the American people, and leading to a cultural awakening.

Reichley (1985) described how the church's involvement in public life in the United States was very visible and strong. Some religious organizations were deeply involved in secular politics and social-religious issues such as abortion and slavery. The church leaders were in touch with leaders of major political parties. So the church was instrumental in making the system work and in reinforcing American values.

As we have seen above, all of these sources take the Durkheimian perspective, that is, each shows some functions that the church as an organization plays between individuals and society.

Religion and Ethnicity in American Society

Ethnicity has been an important factor in the history of American immigration. As has been seen, American society consists of diversified ethnic groups, and accordingly it is ethnically and religiously pluralistic society. Several scholars have presented the close link between religion and ethnicity among American immigrant peoples.

Herberg analyzed the relationship between religion and ethnicity in American socio-historical-religious context; and he developed, as Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy argued earlier, a theory of a triple religious melting pot - a broader grouping of Protestant-Catholic-Jew - as a national religion of the "American way of life." (Herberg, 1960).

Herberg suggests that as the immigrant becomes assimilated into the dominant American culture, ethnic ties supersede the localistic ties that characterize one's self-identity and self-location in the old country. The ethnic church is an important expression of these new ties. According to Herberg, however, ethnic differences are residual and disappearing. As assimilation proceeds even further, religious identity assumes even greater significance - not as actual affiliation with a particular religious group, participation in church activities, or even affirmation of the group's belief system - but rather as a basis of identification and social location.

For Herberg, self-identification in ethnic terms is not altogether satisfactory because it implies incomplete integration into American life. By contrast, religion in America is an acceptable way for people to differentiate themselves and thus becomes a way for people to define and locate themselves in the larger society. For this reason, according to Herberg's interpretation, people will identify themselves with one of the three legitimate religious communities, that is, Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, even though they do not necessarily practice that religion or believe its tenets. (Herberg, 1960).

Greeley asserts that ethnic communities provide a shelter in and through which immigrants can experience ethnic dynamics, that is, bonding spirit, ethnic identity,

ethnic solidarity and life satisfaction. Ethnicity enables them to legitimate their new identities by reference to their traditions (Greeley, 1977). Thus, belonging to the ethnic community promotes a smoother life in the strange land and sense of belonging.

American denominationalism also can be seen in its relationship to ethnicity. Greeley concludes that American denominations tend to support rather than deny bonds of ethnicity. Even when religious traditions are not dominated by particular ethnic groups, they come to play a quasi-ethnic role by helping members maintain a common allegiance (Greeley, 1972).

American denominationalism, then, is a voluntary system characterized by its relative decentralization and plurality. Denominations have important associations with ethnicity and are congregationally ordered, such as German Lutherans, Jews, Black church communities, or Irish Catholics. They also rely on a certain homogeneity of form and function and frequently have affirmed and supported the status quo. As Niebuhr expressed it, "Denominations, churches, and sects are sociological groups whose principle of differentiation is to be sought in their conformity to the order of social classes and castes" (Niebuhr, 1929).

Religion and Asian-Americans

When Asian religions are transplanted and begin to

become denominations, they become voluntary, emphasizing defined membership patterns and a communal or congregational emphasis, which is integral to their survival. Like the European Christians who established churches in the United States in the colonial period, Asian devotees have been drawn to congregational life because of the common need of strangers who share the same ethnic and religious backgrounds to find avenues of emotional support (Richey, 1977).

Many Asian religions, therefore, have preferred the autonomy and isolation that the denominational system allows. The reasons include fear of public reaction as well as concern that the process of assimilation would dilute the tradition. For some faiths that have frequently chosen to build new temples away from centers of urban life, as, for example, Chinese Buddhism, the search for privacy has been paramount.

What kind of contributions, then, do the immigrant churches make in helping immigrants settle and become assimilated in American life? The substantial number of Asian immigrants (and the majority of Koreans) are affiliated with the Western Christian religion, because the Christian church plays an important role in their lives in re-establishing social support networks and in providing them a high level of life satisfaction (Lewis, Fraser, and Pecora, 1988).

Church involvement is indeed a way of life for the majority of Koreans in America (Choy, 1979; Patterson, 1988). Compared with other Asian immigrants, Korean immigrants have manifested a high rate of church participation. Kim's study (Kim, 1978) on Asians in the Chicago area showed that about 71 percent of the Korean immigrants were affiliated with Christian churches, while about 32 percent of Chinese and 28 percent of the Japanese immigrants were affiliated with their respective ethnic churches.

In agreement with Durkheim's argument, the Korean immigrant church is a communal event, that is, one of the functions of the church is community cohesiveness. The church promotes social cohesion and solidarity among the immigrants, providing strong social bonding (McGaw [1980] also discussed this function of the church). The Korean immigrant church's function can be identified with the use of these theories, in that its function is to support the survival of the group life in the United States.

It appears to be that Korean immigrants huddle together in their church, since they remain marginal members of American society and they face problems of racism, prejudice, culture shock, and cultural differences. The church provides them a sense of belonging (Greeley, 1972), meaning (Herberg, 1955), comfort (Hurh and Kim, 1984), unity, and identity. The Korean churches serve as an axis

for ethnic pride, and act as community centers that promote traditional customs, holidays, and folklore. In church organizations, individual information, resources, experience, and insights are available to be shared between members. Korean churches also serve an educational function by teaching American-born Koreans the Korean language, history and culture. The church community is their place of peace, where they feel free of serious discord, free of discrimination and stress, finding much comfort and contentment.

Ill-Soo Kim also emphasized the non-religious, secular functions of the Korean immigrant church: the church functions as "a pseudo-extended family" and as "a broker between its congregation and the bureaucratic institutions of the larger society" (Kim, 1981). In addition, the ethnic church gives emotional support and a helping hand to those individual members who are psychologically distressed or experiencing other personal crises in their new environment (Min, 1989).

Summary and Conclusion

At one time, some sociologists saw the end of ethnicity. They argued that the ethnic groups would be quickly absorbed and that the immigrant values and religious beliefs would be replaced by those of the American dominant culture (Warner and Srole, 1945; Handlin, 1951). That is,

ethnicity in America was expected to disappear.

Religion and ethnicity, however, have been important to Americans. The diversity of American religious life is phenomenal. This diversity of beliefs, rituals, and religious experiences that characterizes religious life and ethnicity in the United States reflects the nation's immigrant heritage (Herberg, 1983; Lenski, 1961; Myrdal, 1974; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970). Religion plays a dynamic role in the very formation of ethnicity as immigrants create their own sub-ethnic community in America (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1984; Dolan, 1975; Hurh and Kim, 1984). Abramson (1980) says that in some instances, such as the Amish, Mormons, and Jews, ethnicity equals religion. That is to say, were it not for religion, the ethnic group would not even exist. Religion serves as a powerful foundation of ethnicity in the United States of America.

As has been seen above, the Korean immigrant church is a vehicle; it is very effective and useful, perhaps even indispensable, for the Korean immigrants, to support and conserve an ongoing Korean immigrant society, to reinforce the values and traditions that underlie it, and to bind Korean people into one ethnic community as they live in this "strange land."

CHAPTER IV
THE METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

The Research Hypothesis

I assert that most assimilation models ~~are~~ cannot explain assimilation patterns of the Korean immigrant group because the assimilation models were based on European cultural and racial ideals. Typically, the non-European group does not or may not fully assimilate into a culture, that is the American culture which is so biased, because American culture is, or at the very least, is perceived to be very rigid in its demands for conformity. As long as this rigidity persists, the racial and physical characteristics of Korean immigrants will probably remain as a barrier to full acceptance into American society. However, multi-ethnic pluralism respects the difference and recognizes similarities in racially different groups such as Asian-Americans.

I suggest that there is a negative correlation between assimilation and religiosity in Korean immigrant society. The Korean church is dysfunctional in terms of assimilation, but functional in terms of cohesiveness and belonging. Thus, my hypothesis of this study is concerned with this

question: Does the Korean immigrant church function to promote or prevent Korean immigrants' assimilation into American life and society? My hypothesis is that the Korean immigrant church plays a dysfunctional role in the process of assimilation. The reasons for this are as follows:

First, for Koreans, the church is the central theater for the expression of one's faith. The church is like a club or group. For Korean Christians, the church is their whole life. Church attendance and participation is what faith is all about for Korean Christians. Church activities, which typically include Korean-language worship, fellowship, common meals, games, and picnics, are all geared toward "bonding" or "tying" people together. Even the class meetings or Bible study cell groups are a means of developing fellowship and building groups. The bonding is so strong that Korean immigrants do not need to go outside of the church community for any of their social, communal or religious needs (Breton, 1964). So rather than helping Koreans adjust to American culture and society, Korean immigrant churches allow or encourage Korean immigrants to remain separated from it.

Second, the Western Christian church is an "open system," that is to say, the church is connected with society. Information and influence flow back and forth between the two. Most Korean immigrant churches for the first generation immigrants are not like the Western Church.

In the past two years I have visited and observed eleven Korean immigrant churches in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Indiana. According to my observations, the Korean immigrant church is a "closed system," that is, there is not much flowing in either direction, from or to society. The Korean Immigrant Church usually does not concern itself with what is happening in society. The Korean Immigrant Church is a system within itself. Thus, Korean immigrants do not want or need, nor are they willing, to be assimilated. Because of these two factors, coherence or solidarity and the closed system, I hypothesize that the Korean Immigrant Church plays a dysfunctional role in the assimilation of Korean immigrants into American society.

The working hypothesis of this study, therefore, is that the Korean immigrant church is dysfunctional to the assimilation process of the immigrants. The rationale for this hypothesis is derived mainly from Breton (1964). From the outset, it should be stressed, however, that the present study attempts to examine the veracity of Breton's position rather than to vindicate Breton's view. In any event, the working hypothesis offers not only a point of departure for this discussion but also a guideline for what is happening among the Korean immigrants in the sample of this study.

The Research Methods

The subject matter examined was state of mind and

experience as well as attitude and behavior of individuals as perceived by the people themselves. Thus, I tried to penetrate into the subjective dimensions of human experience and feeling, and tried to ascertain the way people themselves perceived and interpreted their own social lives and behavior as Korean immigrants.

This study employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods in order to address the following research questions: First, what impacts does religiosity have on Korean immigrants' assimilation process? Regarding this question, the study focused only on the Christian group. Second, what are the general assimilation patterns? Regarding this question, the study examined separately two groups of Korean immigrants, that is a Christian group and a non-Christian group.

The Research Data

The data were collected from the Korean immigrant community of the Chicago area mainly through extensive questionnaires and some in-depth interviews. The questionnaire was constructed of seventy-three questions, first in English and then translated into Korean. My primary data came from the questionnaires and supplemental data were collected using open-ended, in-depth interviews. These interviews enhanced my research because they enabled me to interact with the interviewees, giving me easy access

to observe their non-verbal behaviors and attitudes and to assess the validity of the respondents' answers. I was able to probe for more specific information relating directly to my hypothesis.

Delimitations

The study was limited to only Korean immigrants. It did not concern itself with other Asian immigrants. The study was also limited to Korean immigrants in the greater Chicago area; it did not deal with Korean immigrants throughout the U.S. The respondents were included only first generation Korean immigrants age 25 or older who came to the United States as adults, and who had lived at least five years in America, because those who are younger than age 25 and/or who lived less than five years in the United States have not had enough experiences; thus they are not qualified for this research. The respondents were categorized as Christians or non-Christians.

The Steps of Research Implementation

For this dissertation I conducted the research following these steps.

Sampling: Out of 33,465 Korean population, I compiled a master list of two thousand Korean households¹ as the

¹As I mentioned in Chapter I, the Korean American Association of the Greater Chicago area estimates that there are about 130,000 Koreans.

target sample from the Korean Community Directory of Chicago, 1990-91, issued by the Korean Association of Chicago, I also used six telephone directories (City of Chicago, Skokie-Evanston, Niles, Northbrook, Morton Grove, and Schaumburg) by looking for the common Korean surnames Kim, Park, Lee, Choi, Jung, Cho, Shin, and others. I also obtained a mailing list from Good Shepherd-Sang Dong Korean United Methodist Church of 50 names and addresses. I compared the list from Good Shepherd-Sangdong Korean United Methodist Church with the list compiled from the directories to eliminate duplicates. This composite list included 2000 names and addresses and was the initial sampling frame.

In order to achieve a balance of urban and suburban respondents I selected one thousand names from the city of Chicago and one thousand from suburban areas. I selected ten names from each page of various directories.

Approximately three weeks prior to the planned date for the mailing of questionnaires and conducting of interviews, I informed Chicago-area Korean residents of the nature of my prospective research and asked for their cooperation by means of three Korean daily newspapers. I also sent letters to the two thousand persons on the master list describing the purpose of my study and requesting their cooperation. In order to construct a sample delimited by age (over 25), length of stay in the United States (over five years), and religious preference (Christian or non-Christian), a return

postcard was included in the letter to these two thousand households asking their age, length of stay, and religious preference. This postcard asked that the names and information be given for any member of the household who was willing to respond to the questionnaire.

A total of 292 postcards were returned to me. Of those 292, 34 were disqualified for lack of address, two were disqualified because they were not Koreans, and eight were disqualified for having arrived in the USA less than five years ago. The total number of useable cards was 248. Of these 248, 39 were from households which included at least one person who was Buddhist (seven cards) or non-religious (32 cards). The remaining 209 cards were from households made up of Christians.

I also obtained membership lists from the Bultasa Korean Buddhist Temple and Won Buddhism of America and visited Korean restaurants and beauty parlors (all are located in north side of Chicago) and made a number of telephone inquiries in order to supplement the list of non-Christian Korean immigrants to ensure that Christians and non-Christians were more equally represented in the sample. Through this efforts I was able to obtain 29 additional names and addresses.

As the return postcards arrived and as I obtained names from other organizations, I compiled a list of 321 names and addresses. Questionnaires of 321 were sent by mail, 236 to

Christians (121 to females and 115 to males) and 85 to non-Christians (11 to female Buddhists, 15 to male Buddhists, 23 to female "non-religious" and 36 to male "non-religious"). I also delivered a number of surveys by hand to restaurants, beauty parlors, Buddhist temples, and Korean shops in the Albany Park area. A total of approximately 370 questionnaires was distributed.

The initial return of questionnaires appeared to be low, so I sent out a reminder letter to the recipients of the first mailing. Of the 370 surveys distributed, a total of 168 were eventually returned. Four surveys were returned "address unknown" by the post office (two Christians, two non-Christians). Thus 164 cases were qualified to be used as data.

I also selected and interviewed in depth ten persons from those who responded to the survey (five from Christian churches and five from non-Christian groups). The interviews were recorded on cassette tape and written notations were made. During the past two years, I have also visited five Korean bars and eleven Korean Immigrant Churches for the purpose of this study in the Chicago area, Peoria, Illinois, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Indianapolis, Indiana, and Kenosha, Wisconsin. The purpose of these visits was to compare the functions of bars and Korean Immigrant Churches by observing and interviewing bartenders, customers, pastors and lay persons (See Chapter VII under

the title of "Suggestions: Analysis of Korean Immigrant Church").

Results of the questionnaires, and transcripts and notes from the tape-recorded interviews were translated from Korean into English where necessary and entered into computer files. Documents were filed and indexed appropriately.

Questionnaire Design

The survey questionnaire was designed to ask the respondents in the selected sample questions from the following four major categories: (1) Korean immigrants' general demographic background, (2) the strength of their Korean identity, (3) the strength of their ethnic attachment, and (4) their church- or non-church-related activities.

Specifically, the questionnaire had 73 questions in all (see Appendix I). Among them, 34 were quantifiably-structured questions, and the remaining 39 were open-ended questions. For the former various forms of scales were used. A typical form of scale was a four-point scale as follows: definitely yes; somewhat yes, somewhat no; and definitely no.

These 73 questions were grouped into four sections. Section I included questions for general background variables such as gender, age, level of education, etc., and

some screening questions to differentiate Christians from non-Christians. Section II was only for Christian respondents who were asked a series of the Church-related questions. This section was designed to obtain answers about church participation (religiosity). Section III was limited to non-Christian respondents who were asked about non-religious organizational activities. Section IV was for both Christians and non-Christians, asking about assimilation efforts, relevant media use patterns and language use patterns, Korean identity concerns, etc.

CHAPTER V
THE ANALYSIS OF DATA

The major goal of this study was to determine the correlation between the social assimilation and religiosity of Korean immigrants by measuring the degree to which both attributes were present in the study participants and the attitudes of the participants toward religiosity and assimilation. The task was both descriptive and analytical in nature. The responses of Christians were compared with non-Christians and analyzed in terms of level of social assimilation, and looking for patterns in behaviors and feelings, to see whether involvement in the Korean immigrant church promoted or hindered assimilation into the United States society.

The data derived from the survey questionnaire were subjected to zero-order correlations, cross-tabulation, and a series of multiple regression analyses. The statistical software programs used to do the analysis were SPSS-X and SPSS/PC+. I completed two major multiple regression analyses: The first was the results of separate groups of Christians and non-Christians multiple regression (fifteen variables for each group were used), and the second one was

the results of a combined set of variables which measured organizational participation (church or non-church). A dummy variable was added to the second regression to indicate whether respondents were active in a Christian church. The second regression analysis used twelve variables including the dummy variable.

The unit of analysis was the first generation Korean immigrant individual: his/her ethnic and social identity and attachment, and religious attitude. Clearly, it is technically difficult to quantify and assess the degree of behaviors and attitudes, the ethnic identity or consciousness on the part of immigrants as a minority group. A variety of questions were used to address these issues. Some of these questions were as follows: "Do you want to go back to Korea to live some day?" "Do you feel that because you immigrated to America, you must actively learn the American way of life and associate mainly with Americans?" "Have you ever been ashamed of being Korean?"

