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RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND SOCIOECONOMIC ASPECTS OF LIFE OF BUDDHIST AND PROTESTANT KOREAN IMMIGRANTS

BY

OKYUN KWON

VOLUME I

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY IN SOCIOLOGY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

2000

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND SOCIOECONOMIC ASPECTS OF LIFE OF BUDDHIST AND PROTESTANT KOREAN IMMIGRANTS

by

Okyun Kwon

Advisor: Professor Philip Kasinitz

This study investigates the ways in which Korean Buddhist and Protestant immigrants differ in their religious beliefs and practices and how their differences in religious beliefs are causally related to their economic, political, and social aspects of life after immigration. Interviews, participant observation, and mail surveys are the major data collecting methods.

By and large, Buddhists place more emphasis on the role of individual believers in their salvation, while Protestants focus more on transcendency and the Supreme Being's intention which possibly subdue the importance of the role of individual believers in their religious practice and daily life. Blending their beliefs with indigenous Korean religions, Buddhists, however, maintain a stronger tendency to hold polytheistic ideas and beliefs in the immanency of divine power, while Protestants maintain a stronger propensity for holding monotheistic ideas and collective orientation. In spite of Buddhists' religious emphasis on emptiness and the unimportance of worldly success, they sustain a higher level of socioeconomic achievement and a more liberal religious stance and worldview than Protestants. Buddhists' individualistic orientation not only comes from their strong belief that the individual believer is responsible for salvation but also makes them better

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suited for the entrepreneurial environment in the U.S. Protestants' collective tendency largely comes from their emphasis and compliance with standardized religious doctrines and tenets and their belief in God's initiation of their salvation. Protestants' tendency toward collectivity and other-reliance for salvation become an external coercion that restricts their freely- and individualistically-oriented socioeconomic behavior.

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Preface

"Oil and water" were the terms that I once used to contrast Eastern culture to Western. But now I am somewhat reluctant to use the terms, because on the one hand, I realize that every culture shares some universal aspects of culture. On the other hand, the arrow of modernization runs with unprecedented velocity so that it virtually makes the distinction between the two cultures meaningless today. The material culture of each society is consumed and enjoyed by the other, and non-material culture as well is being currently exchanged at a rapid speed. One of the core element of culture -- religion -- is not an exception. Although modernization and development of science make people on the earth less religious, they simultaneously expose people to a more multi-religious setting. The growing bulk of international migration expedites multiculturalism, especially in the large immigrant receiving countries.

Living in one of the world's most culturally diverse and most industrialized and commercialized cities, I have encountered so many different religious immigrant groups in daily basis. African-American mosques, Middle-Eastern mosques, Jewish synagogues, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Buddhist temples, Asian Indian Hindu temples, American Roman Catholic churches, American Protestant churches, Hispanic Protestant churches, Hispanic Roman Catholic churches, Greek Orthodox churches, Asian Protestant churches, and Asian Roman Catholic churches are all located within a mile radius in the Flushing area in New York City. Quite many American Protestant church buildings also place their church title signs in two languages. The other language is typically Korean. Many Korean Protestant congregations rent American church buildings and share the

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space in different time zones with their American counterparts.

Immigrants bring the religions they used to practice in their homeland. For religious immigrants, religion plays an important role in the host society and performs a critical function. Immigrant churches and temples become social and ethnic organization as well as religious organization. Immigrants' religious participation encourages and promotes their in-group solidarity on the one hand and their involvement in the larger community on the other. Religion and immigration therefore have a dynamic interrelationship. Immigration invites religious groups selectively. Selection gives a further preferences to particular religious groups. The minority status of a particular religious group in an immigrant community does not directly represent the same status in its homeland. For instance, Korean Buddhists who are the religious majority in their homeland are suddenly plunged into minority status in the Korean community in the U.S. But their Protestant counterparts suddenly become majority in the community after immigration.

Observing the saliency of religion among immigrants, I have been interested in the religious tenets and doctrines they bring and the roles and functions of their religious practice in their new life in the host society. Taking the Korean case as an example, I focus the main theme of my thesis on the interrelationship between religion and post-immigration life of the two religious groups in the same ethnic community -- Buddhists and Protestants. Beside the immigrant religious groups' life and the roles and functions of religious beliefs for the believers' adjustment to the new society, I am interested in exploring the difference and similarity the two religious groups show and the impact of their religious beliefs and tenets on their daily life after immigration. Weber's Protestant

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ethic theory is used to explore their differences and similarities in religious beliefs and practices. This thesis is therefore based on an assumption that immigrants' religious beliefs influence their ways of thinking and life. Buddhists, who are traditionally known as world-renouncers, are therefore expected to show "world-rejecting" attitude and behavior patterns, while Protestants, who are known as world-reformers, are expected to show "world-accepting" attitude and behavior.

Largely because of immigration's selection process, however, these typical attitudinal and behavior patterns of each religious group are not observed in the Korean immigrant community. Contrary to our expectation, Buddhists enjoy more worldly success than Protestants according to my survey results. Buddhists place more emphasis on the role of individual believers in their salvation, while Protestants focus more on God's intention, which possibly subdues the importance of the role of individual believers in their religious practice and socioeconomic activities. Blending their beliefs with indigenous Korean religions, Buddhists, however, maintain a stronger tendency to hold polytheistic ideas and beliefs in the immanency of divine power, while Protestants maintain a stronger propensity for holding monotheistic ideas, transcendency of divine power, and collective orientation. Interestingly, in spite of Buddhists' religious emphasis on emptiness and the unimportance of worldly success, they sustain a higher level of socioeconomic achievement and more liberal religious stance and worldview than their Protestant counterparts. The Buddhists' individualistic orientation not only comes from their strong belief that the individual believer is responsible for salvation, but also makes them better suited for the commercial and entrepreneurial environment in the United States.

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My thesis is organized in two parts: the first part (Chapters 1-5) concerns general social characteristics of Korean immigrants and reasons for their active religious participation before and after immigration; and the second part (Chapters 6-13) contrasts and compares the two religious groups' beliefs and practices and their socioeconomic, cultural, and political aspects of life after immigration.

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Acknowledgments

This study consists of stories about Korean immigrants. It covers their history, their ethnic churches and temples, their personal life history, and their description of post-immigration life in the U.S. It was not possible to organize it without my informants' ardent helps. All my respondents were eager to listen to my intent of study and volunteered for interviews. They encouraged me to complete my work. They allowed me to come to their homes, churches, temples, restaurants, stores, offices, hospitals, ride-and-park places, parks, and playgrounds. I owe 109 interviewees and 114 church and temple leaders for their time and promise for making a good work. My respondents are the first persons to whom I would like to deliver my sincere appreciations.

I would like to deliver my appreciations to my dissertation committee members. The chair of the committee, Professor Philip Kasinitz, generously accepted my research proposal without giving me any rigorous testing of my ability and qualification as a scholar and resolved all my research questions and issues. Painstakingly reading the rough draft of my Korean-style English writing, he showed me the power of silent comment. Patiently reading the long rough draft, other committee members, Professor William Kornblum, Professor William Helmreich, and Professor Robert Perinbanayagam, also gave me numerous valuable comments on community issues, racial and ethnic issues, immigration, and religion. Their suggestions enriched my thoughts on the issues and enhanced the quality of every step of my research procedure and writing. My special thanks also should be delivered to Professor Gerald Handel, who gave me an intuitive knowledge about qualitative study and an effective data analysis eight years ago when I

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took his qualitative method class at City College. For the course requirement he suggested I did open-ended interviews of a few Buddhist and Protestant Korean immigrants and examined the differential aspects of attitudes and behavior of two groups on immigration-related issues. I owe him a part of my passions and interests of this study.

A few religious leaders were eager to help me meet the informants, invite me to their worship services, rituals, and various religious activities, and allow me to interview themselves. Few religious leaders allow the stranger to observe their worship sites. But Rev. Kim, the head pastor of Grace Church, and Priest Bopan, the head priest of Wonkaksa temple, generously allowed me to observe all their religious activities held in their church and temple. The assistant pastor of the church, Rev. Park, and the assistant priest of the temple, Priest Wonyul, also helped me with detailed interview and observation schedules. In his busy schedule, the editor-in-chief of the unique Korean Buddhist journal *Modern Buddhism*, Hyung K. Kim, also generously provided me with important information about the Korean Buddhist community in the U.S. and introduced me to many devout Buddhists who eventually became valuable informants for this study.

Since English is not my native language, I encountered difficulties in organizing my work in English. Without the two intelligent editors I could not complete my work. My friend and classmate Mr. Robert Saute, who are well aware of the details of my research project, helped me with writing from the initial stage of my work. Mr. Wolcott Wheeler, who has profound knowledge of Asia, generously accepted my request for editing and grammatic error corrections in his busy full-time work schedule as a professional writer. By correcting every word, sentence, and paragraph following Mr. Wheeler's advice, I

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learned how to write in English effectively.

The most important person to whom I deliver my sincerest thanks is my wife, Donghee. As a seven-day full-time worker and full-time homemaker with two young sons, she has fully supported me both financially and psychologically throughout the whole period of my graduate study. She has always been with me, giving me the right advice when I needed it. She has patiently and painfully waited for the progress of my work.

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Introduction

Purpose and Significance of Study

Many studies on immigration reveal that new immigrants in the United States are more religious or at least have higher levels of religious participation than in their home countries (Handlin 1951; Greeley 1972; Hurh and Kim 1990; Smith 1978; Williams 1988). The literature discloses that their religion not only helps them preserve traditional ways of life, but also provides meaning to their new lives, a sense of self-awareness, and belonging in the host society. Not only due to the beneficial functions religion performs, but also due to their immigrant status in the host society, immigrants are more likely to practice religion after immigration. For instance, as the early European immigrants brought and actively practiced their religions, so have the new Asian immigrants. Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism, Shintoism, Islam, and Asian versions of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism accompany these new immigrants today.

For many new immigrant groups, the immigration process has brought them an increase of religious participation, and their ethnic churches, temples, and mosques have become their community centers. In the case of Korean immigrants, the immigration process alters two features of their community life: first, more Christians than any other religious groups immigrate to the United States; second, Korean immigrants more actively participate in their religious activities after immigration. Since the majority of Korean immigrants have been affiliated with Protestant churches from the beginning of Korean immigration to the United States in 1902, their ethnic churches have performed the important function of

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acting as informal community centers. Among post-1965 immigrants to the United States, Koreans still display one of the highest church attendance rates among Asian immigrants (Kwon 1997; Min 1996, 1992; Yoon 1995; Harris 1990; Hurh and Kim 1990, 1984; Light and Bonacich 1988; Ryu 1988; Kim 1985; Kim 1981; Choy 1979). Interestingly, according to 1990 U.S. census data, Koreans also show the highest self-employment rates among all immigrant groups in the United States.

The fact that the majority of Korean immigrants identify themselves as Protestants and self-employed businessmen raises questions about the role of the "Protestant ethic" and the role of Protestant churches in promoting social capital. Missing from this picture, however, is the large minority of Korean Buddhist immigrants, who were the religious majority in their homeland before immigration. Because immigration changes not only religious participation rates, but also the religious affiliation of Koreans, the Buddhist group suddenly plunges into minority status in the Korean community in the United States, while the number of Korean Protestants dramatically increases with Korean immigrants' general religious participation rates after immigration. Although Buddhist immigrants' religious participation rates remain the same after immigration, the absolute number of Buddhist Korean immigrants decreases significantly in the process of immigration.