By analyzing religious participation, I discovered how an individual's degree of religious participation was related to assimilation into the United States society; and by comparing it to the non-Christians' patterns in behavior and attitude toward the degree of assimilation, I was able to measure the degree and attitude towards social assimilation of Christians and non-Christians of the Korean immigrants.

Outline of Analysis

The issues addressed by this study can be boiled down to the following two questions: First, what are the factors contributing to relative assimilation among Korean immigrants? Second, what role does the Christian Church play in the assimilation process? Along with these two questions, the results of the quantitative analyses will also be discussed very shortly.

Key Points of the Assimilation Problems

Before discussing the actual analyses, it is important to highlight the key points of the assimilation problem and how they can be measured. It was assumed that assimilation would manifest itself four major ways: the use of the Korean or English language at home (S4_42), the use of the English language at work (S4_49), attention to American media, particularly in written form (S4_48A), and efforts to learn the American way of life by associating mainly with Americans (S4_66). These four elements of assimilation were used as dependent variables.

With this assumption, this study attempted to discover contributing factors to the four previously specified dependent phenomena. For this matter, the following four blocks of independent variables were used to define these factors: (1) "background" which includes three variables, gender (S1_01), age (S1_02), and length of residency in

America (S1_03); (2) "Korean identity" which is operationalized by two constructs, "feeling about Koreans changing their names to American names" (S4_54) and "being ashamed of being Korean" (S4_43); (3) "ethnic attachment" which is operationalized by three variables, "associating mainly with Koreans" (S4_44), "frequency of eating Korean food" (S4_65), and "wanting to go back to Korea" (S4_72); and (4) "organizational participation" which has three variables: "significance of church/non-religious organization involvement for living in US" (S2_19 and S3_33), "length of attending present church/non-religious organization" (S2_16 and S3_32), and "how active in church/non-religious organization" (S2_13 and S2_29).

It should be noted that although "gender" is a nominal (discontinuous) variable, it is treated as if it were a continuous variable for the purpose of the multiple regression analysis. Thus, male was assigned a "1" and female was assigned a "0".

While the first three groups of independent variables were commonly applied to both Christian immigrants and non-Christian immigrants, the fourth block of variables was differently made up. For the Christian group, the following three variables were used to measure the level of organizational participation: "the level of activity in religious organization" (S2_13), "length of attendance to the present organization" (S2_16), and "felt significance of

church involvement living in America" (S2_19). These three variables signify the church-related religious activity, so that they were termed as "religiosity" for purposes of this study. The conceptual counterpart of "religiosity" for the non-Christian group is "non-religious activity," which was operationalized by the following three variables: "the level of activity in non-religious organization" (S3_29), "length of attendance to the present non-religious organization" (S3_32), and "felt significance of non-religious organization while living in America" (S3_33).

Some Possible Explanatory Factors

Finally, in order to test the hypothetical expectations, it was necessary to measure relationships between the independent variable blocks and the dependent phenomena. As mentioned above, the working hypothesis of this study was that the immigrant church is dysfunctional to the assimilation process of Koreans to America. First, in the dependent phenomena, it was expected that assimilation entails speaking more English than Korean at home and at work (conversely speaking Korean less at home and at work), reading more American newspapers, and more actively learning the American way of life. Second, independent variable blocks should also predict assimilation efforts. Regarding this, three different blocks were considered separately.

First, in the background block, it was expected that

were born in Korea, the median age of the non-Christians was 43 years and the median age of the Christians was 46 years. The mode was a segment of people in their 40s. The second most important group is in their 30s. Since these two groups have the most active life experiences, their responses to the survey questionnaire are valuable sources for this investigation. The percent of respondents below 30 years of age was 6.1. As a whole, the ages ranged from 25 to 81.

The mean length of stay in the United States was 14.75 years (14 years for the non-Christian group and 15.5 years for the Christian group). Since the respondents' ages were limited to age 25 or older and the mean length of stay in America was 14.75 years, the average age of the respondents when they immigrated was about 31 years old. Considering that the majority of them came to the United States when they were in the age category of 28-39 years, it is safe to say the average Korean immigrant started their new life rather late in this strange land.

The great majority of individuals in my sample were married (94 percent of the non-Christian group and 90 percent of the Christian group); six percent and ten percent in each category respectively are single (which includes single by choice, divorce, or death). Interestingly, only two respondents' spouses were European-Americans.

The majority of respondents were educated up to college

level either in Korea or in America. More than half (Non-Christians: 60 percent; Christians: 51 percent) of the respondents, however, had already received college degrees in Korea before coming to America. This high level of education may be a dominant characteristic of Korean immigrants. Roughly one-fourth of the respondents (23 percent) have received some amount of education in the United States. Among those who studied in America, nearly half have received master degrees. Except for one female, none of the respondents went to elementary school in the United States.

Table 5.1
Some Demographic Characteristics of Respondents by Groups*

	Group 1 (N=117)	Group 2 (N=47)
Male	45	55
Median age	46 years	43 years
Mean years in US	15.5 years	14 years
Married (percentage)	90	94
Spouse Korean?	94% yes	92% yes
Schooling before arriving in the US	9% LT HS 33% HS 51% Coll. 8% P. Bacc.	4% LT HS 29% HS 60% Coll. 7% P. Bacc.

*Group 1 = Christians; Group 2 = Non-Christians

More than 50 percent of the respondents moved permanently to America during the period of 1971-1980. As is the case with other Asian ethnic groups, the period was the largest wave of Korean immigrants to reach the United

States came during this period (See table 5.3). Although the 1980 figures show a slight decline of immigration to America, the percentage of Korean immigrants is almost four times higher than that of groups who moved during the period of 1957 - 1970 (see Table 5.3). Two thirds (64 percent) of the respondents are U.S. citizens (not reported here in table form).

Table 5.2
Year Moved to America
(N=164)

	Percent
1957-1970	10.4
1971-1980	51.8
1981-1987	37.8
Total	100.0

Table 5.3
Satisfaction with Living in America
(N=164)

	Percent
Very satisfied	6.7
Somewhat satisfied	70.7
Somewhat dissatisfied	8.5
Very dissatisfied	11.6
Total	100.0

Table 5.4
Distribution of Gender
(N=164)

Gender	Percent
Male	48.2
Female	51.8
Total	100.0

Although one third of the respondents (34 percent) reported that they were treated badly in America because they were Koreans or minority group members, the majority of them were somewhat satisfied with American life (Table 5.2). In terms of gender distribution, table 5.4 indicates that female respondents were slightly more numerous than male.

Difference Between Mean Responses for Two Groups

In collecting data, Section II of the questionnaire contained questions which were only to be answered by survey respondents who participated in a Christian church in the United States. Section III included questions exclusively for by non-Christian respondents who participated in non-religious organizations.

Most of the questions in section II have analogues among the questions in section III of the questionnaire. For example, "How active are you in your religious

(Christian church) organization?" (QS2_13) and "How active are you in your non-religious organization?" (QS3_29) are corresponding questions. Another example of similarly related questions is "Is your church involvement significant for living in America?" (QS2_19) and "Is your non-religious organization significant for living in America?" (QS3_33).

For statistical analysis, a natural question to ask is whether or not the mean responses to these analogous questions differ. If they do, then this is evidence that Christians and non-Christians differ systematically. To answer this question t-tests were performed to find out whether or not the difference between the means of the two samples was statistically significant.

Table 5.5 exhibits the mean responses of the Christian group and the non-Christian group, t-value, and 2-tail probability. Group means are significantly different if the 2-tail probability is small (e.g., less than or equal to 0.05). For example, for the question concerning amount of activity in religious organizations or non-religious organization, the responses to question 13 (group 1) had a mean of 1.7928 and the responses to question 29 (group 2) had a mean of 1.7059. That is, the average activity level in a non-religious organization was between "very active" and "somewhat active" (closer to "somewhat active") for both Christians and non-Christians. The difference between 1.7928 and 1.7059 was not found to be statistically

different from zero as can be seen from the 2-tail probability of 0.589 which is much larger than 0.05.

In Table 5.5, the question of the "Homesickness factor in church or non-religious organization involvement"

Table 5.5
Differences between Mean Responses for Christians and Non-Christians (N=Christian: 111; Non-Christian: 37)

	Means		T-Value	2-Tail Prob.
	Group 1*	Group 2*		
How active in religious org./ non-rel. org. (S2_13 & S3_29)	1.7928	1.7059	0.54	0.589
How long attend church/ non-rel. org. (S2_16 & S3_32)	4.1441	4.3750	-.46	0.645
Signif. of church/ non-rel. org. involvement for living in USA (S2_19 & S3_33)	1.5413	1.9375	-2.02	0.046
Difficulty of living in USA w/o church/ non-rel. org. involvement (S2_20 & S3_34)	2.0000	2.3529	-1.76	0.051
How helpful church/ non-rel. org. involvement in adjustment to US society (S2_21 & S3_35)	2.1827	2.2500	-0.26	0.798
Homesickness factor in church/ non-rel. org. involvement (S2_23 & S3_37)	3.0818	2.5000	2.42	0.017

*Group 1 corresponds to the responses of Christians
Group 2 corresponds to the responses of non-Christians

has the smallest t-tail probability (0.017). This means that it is the most statistically significant response. This indicates that the Christians were less likely to acknowledge homesickness for Korea as a factor of their church involvement. The average of Christians' responses was "somewhat no," while the average of non-Christians' response was between "somewhat yes" and "somewhat no."

When respondents were asked to indicate how difficult it was to live in American society without their church or non-religious organization involvement, Table 5.5 reveals that the Christian group had a mean approval rating of 2.0000 while the non-Christian group had a mean approval rating of 2.3529 (the t-value is -1.76). The average of Christians' responses was "somewhat difficult," and the average of non-Christians' answers was between "somewhat difficult" and "not difficult at all," but closer to "somewhat difficult." As the 2-tail probability (0.051) shows, the difference between the two groups is rather significant. That is, Christians are somewhat more attached to the Korean immigrant church than non-Christians are to their organization and their religious participation is fairly important to them as they seek to live their lives in American society.

When the respondents were asked whether homesickness for Korea was a factor in their involvement in their organizations, Table 5.5 indicates that the Christian group

had a mean approval rating of 3.0818 while the non-Christian group had a mean approval rating of 2.5000 (the t-value is 2.42). This means that the average of the responses from Christians was "somewhat no," and the average of answers from non-Christians was between "somewhat yes" and "somewhat no." The 2-tail probability (0.017) indicates that the average responses between two groups are positive and significant. Non-Christians tend to admit the fact that homesickness for Korea has been somewhat of a factor in their organizational involvement, but the Christian group is reluctant to acknowledge homesickness as a contributing factor.

Table 5.5 demonstrates that four combined variables out of six are not significantly different between two groups. That is, Christians and non-Christians are equally active in their organizations; the length of time attending the two groups is comparable; and their feelings of organizational significance and assistance for living in American society are similar in their answers.

Contributing Factors to Assimilation

In order to find contributing factors, three blocks of independent variables (background, Korean identity, and ethnic attachment) were subject to multiple regression analysis for each of four dependent variables (using more English than Korean at home, using English at work, reading

American newspapers, and learning American ways of life). Accordingly, twelve multiple regression analyses were performed for both the Christian and the non-Christian groups. In order to show how the two groups of Korean immigrants are different or similar in terms of assimilation patterns, the results of the block-by-block multiple regression analyses will be presented in the same diagram as long as the results were statistically meaningful. If the results were not statistically significant, they will not be reported in the diagram, but will be discussed in the text.

Using More English Than Korean at Home

Table 5.6 presents the results of multiple regression analyses performed for "using more English at home" by using three background variables, namely "length of residency," "gender," and "age." The results for the Christian group and the non-Christian group are presented side-by-side in the same table.

As for the Christian group, the three independent variables together accounted for 31 percent of the variance at the .000 level. There are two best predictors in the background block: length of residency ($\beta = .488^{***}$) and age ($\beta = -.378^{***}$). Using the English language at home rather than Korean increased proportionally by "length of residency." This positive relationship between the preference for English over Korean and length of residency

in America confirms what was expected in the earlier section. The negative relationship between "use more English at home" and "age" indicates that older respondents were using more Korean than English at home. This is quite understandable because older people are less proficient in the English language, when we control for length of US residence.

Table 5.6
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Using more English at Home"
by Background Variables

	Christians (n=111)	non-Christians (n=37)
	beta	beta
Length of residency	.488***	.670*
Gender	.049	.110
Age	-.378***	-.131
R-squared:	.309***	.375+

+ Significant at .10 level
* = $p < .05$
*** = $p < .001$

Regarding the non-Christian group, the three independent variables together explained 38 percent of the variance in the dependent variable at the .10 level. The "length of residency" was the best predictor (beta=.670*). As with the Christian group, respondents who lived for a longer period of time in America used more of the English

language than Korean at home.

In summary, for the Christian group, "length of residency" and "age" played a significant roles on a dimension of the assimilation which is the use of English (rather than Korean) at home. In contrast, for the non-Christian group, "length of residency" is the only significant predictor. For both groups, "gender" did not have any predictive power.

Table 5.7 reports the results of multiple regression analyses performed for "using more English at home" by using two Korean identity variables. A multiple regression analysis for the non-Christian group failed to produce statistically significant results.

As for the Christian group, 6 percent of the variance in the dependent variable were accounted for by two identity variables at .05 level. Approval of changing Korean names into English names had a statistically significant positive beta weight ($\beta = .215^*$). Christian respondents who tended to approve changing Korean names into English ones used more English than their mother tongue at home. This suggests that to approve changing Korean names into exotic foreign names may be one of the first steps of assimilation. During the Japanese occupation before World War II, many Koreans were jailed for vehemently refusing to change their names in the Japanese fashion. The changing of Korean names into English names should be considered a sign of erosion of the

Table 5.7
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Using more English at Home"
by Korean Identity Variables

	Christians (n=111)	non-Christians (n=37)
	beta	beta
Ashamed of being Korean	.076	n.s.
Approve Changing names	.215*	n.s.
R-squared:	.058*	n.s.

* = p<.05

Table 5.8
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Using more English at Home"
by Ethnic Attachment Variables

	Christians (n=111)	non-Christians (n=37)
	beta	beta
Wanting to go back to Korea	-.065	.293
Getting along with Koreans	-.109	-.703**
Eating Korean food	-.432***	-.474*
R-squared:	.223***	.569**

* = p<.05

** = p<.01

*** = p<.001

the Korean identity.

Table 5.8 reports the results of multiple regression analyses performed for "using more English at home" by three ethnic attachment variables. For the Christian group, the three ethnic attachment variables jointly accounted for 22 percent of the variance in the dependent variable at the .000 level. Among the three variables, only "eating Korean food" was the best predictor (beta=-.432***).

Regarding the non-Christian group, the three ethnic attachment variables accounted for 57 percent of the variance in the dependent variable at the .01 level. There were two best predictors: "associating mainly with Koreans" (S4_44; beta=-.703**), and "eating Korean food" (beta=-.474*).

Both Christian and non-Christian respondents who tended to eat Korean food less regularly used more English than Korean at home. This strongly suggests that eating habits and language use are closely tied. This strong positive relationship suggests that maintaining Korean eating habits hampers assimilation for both Christian and non-Christian immigrants.

For non-Christian respondents, there was one other factor which hampers the assimilation process. That is, a negative relationship exists between "getting along mainly with Koreans" and "use of English at home." Associating mainly with Koreans obviously entails using the Korean

language, significantly reducing the tendency to use the English language at home, but less so for Christians.

Speaking English at Work

Using English at home and speaking English at work are somewhat related, and are yet two distinctive acts. Using English at home is for practicing a foreign language for the purpose of assimilation. It may even be pleasurable. By contrast, speaking English at work is necessary and essential to earning a living, an act which is more serious or even stressful. Unless immigrants are hired by employers who speak their language, proficiency in the English language is a factor for survival in the workplace. In fact, the correlation is so strong, that factors contributing to this dependent variable may be taken as good indicators of the immigrants' assimilation into the American work force.

Table 5.9 reports the results of multiple regression analyses performed on "speaking English at work" by using three background variables. A multiple regression analysis for the non-Christian group failed to produce any meaningful results.

For the Christian group, the three independent variables accounted for 10 percent of the variance at the .01 level. Only "length of residency in America" was a significant predictor ($\beta = .324^{**}$). There was a direct

positive relationship between the "length of residency" and "speaking English at work," suggesting that speaking English is a requisite for the assimilation process.

Table 5.9
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Speaking English at Work"
by Background Variables

	Christians (n=111)	non-Christians (n=37)
	<u>beta</u>	<u>beta</u>
Length of residency	.324**	n.s.
Gender	-.001	n.s.
Age	-.126	n.s.
R-squared:	.101**	n.s.

** = $p < .01$

Speaking English at work by Korean identity block (Ever Ashamed of Being Korean and Feelings About Changing Names) failed to produce meaningful results for both Christian (beta=-.039; $p < .689$ and beta=.045; $p < .645$) and non-Christian (beta=.113; $p < .685$ and beta=.324; $p < .258$) groups. Therefore, the results are not shown.

Table 5.10 reports the results of multiple regression analyses for "speaking English at work" by using three ethnic attachment variables. For the Christian group, 9 percent of the variance in the dependent variable was explained by the ethnic attachment variables. Among the

three ethnic attachment variables, only "eating Korean food" was a significant predictor ($\beta = -.257^{**}$).

Table 5.10
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Speaking English at Work"
by Ethnic Attachment Variables

	Christians (n=111)	non-Christians (n=37)
	<u>beta</u>	<u>beta</u>
Wanting to go back to Korea	-.099	.404
Getting along with Koreans	.088	-.531*
Eating Korean food	-.257**	-.633*
R-squared:	.089*	.485*

* = $p < .05$
** = $p < .01$

As for the non-Christian group, the three ethnic attachment variables together explained 49 percent of the variance in the dependent variable at the .05 level. There were two significant predictors: "getting along with Koreans" ($\beta = -.531^*$), and "eating Korean food" ($\beta = -.633^*$). They were negative and significant, which predictors were much more powerful than for the Christian group's variables.

For both Christian and non-Christian respondents, "eating Korean food" was negatively related to "speaking English at work," implying that sticking to old eating

habits hampers the assimilation process. For the sake of the work place, Koreans think that they should not eat spicy Korean food. Korean food is heavily spiced with garlic, so many Koreans feel self-conscious about their breath after eating Korean food, therefore, they refrain from eating Korean food before going to work. For example, Rev. Jang reports that he never eats spicy Korean food (especially "kimchi" and "Den-Jang-Chee-Ge"²) before preaching in a Caucasian church. If he does eat something spicy, he brushes his teeth and uses mouthwash before going to the church. Many Koreans are sensitive in this way about the effects of their dietary habits on the people with whom they come into contact. Food is one of the most important factors influencing the assimilation effort. In the early stages of Korean immigration history, some people actually returned to Korea mainly because of the difficulty associated with their dietary habits. The above data show that even the settled immigrants take precautions for the work-place by refraining from eating Korean food. Most Koreans can understand what this effort means. They are trying to hold on to their ethnicity but they are afraid of being stereotyped because of the smell, so they deny themselves the pleasure of eating their ethnic foods.

In case of the non-Christian group, there was one more

²This is one of the typical Korean traditional soup which is mainly made of soy bean paste and garlic.

negative factor hampering the assimilation. That is, "getting along mainly with Koreans" also hampered assimilation in that it seems to go hand-in-hand with "eating Korean food," both jointly reducing the chance of speaking English at work. Some people, including non-Christians, visit a Korean immigrant churches because they can occasionally eat Korean food together with fellow Koreans. Mr. Park's so-called "theology of the stomach" may apply here. Korean people share joy and sorrow together with fellow Koreans through and by eating together. On the one hand, food is a catalyst for cohesion among Korean immigrants. On the other hand, food is an obstacle to assimilation into the American culture of bland food with virtually no smell. This vividly demonstrates one scene of the assimilation profile.

In sum, Korean immigrants' dietary habit and their socialization are two major detrimental factors to the assimilation process. Nevertheless, those who survived in American workplaces are surviving by taking precautionary measures against their eating habit.

Reading American Newspapers

Reading American newspapers is typically an internal activity and a significant part of a self-imposed lesson for learning about many aspects of the host culture.

Table 5.11 reports the results of multiple regression

analyses performed on this activity by using three background variables. For the Christian group, 25 percent of the variance was accounted for by the three variables at the .001 level. "Length of residency" (beta=.373***) and "age" (beta=-.439***) were the best predictors.

Table 5.11
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Reading American Newspapers"
by Background Variables

	Christians (n=111)	non-Christians (n=37)
	<u>beta</u>	<u>beta</u>
Length of residency	.373***	.661*
Gender	-.116	.223
Age	-.439***	-.052
R-squared:	.245***	.459*

* = p.05
**** = p<.001

In the non-Christian group, the three variables accounted for 46 percent of the variance at the .05 level. There was only one significant predictor, "length of residency" (beta=.661*).

For both groups, the "length of residency" was positively related to reading American newspapers. Willingness to stay longer in America usually involves reading American newspapers, and is viewed as a must for

eventually settling in America. "Age" was negatively related to reading English newspapers, simply implying that older respondents are less proficient at reading English.

Table 5.12 presents the results of multiple regression analyses performed for "reading American newspapers" by using two Korean identity variables. A multiple regression analysis performed for the non-Christian group failed to produce significant results.

Table 5.12
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Reading American Newspapers"
by Korean Identity Variables

	Christians (n=111)	non-Christians (n=37)
	beta	beta
Ashamed of being Korean	.223*	n.s.
Approve Changing names	.052	n.s.
R-squared:	.057*	n.s.

* = $p < .05$

For the Christian group, the two Korean identity variables together explained 6 percent of the variance at the .05 level. "Ashamed of being Korean" (beta=.223*) was the best predictor for "reading American newspapers." This indicates that respondents whose feelings of being ashamed

of being Korean was stronger tended to read American newspapers. This may suggest that those whose Korean identity crumbles internally in their minds are more motivated to the assimilation. Reading American newspapers is an indication of such a motivation.

Table 5.13 reports the results of multiple regression analyses performed on "reading American newspapers" by using three ethnic attachment variables. In the Christian group, the three independent variables accounted for 15 percent of the variance at the .001 level. "Eating Korean food" was a statistically significant predictor ($\beta = -.324^{***}$). "Getting along mainly with Koreans" was only marginally significant ($\beta = -.155$) at the .10 level.

In the non-Christian group, the three variables accounted for 68 percent of the variance at the .01 level. There were two significant predictors: "getting along mainly with Koreans" ($\beta = -.687^{**}$) and "eating Korean food" ($\beta = -.552^{**}$). They were more stronger and powerful indications than for the Christian group, which means that for the non-Christians the ethnic organization participation seems to be a refuge. In other words, the Korean immigrant church is the least antagonistic for assimilation; however, other Korean organizations are more antagonistic.

For both groups, eating Korean food was negatively related to reading American newspapers. The same negative relationship existed between "getting along mainly with

Table 5.13
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Reading American Newspapers"
by Ethnic Attachment Variables

	Christians (n=111)	non-Christians (n=37)
	beta	beta
Wanting to go back to Korea	-.034	.191
Getting along with Koreans	-.155+	-.687**
Eating Korean food	-.324***	-.552**
R-squared:	.145***	.682**

+ Significant at .10 level
** = p<.01
*** = p<.001

Koreans" and "reading American newspapers." One may readily imagine that those who frequently socialize with other Korean immigrants by eating Korean food together may have not enough chance or even desire to read American newspapers. Social cohesion and dietary habit together are clear obstacles to the assimilation process. I heard that newly arrived Korean immigrants, especially Korean students who came to America to study, tend to avoid spending time with other Koreans in order to practice speaking English. If you meet Koreans too often, your English might not improve or you could forget English! The same is also true for the students who came to America for their graduate studies. Their motto is, "If you want to learn English as

quickly as possible, don't meet Koreans at least for the time being!" Once you meet a Korean, it is very likely that you will eat Korean food together, thereby loosening the tension felt for assimilation. These examples are rather exceptional. The present data show that the majority of the respondents were significantly hampered by eating habit and socialization among Korean immigrants.

Learning the American Ways of Life

All three multiple regression analyses performed on "learning American ways of life" by using all independent variable blocks failed to produce statistically significant results. Although a table has not presented, there is one thing to be mentioned. That is, "eating Korean food" ($\beta = -.620^*$) had a significant negative impact on "Learning American ways of life." Once again, maintaining dietary habits was found to be a major obstacle to the assimilation process.

Overall Models of Multiple Regression for Two Groups

Thus far, the assimilation patterns have been examined by applying multiple regression analysis block-by-block to each dependent variable. In order to obtain more comprehensive multiple regression models of the assimilation process for both Christian immigrants and non-Christian immigrants, four full multiple regression analyses were

performed on each group by using four dependent variables. This time, all twelve independent variables plus three dependent variables were subjected to multiple regression analysis for each of the four dependent variables. If select variables do not appear in the following tables, it should be assumed that they are variables that failed to enter into the equation, that is, failed to achieve significance.

By allowing other measures of assimilation to enter the equations, I am testing the interrelatedness of the measures of assimilation; and whether the different types of independent variables can contribute above and beyond these other aspects of assimilation.

Tables 5.14 through 5.16 report the results of the full multiple regression analyses. One thing should be pointed out at the outset. That is, a step-wise multiple regression analysis predicting "Learning American way of life" failed because all independent variables failed to enter the equation at .05 level.

Step-wise multiple regression analysis was used to find contributing factors to the assimilation process. Step-wise multiple regression allows the independent variables to enter the regression equation at a given level of significance (the PIN level used was .05).

Table 5.14 presents a multiple regression model for "using more English than Korean at home." For the Christian

group, the model explained 43 percent of the variance in the dependent variable. Four predictors successfully entered into an equation: reading American newspapers (beta=.280***), eating Korean food (beta=-.223**), length of residency (beta=.311***), and age (beta=-.218**).

Table 5.14
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Using more English at Home"

	Christians (n=111)		non-Christians (n=17)	
	<u>r</u>	<u>beta</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>beta</u>
Reading American Newspapers	.511	.280***	.870	.870***
Eating Korean food	-.456	-.223**	-	-
Length of Residency	.411	.311***	-	-
Age	-.268	-.218**	-	-
R-squared:	.430***		.757***	

** = p<.01

*** = p<.001

As for the non-Christian group, only one predictor entered into the equation, explaining 76 percent of the variance in the dependent variable. The predictor was "reading American newspapers" (beta=.870***).

Interpretations of these predictors have already been provided and will not be repeated here. However, one point deserves an additional remark. "Reading American newspaper" was positively related to "using more English language at

home." Conversely, it implies, reading American newspapers is negatively related to using more Korean at home. These statements apply to both Christian and non-Christian groups. It seems to be that speaking in English and reading English material go hand-in-hand in the assimilation process. Nevertheless, speaking Korean at home may be a refuge for Korean immigrants.

Table 5.15 presents a multiple regression model for "speaking English at work." The results of two multiple regression analyses were put together. Among three tables for "speaking English at work," this table illustrates a remarkably different profile of the assimilation patterns around the same dependent phenomenon.

For the Christian group, two variables, namely "reading American newspapers" ($\beta = .367^{****}$) and "length of residency" ($\beta = .203^*$), explained 21 percent of the variance in "speaking in English at work" at the .001 level. None of these variables could enter into the equation of the non-Christian group.

For the non-Christian group, a different set of the following three predictors accounted for 91 percent of the variance in the same dependent variable at the .001 level: "learning American ways of life" ($\beta = .703^{***}$), "using more English at home" ($\beta = .490^{***}$), and "gender" ($\beta = .358^{***}$).

There is a positive relationship between "learning

Table 5.15
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Speaking English at Work"

	Christians (n=111)		non-Christians (n=37)	
	<u>r</u>	<u>beta</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>beta</u>
Reading American Newspapers	.441	.367***	-	-
Length of Residency	.312	.203*	-	-
Learning American way of life	-	-	.699	.703***
Using English at home	-	-	.611	.490***
Gender	-	-	.342	.358***
R-squared:	.213***		.914***	

* Significant at .05 level
*** Significant at .001 level

American way of life" and "speaking English at work." There is also a positive relationship between "using more English at home" and "speaking English at work." These positive relationships affirm what ought to accompany the assimilation process. "Gender" has a positive relationship with "speaking English at work," meaning that male respondents tend to speak more English at work than females do, and that non-Christian males are more active in the assimilation process.

Finally, table 5.16 presents a multiple regression model for "reading American newspapers." For the Christian

Table 5.16
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting
"Reading American Newspapers"

	Christians (n=111)		non-Christians (n=37)	
	<u>r</u>	<u>beta</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>beta</u>
Using English at home Speaking English at work	.510	.337***	.870	.870***
Gender	-.344	-.220**	-	-
Ashamed of being Korean	.233	.177*	-	-
R-squared:	.416***		.757***	

* = p<.05
** = p<.01
*** = p.001

group, the following four predictors jointly explained 42 percent of the variance in "reading American newspapers" at the .001 level: "using more English at home" (beta=.337***), "speaking English at work" (beta=.308***), "gender" (beta=-.220**), and "ashamed of being Korean" (beta=.177*).

In case of the non-Christian group, only one predictor, "using more English at home" (beta=.870***), explains 76 percent of the variance in "reading American newspapers" at the .001 level.

"Using more English at home" is common to both groups, and its positive relationship with "reading American newspapers" suggests that language habits are a major factor

for successful assimilation.

Regarding the Christian group, there are three more predictors for "reading American newspapers." For obvious reason, "speaking English at work" is positively related to "reading American newspapers." As explained earlier, a positive relationship between "ashamed of being Korean" and "reading American newspapers" implies that the assimilation process accompanies the erosion of Korean identity in a significant way. A negative beta of "gender" (i.e., $\beta = -.220^{**}$) indicates that females are more active readers of American newspapers than males. This also suggests that the Christian female respondents tend to be active newspaper readers who may take newspaper reading as a way of cultural assimilation to America. This aspect can be contrasted with non-Christian males who tend to speak English at work more than non-Christian females do.

I indeed found that for three of the aspects of assimilation, the best predictors were how assimilated people were on other dimensions. Only a handful of the independent variables ("Length of residency," "Age," "Ashamed of being Korean," and "Gender") show up, which were statistically significant, either positively or negatively.

Roles of the Korean Immigrant Church

The key objective of this section is to assess the significance of the role played by the Korean immigrant

church in the assimilation process of Korean immigrants. Specifically, this assessment requires to see how religiosity variables are related to the assimilation variables. Since religiosity variables were used only for the Christian respondents, the analysis in this section applies only to the Christian group.

A series of hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed using the same set of variables which were used for previous multiple regression analyses plus religiosity variables. Hierarchical multiple regression nicely meets the goal of this study which is to investigate the hypothesized impact of religiosity on assimilation. In order to detect such an impact, hierarchical multiple regression analysis was repeatedly performed for four dependent variables: (1) "using more English than Korean at home" (S4_42), (2) "speaking English at work" (S4_49), (3) "reading American newspapers" (S4_48A), and (4) "learning American ways of life" (S4_66).

For each of these four dependent variables, two kinds of independent variables were entered in fixed order: (1) three blocks of control variables, and (2) one block of treatment variables. Three blocks of control variables were (1) background variables (namely, gender, age, and length of residency in America), (2) identity variables (namely, ashamed of being Korean, and feeling about changing names), and (3) ethnic attachment variables (namely, getting along

mainly with Koreans, eating Korean food, wanting to go back to Korea). The treatment block has three religiosity variables -- namely, activeness in religious organization, length of attendance to the present religious organization, and significance of church involvement for living in America.

In order for the treatment block to have significant impact on the dependent variable, variance accounted for by this block should be statistically significant even after variances were taken up by the three control blocks (Pedhazur, 1982). This means that what the treatment block explains is above and beyond the variance accounted for by the control blocks. If this is the case for the religious block, one may draw a compelling conclusion that the religious block has impact on assimilation. In short, the major focus should be placed on how much and in what way the variables in the last block contribute to explaining the dependent phenomenon.

As mentioned previously, hierarchical multiple regression analysis was performed repeatedly on each of four dependent variables. Among four analyses, three were successful. The failed analysis was about "learning American way of life." Regarding the three successful analyses, in-depth explanations are in order.

Table 5.17 reports the results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis performed for the dependent

Table 5.17
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis
 Predicting "Using more English at Home"
 The Christian Group (n=111)

	<u>r</u>	<u>beta</u>
Background Block		
Length of residency	.409***	.373***
Gender	.169*	.077
Age	-.267**	-.260**
Identity Block		
Ashamed of being a Korean	.115	.092
About changing names	.229*	.068
Ethnic Attachment Block		
Getting along with Koreans	-.155*	-.058
Eating Korean food	-.456***	-.299***
Wanting to go back home	-.147+	-.002
Religiosity Block		
Significance of church involvement to live in America	-.048	-.019
Length of church attendance	-.033	-.154+
Activeness in the church	.047	.060
Accumulative R-square after Each Block:		
Background Block :	.309***	
Identity Block :	.318***	
Ethnic Attachment Block :	.391***	
Religiosity Block :	.413***	
Total Variance Accounted For :	.413***	
+ Significant at .10 level * = p<.05 ** = p<.01 *** = p<.001		

variable of "using more English at home." Because of the inclusion of religiosity variables, the results of the analyses performed for the first three block are different from the analyses performed for individual blocks which were presented earlier.

The first block (background variables) had significant effect on the dependent variable, explaining 31 percent of the variance at the .001 level. There were two statistically significant predictors in this block, namely, "length of residency" ($\beta = .373^{***}$) and "age" ($\beta = -.260^{**}$). The same interpretations for these two best predictors as given in an earlier section for the same dependent variable apply here, so they will not be repeated here.

Adding the second block increases the explained variance to 32 percent at the .001 level. However, there is no statistically significant predictor in this block. Although this second block added 1 percent to variance explained, none of the predictors in this block had a statistically significant beta weight.

The third block adds to the explained variance in dependent variable. Including this block, 39 percent of the variance was accounted for at the .001 level. "Eating Korean food" ($\beta = -.299^{***}$) was the only significant predictor for "using more English at home."

The religiosity block added to the explained variance

in the dependent variable, that is, adding only 2 percent to the explained variance, explaining 41 percent at the .001 level. This last block has a predictor, namely "length of church attendance" ($\beta = -.154$) which is statistically significant, but only at the .10 level. Setting aside the "repetitiveness" problem, the fact that the religiosity block did not have any significant predictor may suggest that for Christians religiosity had no substantial effect on the assimilation process as far as "using more English than Korean at home" is concerned.

Table 5.18 presents the results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis for "speaking English at work." The background block accounted for 10 percent of the variance at the .01 level. The "length of residency" was the best predictor ($\beta = .290^{**}$). The longer the immigrants lived in America, the more they used English at work.

The identity block and the ethnic attachment block had no statistically significant predictors. The identity block increased the variance accounted for from 10 percent to 11 percent at the .01 level.