Immigration in fact plays a significant role in altering Korean immigrants' religious profiles and religious participation rates. The case of Korean immigration, therefore, raises some interesting questions in relation to the roles and functions of religion in the process of immigration. For instance, why do more Protestants than Buddhists immigrate to the United States? Why do the numerous non-Protestant Koreans begin to practice

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Protestantism after immigration? What role do the Protestant churches and the Buddhist temples play for the adjustment of their members? Are there any differences in the adjustment pattern of the two religious groups due to differences in their religious beliefs? Contrary to the Protestant ethic, which has long been considered to promote entrepreneurialism, rationality, and mobility, how does the Buddhist ethic, which is considered to downplay worldly success and material gain, affects their everyday socioeconomic aspect of life? How does Buddhist immigrants' lifestyle differ from Protestants?

In the Weberian paradigm of the sociology of religion, religious belief is considered to have a significant effect on believers' non-religious conduct. Weber argues that religious belief, as one of the core cultural elements, becomes the most important impetus for social change. According to Weber, the socio-cultural characteristics of a society, which heavily influence the socioeconomic ideas and behavior of people, is largely dependent on the characteristics of religious belief that the society maintains. In the Weberian paradigm, Korean immigrants' high level of affiliation with Protestantism and self-employed entrepreneurialism after immigration raise questions in relation to their socioeconomic adjustment in the host society: is Protestantism in fact associated with its believers' level of socioeconomic achievement, while is Buddhism not?

Following the Weberian paradigm of the sociological study of religion, this study attempts to seek the reasons for the changes in the proportion of Korean immigrants' religious affiliation in the process of immigration and to explore the difference between the two religious groups in causal links of religious beliefs and believers' cultural, economic,

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political, and social conduct.

Koreans' high rate of church attendance and self-employment in the U.S. is a peculiar phenomenon compared to those in their homeland and other host countries to which Koreans have immigrated, such as Australia, China, Japan, and Russia. Korean immigrants in these countries maintain much lower rates of self-employment and Protestant church attendance.[1] According to my survey conducted for this study in 1997 and 1998, 42 percent of Buddhist respondents and 37 percent of Protestant respondents are self-employed. The proportion of Korean immigrants' self-employment rate is much higher than Koreans' self-employment rate in Korea, which is 15 percent out of the economically-active population (Yoon 1993).

Reflecting changes in religious participation rates in the process of immigration, Korean immigrants' religious participation rate is significantly higher than that of Koreans' in Korea. According to recent census data, in Korea, slightly more than half of the total population (51%) is religiously active, and among the religiously active population, approximately half are Buddhists (45.6%) and the other half are Christians, including Catholics (51.8%) (Korean Government 1996; Yoon 1994, 1993). Many studies also reveal that less than 5 percent of Koreans in the U.S. are Buddhists, while more than 70 percent are Christians (Hurh and Kim 1990; Min 1992a; Yu 1988). My survey also shows that few Koreans (3.2%) in the U.S. are Buddhists, while the majority of Koreans (74%) are Protestants. In contrast, approximately 17 percent of first-generation Filipinos in the United States, 32 percent of Chinese in Chicago, 37 percent of Japanese in Chicago, and 65 percent of Asian Indians and Pakistanis in Canada are affiliated with ethnic churches or

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temples.[2] Among the major Asian immigrants, Koreans show not only the highest religious activity participation rates, but also the highest Protestant affiliation rates.

Korean immigrants' high rates of religious participation and self-employment in the United States not only draw an attention to the relationship between religious belief and believers' socioeconomic adjustment, but also remind us of the debate about differences in the influence of Eastern and Western religions on believers' socioeconomic conduct. The importance of Korean immigrants' cultural lives, including religious beliefs and ideas which permeate their daily life, has been taken for granted since the beginning of their immigration to the United States. Because most studies of Korean immigrants' religions have focused on the social functions of Korean ethnic Protestant churches, attention should be paid to the role of religious beliefs and their effects on the socioeconomic behavior of believers. By comparing the basic religious tenets and ethical values between Buddhists and Christians, which have represented Asian (or Eastern) and European (or Western) religious traditions respectively, we may understand how different religious ideas and beliefs are interrelated with the socioeconomic aspects of believers' lives.[3] The major purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between Korean immigrants' religious beliefs and their cultural, economic, political, and social aspects of life after immigration to the United States.

This study is significant for two reasons. First, since few studies have examined the relationship between immigrants' religio-cultural characteristics and their socioeconomic adjustment, this study will contribute to unravel the relationship between immigrants' religious beliefs and their adjustment after immigration. I believe that the research on both

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the structure and function of ethnic churches and immigrant groups' socioeconomic adjustment should be preceded by studies on the role of religious beliefs and cultural characteristics that the groups bring with them in the process of immigration. Second, since most studies on Korean immigrant religions have focused on Christians only, my study will contribute to a comparative religious study. Any empirical studies concerned with the comparison between the two major religious groups in the Korean community cannot be found. Although the number of Buddhist immigrants in the community has increased to date, their religious and social life is not yet known. This study is not only concerned with the relationship between the religious beliefs and socioeconomic conduct of believers, but it also compares the differences in structural and functional aspects of both Buddhist and Protestant congregations.

Background of Study

Many surveys reveal that Korean immigrants in the United States maintain an exceptionally high rate of religious participation (Kwon 1997; Min 1992a; Hurh and Kim 1990). In other host countries in which a large number of Korean immigrants live -- China and Japan -- the Korean Christian population is only about one percent out of the total Korean immigrants.[4] The Korean Buddhist population is more or less the same as that of their Christian counterparts in these two host countries.[5] Such a striking difference in the proportion of religiously active Korean immigrants in these three host countries is mainly due to the combined factors of the distinct social characteristics of Korean immigrants who migrated during this unique historical juncture, the immigration laws of both the host and

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sending countries, and the dominant religion of the host society. Most Koreans living in China and Japan were moved by force in the turmoil of World War II or before the war. They thus were deprived of an opportunity to practice their ethnic religions after immigration to these countries. In contrast to the Korean immigration to China and Japan, Korean immigration to the United States was initiated under the influence of American missionaries. Although the rapid growth of the Protestant population in Korea and in the Korean community in the United States has been caused by various socio-historical factors, the American missionaries' efforts at constructing a social infrastructure was a major contributor to the rapid growth of Protestantism in Korea. American missionaries' contribution to the growth of Protestantism in Korea continues to affect the heavy influx of Protestant immigrants to the United States. A large proportion of Korean immigrants are already affiliated with Protestant churches before immigration. Different from other religious groups, Protestants have also emigrated with their leaders, who have played a critical role in establishing the church-centered immigrant community in the United States. The Christian population in Korea had rapidly grown during the 1960s and the 1970s, especially in the major cities from which the majority of Korean immigrants to the U.S. are drawn. Therefore, more Christians than any other religious groups have continued to immigrate to the United States since 1965.