The religiosity block increased the amount of variance accounted to 22 percent at the .01 level. Two predictors exist in this block: "significance of church involvement to live in America" ($\beta = .227^{**}$) and "activeness in the church" ($\beta = -.225^{*}$). That the former predictor had a

Table 5.18
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis
 Predicting "Speaking English at Work"
 The Christian Group (n=111)

	r	beta
Background Block		
Length of residency	.294***	.290**
Gender	-.070	-.070
Age	-.050	-.130
Identity Block		
Ashamed of being a Korean	-.031	-.027
About changing names	.038	-.072
Ethnic Attachment Block		
Getting along with Koreans	.062	.149
Eating Korean food	-.267*	-.142
Wanting to go back home	-.150	-.128
Religiosity Block		
Significance of church involvement to live in America	.213**	.227**
Length of church attendance	.076	-.019
Activeness in the church	-.035	-.225*
Accumulative R-square after Each Block:		
Background Block :	.101**	
Identity Block :	.106*	
Ethnic Attachment Block :	.148*	
Religiosity Block :	.217**	
Total Variance Accounted For :	.217**	

* = p<.05
 ** = p<.01
 *** = p<.001

=====

positive beta weight appears to contradict the expectation. The expectation articulated in the working hypothesis was that the immigrant church is dysfunctional in the assimilation process. The latter had a negative beta, generally pointing to the same direction of the working hypothesis.

At the first glance, two contradictory tendencies exist in the religiosity block. Reconciling these two opposing tendencies within the framework of the working hypothesis is of crucial importance. It seems to be that reconciliation is rather simple. A question, "Is your church involvement significant for living in America?", was intended to measure more or less at the "feelings" dimension. Or the respondents might provide a positive response to this question out of normative expectation of what a Korean immigrant church ought to do. Or, there might be two different images of America in the minds of the respondents. One is America to which the respondents are supposed to aggressively assimilate (America "out there" which has lots of uncertainty). The other is America, part of which is rather diffused into the premise of the Korean immigrant church where the respondents already feel comfortable because it is more like part of Korea than America (internalized America, or surrogate of Korea).

It is unclear to which image of America the subjects in the study responded. If the positive beta weight can be

attributed to respondents giving affirmative answer to the first image, then the Korean immigrant church is functional insofar as this particular dimension of assimilation (i.e., "speaking English at work") is concerned. However, if the positive beta weight is attributed to respondents giving affirmative answer to the second image (chances are that the subjects in this study probably responded in this sense), then their responses are a sort of self-serving one, making this predictor less compelling. It is less compelling because the Korean immigrant church is helping itself by providing psychological refuge for the immigrants rather than helping people be more aggressive about the assimilation process. And yet, if this is the case, it is fair to say the Korean church is dysfunctional for their assimilation. However, the church is the least antagonistic for assimilation; it actually helps them survive in the tough and strange land. In sum, this particular predictor of "significance of church involvement" with a positive beta is indicative of ethnic cohesiveness promoted by the Korean church.

There is one other dimension on which the two seemingly contradictory tendencies can be reconciled. It is the dimension of ambivalence. Even granted that the predictor of "significance of church involvement" with a positive beta literally meant what it signifies, such a response may not be in good agreement with a response to a question with

behavioral overtones. The predictor of "activeness in the church" is such a question. "How active are you in your religious organization?" was the original question. That kind of response to this question has to come from "lived" experience, which is characteristically different from "felt" experience. The former is closer to the fact than the latter. As the table shows, the response was a significant beta weight with a negative sign (i.e., $\beta = -.225^*$). (Moreover, the dependent variable, "speaking English at work", also has behavioral overtones.) The predictor of "activeness in the church" had a negative relationship with the dependent variable. This clearly shows that the Korean church is dysfunctional to this particular dimension of the assimilation.

The ambivalence, then, is the Korean immigrant church appears to help people assimilate but in actuality it does not. I assume that the Korean church may not be doing what it can do in terms of the assimilation. So respondents might have ambivalent feeling about the Korean immigrant church. To many Korean immigrants, Christian or non-Christian, the Korean immigrant church is more or less a social club, or even worse, a kind of church entrepreneurship which has nothing to do with the believers' spirituality. After all, one may draw a conclusion that the religiosity block has a substantial impact on the assimilation and the nature of impact indicates the

dysfunctional aspect of the Korean immigrant church.

Table 5.19 presents the results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis of "reading American newspapers." The background block accounted for 25 per cent of the variance in the dependent variable at the .001 level. In this block, two predictors -- "length of residency" (beta=.236*) and "age" (beta=-.417***) -- are statistically significant. There is one more marginally significant predictor, namely, "gender" (beta=-.166+). "The length of residency" predictor suggests that the longer the immigrants stayed in America, the more they read American newspapers for the obvious reason. The "age" predictor with a negative beta weight suggests that the older the immigrants are, the less "reading of American newspapers." This is partly because the older immigrants are less proficient in English reading. Perhaps older immigrants may have not enough time to read English newspapers. The "gender" predictor also had a negative beta weight, suggesting that male respondents read newspapers less than their female counterpart.

The Korean identity block contributed to the increment in the variance accounted for. Up through this block, 28 percent of the variance was accounted for. "Ashamed of being a Korean" had a statistically significant positive beta weight (beta=.180*).

The third block of ethnic attachment block variables added to the variance explained. The three blocks jointly

Table 5.19
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis
 Predicting "Reading American Newspapers"
 The Christian Group (n=111)

	r	beta
Background Block		
Length of residency	.248*	.236*
Gender	-.014	-.166+
Age	-.344***	-.417***
Identity Block		
Ashamed of being a Korean	.233**	.180*
About changing names	.093	-.104
Ethnic Attachment Block		
Getting along with Koreans	-.189*	-.086
Eating Korean food	-.347	-.188*
Wanting to go back home	-.095	-.147
Religiosity Block		
Significance of church involvement to live in America	.139+	.150+
Length of church attendance	.159*	.158+
Activeness in the church	-.042	-.110
Accumulative R-square after Each Block:		
Background Block :	.245***	
Identity Block :	.280***	
Ethnic Attachment Block :	.340***	
Religiosity Block :	.382***	
Total Variance Accounted For :	.382***	
+ Significant at .10 level * = p<.05 ** = p<.01 *** = p<.001		

accounted for 34 percent of the variance. The major boost in the variance accounted for came from the best predictor, "eating Korean food" ($\beta = -.188^*$).

When combined with the three previous blocks, the religiosity block accounted for 38 percent of the variance in the dependent variable at the .001 level. The religiosity block had two marginally significant predictors for "reading American newspapers." They were "significance of church involvement to live in America" ($\beta = .150^+$) and "length of the church attendance" ($\beta = .158^+$). These predictors suggest that prolonged church attendance and awareness of the significance of this activity gradually awakens the importance of reading American newspapers. Such an awakening may be considered as being functional to the assimilation. However, it is understandable that such a function performed by the Korean church is simply marginal one.

In summary, the following conclusions can be made. First of all, it should be noticed that hierarchical multiple regression analysis predicting "learning American way of life" failed. To put this failure in the context of the dysfunctionality of the Korean immigration church, it does not mean that the Korean church had no significant role in Korean immigrants' assimilation efforts. Three successful hierarchical multiple regression analyses revealed complex ways in which the Korean immigrant church

interacts with the process of assimilation.

Second, what the results of the other successful hierarchical multiple regression analyses revealed was that the Korean immigrant church plays double functions. That is to say, At best it is the source of ambivalence. While the church provides the occasions for socialization, it hampers the assimilation process on several dimensions such as eating habit and language habit of the older people or even Korean identity. The Korean church does not help people break these habits for the sake of the assimilation, but on the contrary it helps people remain in the old habits. Such a function may be functional to those who want to stick to the Korean way of life. The Korean church indeed is a place where one may soothe his/her homesickness and get energy to survive to live in the strange land.

More importantly, activeness in the church had a definitive negative impact on "speaking English at work." To the immigrants, language of the host country counts for everything in their real lives. The Korean church does not extend a helping hand in this area. Rather, it is a place of embarrassment. More often than not older generation immigrants are despised or are looked down upon their offspring who are far more proficient in English. To the older generation immigrants, this is at least a passing scene of the present Korean immigrant church. To younger generation immigrants such as second generation, as I

observed and talked to them,³ the Korean church is also a place of frustration, because the main church service is conducted in Korean which is difficult for most young people. Simultaneous translation of the worship service is usually available in large Korean immigrant churches. However, the translator usually has a Korean accent which young people do not like to hear. Generally speaking, the Korean church is a place of conflict and ambivalence for people regardless of their age or other background. Socialization still goes on among people who visit the Korean church, but it seems to build an inwardly recoiling psychological refuge which has little to do with the assimilation.

Overall, the data produced by the previous analyses validate the working hypothesis of this study. The Korean immigrant church is a dysfunctional part of the so-called American melting pot. The data do not provide any hint regarding whether this aspect is a consequence of the conscious effort or not. At the minimum, it is clearly not an integrative force for the assimilation. Its major role is to provide an opportunity for socializing and a

³I have observed and interviewed with 1.8 and 2.0 generation Korean students (see the definition in Chapter VIII) for two years as I served part-time education pastor at Good Shepherd-Sangdong Korean United Methodist Church, Park Ridge, Illinois. While I was the director of Asian Center at Garrett-Evangelical Seminary, I also conducted three College Student Summer Retreats in 1990, 1991 and 1992 for Korean-American college students in Chicago area Korean churches.

psychological refuge. The need for psychological refuge clearly raises sociological concerns for both the Korean community as well as the host country. That is, should the Korean immigrant church be a promoter of assimilation or should it protect people against assimilation?

Final Multiple Regression Results for Combined Groups

The first multiple regression analyses were performed keeping the Christian and non-Christian groups separate. The above findings were based on those results. A further multiple regression was performed combining the Christian and non-Christian groups, to which was added a dummy variable for activity or non-activity in a Christian church. This section presents the findings of this combined multiple regression.

In this final multiple regression analysis the same 11 continuous independent variables used previously were used again. One dummy independent variable, CHRIST, was also included. The first 8 of these independent variables (S1_01 - S4_72) are simply the responses to questions 1, 2, 3, 43, 44, 54, 65, and 72 as given by the respondents. The next three independent variables (Q13-29 - Q19_33) are the responses to the questions in Section II for Christian respondents and the responses to the questions in section III for non-Christian respondents. The final independent variable, CHRIST, equals 1 for Christian respondents and 0

for non-Christian respondents. In this set of analyses I examined the relationship between these 12 independent variables and the same four dependent variables.

Since multiple regression is a procedure for examining a single dependent variable and several independent variables at a time, four separate analyses were performed each one corresponding to one of the four dependent variables. Each one of these four analyses had the same format: all twelve independent variables were entered into the multiple regression model. However, the variables were not all entered at once; they were entered a few at a time in "block."

As each block is entered, SPSS gives three sections of output (see Appendix E). A distinction is made between the statistics that appear above the dashed lines in the tables and those that appear below the dashed lines. As I mentioned above, the regression model was fit by adding each block of independent variables into the model separately. Therefore, each of the five right-hand columns corresponds to a different model. The column labelled "Block 1" corresponds to the model with only the block 1 independent variables, the column labelled "Block 2" corresponds to the model with both block 1 and 2 independent variables, etc. The column labelled "CHRIST" corresponds to the full model containing all independent variables. In each column the statistics above the dashed lines correspond to

variables currently in the model and those below the dashed lines correspond to variables not yet in the model.

Findings

Table 5.20 demonstrates the relationship between the dependent variable (which language - Korean or English - used at home) and the independent variables. The correlation explains the kind of relationships that exist between each of the independent variables and the usage of language at home. In the zero-order correlation column, for example, seven variables are statistically significant ones. Two variables ("Length of Stay in America" and "Feelings about Changing Names") are negative and significant. Five variables -- "Associate Mainly with Koreans," "Age," "Want to Go Back to Live in Korea," "How Often Eat Korean Food," and "CHRIST") --are positive and significant. That is, the respondents who have lived longer in America ($r=-0.37$) and who want to change their name ($r=-0.23$) have a tendency to speak Korean less at home. The higher the age of the respondent, the higher is his/her use of Korean at home ($r=0.13$); the more a respondent associates with Koreans outside of work, the more he/she uses Korean at home ($r=0.25$); the more a respondent eats Korean food the more, he/she uses Korean at home ($r=0.43$); the more a respondent wants to go back to live in Korea, the more he/she uses Korean at home ($r=0.18$); and the more a respondent is a

TABLE 5.20
Multiple Regression Results
'Use English at Home'
(S4_42)

Variables	Zero-order Correlations	Block 1	Plus Block 2	Plus Block 3	Plus Block 4	Plus CHRIST
Block 1: Background						
Gender	-0.09	-0.03	-0.05	-0.03	-0.03	-0.04
Age	-0.13*	-0.30***	-0.28***	-0.21**	-0.20**	-0.19**
Length of Stay in US	0.37***	0.48***	0.46***	0.34***	0.36***	0.37***
Block 2: Identity						
Ashamed of Being Korean	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.08	0.08	0.08
Feel About Changing Names	0.23**	0.10	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.08
Block 3: Ethnic Attachment						
Associate Mainly w/Koreans	-0.25***	-0.18	-0.17**	-0.15*	-0.16*	-0.16*
How Often Eat Korean Food	-0.43***	-0.30***	-0.29***	-0.28***	-0.28***	-0.26***
Want to Go Back to Live in Korea	-0.18	-0.08	-0.07	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
Block 4: Organization Involving						
Significance of Church/Non- Religious Org. involvement for Living in US	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.02
Length of Attending Present Church/Non-religious Org.	0.02	0.09	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.10
How Active in Church/Non- Religious Org.	0.08	0.01	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.06
Block 5: Dummy Variable						
CHRIST	-0.15*	-0.14*	-0.14*	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09
Multiple R		0.47	0.49	0.58	0.59	0.60
R Square		0.22	0.24	0.34	0.35	0.36
Adjusted R Square		0.21	0.22	0.31	0.30	0.31

Note: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, and *** = p<.001.

Christian, the more he/she speaks Korean at home ($r=0.15$). Most of these results are supported by the full model.

The results of the full model can be seen in the right-hand column. Four variables are statistically significant ($p=.05$). The results of multiple regression reveal that the older the respondents are, the more they use the Korean language at home ($B = 0.09$; $p<.01$). Also, those who associate mainly with Koreans outside their work tend to use the Korean language more frequently than do those who associate mainly with non-Koreans ($B = .16$; $p<.05$). Similarly those who often eat Korean food tend to speak Korean more frequently than those who do not eat Korean food often ($B = .26$; $p<.001$). The respondents who have stayed longer in America tend to speak Korean less frequently ($B = -0.37$; $p<.001$).

Block 4 shows the degree and attitudes of Christians and non-Christians toward their organizational involvement. None of the three variables proved significant, which shows the net effect of organization involvement. Statistically, block 5 exhibits any difference between Christians and non-Christians of the dependent variable, but here there is no difference between the two groups. The complete model explains 31 percent of the adjusted variance (R Square =.36).

Table 5.21 presents the results of zero-order correlations and multiple regression which was performed for

the dependent variable "Reading American Newspapers" and 12 independent variables. As indicated in the column of zero-order correlations, three variables -- "How Often Eat Korean Food," "Associate with Mainly with Koreans," and "Age" -- are negative and highly correlated with the dependent variable. That is, the nature of the relationship between these three variables is that as the degree of eating Korean food decreases ($r=-0.38$; $p<.001$), as the degree of associating mainly with Korean decreases ($r=-0.25$; $p<.001$) and as the age of the respondent decreases ($r=-0.23$; $p<.01$), the tendency to read American newspapers increases.

Three variables are statistically positive and significant: "Length of Stay in US" ($r=0.28$; $p<.001$), "Ashamed of Being Korean" ($r=0.24$; $p<.001$), and "Activeness in the Organization" ($r=0.19$). As the degree of each variable increases, the degree of reading American newspapers increases.

According to the multiple regression results, the length of the respondents' residency in America and being ashamed of being Korean have strong and significant relationships with the dependent variable. Namely, as the length of residency increases ($B = .27$; $p<.001$) and as the feeling of shame of being Korean increases ($B = .20$; $p<.01$), the frequency of reading American newspapers increases. Age is negatively related to the frequency of reading English newspapers, which means that the older the

TABLE 5.21
Multiple Regression Results
"Reading American News Papers"
(84_48A)

Variables	Zero-order Correlations	Block 1	Plus Block 2	Plus Block 3	Plus Block 4	Plus CHRIST
Block 1: Background						
Gender	0.02	0.08	0.07	0.09	0.09	0.09
Age	-0.23**	-0.39***	-0.39***	-0.32***	-0.34***	-0.34***
Length of Stay in US	0.28***	0.43***	0.45***	0.33***	0.29***	0.27***

Block 2: Identity						
Ashamed of Being Korean	0.24***	0.22**	0.23***	0.21***	0.20***	0.20**
Feel About Changing Names	0.08	-0.04	-0.08	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09

Block 3: Ethnic Attachment						
Associate Mainly w/Koreans	-0.25***	-0.17*	-0.15*	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13
How Often Eat Korean Food	-0.38***	-0.28***	-0.27***	-0.26***	-0.25***	-0.25***
Want to Go Back to Live in Korea	-0.11	-0.08	-0.07	-0.03	-0.05	-0.05

Block 4: Organization Involving						
Significance of Church/Non- Religious Org. involvement for Living in US	0.09	0.04	0.02	0.06	0.06	0.06
Length of Attending Present church/Non-religious Org.	0.19**	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.13
How Active in Church/Non- Religious Org.	-0.04	-0.04	-0.05	-0.01	-0.04	-0.04

Block 5: Dummy Variable						
CHRIST	-0.05	-0.05	-0.04	0.01	0.01	0.01

Multiple R		0.46	0.51	0.59	0.61	0.61
R Square		0.21	0.26	0.35	0.37	0.37
Adjusted R Square		0.19	0.24	0.31	0.32	0.32

Note: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, and *** = p<.001.

respondents, the less they read English newspapers ($B = .34$; $p < .001$).

Block 3 of Table 5.21 shows that the respondents who often eat Korean food tend to read English newspapers less frequently ($B = -0.25$). This model explains 32 percent of the adjusted variance ($R^2 = .37$).

Table 5.22 permits readers to evaluate the prediction of the dependent variable, "Speaking English at Work," against 12 independent variables. Again, the first column of Table 5.22 provides the zero-order correlations. According to this analysis, four variables confirm the significant relationships. Two variables ("How often eat Korean food" and "Want to go back to live in Korea") are negative and significant, meaning that the more respondents eat Korean food, the less they speak English at work ($r = -0.32$; $p < .001$), and the more respondents want to go back to live in Korea the less they speak English at work ($r = -0.21$; $p < .01$). Two other variables ("Length of stay in US" and "Significance of organization involvement") are also positive and significant. The more significant the respondents consider their organizational involvement, the more they speak English at work ($r = 0.22$; $p < .01$). Similarly the longer the respondents live in America, the more they use the English language at work ($r = 0.35$; $p < .001$).

A glance across the multiple regression columns of Table 5.22 reveals that as the ages of the respondents

TABLE 5.22
Multiple Regression Results
"Speaking English at Work"
(S4_49)

Variables	Zero-order Correlations	Plus Block 1	Plus Block 2	Plus Block 3	Plus Block 4	Plus CHRIST
Block 1: Background						
Gender	-0.01	0.03	0.03	0.07	0.08	0.08
Age	-0.02	-0.16*	-0.17*	-0.15	-0.16*	-0.15
Length of Stay in US	0.35***	0.39***	0.40***	0.31***	0.28***	0.30***
Block 2: Identity						
Ashamed of Being Korean	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.03
Feel About Changing Names	0.05	-0.04	-0.05	-0.07	-0.08	-0.07
Block 3: Ethnic Attachment						
Associate Mainly w/Koreans	-0.06	-0.002	0.005	0.03	0.02	0.02
How Often Eat Korean Food	-0.32***	-0.20**	-0.21**	-0.20**	-0.19*	-0.19*
Want to Go Back to Live in Korea	-0.21**	-0.13	-0.14	-0.12	-0.13	-0.13
Block 4: Organization Involving						
Significance of Church/Non- Religious Org. involvement for Living in US	0.22**	0.13*	0.13*	0.14*	0.17**	0.17**
Length of Attending Present Church/Non-religious Org.	0.09	-0.02	-0.02	-0.005	-0.01	-0.02
How Active in Church/Non- Religious Org.	0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.07	-0.08
Block 5: Dummy Variable						
CHRIST	-0.03	-0.05	-0.05	0.001	-0.03	-0.03
Multiple R		0.36	0.37	0.43	0.46	0.46
R Square		0.13	0.13	0.18	0.21	0.21
Adjusted R Square		0.11	0.11	0.14	0.15	0.15

Note: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, and *** = p<.001.

increase, the frequency of speaking English at work decreases ($B = -0.15$; $p < .05$). And as the length of respondents' residency in America increases, the frequency of speaking English at work also increases ($B = 0.30$; $p < .001$). Block 3 shows that the more respondents eat Korean food, the less they speak English at work ($B = -0.19$; $p < .5$). Block 4 reveals that the more respondents feel the significance of their organizational involvement, the more they speak English at work ($B = 0.17$; $p < .01$). When I compare the Christian group to the non-Christian group in terms of speaking English at work, there is no significant difference between the two groups. This model explains 15 percent of the adjusted variables ($R \text{ Square} = .25$).

Table 5.23 shows the zero-order correlations and multiple regression analyses for the dependent variable of Association With American Life and the same twelve independent variables. Only one pattern is immediately apparent when one examines the correlations column. That is, surprisingly it reveals in Block 4 that the longer the respondents attend their organization, the less eagerly they want to associate with American life ($r = -0.16$; $p < .05$). The results of multiple regression reveals, unlike other models, that only "Length of Attending Present Church/Non-religious Organization" is negative and significant ($B = -0.21$; $p < .01$), suggesting the longer respondents attend their organization, the more reluctantly they tend to associate

TABLE 5.23
Multiple Regression Results
'Association With American Life'
(S4_66)

Variables	Zero-order Correlations	Plus Block 1	Plus Block 2	Plus Block 3	Plus Block 4	Plus CHRIST
Block 1: Background						
Gender	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.07	0.08
Age	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	0.02	0.02
Length of Stay in US	0.07	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.12	0.11
Block 2: Identity						
Ashamed of Being Korean	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Feel About Changing Names	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.002	0.001	0.001
Block 3 :Ethnic Attachment						
Associate Mainly w/Koreans	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.06
How Often Eat Korean Food	-0.08	-0.06	-0.06	-0.07	-0.08	-0.08
Want to Go Back to Live in Korea	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.05
Block 4: Organization Involving						
Significance of Church/Non- Religious Org. involvement for Living in US	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.04	0.04
Length of Attending Present Church/Non-religious Org.	-0.16*	-0.19*	-0.19*	-0.19*	-0.21**	-0.21**
How Active in Church/Non- Religious Org.	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.09
Block 5: Dummy Variable						
CHRIST	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02
Multiple R		0.11	0.11	0.15	0.26	0.26
R Square		0.01	0.01	0.02	0.07	0.07
Adjusted R Square		-0.006	-0.02	-0.03	0.002	-0.004

Note: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001.

with American life. This model has extremely weak explanation (R Square = .07).

I may assert that the Korean immigrant church may not positively and directly aid the assimilation process for the long-time residents; it, however, is the least antagonistic source in terms of aiding assimilation into American society. That is, the Korean immigrant church not only helps people make the initial adjustments to American life and society, but also it continues to provide comfort, ethnic identity, and socialization. It helps people to survive.

When asked in what ways their church involvement had been helpful in their adjustment to American society (S2_22a and S3_36a), the majority of respondents to the questionnaire considered the church to be helpful. Out of 98 respondents, 39 specifically mentioned the opportunity to exchange information as helpful in their adjustment to American life. This was a typical statement: "Through the church, I gained information and knowledge about American society from fellow church members who have lived here longer." Twenty-four respondents specifically mentioned the gaining of spiritual or internal resources needed to live in this society, such as peace of mind, faith, hope, love, identity, energy, power, strength, and positive thinking. One articulate respondent said, "By attending church, my faith (faith, hope and love) has increased, so I am better

able (psychologically) to accept and to cope with the feeling of marginalization and discrimination that comes from American society." Twenty-two respondents mentioned relational resources: help gained because of or through relationships nurtured in the church. A typical response was "Church involvement gave me the opportunity to meet fellow Koreans, to talk and share in fellowship. Also, when I have problems, I get counseling from the pastor." Only five respondents said that church was not helpful. Thus it would appear that the church did help immigrants adjust to American life, primarily by giving them information, fellowship, and spiritual resources for coping with immigrant life.

The Korean Immigrant Church does not seem to let immigrants leave. It pulls them in and doesn't like to push them out. The church is a safe place, a refuge or sanctuary. It is comfortable to immigrants because of the "we" feeling. The reason for this is not because it is selfish in trying to keep members, rather it is because it is not easy to adjust to "out there," outside the church. Inside the church, immigrants feel welcomed and have a sense of homogeneity.

I expected there would be a great difference between Christians and non-Christians in terms of the degree of assimilation because of the function of the church. What I found, however, was there was little difference.

Participation in an ethnic Korean organization was more significant than whether or not the organization was Christian or non-Christian. Whether the organization is a Christian church, a Buddhist temple, a sports association or an alumni association, the act of participating in an ethnic organization is the significant factor. Korean immigrants who are more involved in and attached to such an organization tend to have a stronger ethnic identity and fewer assimilative tendencies. These findings are congruous with my hypothesis that the Korean immigrant church hampers assimilation. The unexpected result was that participation in any Korean ethnic organization hampers assimilation. Ethnic attachment and cohesiveness have a negative effect on assimilation. The Korean immigrant church is less antagonistic to assimilation for their organization.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF KOREAN IMMIGRANTS

Marginality and Korean Immigrants in American Society

Robert E. Park was the first person to introduce the sociological concept of marginality in America. He and his students emphasized the role of cultural conflict affecting the marginal individual. Marginality, in Park's terms, refers to the situation in which an individual finds himself when he still retains values and behavior from the culture group in which he had his early childhood training and subsequently attempts to incorporate other values and ways of behaving derived from experience outside his own group. The concept of the "marginal man"¹ refers to an individual who strives to live in two diverse cultures. This is the "man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused,...a cultural hybrid." (Park, 1928).

The term "marginal man" answers the problem as to

¹The philosophical concept of "marginal situation" (Grenzsituationen) is derived from Karl Jaspers (see esp. his Philosophie, 1932). Martin Heidegger discussed the concept of death as the most important marginal situation (see his Sein und Zeit, 1929). The sociological concept of "marginal man" was devised by Robert E. Park (May, 1928:881-93).

whether cultural differences alone result in marginality, or if actual conflict between two cultural groups is required. A certain period of transition is natural for every immigrant; for the marginal man the crisis becomes permanent or indefinite, resulting in a personality type with the following characteristics: spiritual instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness, and malaise (Park, 1928). Striving to live on the margin - partially involved with, but never fully part of, two different cultures - is a social situation stemming from social changes; this social situation leads to personality changes including the characteristics noted above, and a degree of emancipation (Park, 1928). Though the problems facing the marginal man, according to Park, stem from a certain structural social situation and/or immigration, the main implications are to be found on the individual, psychological level. Park asserts that divergent physical, rather than mental, traits are the primary obstacle to cultural assimilation (890), leading to the conclusion that migration is the chief social change which leads to the development of the marginal personality.

Stonequist expanded Park's concept of marginality to demonstrate alternative individual modes of adaptation to the cultural transitions and conflicts. (Stonequist, 1973). For Stonequist, the marginal man is the "key-personality" in the study of social and cultural change, and he asserts that

the social situation produces the marginal type of personality.

Stonequist suggests that this general situation can be divided into two types: 1) where the cultural difference includes a racial (biological) difference; and 2) where the difference is purely cultural. The first type, says Stonequist (1935), provides the clearest picture of the marginal situation. He is clear, however, that it is the social situation resulting from the biological difference, not the biological difference in and of itself, which produces the marginal situation.

The situation of the mixed-blood individual, one not fully accepted by either of his or her parent races, is most likely to produce the marginal individual. This individual is faced with a "double-looking-glass" situation.¹ That is, the marginal person looks to two different cultural groups for a reflection of who he is, and finds that the two images are in conflict. This "clash in images" makes the individual aware of his marginal situation.

Stonequist (1935) suggests a cycle in the life of the marginal man: first, preparation, when the individual is introduced into the two cultures, where some degree of assimilation takes place, providing the basis for a future conflict in loyalties; second, crisis, in which the

¹A development of Cooley's looking-glass theory of personality.

individual becomes aware of his precarious situation; third, enduring response to the situation. He also assigns a number of personality traits to marginal people, suggesting that they exhibit symptoms of ambivalent attitudes and sentiments, hypersensitivity, withdrawal tendencies, and divided loyalties. (Stonequist, 1937).

Merton and Rossi (1957) see marginality as behavior "in which the individual seeks to abandon one membership group for another to which he is socially forbidden access." For Merton the concept of marginality is a special instance of reference group theory.

The word "reference group" was initiated by Hyman (1942), and has been expanded by Merton and his associates. In his initial article, Hyman pointed out that many individuals tend to identify themselves with a group to which they do not in fact belong but to whom they accord prestige. This group is their point of reference, whose behavior and attitudes they attempt to adopt.

Thus, Merton defines the marginal person as one whose reference group (the group from which he takes his norms) is different from the group of which he is a member. That is to say, he emulates and strives to be accepted by a group of which he is not yet, or is only peripherally, a member (Merton, 1957). Viewing marginality this way, it can be said to occur whenever an individual is abandoning the mode of adaptation that has prevailed in the group of which he is

a member. This usually makes him, to a greater or lesser degree, an "outsider" to both groups.

The approach of Park and Stonequist to marginality supplies sociological dimensions for the explanation of behavior that had previously been viewed as individual deviance and evaluated in moral terms. Under Merton the concept of marginality is enlarged, so that it applies not only to individuals of ethnic or racial subgroups but to any individual who seeks entrance to and is denied admission to a group, a stratum, or a community. Merton stresses the role of the excluding group as a new dimension of Park's original formulation.

Green (1947) suggests that Park and Stonequist have largely ignored the most significant variable: the degree or strength of the individual's ties to the original society. Different cultures have differing degrees of ties within their structures (i.e., varieties in importance of parental approval, peer-group ties, etc.), and these impact the assimilation process, which in turn impacts the marginalization process. Green asserts that an ethnic population which is large enough and successful enough in the host society provides a safe, insular in-group, protecting the ethnic individual from the "marginal man" syndrome.

A question that might be raised is this: Do the Korean immigrants who have left their home country and are not yet

assimilated into the new situation in America, if they encounter an unfriendly attitude or social distance, become marginalized people? My research results demonstrate that the Korean immigrants are living with double-marginal-situations. That is to say, they have both types of marginal situations: racial/biological and cultural differences from members of the host society. They certainly exhibit culture conflict, which means difference in cultural forms as well as racial forms. The following excerpts from the comments by one of my female interviewees illustrates the situations:

I did not realize any particular problems when I lived in America during my first three years. But the longer I remain in this country, the more I feel a stranger or a visitor. And this appeared to be a permanent condition....I always have had the sense that I am not somehow accepted by the dominant group in this country. I feel that I will always be a visitor and not really ever at home...I have felt lonelier and lonelier every day in spite of my family and material affluency.²

Most Korean immigrants, however, who are actively participating in the Korean immigrant church, are sufficiently and willingly maintaining their own culture, language and customs, and are not greatly disturbed by the culture of the host society.

I interviewed a bright Korean person who graduated from a leading university in Korea with honors. He came to this country to do graduate study. After finishing his doctoral degree three years ago, he has been trying to get a job but

²After a few words, she started to shed tears.

has been unsuccessful. His pride has been hurt and his dream shattered. He could not accept the cold reality of failure and became insane and required psychiatric care. He has literally isolated himself in a small room in the basement of a Korean church in Chicago and refuses to talk with anyone. The feeling of unacceptability, loneliness, and isolation from this dominant society as a marginal person caused him to lose self-esteem, self-respect, and self-confidence. He is a classic example of a victim of marginalization.

Social Relationships: Primary and Secondary Groups

It was the Chicago School of social scientists that systematically and academically launched the ecological studies dealing with immigration, assimilation, race, and ethnicity in the formative period of modern American sociology, in the 1920s and 1930s. The Chicago School was a group of researchers gathered around Park. Park urged his students to regard the "city as a laboratory," looking at the city as an ecological unit with interrelated parts. Park was interested in studying the structure, growth, and changes in modern urban centers.

One of Park's powerful contributions was the development of a theory of conflict, competition, accommodation and assimilation. Park argued that all ethnic and racial groups would pass through an invariable and

irreversible four-stage succession of race relations and end up assimilated to Anglo-Saxon values (Park, 1950).

According to Park, two groups, usually an indigenous group and an immigrant group, initially come into contact with each other and compete for some scarce resource such as wealth, property, or status. Because the resources are scarce and successful gain for one group means loss for the other, competition results in open conflict between the two groups. However, because one (usually the indigenous) group has more resources to mobilize, it maintains control over the market situation. The immigrant group accommodates or withdraws hostilities until some future time when they have an advantage. As the two groups interact, the subordinate, immigrant group copies or emulates the dominant, indigenous group. Over time the two groups become more alike, with the immigrant or minority group accepting more of the culture of the dominant group. Eventually the differences are erased and, as holders of common values, the two groups merge into a single dominant group. Park considered the cycle to be unidirectional; that is, groups progressed through the four phases in a fixed order and only in the direction hypothesized. Once begun, the process is irreversible, and is repeated in turn with new minority groups.

Thus, Park believed that modern American race relations were based upon and grew out of conflict and competition among groups. An important part of his race relations

theory is that in America the competition and struggle between racial and ethnic groups would constantly give rise to race consciousness and group consciousness. This is not only inevitable, but such consciousness is beneficial for the individual members of groups and the groups themselves, especially where they were handicapped in the competitive struggle by color prejudice and some kind of discrimination.

Park, in his earlier stages of writing, made an important distinction between those groups, such as white immigrants, who were able to overcome their racial manifestations and thus enter into society and its competitive struggles as individuals, and those colored groups, particularly the blacks and Asians, who were seldom able to do so. Under such circumstances, Park suggested, group solidarity and morale that appeared to rise as a cause and consequence of increased racial or group consciousness could be a source of health for the dominated minorities. Park also argued that many members of minority racial and ethnic groups would be marked by an ambivalence and discomfort because of the competing ideals of racial identification and assimilation into the wider society.

Cooley, whose main interest was the social nature of self and socialization, drew attention to a special type of social group. He called this kind of group the primary group. He said:

By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation.

They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual" (1909).

Intimacy is the criterion to emphasize. Cooley went on to say that primary groups were characterized by a "we feeling" and that individual members of primary groups personally identified with the group and group goals. He said that the intimate association in a primary group creates a feeling of "wholeness" with the group that involves that sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we" is the natural expression.

Although Cooley never spoke of secondary groups as such, the contrast between them and primary groups was implicit in his writings on the primary group. Some sociologists have added this term to the discussion of social groups. Secondary groups are characterized by more segmented and more specialized relations. They lack the intimacy and feeling of belonging. They are not usually based on shared points of view.

Most Korean immigrants establish and maintain intimate social relations with Korean kin and friends (non-kin). It is true that when Korean immigrants as a minority group are subjected to discrimination and when they feel social distance as they live in a strange land, they are found to develop strong kinship ties and ethnic attachments within their ethnic group (Winch, 1968; Hays and Mindel, 1973). The importance Korean immigrants place in their personal

relationships can be seen from Table 6.1. This table is the result of Cross-Tabulations. For this cross-tabulation a Chi-square test has been performed. This test tests whether or not the responses to the question are independent of whether or not the respondents are Christian. The significance level of the test is the probability of getting the observed data. A small significance level means that the probability of getting the observed data given independence is small. Therefore, a small significance level (small usually is taken to mean less than 0.05) implies dependence. For example, the Chi-square of the first item "Family member at home" has no significant relationship.