Reflecting the composition of religious groups in Korea, there are two major religious groups in the Korean immigrant community in the United States: Christians, mostly Protestants but including some Catholics (10-12% among the Christian population), and Buddhists. In terms of religious activity and size, the Christian group is more active and

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much larger than the Buddhist group. Currently more than 70 percent of Korean immigrants are affiliated with their own ethnic Christian churches, although individual immigrants' rates of Christian identity are surely much lower than that, and less than 5 percent of Korean immigrants are Buddhists, although individual Koreans' rates of Buddhist identity are much higher than that. The rest consider themselves either "Confucian" or "Without religious affiliation."

Korean immigrants' high rate of church affiliation is largely due to their pre-immigration background and the religious switch after immigration. A significant number of Korean immigrants have urban middle-class backgrounds, and Christianity in Korea, especially Protestantism, is strong among the urban middle-class (Kim 1981; Min 1992a). Hurh and Kim's study reveals that more than half Korean immigrants (52.2%) were members of Christian churches before immigration (Hurh and Kim 1990). Another predeparture survey conducted in Seoul in 1986, when the number of Korean immigrants reached its peak, shows that among Korean immigrants, more than half are Christians (41.6% of non-Catholic Christians and 12.3% of Catholics), while only a minority are either Buddhists (12.8%) or without religious affiliation (32.5%). However, a nationwide survey conducted with the adult population (ages 18-68) in Korea one year before the predeparture survey was conducted (1985) reveals that the Christian population (21.1%, including 4.9% of Catholics) is smaller than the Buddhist (24.4%). More than half of the Korean population (52.2%) is without religious affiliation (Park et al. 1986: 60-61). These two survey results indicate that in the case of Korean immigrants, more Christians (both Catholics and Protestants) than any other religious groups, and more believers than non-

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believers, immigrate to the United States. After immigration, about half of "non-religious" and "affiliates of other religions" attend Protestant churches, mostly attracted by the social functions the churches provide (Hurh and Kim 1990; Min 1992a). Approximately three-quarters of first-generation Korean immigrants participate in religious activities on arrival. About two-thirds of them are affiliated with a church before immigration, and one-third after immigration. If Buddhist groups are taken into account, almost eight-tenths of first-generation Korean immigrants participate in religious activities after immigration.

The *1998 Korean Business Directory of New York*, published by a Korean ethnic newspaper company, lists 633 Korean Christian churches, as opposed to 13 Buddhist temples. The striking numeric difference between the two religious groups shows the sudden change in religious alignment in the Korean immigrant community. Although historically Buddhism has long been a major religion in Korea,[6] the high rate of conversion (or "switch" in a cynical sense) to Christianity both in Korea and the United States implies either that the old religion has lost its doctrinal power or usefulness to the believer's daily needs, or that the new religion dovetails more effectively with their needs.

Christianity is strong in industrialized urban areas in Korea, whereas Buddhism has a greater number of adherents in rural areas, especially in the southeastern region of the Korean peninsula. Christians, thus, are more apt to be exposed to a Westernized modern lifestyle, while Buddhists are more rooted in traditional ways of life. This implies that Buddhist Koreans who migrate to America, although they are a minority among Korean immigrants, are more likely to be unconventional or radical in terms of their attitudes and worldview than the general Buddhist population in Korea, who by and large more adhere

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to a traditional lifestyle. Proportionately speaking, therefore, Buddhists are more likely to be drawn from the major urban centers in Korea, as long as the immigration process gives more favor to the urbanite. Unfortunately, this result of a selective immigration process overshadows any striking differences in the socioeconomic aspects of life between the two religious groups, as long as Buddhists have already been exposed to modern lifestyles and accept the modern economic system.

Like the majority of Christian immigrants, most Buddhist immigrants are also drawn from major urban centers. Unlike Christians, who share the same religion with the majority of Americans, however, Buddhists are not only religious strangers, but also pioneers, who try to cultivate their own religious beliefs in the host society. Undoubtedly, their burden is double: subtle pressure from the powerful force of American Christianity, deeply rooted in mainstream American culture since the Colonial era; and the challenge of transplanting their religion to this society.

Buddhists' religious activities are not particularly visible in the United States. Even in Korea, Buddhist temples[7] are less visible in urban areas than Christian churches.[8] Many large and popular Buddhist temples are located in mountainous regions, partly because Buddhist doctrine emphasizes harmony or oneness with nature, and partly because Buddhism was long been persecuted by the Chosun dynasty that advocated Confucian ethnical values.[9] Coupled with their outlook and religious tenets, Buddhists maintain more indifference and aloofness in their socioeconomic and political interests than Christians. Interestingly enough, however, because proportionally more Buddhists are drawn from the middle class in major urban centers, their level of socioeconomic achievement after

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immigration is higher than Protestants', and they do not show any particular differences in their political and cultural aspects of life, except for their stronger preservation of Korean traditions, for instance, ancestor worship and traditional conjugal relationships.