With whom do they share their problems and hardships? (S4_40). A majority of respondents indicated that they share problems with family members at home. Among the Christians, the most frequent answer next to "family member at home" was "Church friends and pastor," the answer given by 42 percent respondents. Only seven percent of Christian respondents reported that they share their problems with close American friends.

The spouse was most frequently consulted by the respondents in times of personal crisis. Many also discussed their problems with their parents, children, and other relatives. This means that the respondents rely heavily on their immediate family members for sharing their

personal problems, hardships, and difficulties. Korean immigrant church pastors and/or church friends were also consulted by many Christian respondents compared to non-Christians, which has a significance of .0465.

Table 6.1
With Whom to Share Problems

With whom to share Significance	Group 1	Group 2	
	(N=117)	(N=47)	
	%	%	
Family member at home	74	77	1.0000
Relatives	29	25	1.0000
Church friends & pastor	42	13	.0465
Korean friends	15	6	.5642
American friends	7	19	.2834
Friends at organization	16	19	1.0000
Accumulative Totals	183	159	

Group 1 = Christians; Group 2 = non-Christians

In this survey, most respondents and interviewees mentioned that their close friends were exclusively Koreans for both Christian group and non-Christian group. Altogether, nearly nine-tenths of the respondents had Koreans as their close friends (see Table 6.2). A few of

them had both non-Koreans and Koreans as their close friends. For having non-Korean friends, the non-Christian group has the higher number (actual average number of non-Korean friend: 1.2) than the Christian group (actual average number of non-Korean friends: 0.4), which also means that the Christian group has more Korean friends (6.5) than their counterpart (5.0). Most of them encountered the majority of their post-immigration friends at church or work-place. The Korean immigrant church was the most common place to meet friends and to share information and problems.

Table 6.2, displays the results of the following question: "Think of seven persons who are your closest friends" (see Q4_39). There were three sub-questions: "How many of these friends are also members of your church?," "How many of these friends are non-Koreans?," and "How many of these friends are Koreans?"

In this survey, "friends" refer to those with whom the respondents share interests, information, and problems. "Church friends" refer to those friends who attend the same church which the respondent attends or another Korean immigrant church.

Cooley's theory of the primary group is congruous to the Korean immigrant community. For the Korean immigrants, their church community is a primary group. There is a sense of intimacy, belonging, support, comfort, and identification. Through the church community they share

their inner-most feelings and personal experiences with each other. Each member is important to others.

Table 6.2
Average Numbers of the Closest Friends
(Per Person)

	Christian Group	Non-Christian Group
Church Friends	3.4	0.6
Non-Korean Friends	0.4	1.2
Korean Friends	6.5	5.0
Actual Average	6.9	6.2

Ethnic Attachment of Korean Immigrants

Breton's study (1964) indicated that the social relations of the immigrants with their ethnic group were strong. But their tendency was to break their ties and form new attachments outside their ethnic community as the number of years spent in the host society increased. However, when ethnic organizations were firmly established, they set into motion a force that had the effect of keeping the social relations of the immigrants within their boundaries. The presence of this ethnic institutional completeness, with the ethnic members' full participation, increased the attachments to their own ethnic group. For example, the

presence of churches in a community was related to a higher level of in-group relations. They generated greater cohesiveness of the group since churches were the center of a number of activities.

Therefore, Breton argued that the degree of institutional completeness of an immigrant's ethnic community was one of the main factors determining the direction of the change in the forming of their personal ties. However, Breton concluded that, although ethnic communities are formed and grow as time goes by, the ethnic organizations will themselves disappear or lose their ethnic identity (Breton, 1964).

Does the Korean immigrant ethnic community conform with Breton's conclusion? If it does, then, why do Korean immigrants cluster themselves? Why do they seek a common ground for identity? These questions are dealt with in my research.

Most respondents to this survey feel that they are "outsiders" or "strangers" in this American society. To the question "to what extent do you feel you are part of North American society" (Q4_73), some respondents made strong negative comments:

(Non-Christians:)

I do not feel I am part of American society. (ID #4)
25 percent. (ID #21)

Not at all. (ID #13)

I try to adjust, but I feel I am still Korean. (ID #29)

(Christians:)

Even though I am an American citizen, I do not feel I

am part of North American society. (ID #55)

About ten percent. (ID #60)

I don't think I am part of American society, maybe because I stay at home and attend Korean church. (ID #62)

Since there is a language barrier and cultural differences, I do not feel so. (ID #70)

I feel I am a stranger and observer mainly because of the language barrier and social distance from American people. (ID #77)

I feel I do not really fit in American society, neither do I fit in Korea when I visit there. (ID #81)

I feel I am part of a marginal group. (ID #86)

I feel like a Gentile. (ID #87)

I live only here, but I am definitely still a Korean. (ID #109)

Because of the language barrier and hard work, I feel indifference toward American society. (ID #110)

In the end, I feel I am a foreigner. (ID #124)

The more I live here, the more I feel I am pushed outside. (ID #129)

I often feel lonesome... (ID #136)

I feel stronger in my Korean identity, even though I live in America. (ID #138)

My heart is still in Korea. (ID #159)

Even though I pay taxes, attend meetings, speak English, and eat American food sometimes, I still feel that I am not a part of the host society. (ID #164)

When asked whether or not they had been treated badly in America because they were Korean and what problems they had faced, the following answers, among others, were given:

Discrimination at work. (ID #17)

I feel we are not treated equally. (ID #19)

Mistreatment by officials and clerks. (ID #21)

At public events, I get derogatory comments yelled at me. Once I got spit at. (ID #34)

In some cases I get traffic tickets because I do not speak English well. (ID #35)

(I am denied) promotion at work. (ID #44)

Traffic accident, I received traffic ticket unjustly. (ID #116)

Since I have my business in the black community, I face some conflicts. (ID #144)

Although some first generation Koreans have been quite successful and have been contributing to American society in

a variety of areas and professions, such as medicine, nursing, law, teaching, and Christian ministry, they have a strong and deep ethnic attachment to their traditional culture and value systems, and little desire to acculturate or assimilate to the new society.

Some examples of individual Korean-American professionals who had been immersed in U.S. culture and society and later returned to the Korean community, support this understanding of the strength of their ethnic attachment. In the United Methodist Church in the USA, between the years of 1975 and 1985, there were seventeen Korean-American pastors who were pastoring caucasian churches. Of those seventeen, at the present time, two are teaching in theological seminary positions, two work for boards and agencies, two have returned to Korea to pastor or teach, and most others have chosen to preach in Korean immigrant churches. Only one of those seventeen is still pastoring in a caucasian church. The point is that even though they appeared to be successfully assimilated into U.S. culture, many of them left that to return to live and serve in the Korean community. They are Korean and maintain that identity. In another example, I interviewed a Korean-American dentist who was educated in dental school here in the United States. After graduation, he established a practice in a white-American community in southern Illinois. After 10 years of private practice, he left that town to

come to Chicago to establish a dental practice for Korean people. He also attends a Korean church. He mentioned that the American church he attended before was not comfortable for him. This was also the case for another professional who apparently adjusted to the dominant culture and society, but after ten years chose to leave it to return to his own. There were many other cases like this.

To some, as I illustrated above for Korean pastors, medical doctors and other professionals after working within American society they eventually return to the Korean community. When they come back to the Korean community they serve Korean immigrant churches and professionals and other Korean immigrants attend Korean immigrant churches instead of Caucasian churches or other ethnic churches. This shows that Korean immigrants have strong ethnic attachments. It also shows that the Korean immigrant church serves the needs of Korean immigrants who feel marginalized in the American society.

CHAPTER VII

THEORETICAL SUGGESTIONS: ANALYSIS OF THE KOREAN IMMIGRANT CHURCH

As mentioned earlier, during the past two years, I have visited eleven Korean Immigrant Churches in the Chicago metropolitan area, Peoria, Illinois, Indianapolis, Indiana, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Kenosha, Wisconsin. The purpose of these visits was to assess the functions of the Korean Immigrant Churches by interviewing pastors and lay persons and to formulate my theory about the functions of the Korean Immigrant Church. In this chapter, I will discuss what I suggest to be the five basic functions of the Korean Immigrant Church.

Furthermore, to intensify my theory about the roles and functions of the Korean Immigrant Churches, I also visited and observed five Korean bars, three of which were attached to Korean restaurants, and two of which were independent. I found that many Korean people visit bars quite regularly, some daily, some several times per week. I interviewed a number of customers and five bartenders. I found that in general, they are lonely, feeling great stress, and frustrated, so they come to the bar to be comforted.

However, they generally do not speak with other customers at the bar. They tend to sit and drink, and talk to the bartender, who is usually female. The function of the bartender is to entertain customers. Although the bartender does not "preach," she or he does engage in dialogue with the customers.

All five of the bars I visited have "karaoke" (sing-along machines). Many of the customers use these machines to sing in order to release their stress, frustration, and feeling of homesickness. By singing old, traditional Korean songs, their homesickness is temporarily relieved. They forget their hardships and loneliness for the time being.

I visited these bars because I wanted to compare what happens there with what happens in the Korean Immigrant Church. About 30 per cent of those who attend Korean Immigrant Churches were not members of any church in Korea (Hurh and Kim, 1984). Many go to church because they want to learn more about the American way of life. They also want information, and to have fellowship time with Korean friends. For these people, the Korean Immigrant Churches are similar in function to the bars: attendance there releases frustration, stress, and loneliness.

However, obviously, there are vast differences between bars and Korean Immigrant Churches. First, bars have no "membership," so there is no bonding community. Durkheim compared magic and religion, and in doing so, made a

remarkable distinction between them (Durkheim, 1915). He said:

... the belief in magic is always more or less general; it is very frequently diffused in large masses of the population, and there are even peoples where it has as many adherents as the real religion. But it does not result in binding together those who adhere to it, nor in uniting them into a group leading a common life. There is no Church of magic... there is no lasting bonds which make them members of the same moral community... The magician has a clientele and not a Church, and it is very possible that his clients have no other relations between each other, or even do not know each other...

As in the practice of magic, attendance at a bar develops only individual ties between the bartender and the individual customer. There are no community activities or programs. Customers come and go on an individual basis. However, in Korean Immigrant Churches, there is usually a deliberate attempt to create community through a coffee hour after worship, perhaps with doughnuts, or perhaps with a weekly meal of Korean food. Through that kind of fellowship, immigrants share their common problems, their loneliness, anxiety and frustrations which come from being a marginal person. This facilitates their encouragement of one another.

The second basic difference between a bar and a church is that the church is a place where people can obtain peace of mind in regards to spiritual matters. The weekly worship, and the role of the pastor as spiritual leader, promote the spirituality of the church attenders. In the

bars, however, there is no such attention given to spiritual matters. The bartender is not a preacher.

The third major difference between churches and bars is that church pastors are in regular, continual contact with church members, through the pastoral care function of the pastor. The pastor is called upon to visit the family in times of special events and for problems. The bar tender, on the other hand, has no such function.

Ever since Korean immigrants landed on American soil in 1903, wherever immigrants lived, a Korean immigrant church has always existed. Where Korean immigrants are, there the Korean immigrant church has become the center of their immigrant life. One might say that Korean immigrants equal Korean immigrant churches. The results of my research - through questionnaire, church visits and in-depth interviews - suggests the following five functions of the Korean immigrant church: 1) Cohesive; 2) Parenting; 3) Preservative; 4) Social; and 5) Religious.¹

Cohesive Function of the Church

Because of cultural differences most Korean immigrants are marginalized from their American neighbors both in terms of language and cultural differences. Social relationships

¹Pyong Gap Min (1992) suggests four functions of Korean Immigrant Churches in the United States: fellowship, maintenance of the native tradition, social service, and social status and social positions.

are severely limited. Accordingly, they do not have many social relationships. Most of their social relationships are in and through the immigrant church. The church is a meeting place - the place where they huddle together, to share fellowship, to relieve stress and pressure. Through church activities they carry on Old World social, cultural, and familial customs. The church is a unifying force. They sometimes play a traditional Korean game called "Yute"; eat Duk (Korean rice cakes) and Gim-chee; and some people drink So-Joo or Mark-Gul-lee. The Korean immigrant church is intertwined and imbedded in the cohesive psyche, the folk life, the very identity of each immigrant.

The Korean immigrants develop a network of kinship ties through Sok-Hoe (note: there are various names for this system depending on the denomination, such as Class meeting, Cell meeting, or Gu-Yurk-Hoe). Sok-Hoe consists of five to twelve families who live in the same geographic area, meeting once per week or month depending on each church program. These ties bind families together through Bible study, shared fellowship, information, and food. There have emerged, then, an enduring cohesion of household and community in which religious activities, worship services, and ceremonies play the largest part. Within these crosscutting ties, individuals and families of the Korean immigrants cling to a tangible communal identity. This function of the church is a horizontal intimacy.

The Parenting Function

Many first generation Korean immigrants are struggling for existence. They are physically exhausted from eight to twelve hours a day of heavy work at a factory or in their own small businesses (such as dry cleaners and grocery stores) for six to seven days a week, which they had never experienced in Korea. Many of them are emotionally disturbed, deeply frustrated and depressed. Their university education and prior professional experience in Korea are largely ignored and are given little or token credit in the American job market, simply because of the language barrier. They, therefore, yearn for comfort, relief and relaxation. Their church functions to meet these needs for them. This is a vertical relationship.

First generation Korean immigrants miss their home country, family and friends in Korea. They are occasionally homesick. They need the Korean Immigrant Church for comfort and for the release of homesickness. That is, the church gives meaning, self-definition, and a system of moral values to the Korean immigrants. The church members become an extended family. Thus, the church becomes the channel for the bonding function which is otherwise denied to the immigrant by the host society and the other sub-ethnic communities. The church, for example, provides the atmosphere where lonely and frustrated grandparents (i.e. the elderly) can share their feelings and emotions as freely

as they used to do in Korea, without being limited by language and culture barriers.

Religion has become paramount in the Korean immigrants' way of life, helping them adjust to the conditions of the strange land - the marginalized situation - in American society. Korean immigrants find the Christian faith even more meaningful here in the new land than in the old country as they try to understand the significance of their suffering as uprooted immigrants. The greater the separation from their own culture, the greater the need to hold onto their religion, which is the only aspect of their culture that can survive the test of time in their immigrant life.²

The Preserving Function

The Korean Immigrant Church helps preserve the Korean ethnic character and cultural identity of the home country, traditions, and customs as the Korean immigrants live in the United States. It is the vehicle for national aspirations. Also, it is a means for expressing and reinforcing one's Korean nationalism. It helps the individuals maintain their cultural identity as Korean language is used freely. Thus,

²Paul Tillich emphasizes the importance of religious dimensions in many spheres of human cultural activities because the ultimate concern of religion is to provide the meaning-giving substance of culture. He also discusses the inseparably interwoven relationship between religion and culture (Tillich, 1956).

a large number of non-Christians join Korean immigrant churches after immigrating. A Korean engineer living in the near northside of Chicago said, "I want my children to intermingle with other Koreans and learn something about Korea on Sundays."

Many Korean immigrant churches organize Korean schools. Most parents work very hard and do not have the time to give their children a Korean education. The essential rationale for these lessons is the necessity of fostering the mother tongue among the children and thus helping them to preserve their cultural heritage. Children are educated in Korean history, language and customs. It provides continuity of cultural heritage. It is to be the transmitter of Koreanness.

The church plays the role of symbolically bringing Korea to the people here in America. It bridges their home country and the new world. The church is a symbol of Korea. People want to retain their strong ethical teachings, for example, Confucianist ethics, customs, traditions, and family ties. The church is the core institution in the maintenance of Korean ethnic solidarity.

The Social Function

The Korean immigrant church is a place to share information and fellowship. It is a gathering place for personal and business relationships. Most churches have a

fellowship time after the worship service, serving coffee or a meal. The fellowship table is a symbol of bonding and sharing. Eating together creates a sense of connectedness and community. For many Korean immigrants, the primary purpose of attending church is for this community. Worship may be secondary. They come to church to form a community, to find a sense of belonging to a community. This provides an opportunity making for meaning (meaning-making). Thus the Korean immigrant church plays a significant role in providing a sense of meaning in the lives of Korean immigrants.

Because Korean immigrants lack an appropriate social milieu in which they can express and meet their sociocultural needs, the Korean immigrant church serves as a self-sufficient micro-society for the problem-solving process for immigrants. This has evolved because the churches have become a resource pool comprised of various established professionals who are willing to provide expert services to new immigrants. Despite a wide geographical dispersion of Korean immigrants across the Chicago urban and suburban areas, many have managed to maintain fellowship in the church of their choice; therefore, it is not uncommon to find people traveling fifty to seventy miles to attend church social functions.

One of the important social functions of the Korean Immigrant church is that of providing social status and

social position for the Korean immigrants. Much of the contemporary Korean immigration comes from the upper-middle and professional class. Thus, unlike most earlier immigration to the United States, most Koreans experience downward mobility upon arriving in the United States (Min, 1992). Leadership roles in the Christian communities grant social status within the Korean community.

Korean immigrants feel marginalized in American society. They never really belong to the host culture because of the language barrier and racial and social distance. So the church provides comfort and meaning for their lives through the fellowship hour, through Korean social connections, and through corporate worship. That is, the Korean immigrant church provides an opportunity for immigrants to develop a primary group relationship, promoting social solidarity and providing a sense of integration and community for individuals and groups.