In spite of the difficulties Buddhists encounter in maintaining their religious practices in the United States, they have built their temples to meet their spiritual and social needs. According to my survey, Buddhists not only have begun their religious ventures later, but they also have had fewer religious leaders, temples, and lay believers than Protestants throughout their immigration history, despite their majority status in their homeland. Even worse, few children of Buddhists are interested in their parents' religion. Only a minority of Buddhist temples (24%) offers English services for second-generation members, while more than half of Protestant churches (52%) do so. Protestants have also built more churches that offer an influential entry point into the network of a more established immigrant community. Moreover, Protestants' similarity of plausibility structure with the major religion in the host society provides them with psychological help after immigration. Since mid-1970s the Korean Presbyterians, the biggest denomination in the Korean immigrant community, have established their own ethnic umbrella organization and encouraged individual Korean congregations to join the organization. Buddhists, however, have not established any ethnic umbrella organizations that cover the whole U.S. territory. Individual Buddhist congregations are either isolated or unofficially linked to mother temples in Korea.

The rapid growth of Protestantism in both Korea and Korean communities in the U.S. is also closely associated with the new social ideas developed during Korea's rapid

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transformation from an agricultural Confucian society to a modern industrialized one. The rapid social transformation broke down the traditional religio-cultural order and value and combined them with modern social thoughts such as individualism, rationalism and materialism. Korean Protestants' emphasis on such ideas as aggressiveness, achievement, elitism, and triumphalism have been selectively restored, as reminiscences of Confucianism, in modern capitalist society. Interestingly, these ideas are strongly supported by both Buddhists and Protestants in Korea. After immigration, these ideas are reinforced by their religious ideas, and their situationally-developed "immigration ethos" becomes incorporated with their religious tenets and the social ideas Korea developed during modernization. After immigration, not only do Protestants but also Buddhists adopt the immigration ethos for the betterment of their socioeconomic life in the U.S. Although the similarity of the socioeconomic backgrounds of the two religious groups before immigration overshadows their differences in socioeconomic adjustment after immigration, this study comparatively explores the detailed interrelationship between religious beliefs and believers' daily life.

Literature Review

In the vast literature on Buddhism and Christianity, there are more comparative theological studies than sociological ones. Most theological studies concentrate on what Buddhism and Christianity are as religions and what particular rituals and doctrines mean for both believers and outsiders. Most sociological studies, however, are concerned with the functions or roles of religious beliefs on individual believers' daily life, on an

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individual level, and those of congregations on the community and society as a whole, on a collective level. Studies of ethnic religions that new immigrants have brought to U.S. society also mostly deal with the functions and roles of the immigrant ethnic congregation in the new society and the benefits that the ethnic congregations give to their members.

The influence of religious beliefs on believers' lives and society has been taken for granted and less frequently studied than the nature of religion and the functions of ethnic churches and temples, because of difficulties in collecting substantive data. As a result, studies about how individual believers behave according to their religious beliefs and upbringing are rare. Geertz emphasized that the study of religion should be "a two-stage operation: first, an analysis of the system of meanings embodied in the symbols which make up the religion proper; and, second, the relating of these systems to social-structural and psychological processes" (Geertz 1973: 125).

Speculation on how religious ideas affect the social behavior of believers was most famously undertaken by Max Weber (1930, 1993). His exposition of how the Protestant ethic influenced the emergence of modern capitalism, however, is speculative and theoretical. Influenced by Weber, in the early 1960s Gerhard Lenski engaged in an empirical study that investigated how religious ideas were linked to the social behavior of believers. He compared four religio-ethnic groups' social behavior, using a sample from the Detroit metropolitan area. The groups he studied were Jews, Catholics, White Protestants, and Black Protestants. He concluded that religion constantly influenced almost every aspect of the lives of modern metropolitan residents. Lenski wrote that "through its impact on individuals, religion makes an impact on all the other institutional systems of the

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community in which these individuals participate. Hence the influence of religion operates at the social level as well as at the personal level" (Lenski 1961: 289). Furthermore, he added that "socio-religious group membership is a variable comparable in importance to class, both with respect to its potency and with respect to the range, or extent, of its influence" (Lenski 1961: 295). Although Lenski's study was based on modern empirical methodology, it is a comparison of several different ethnic groups, as well as their religious identification. Ethnic and racial factors consequently played a more important role than religious factors *per se* in his study. Studies of Weber and Lenski on religion, nevertheless, revealed the fact that the influence of social status -- e.g. membership in a religious group -- was equivalent to that of social class.

Many sociologists, including Herberg (1960), Greeley (1972, 1974, 1989), Rutledge (1982), Warner (1993), Warner and Wittner (1998), and Williams (1988), have elaborated on how American religion has changed since the period of mass immigration during the 19th century and how each minority religious group in America has established and maintained its own community. Two very important findings were elucidated by these sociologists. First, America has undergone a process of religious pluralization. Religion in America no longer consists of a single overarching idea, belief, and value system that hold American people together. Second, because religion in America has been a socially-approved category into which individuals can readily identify themselves, even members of foreign, "exotic" religious groups need not hide their religious identities in America. Religious and cultural pluralism in the U.S. has, therefore, been accelerated.

Research on the new immigrants since 1965 has been heavily concentrated on their

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economic adjustment and intergroup relations with other racial and ethnic groups, paying special attention to their small business activities. Research on the new immigrants therefore has paid little attention to the causes of the differences in economic adjustment patterns among the new immigrant groups. Theories about "enclave economy" and "middleman minorities" are the leading attempts to explain post-1965 immigrants' economic adjustment patterns, and much research on new immigrants is by and large concerned with the economic condition of the newcomers (Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Waldinger 1996, 1994; Zhou 1992). Research on Korean immigrants has particularly focused on their economic adjustment patterns only. Few studies have concerned with cultural aspects of life of Korean immigrants and the influence of their culture on their socioeconomic sphere of life.

Other research on Korean immigrants has also been concerned with such issues as the historical overview of Korean immigration (Choy 1979), the proliferation of Korean Protestant churches (Shin 1989; Kim 1974), and the social functions of ethnic churches (Kwon 1997, Hurh and Kim 1990; Min 1992a). In addition, several theologians have studied the rapid growth of Korean ethnic churches in the U.S. (Harris 1990; Kim 1985), focusing primarily on religious doctrines and belief systems. Far fewer studies have thus been concerned with the relationship between the new immigrants' religious beliefs and their socioeconomic adjustment after immigration and comparison between the new immigrant religious groups.

Sociologists, such as Dearman (1982), Hurh and Kim (1990), Kim (1981), Min (1992a), Park (1989), Shin (1989), and Yu (1988), have studied Korean immigrants' religious

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activities. Their research, however, has been limited to the questions: Why do they attend church? (Dearman 1982; Hurh and Kim 1990; Kim 1981) How are their churches structured? (Dearman 1982; Min 1992a) What functions do Korean churches fulfill for the members? (Dearman 1982; Hurh and Kim 1990; Min 1992a) Why do Korean immigrants' churches proliferate? (Harris 1990; Shin 1989; Kim 1985). These studies address Korean immigrants' religious activities, neither the effect of their beliefs on their daily life nor the comparison between religious groups within the same ethnic group.

Although the number of the Korean Buddhist immigrants has grown substantially to be studied on its own, no empirical research has been conducted yet. Yu's study briefly describes how Korean Buddhist temples in Southern California area have grown since the mid-1970s, using telephone interviews with only a few Korean Buddhist leaders in the area. Empirical research focusing on the relationship between new immigrants' religion and their lives is also rare.

My study is primarily interested in such intellectual inquiries as to how religious ideas influence believers in creating a worldview or social consciousness, and how these ideas in turn affect the socioeconomic aspects of their life in nonreligious settings, especially in the immigrant community. As Lenski's study reveals, different status groups are expected to demonstrate different sets of social behavior. Likewise, Buddhist Korean immigrants are expected to exhibit not only a different worldview, but different socioeconomic adjustment patterns from their Christian counterparts.

Theoretical Framework

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Weber's theoretical perspective on ideas, religion, and social action constitutes the theoretical framework for this study. According to Weber, "ideas shape human action" (Weber 1993: x). This means that socio-culturally endowed ideas (for instance, religious beliefs) can be powerful guidelines for the everyday actions of believers. For Weber, religiously-oriented activity can be rational, despite its seeming irrationality to outsiders, as long as it is congruent with and supportive of believers' everyday life goals. He designated ideas that come from religion as "value rational" ideas which are not based on means-ends calculation, but on "a conscious belief in the values for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other forms of behavior" (Weber 1978:24-25) which affords believers an affirmation of normal life by bestowing on them peace of mind and ways of explaining the course of their lives. In this modern industrialized society, value rational ideas are still needed to maintain a secure everyday life. This also applies to the new immigrants. The more they encounter difficulties in their new surroundings, the more they will seek problem-solving methods in a religious or value rational context. How they deal with the social situations that new immigrants encounter must be seen against the background of their beliefs and values, which in turn orient their behavior.

Weber's distinction between Eastern and Western religion is a good example of his theory of beliefs and behavior. According to him, a commitment to a religious belief and activity implies a pursuit of salvation. Salvation also calls for, to some degree, an ascetic behavior -- "curtailment of worldly interests" or in extreme cases, "withdrawal from world." "The unique concentration of human behavior on activities leading to salvation," however, "may require the participation within the world (or more precisely, within the

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institutions of the world but in opposition to them)" (Weber 1993: 166). This means that religious belief and activity are meaningful in this world, only when they are associated with believers' current life situation.

There are by and large two paths to accomplish religious salvation: one is "withdrawal from the world," which pursues "world-rejecting asceticism," and the other is "active participation within the world," which pursues "world-accepting asceticism" (or "inner-worldly asceticism"). The world for the pursuer of the former type of asceticism is presented as an entity that the believer should abandon, but the world for the pursuer of the latter type of asceticism is presented as an entity that the believer has a responsibility or an obligation to transform, in accordance with God's order (Weber 1993: 166).

According to Weber, the world-rejecting type of asceticism prevails in Eastern religions, including Buddhism ("ancient Buddhism," according to Weber's categorization), whereas the world-accepting type of asceticism dominates in Western religions. Ascetics of Eastern religion are therefore more likely to find refuge away from the world, whereas ascetics of Western religion are more likely to become "rational reformers" within this world. The ascetic of Western religion thus becomes an active transformer of the world advised by God, while the ascetic of eastern religion becomes an inactive escapist who is apt to hold arbitrary ideas and let no one except themselves guide their ideas and action. The ideas of Eastern religion, thus, according to Weber, are more likely to be subjective, contemplative, and mystical, while those of Western religion are by and large more instructive, instrumental, and rational. Regarding the behavior pattern of Western religion practitioners, Weber argues that "the order of the world in which the ascetic is situated

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becomes for him a vocation which he must fulfill rationally... If success supervenes upon such acquisitive activity, it is regarded as the manifestation of god's blessing upon the labor of the pious man and of god's pleasure with his economic pattern of life" (Weber 1993: 167).

Weber's theoretical perspective suggests that a social and moral ethos (which is paradigmatically represented by religious beliefs, along with its associated rationality) can become a major impetus for transformation of society. Weber's analysis of the difference in religious characteristics between Eastern and Western religions implies how behavior is oriented differently, in accordance with differences in religious beliefs. Weber's perspective is critically examined in this research by taking an example of the two comparable religious groups, the Buddhist and the Protestant, in an ethnically-identical immigrant community.

Research Questions

Based on Weber's comparative theoretical perspective, several theoretical questions guide our research on the interrelationship between religious beliefs and the socioeconomic behavior of the two religious immigrant groups. For example, how do the religious beliefs orient believers' everyday activities in their immigrant community? What do beliefs mean to believers in the new immigrant host society? Why do they accept certain ideas but not others? What is the role of religion in shaping individual believers' ideas that direct their worldly behavior in this new immigrant society? Focusing on this research theme, three other specific empirical questions provide the purview of the study. For instance, how is

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the immigration process interrelated to the two religious groups' partaking in immigration? How are the congregations of the two religious immigrant groups organized? And how do the religious beliefs of each group differently affect believers' socioeconomic behavior in their daily lives after immigration?