The Religious Function

One of the main functions of the Korean immigrant church in the early period in the United States (1902-1945) was basically patterned by their predominantly patriotic activities for their motherland to fight against Imperial Japan. Actually the Korean independence movement was supported financially by a great number of small contributions made largely by members of local churches in

the United States (Kim and Patterson, 1974). However, the Korean immigrant churches, from 1946 till 1967, shifted their energy to more social and cultural activities. In this period, the churches began to be more conscious of their role to help their congregations adjust to life in America and directed their programs toward this end.

According to my observations and interviews with the Korean immigrant churches, the churches emphasize evangelism and spiritual growth in the recent period (1980s). Also, the first generation Korean immigrants themselves seek spiritual fellowship. Their need for this fellowship may be even more intensified because of the marginal situation they face, as discussed in chapter VI, and because of stress and meaninglessness they feel as they live in this strange land. Therefore, they are seeking meaning, comfort, and spirituality. The church provides spiritual energy and faith. Church pastors are well equipped to address the desire of the people for spiritual life. Most Korean immigrant churches emphasize the pastoral care and spiritual nurturing.

Some studies regarding Polish immigrants argued that the church became the focal point of their lives, serving as a unifying factor and helping to maintain the cohesion of the primary group (Wood, 1955; Wytrwal, 1961; Swastek, 1967). In other words, it was the church that united their common faith, language, and interests. This was the reason

why the Polish people made great efforts to establish their own churches as soon as they arrived in the United States.

For the first generation Korean immigrants, like the Polish immigrants, the church has become the center of their lives. The local churches established by Korean immigrants have increased dramatically in number during the last twenty years. The strength and dynamism of Korean immigrant churches have been essential in creating community for Korean immigrants in the U.S.

Research conducted by Won Moo Hurh and Kwang Chung Kim found that religious commitment is the primary motivation for church participation among most Korean immigrant Christians in Los Angeles, and that psychological comfort and social relationships are benefits of, but not reasons for, church involvement (Hurh and Kim, 1984; Kim, 1971).

Table 7.1 indicates that the majority of Korean immigrant church members (87 percent) attend church at least once a week. This finding is congruous with some other research results. Hurh and Kim, for example, found that 84 per cent of the church-affiliated respondents in their Los Angeles-based study attended church at least once per week. The reasons are clear: the church provides a place and a human community in which Korean immigrants can freely speak their language and live their culture, still as immigrants, yet fully acceptable and accepted. The respondents expressed that their church participation greatly increased

after their arrival in the United States, because they wanted to join the ethnic intimate communal bonds. The religious faith of the first generation Korean immigrants is not abstract, intellectual, or individual; rather, it is concrete, emotional, and communal.

Table 7.1
Frequency of Worship Attendance
of Christians
(N=117)

How often attend	%
Twice weekly or more	36
Once weekly	51
Twice monthly	7
Once monthly	1
Few times yearly	5
Total	100

In summary, this research indicates that Korean immigrant churches are effective in the functional roles of creating community, strengthening ethnic identity, encouraging fellowship, organizing social activities, preserving language and cultural heritage, and providing psychological comfort and support.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Review

This study found that the Korean immigrant church supports ethnic solidarity and provides social, cultural, and religious functions to the first generation of Korean immigrants. But does the Korean immigrant church facilitate assimilation? Does it promote or hinder the assimilation of Korean immigrants into American society?

The Korean immigrant church is a closed system. It draws immigrants in and encourages them to stay. Inside the church, new immigrants feel safe and welcome. They experience a sense of homogeneity and reminiscent of their homeland.

The Korean immigrant church satisfies the social and the psychological need of its participants and discourages personal and social relationships with people outside the Korean community. The community of first generation Korean immigrants in the Chicago metropolitan area is large and strong enough to retain and reinforce ethnic culture by religious participation, by utilizing Korean language and customs, and by reinforcing primary social group

interactions. Therefore, for first generation Korean immigrants, the Korean immigrant church does not foster assimilation. Instead, the Korean immigrant church has served as an instrument of intense primary group (ethnic) ties.¹

Milton M. Gordon (1964) defines seven progressive stages as ethnic groups move toward assimilation into the host society. The first two stages are basic types of assimilation: one is cultural assimilation which involves the acculturation of the minority group; and the other is structural assimilation, which is the attainment of equal life conditions. The remaining types are: marital assimilation, identification assimilation, attitude receptional assimilation, behavior receptional assimilation, and civic assimilation. In light of Gordon's assimilation stages, the first generation Korean immigrants tend to develop a marginal culture by creating a new synthesis to maintain a high degree of ethnocentrism because they have stronger and deeper attachments to their ethnic culture and values. Through their ethnic church they reproduce the old cultural, social milieu for self-security, self-protection, self-social-relationship, and self-comfort.

Korean immigrants reject patterns of assimilation such as Anglo-conformity, the Melting Pot concept, the Triple Pot

¹These comments are based on my observations and/or participation in the Korean immigrant church programs in the Chicago metropolitan area during the past two years.

idea, or structural assimilation. It appears that Korean immigrants are seeking "separate but equal" as an ideology. By maintaining their identity of Koreanness through traditional culture and values, the Korean immigrants can improve their survival possibilities, and increase the degree of happiness and satisfaction in their lives in American society.

My findings affirm that behavioral patterns of first generation Korean immigrants are grounded in religious as well as in ethnic foundations. This conclusion is suggested by the positive indications of religious or any Korean organizational participation and ethnic attachment of the Korean immigrants and the somewhat negative relationship to assimilative attitudes to American society. The influence of religiosity and ethnicity seems to persist.

Future Research

The target group of this study was first generation Korean immigrants. The results of this study suggest that the Korean immigrant church is extremely strong among first generation Korean immigrants. The question arises, however, of what will become of the next generation. Will the children of Korean immigrants attend Korean immigrant churches? In further study, it will be important to distinguish among first and second generation Korean-Americans. In hopes of making more precise distinctions

among first and second generation immigrants for the purposes of promoting more accurate research in the future, I would like to offer the following definitions:

1.0 generation immigrant:

One who immigrated individually or as the head of a family after the age of 21.

The culture of the home country is dominant.

The home country language is native.

English is inconvenient.

1.3 generation immigrant:

One who came alone or with parents between the ages of 18 & 21.

The home culture is still primary.

The home country language is still stronger and more convenient, but English is approaching fluency.

These immigrants are bilingual, but Korean is much easier than English.

1.5 generation immigrant:

One who came between the ages of 10 and 17, usually with parents, but occasionally coming after the parents. One who stands between cultures, using two languages equally well and being comfortable with both.

1.8 generation immigrant:

One who came to the US between the ages of 6 and 10.

The home country culture and language are rather weak.

English and US culture are strong.

2.0 generation immigrant:

One born in the US, i.e.: a child of first generation immigrants, or one brought here by the parents before the age of six, or those adopted by US citizens.

English and the US culture are very dominant.

Parents' culture and language are very weak or insignificant.

Based mainly on European experience, some scholars have debated ethnic and religious identity. The straight-line assimilation theorists (Gans, 1956; Steinberg, 1981) argue that the first generation immigrant is the most ethnic in terms of adherence to the traditional value and behavioral

patterns of the group. Thus, this approach predicts that movement into later generations, representing increasing temporal distance from the strongest statement of ethnic culture, religion, identity and social relationships, will erode ethnic solidarity.

Warner and Srole (1945), supporters of this position, view social mobility and assimilation as a direct consequence of the length of residence in America and as the prime determinant of values and behavior. Gans (1956) also perceives a diminishing Jewish cohesiveness as Jews lost their minority status and adhered less to the formal tenets of their faith. His work with the Italians in the West End of Boston support his views.

My findings show that there is very strong correlation between length of stay in the United States and assimilation. The longer the immigrants stay in America, the more they are assimilative. As the Korean immigrant church helps people to stay in this strange land, the church indirectly facilitates their assimilation.

The cyclical approach theorists, such as Hansen (1952) or Novak (1971), emphasize ethnic resurgence. Hansen argues that first generation immigrants try to hold onto their own language and culture, and establish native language churches, social services and other institutions for bonding and binding the people together. The second generation, however, wants to erase as many evidences of being

immigrants as possible, choosing to abandon the language and culture of their parents. But by the third generation the desire for ethnic identity resurfaces. Third generation immigrants want to recall and remember what the second generation wished to forget. Glazer (1954) concurs with Hansen on the "law of the third-generation return." Will Hansen's phenomenon of the second and third generation take place within the 1.8 or 2.0 generation for Korean immigrant children? Will the Korean immigrant church maintain its strong ethnic church identity? Further study is needed.

Conclusion

My empirical study demonstrates that religious and/or organizational participation for first generation Korean immigrants has been an important factor in their new lives in America. As the center of social, cultural, educational, spiritual, and ethnic activities, the Korean immigrant church has played a crucial role in providing not only spiritual energy but also ethnic identity, bonding spirit, a sense of belonging, and comfort. That is, it has played a dynamic role in forming and in maintaining ethnicity as the immigrants create their own community in America. It may be an expression of intense primary group ties for the first generation Korean immigrants. Accordingly, the Korean immigrant church functions early on as an assimilating force by serving and helping people for their immediate needs; and

by doing so the church captures people to stay as they live in American society. This may delay assimilation.

Some differences in the assimilation patterns of Korean immigrants who participate in an organization and those who do not are noted. The real determining factor for the assimilation issue, however, is the ethnic character of the organization. Any ethnic organization, whether it was a Buddhist temple, sports club, alumni group, or church, served the similar function of helping immigrants preserve their ethnic heritage and avoid assimilation.

It is my conviction that the Korean immigrant church will continue to play a vital role in affecting the lives of the Korean immigrants in the United States. As Emile Durkhiem says, religion is a communal event, so the Korean immigrant church will remain as the source of ethnic community cohesion.

APPENDIX 1
QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

Would you like to receive a summary of the results?
(circle one)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

If yes, please write your name and address:

Name: _____

Address: _____

Section I

- 01 What is your gender? (circle the appropriate number)
1 Male
2 Female
- 02 What was your age at last birthday?

- 03 In what year did you move permanently to America?

- 04 What is your marital status? (circle one)
1 Married
2 Single
3 Separated
4 Divorced
5 Widowed
(If you are not married, skip the next question)
- 05 What is your spouse's racial background?
1 Korean
2 Korean-American
3 European-American
4 Afro-American
5 Hispanic-American
6 Other: specify _____
8 Don't know

- 06 What is your highest school grade/degree completed?
(circle items of each column of A and B which apply to you)

Column A:
in Korea

Column B:
in America

1	1	Less than high school
2	2	Some high school
3	3	High school graduated
4	4	Some college attended
5	5	College graduated
6	6	Some post-college works
7	7	Master's degree
9	9	Doctoral degree
10	10	Other: _____
8	8	Don't Know

- 07 Did you attend a Christian church or other religious organization in Korea?

1 Yes
2 No

- 08 If "yes", how often did you attend?

1 Never
2 Less than once a year
3 About once or twice a year
4 Several times a year
5 About once a month
6 2 or 3 times a month
7 Nearly every week
8 Every week
9 Several times a week

- 09 What was your religious affiliation in Korea?

1 Baptist	9 Assemblies of God
2 Catholic	10 Buddhist
3 Episcopalian	11 Confucianist
4 Lutheran	12 Other _____
5 Methodist	13 Not applicable
6 Presbyterian	14 None
7 7th Day Adventist	8 Don't know

- 10 What is your religious affiliation now?

1 Baptist	9 Assemblies of God
2 Catholic	10 Buddhist
3 Episcopalian	11 Confucianist
4 Lutheran	12 Other _____
5 Methodist	13 Not applicable
6 Presbyterian	14 None
7 7th Day Adventist	8 Don't know

- 11 If you have changed or dropped your religious affiliation since coming to this country, please explain the circumstances of this change.
- 12a Do you currently participate in a religious organization?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- 12b If "No," have you previously participated in a religious organization in the USA?

Section II

The following questions concern current participation in a Christian church in the USA. If you do not participate in any Christian organization, please skip to Section III, question #27.

- 13 How active are you in your religious organization?
- 1 Very active
 - 2 Somewhat active
 - 3 Not active at all
- 14a Are you an officer of your religious organization?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- 14b If so, what is your office and what do you do?

- 15 What activities does your religious organization provide? (circle all that apply):
- 1 Sunday worship
 - 2 Church school for children
 - 3 Church school for adults
 - 4 Early morning prayer meeting
 - 5 Youth group meetings
 - 6 Coffee fellowship
 - 7 Meals with all church members
 - 9 Retreats
 - 10 Sightseeing trips
 - 11 Social projects
 - 12 Community service to non-Koreans
 - 13 Community service to Koreans
 - 14 Missionary support
 - 15 Korean language school
 - 16 English language
 - 17 Church picnics
 - 18 Study meeting (weekly or monthly)
 - 19 Other _____
 - 8 Don't know
- 16 How long have you been attending your present religious organization?
- 1 Less than one year
 - 2 1-2 years
 - 3 3-4 years
 - 4 5-6 years
 - 5 7-10 years
 - 6 10-15 years
 - 7 More than 15 years
 - 8 Don't know
- 17 How did you choose this religious organization?
- 18 How often did you attend regular religious services (or programs) during the past year.
- 1 Two or more times a week
 - 2 Once a week
 - 3 Twice a month
 - 4 Once a month
 - 5 A few times a year
 - 6 Never
 - 8 Don't know

- 19 Is your church involvement significant for living in America?
- 1 Definitely yes
 - 2 Somewhat yes
 - 3 Somewhat no
 - 4 Definitely no
 - 8 Don't know
- 20 How difficult would it be for you to get along in this country without your church involvement?
- 1 Very difficult
 - 2 Somewhat difficult
 - 3 Not difficult at all
 - 8 Don't know
- 21 Has your church organization involvement been helpful in your adjustment to American society?
- 1 Definitely yes
 - 2 Somewhat yes
 - 3 Somewhat no
 - 4 Definitely no
 - 8 Don't know
- 22a In what way(s) has your church involvement been helpful in your adjustment to American society?
- 22b In what way(s) has your church involvement not been helpful in your adjustment to American society?

- 23 Has homesickness for Korea been a factor in your church involvement?
- 1 Definitely yes
 - 2 Somewhat yes
 - 3 Somewhat no
 - 4 Definitely no
 - 8 Don't know
- 24 In general, how attached to your church do you feel?
- 1 Very attached
 - 2 Somewhat attached
 - 3 Not attached at all
- 25 How much of a feeling of community is there in your church?
- 1 There is no feeling of community
 - 2 Some feeling of community
 - 3 Strong feeling of community
 - 8 Don't know
- 26 How upsetting would it be for you if you had to move and were forced to leave this congregation?
- 1 Very upsetting
 - 2 Mildly upsetting
 - 3 Not very upsetting
 - 4 Not upsetting at all

Section III

The following questions (from #27 to #37) concern those who are not Christians.

- 27 How many non-religious organizations do you belong to?
(For example, business, professional sports, service, civic, political, etc.)

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>Frequency of Participation</u>
Mainly Korean Org.:	

Mixed Racial Org.:

American Org.:

- 28 Describe the non-religious organization in which you are most active.
- 29 How active are you in this non-religious organization?
- 1 Very active
 - 2 Somewhat active
 - 3 Not active at all
 - 4 Does not apply
- 30a Are you an officer of your non-religious organization?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 3 Does not apply
- 30b If so, what is your office and what do you do?
- 31 What activities does your non-religious organization provide. Please describe.
- 32 How long have you been attending your present non-religious organization?
- 1 Less than one year
 - 2 1-2 years
 - 3 3-4 years
 - 4 5-6 years
 - 5 7-10 years
 - 6 10-15 years
 - 7 More than 15 years
 - 8 Don't know
- 33 Is your non-religious organization significant for living in America?
- 1 Definitely yes
 - 2 Somewhat yes
 - 3 Somewhat no
 - 4 Definitely no
 - 8 Don't know

- 34 How difficult would it be for you to get along in this country without your non-religious organization involvement?
- 1 Very difficult
 - 2 Somewhat difficult
 - 3 Not difficult at all
 - 8 Don't know
- 35 Has your non-religious organization involvement been helpful in your adjustment to American society?
- 1 Definitely yes
 - 2 Somewhat yes
 - 3 Somewhat no
 - 4 Definitely no
 - 8 Don't know
- 36a In what way(s) has your non-religious organization involvement been helpful in your adjustment to American life?
- 36b In what way(s) has your non-religious organization involvement not been helpful in your adjustment to American life?
- 37 Has homesickness for Korea been a factor in your non-religious organization involvement?
- 1 Definitely yes
 - 2 Somewhat yes
 - 3 Somewhat no
 - 4 Definitely no
 - 8 Don't know

Section IV

- 38 Have you participated in forming a new Korean religious organization in America?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No

- 39 Think of seven persons who are your closest friends.
(Do not include relatives.)
- A. How many of these friends are also members of your church? (circle one)
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Not applicable
- B. How many of these friends are non-Koreans?
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- C. How many of these friends are Koreans?
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 40 With whom do you share your problems and hardships?
(circle items which apply to you)
- 1 Family members at home
 - 2 Relatives living in America
 - 3 Pastor or close Korean friends in church
 - 4 Close Korean friends who do not attend your church
 - 5 Close American friends
 - 6 Close friends who are members in your organization
 - 7 No one
- 41 What are the most difficult problems living in America?
(circle the items which apply to you)
- 1 Language barrier
 - 2 Generation gap
 - 3 Loneliness or anxiety
 - 4 Job opportunity
 - 5 Social distance (feeling like not belong to)
 - 6 Racial discrimination against Koreans
 - 7 Stress
 - 8 Home-sickness (missing Korea)
 - 9 Others _____
- 42 Between Korean and English, which language do you use at home?
- 1 Always Korean
 - 2 Mostly Korean with some English
 - 3 About half Korean and half English
 - 4 Mostly English with some Korean
 - 5 Always English

43 Have you ever been ashamed of being Korean?

- 1 Always
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Never
- 8 Don't know

44 Besides at work, I associate mainly with Koreans.

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Agree
- 3 Disagree
- 4 Strongly disagree
- 8 Don't know

45 After I become well adjusted to American life, I expect I will attend an American church rather than a Korean church.

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Agree
- 3 Disagree
- 4 Strongly disagree
- 8 Don't know

46 What are the major news media on which you rely to find out about world events. (circle the item which applies to you. If more than one, please rank the items by writing A,B,C... Mark A for most important.)