Research Design

For a more comprehensive understanding of the processes involved in the role of religious beliefs on socioeconomic behavior of the two religious groups, combined research methods (qualitative and quantitative) were used. Interviews (both in-depth and closed-ended), participant observation, and mail survey were the major data collection methods. Census data, document research, and informal interviews with church and temple leaders augmented the data collections.

Data concerning believers' thoughts, beliefs, and worldviews was collected through in-depth interviews. The degree of believers' religious practices and their level of socioeconomic achievement and civic engagement were collected mostly through closed-ended interviews. One hundred nine respondents were selected for interviews from the two religious groups: fifty Buddhists and fifty-nine Protestants. Respondents were divided almost equally by gender. The age of respondents ranged from twenty-four through sixty-five. To meet the special criteria for this research project, respondents were selected from relatively devout believers. They were selected through the introduction of lay leaders and clergy members who were well aware of believers' sincerity.

For the interview, 140 questions, both closed-ended and open-ended combined, were

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provided (see Appendix I). Questionnaire items were categorized into three groups, in accordance with research themes: 1) those indicating personal, demographic, and pre-immigration characteristics; 2) those showing religious beliefs, religious practices, personal life histories, and conversion; and 3) those reflecting socioeconomic, cultural, and political behavior and attitudes.

The participant observation covered religious practices and social activities at home, at church or temple, and in the workplace. Participant observation on religious practices included all rituals (ways of interaction between religious symbols and believers), the procedures of various religious services, response of lay people to the leaders during service, Bible or Buddhist Scripture study, etc. Participation observation of social activities included fellowship activities after services, interaction between first- and second-generations, men and women, lay people and religious leaders, and the rich and the poor, the commute (interactions among riders in church vans), and believers' everyday activities, including their business operations and leisure activities. Special religious activities, such as revival meetings, retreats, district cell meetings, yearly picnics, and meetings with special guests were also observed. By and large, through participant observation, believers' religious practice, their interaction with religious symbols and other believers, and their application of their beliefs to their daily lives were investigated. All sermons of the two religious groups were recorded and comparatively analyzed.

For participant observations, one Buddhist temple and one Protestant (Presbyterian) church were selected and intensively observed. They are the Korean Buddhist Won Kak Temple ("Wonkaksa" hereafter) and the Grace Korean Presbyterian Church ("Grace

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Church" hereafter).[10] These two sites were selected because they are two of the most active religious organizations in the Korean community in the New York metropolitan area and are fairly representative of their respective religious groups. To meet the needs of this research project, many Korean ethnic congregations were observed during the field research. But the activities of the two congregations above were observed most intensely. Most members of both congregations are first-generation Korean immigrants and reside in the New York metropolitan area.

Data concerning the congregations' structural and organizational aspects was collected through a mail survey questionnaire (see Appendix II). Out of 455 Korean Protestant churches in the New York metropolitan area and 90 Korean Buddhist temples in the U.S., 29 Buddhist temples (32%) and 85 Protestant churches (19%) responded to the questionnaire.

The quantifiable data collected through the closed-ended interviews was coded for computer analysis. Using a statistical computer program (SPSS), the religious variables were individually correlated with non-religious variables, and the survey outcomes of the two religious groups were systematically compared in accordance with the themes in question. All variables that stand for respondents' religious beliefs and practice thus became independent variables, while all other variables that indicated respondents' non-religious behavior and attitudes became dependent variables. Some intrinsically qualitative data was directly cited wherever appropriate. For this research, both participant observations and interviews were conducted from December 1996 to November 1998. Participant observation and interview with the Buddhist group were conducted first. Mail

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survey questionnaires were sent to 545 churches and temples during the period of March to June 1998.

The role of the researcher is crucial to collect valid and reliable data. Although the whole research process was conducted in English, all interviews, observations, and mail surveys required Korean language, both written and spoken. All Korean ethnic churches built by first-generation Koreans use Korean for their services. Not only the Korean language, but also an awareness of Korean culture and the Korean community was necessary for this research. An awareness of Korean culture clarifies the religious and social activities of first-generation Korean immigrants. Establishing a good rapport with interviewees is difficult without cultural awareness and linguistic ability. Because congregation members maintain intimate relationships, it is impossible to conceal the purpose of observation and the researcher's identification. Raised in Korea and having been lived in the New York metropolitan area for ten years, the researcher has extensive knowledge of the Korean community in metropolitan New York and the ability to access to both religious groups.

Propositions and Further Discussions

This study is based on two assumptions: first, religious beliefs affect every aspect of believers' daily life; second, the characteristics and emphases of the religious beliefs are paradigmatically associated with socioeconomic aspects of believers' life. As Weber theorized earlier, it is generally known that Protestantism emphasizes outward orientation of believers' mentality, aggressiveness, God's initiation of salvation (which permits the

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image of being "chosen people"), worldly success, and triumphalism, while Buddhism emphasizes the inward-orientation of believers' mentality, submissiveness, tranquility, the emptiness or worthlessness of worldly success, and reservedness. Based on these background characteristics and emphases of the two religions, a few detailed propositions on the interrelationship between religious beliefs and socioeconomic aspects of life of the two religious immigrant groups were tested.

1. With Protestants' stronger emphasis on outward orientation, aggressiveness, worldly success, and triumphalism, they have a more favorable attitude toward migration to more advanced countries, and in fact, more actively participate in emigration to the United States than Buddhists who put more emphasis on inward orientation, submissiveness, emptiness, and traditional cultural values.

2. In addition to Protestants' favorable attitude toward migration to more advanced societies based on their religious emphases, their sharing of a similar religious plausibility structure with U.S. mainstream religion, the humanistic efforts of American Protestant missionaries, and Protestants' higher proportion of religious leaders among first-generation immigrants have helped more Protestants than any other religious group immigrate to the United States since the beginning of Korean immigration to the U.S.