- 1 _____ American TV (English language)
- 2 _____ American newspapers (English language)
- 3 _____ Korean language newspapers
- 4 _____ American radio
- 5 _____ Korean language TV or radio
- 8 _____ Don't know

47 Do you read Korean newspapers?

- 1 Yes, regularly
- 2 Yes, occasionally
- 3 No, hardly
- 4 No, not at all

47b If yes, what do you learn from these?

- 48a Do you read American (English language) newspapers?
1 Yes, regularly
2 Yes, occasionally
3 No, hardly
4 No, not at all
- 48b If yes, what do you learn from these?
- 49 If you have a job, do you speak English at work?
1 Always
2 Often
3 Once in a while
4 Never
- 50 Last week, were you working full time, part time, going to school, keeping house, or what?
1 Working full time
2 Working part time
3 Going to school
4 Keeping house
5 Working a temporary job
6 Unemployed
7 Retired
9 Others _____
- 51 If you have a job, what work do you do?
- a. Kind of work:
- b. Job title:
- c. What kind of place do you work for?:
- d. Are you self-employed or do you work for someone else?:
- 52a Do you own a business?
1 Yes
2 No

- 52b If yes, what kind of business?
- 53 Do you own your own home, pay rent, or something else?
 1 I own or am buying a home
 2 I pay rent
 3 Other: _____
- 54 How do you feel about Koreans changing their names to American names?
 1 Strongly approve
 2 Approve
 3 Disapprove
 4 Strongly disapprove
 8 Don't know
- 55a During the last year (July 1991 to June 1992) have you been invited to the home(s) of any American(s)?
 1 Yes (if yes: how many times? _____
 how many different families? _____)
 2 No
- 55b If yes, under what circumstances?
- 55c Who are they (for example, boss, friend, neighbor, etc.)?
- 56a During the last year (July 1991 to June 1992) have you been invited to the home(s) of any Korean(s) in America?
 1. Yes (if yes: how often? _____
 how many different families? _____)
 2 No
- 56b If yes, under what circumstances?
- 56c Who are they (boss, friend, church member, neighbor...)?
- 57a During the last year (July 1991 to June 1992) have you invited any American(s) to your home?
 1 Yes (if yes: how often? _____
 how many different families? _____)
 2 No

57b If yes, under what circumstances?

57c Who are they?

58a During the last year (July 1991 to June 1992) have you invited any Korean(s) to your home?

- 1 Yes (if yes: how often? _____
how many different families? _____)
- 2 No

58b If yes, under what circumstances?

58c Who are they?

59a Have you been treated badly in America because you are a Korean or a member of minority group?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know

59b If yes, what problems have you faced?

60 Are there some Korean customs which are disadvantageous to your life in America? List and explain

61a What kind of neighborhood would you feel most comfortable living in?

- 1 100 % Korean neighborhood
- 2 Predominantly Korean; some white-American
- 3 Half Korean; half white-American
- 4 Predominantly white-American; some Korean
- 5 100 % white-American
- 6 Other: _____

- 61b What kind of neighborhood do you live in now?
- 1 100 % Korean neighborhood
 - 2 Predominantly Korean; some white-American
 - 3 Half Korean; half others
 - 4 Predominantly white-American; some Korean
 - 5 100 % white-American
 - 6 Other: _____
- 62 What neighborhood activities are you regularly involved in?
- 63 How satisfied are you with your life in America?
- 1 Very satisfied
 - 2 Somewhat satisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Very dissatisfied
 - 8 Don't know
- 64 A. What were your expectations when you came to the US?
- B. How have they been realized?
- C. How have they been disappointed?
- 65 How often do you eat Korean food?
- 1 Every meal a day
 - 2 Two meals a day
 - 3 Once a day
 - 4 Sometimes a week
 - 5 Rarely
 - 7 Not at all
- 66 Do you feel that because you immigrated to America, you must actively learn the American way of life and associate mainly with Americans?
- 1 Definitely yes
 - 2 Somewhat yes
 - 3 Somewhat no
 - 4 Definitely no
 - 8 Don't know

- 67 Are you a U.S. citizen?
1 Yes
2 No
- 68 If you are a citizen, have you registered to vote?
1 Yes
2 No
3 Does not apply
- 69 If you are not a US citizen, do you intend to become one?
1 Yes
2 No
3 Does not apply
- 70 During the past one year have you participated in any of the following political activities? (Circle items which apply to you)
- 1 Attended political meetings or rallies where they had political discussions or had politician(s) invited
 - 2 Attended political rallies for a candidate or a political party
 - 3 Donated money to a candidate or party
 - 4 Voted in the last primary election
 - 5 Vote in the last mayoral election
 - 6 Written an opinion letter to newspaper or TV station
 - 7 None of these
- 71 During the past one year have you participated in any of the following cultural activities? (Circle items which apply to you)
- 1 Gone to a game of a professional Chicago sports team
 - 2 Gone to a play at a theater
 - 3 Visited a museum such as an art or science museum
 - 4 Gone to a live concert of classical music
 - 5 Gone to a local festival, such as Taste of Chicago, a parade, or a fireworks display
 - 6 Gone to a dance
 - 7 None of these
- 72 Do you want to go back to Korea to live some day?
1 Positively yes
2 Somewhat yes
3 Somewhat no
8 Don't know

- 73 Explain to what extent you feel you are part of North American society:

Thank you again for your assistance.
Please return completed survey to:

Young-IL Kim
Asian Center
2121 Sheridan Road
Evanston, Illinois 60201

Use the enclosed postpaid envelope.

Let us reassure you that your responses will remain anonymous.

APPENDIX 2
LISTS OF INTERVIEWS

Personal Interviews

- Ann, Byung Gook, Interview, July, 1992.
 Choi, Young Ae, Interview, July, 1992.
 Cho, Hyung Jae, Interview, August, 1992.
 Park, Chul Shick. Interview, August, 1992.
 Jang, Rev. Soon Chang, Interview, August, 1992.
 Choi, Byung-Sun, Interview, August, 1992.
 Kim, Bo-Ra, Interview, September, 1992.
 Yoon, Dr. Suk-Han, Interview, September, 1992.
 Suh, Jung-Ja, Interview, September, 1992.
 Kim, Sung Shin, Interview, September, 1992.
 Lee, Ha Hurn, Interview, September, 1992.

Church Interviews and Observations

- Good Shepherd Sangdong Korean United Methodist Church
 Park Ridge, Illinois
- The First Korean United Methodist Church
 Chicago, Illinois
- Orland Park Korean Church
 Orland Park, Illinois
- Glenview Korean Presbyterian Church
 Glenview, Illinois
- Emmanuel Korean Methodist Church
 Prarie View, Illinois
- Zion Korean Methodist Church
 Chicago, Illinois
- Crystal Korean Holiness Church
 Skokie, Illinois

Kenosha Korean Church
Kenosha, Wisconsin

Milwaukee Korean Church
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Central Korean Church
Indianapolis, Indiana

Asbury Korean United Methodist Church
Villa Park, Illinois

Won Buddhism of America
Chicago, Illinois

Bultasa Buddhist Temple-Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Interviews and Observations at Korean Bars

Shilla Restaurant

Yung Bin Kwan

Paradise Japanese Restaurant

Da-Won Cafe

Blue Grape Cafe

APPENDIX 3
DIRECTIONS OF VARIABLES

DIRECTIONS OF VARIABLES

(The following variables were recorded in order to rearrange the directions.)

Dependant Variables:

S4_42	Use Korean at Home	Larger values correspond to using Korean at home more often.
S4_48a	Reading American Newspapers	Larger values correspond to reading American newspapers more regularly.
S4_49	Speaking English at Work	Larger values correspond to speaking English at work more often.
S4_66	Association w/ American Life	Larger values correspond to associating more with American life.

Independent Variables:

S1_01	Gender	1=male, 0=female, Larger corresponds to males.
S1_02	Age	Larger values correspond to older respondents.
S1_03	Length in U.S.	Larger values correspond to living in U.S. for longer time.
S4_54	Changing Names?	Larger values correspondent to higher approval of changing names from Korean to American.
S4_43	Ashamed Korean?	Larger values correspond to being ashamed of being Korean more often.
S4_44	Associate w/ Koreans?	Larger values correspond to associating more with Koreans.
S4_65	Often Eat Korean Food?	Larger values correspond to eating Korean food most often.

S4_72	Return to Korea?	Larger values correspond to strongly wanting to return to Korea.
QS13_29	Active in Org.?	Larger values correspond to being very active in organization.
QS16_32	How Long in Org.?	Larger values correspond to being in organization for a long time.
QS19_33	Org. Significance for Living?	Larger values correspond to feeling that involvement in organization is highly significant for living in America.
Christ	Christian/Non-Christian?	0=non-Christian, 1=Christian. Larger values correspond to Christian

APPENDIX 4

MULTIPLE REGRESSION OUTPUT

OUTPUT OF FINAL MULTIPLE REGRESSION FOR COMBINED GROUPS

The first section gives an analysis of variance (or ANOVA) table and several measures of association (Multiple R, R Square, etc.). In this section the most important things to note are the "R Square" and "Signif F" which is short for "significance of the F-test." The R Square is the proportion of the variance in the dependent variable that is explained by the independent variables which are currently in the model. The second important thing to note in this section is "Signif F." The F-test is a statistical hypothesis test which tests whether or not the R Square value is significantly different, in a statistical sense, from zero. If Signif F is small (.05 or below, usually) then I can conclude that R Square is significantly different from zero. If Signif F is not small then I have no conclusive evidence that R Square is significantly different from zero.

The second section of output for each block is labelled "Variables in the Equation" and gives statistical results concerning the independent variables which have been entered into the multiple regression model so far. The most important results to notice in this section are "B", "Beta", and "Sig T" which is short for "significance level of t-test". If number of the Sig T is small (less than .05 or below) then the independent variable is a statistically

significant predictor of the dependent variable. For all of the significant independent variables (that is, those independent variables with Sig t $.05$) one should compare Beta values. Beta is the standardized regression coefficient and it measures approximately the relative importance of the independent variables in predicting the dependent variables. That is, the independent variables which have the Beta values which are largest in magnitude (largest disregarding sign) are the most important for predicting the dependent variable. The B values, also known as raw regression coefficients, have the interpretation that a unit increase in the independent variable corresponds to adding B to the dependent variable.

The third section of output for each block, "Variables not in the Equation," contains less useful information in it than the other two sections. Basically it indicates which of the remaining variables are the best predictors of the dependent variable and therefore which of the remaining variables should enter the model next. This information is indicated by "Sig T." If Sig T was small for a certain variable then that variable entered the model.

Once all five blocks entered, the model was complete. By looking at the complete model I could obtain the major results of the analysis. Each table presents the following information for one of the four multiple regression analyses: First, R Square (also known as the coefficient of

determination) is the multiple correlation coefficient. It is a measure of how well the regression model fits the data and can be thought of as the proportion of variance in the dependent variable that is explained by the regression model. Second, Adjusted R Square. A disadvantage of R Square is that when independent variables are added to the regression model R Square will always increase regardless of whether or not the added independent variables significantly increase the predictive power of the model. This means that R Square rewards models on the basis of complexity as well as on the basis of predictive power. Adjusted R Square is an alternative measure of goodness of fit which some users prefer because, unlike R Square, it actually decreases when a model becomes more complicated without increasing predictive power.

Third, Bivariate Correlation Coefficients. The column labelled "Zero-order Correlation" contains the usual Pearson correlation coefficients for the correlations between the dependent variable and the independent variables. The correlation coefficient measures the linear association between two variables. A coefficient of -1 indicates that a perfect negative linear relationship holds; a coefficient of $+1$ indicates that a perfect positive linear relationship holds; and a coefficient of 0 indicates that no linear relationship exists.

Fourth, Standardized Regression Coefficients. The five

right-hand columns contain the standardized regression coefficients, or Beta coefficients, and their corresponding t-test significance levels (in parentheses). Raw regression coefficients reflect the influence of individual independent variables on the dependent variables. However, raw coefficients depend upon the units in which the independent variables are measured. Therefore, since all independent variables are not measured in the same units raw regression coefficients can not be compared between independent variables to determine which independent variables are most influential. To overcome this problem I can compare standardized regression coefficients. Standardized coefficients are the regression coefficients when the independent variables are expressed in standardized (Z-score) form. That is, standardized coefficients are the regression coefficients I would get if all of the independent variables were measured on the same scale. Comparing the standardized coefficients is an approximate means of assessing the relative importance of the independent variables. Reported with each coefficient is the t-test significance level. This statistic gives the probability of the observed regression coefficient under the null hypothesis that the coefficient is zero. Therefore, small significance levels (less than 0.05) correspond to independent variables which are statistically significant for predicting the dependent variable.

APPENDIX 5
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS

S1_01

Gender

Value	Frequency	Percent
Male	79	48
Female	85	52
Total	164	100

S1_02

Age

Value	Frequency	Percent
27	2	1
28	5	3
30	4	2
32	7	4
34	6	4
35	3	2
36	6	4
37	6	4
38	4	2
39	5	3
40	5	3
42	8	5
43	8	5
44	6	4
45	4	2
46	7	4
47	8	5
48	7	4
49	7	4
50	9	6
52	5	3
54	9	6
55	8	6
57	5	3
58	7	4
60	4	2
63	4	2
65	3	2
75	2	1
Total	164	100

S1_03

Length of Stay in US

Value	Frequency	Percent
35	1	0.6
34	1	0.6
30	2	1.2
27	2	1.2
24	3	1.8
22	8	4.9
21	8	4.9
20	8	4.9
19	5	3.0
18	7	4.3
17	10	6.1
16	11	6.7
15	14	8.5
14	8	4.9
13	9	5.5
12	6	3.7
11	5	3.0
10	11	6.7
9	11	6.7
8	9	5.5
7	8	4.9
6	8	4.9
5	9	5.5
Total	164	100

S4_43

Ashamed of Being Korean

Value	Frequency	Percent
Always	25	15.2
Sometimes	137	83.6
Never	---	---
Don't know	2	1.2
Total	164	100

S4_54 Feel About Changing Names

Value	Frequency	%
Strongly approve	5	3.0
Approve	72	43.9
Disapprove	43	26.2
Strongly disapprove	3	1.8
Don't know	41	25.1
Total	164	100

S4_44 Associate Mainly with Koreans

Value	Frequency	%
Strongly agree	57	34.8
Agree	67	40.9
Disagree	33	20.1
Strongly disagree	5	3.0
Don't know	2	1.2
Total	164	100

S4_65 How Often Eat Korean Food

Value	Frequency	%
Every meal a day	44	26.8
Two meals a day	55	33.5
Once a day	59	36.0
Sometimes a week	6	3.7
Rarely	---	---
Not at all	---	---
Total	164	100

S4_72 Want to Go Back to Live in Korea

Value	Frequency	%
Positively yes	20	12.2
Somewhat yes	66	40.2
Somewhat no	56	34.1
Don't know	21	12.8
Total	163	99.3

S2_13

How Active in Religious Organization

Value	Frequency	%
Very active	35	21.3
Somewhat active	68	41.5
Not active at all	14	8.5
Missing	47	28.7
Total	164	100

S3_29

How Active in non-Religious Organization

Value	Frequency	%
Very active	9	5.5
Somewhat active	18	11.0
Not active at all	10	6.1
Missing	127	77.4
Total	164	100

S2_16

Length of Attending Present Religious Organization

Value	Frequency	%
Less than one year	6	3.7
1-2 years	17	10.4
3-4 years	33	20.1
5-6 years	15	9.1
7-10 years	10	6.1
10-15 years	19	11.6
More than 15 years	17	10.4
Missing	47	28.6
Total	164	100

S3_32

Length of Attending Present Non-religious Org.

Value	Frequency	%
Less than one year	4	2.4
1-2 years	5	3.1
3-4 years	4	2.4
5-6 years	8	4.9
7-10 years	5	3.1
10-15 years	4	2.4
More than 15 years	7	4.3
Missing	127	77.4
Total	164	100

S2_19

Significance of Church Involvement for Living in US

Value	Frequency	%
Definitely yes	63	38.4
Somewhat yes	40	24.4
Somewhat no	10	6.1
Definitely no	2	1.2
Don't know	2	1.2
Missing	47	28.7
Total	164	100

S3_33

Significance of Non-Church Involvement for Living in US

Value	Frequency	%
Definitely yes	8	4.9
Somewhat yes	14	8.5
Somewhat no	6	3.7
Definitely no	4	2.4
Don't know	5	3.1
Missing	127	77.4
Total	164	100

S4_42

Use English at Home

Value	Frequency	%
Always Korean	70	42.7
Mostly Korean w/ some English	71	43.3
About half Korean & half English	16	9.8
Mostly English w/ some Korean	6	3.7
Always English	---	---
Missing	1	0.6
Total	164	100

S4_48a

Reading American Newspapers

Value	Frequency	%
Yes, regularly	50	30.5
Yes, occasionally	67	40.9
No, hardly	24	14.6
No, not at all	23	14.0
Total	164	100

S4_49

Speaking English at Work

Value	Frequency	%
Always	105	64.0
Often	22	13.4
Once in a while	15	9.1
Never	6	3.7
Missing	16	9.8
Total	164	100

S4_66

Association with American Life

Value	Frequency	%
Definitely yes	20	12.2
Somewhat yes	106	54.6
Somewhat no	27	16.5
Definitely no	6	3.7
Don't know	5	3.0
Total	164	100

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