3. Each religious immigrant group shows a unique way of cultural adjustment (or incorporation) to the host society under the influence of their religious beliefs. Since Protestants are more likely to emphasize aggressiveness and extrovertedness in their presentation, they tend to maintain a higher level of assimilation into general U.S. society than Buddhists, who are more likely to emphasize reservedness and introvertedness.

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4. In accordance with religious beliefs that emphasize aggressiveness, extrovertedness, and outward orientation, Protestants maintain a higher rate of religious participation than Buddhists. Protestants' tendency toward active religious participation also leads them to maintain a higher level of group solidarity and collective tendency than Buddhists.

5. Protestant's emphasis on outward orientation, aggressiveness, collective tendency, triumphalism, and worldly success, is more likely to create political conservativism, whereas Buddhists' emphasis on inward orientation, mental tranquility, individuality, and emptiness, and worthlessness of worldly success, is more likely to inspire political liberalism.

6. Buddhists' stronger individualistic, liberal, polytheistic tendency in turn advocates cultural relativism more strongly than Protestants, while Protestants' stronger collective, monotheistic, and conservative tendency advocate ethnocentrism more strongly than Buddhists. Buddhists are therefore more likely to maintain an favorable or indiscriminative attitude toward other cultural groups and have less opportunity to have intergroup conflicts than Protestants after immigration.

7. Protestants' stronger monotheistic and collective tendency is also positively associated with their stronger sense of religious faith and obligation than Buddhists, who maintain a stronger polytheistic and individualistic tendency. Protestants' stronger sense of religious faith and obligation is also positively associated with their higher degree of religiosity, consciousness about religious mission, and religious participation than Buddhists.

8. Protestants' higher level of religious participation also leads them to participate in

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civic engagements more actively, such as elections, Parent Teacher Association meetings and other community meetings, than Buddhists.

9. Protestants' more active religious and civic engagement establishes stronger social networks than Buddhists. Protestants' stronger social networking in turn promotes their social capital, which is crucial for better socioeconomic achievement. With the better opportunity to form consolidated social capital, Protestants are more likely than Buddhists to show a higher rate of entrepreneurial business engagement and to achieve a higher socioeconomic status after immigration.

Immigration becomes an important experience in which believers refresh their religious practice in the new social milieu. Religious beliefs therefore have an interplay with every aspect of new life of the believers in the new society. For immigrant believers, religion becomes not only a good source of ethical guidelines for everyday behavior, but also a psychological support system in the new society. Their first-generation immigration status, however, creates a new mindset, called an "immigration ethos" after immigration, in addition to their religious beliefs and faith. Their religious beliefs and immigration ethos mutually reinforce each other and make their life in the host society much more active and efficient. Since the socioeconomic aspects of life becomes the foremost concern for first-generation immigrants in the host society, it is natural for them to draw their religious attention to important concerns. The situationally-generated immigration ethos thus intermediates between believers' faith and what they do for their living after immigration. Their immigration ethos thus adds ethical values to their religious beliefs and makes their life much more meaningful and productive. As long as their life concerns are reinforced by

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these two ideas, immigrant believers' life after immigration becomes much more concentrated on concern with achieving the maximum productivity in socioeconomic aspect of their life. Many studies therefore consistently show that religion is positively related to immigrants' level of socioeconomic achievement and mental health after immigration (Bankstone and Zhou 1995; Hurh and Kim 1990; Woodrum 1985). Although particular characteristics and emphases of religions that the immigrants bring are assumed to determine their socioeconomic aspects of life after immigration, the two religious immigrant groups' level of socioeconomic achievement should not differ, as long as the situationally-generated immigrant ethos plays an important role in their daily lives. The religiosity and religious beliefs of immigrant believers change in accordance with believers' socioeconomic situation and generational status. A further research with later generations might disclose the trajectory of change in the relationship between religious beliefs and the socioeconomic aspects of life of immigrant believers.

Organization of Research Results

The research results are organized in two parts. In accordance with the purpose of this research, the first part (Chapter 1-4) examines demographic and socioeconomic profiling of Korean immigrants and the composition of Korean religious groups in Korea and in the United States. This part focuses on the interplay between Korean immigrants' religions and the immigration process. Tracing the trajectory of the changing composition of religious groups in Korea for the last four decades, the first part focuses on an examination of the changing aspect of Koreans' religions and the causes of the changes in their composition.

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Comparing the changes in composition of the major religions in Korea and in the Korean community in the United States, the first part also focuses on uncovering the role of immigration has in changing religious affiliation and practice on an individual level and structural organizations on a collective (congregational) level, and how these changes affect Korean immigrants' community life after immigration.

In detail, each chapter of the first part proceeds with unique research questions that focus on the interplay between religion and immigration in the Korean community. Chapter One commences with the inquiry of how the Korean community in the United States has become a church-centered community throughout the Korean immigration history. Chapter One pays special attention to the socio-historical factors that encourage the Korean community to organize Protestant churches and utilize them as pseudo-social community organizations.

Chapter Two describes demographic profiles of Korean immigrants and briefly compares them with other major Asian immigrant groups, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Asian Indians, to apprehend their social characteristics. Koreans' demographic profiles are included in this part to provide for a better understanding of Korean immigrants in the U.S. and compare them with the informants of this study. Chapter Two examines the general pattern of how Korean immigrants are drawn from their home country and resettle in the host society of the U.S., and why the immigration process gives a favorable hand to Protestants before and after immigration.

Chapter Three investigates the cause and effect of the rapid increase of the Protestant population in Korea for the last century. It provides the background information for the

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major reason why Protestant churches have flourished so rapidly in the Korean community in the United States. Chapter Four explores pre- and post-migration factors that make the Korean community a Protestant church-centered community in the United States. It focuses on examining the factors that explain the social reasons why the two religious groups play different roles in Korean immigration history.

Based on an analysis of data collected through interviews, participant observations, and mail surveys, the second part (Chapter 5-13) examines the ways in which religious beliefs interplay with all aspects of believers' life. In this part, special attention is paid to examine complex interrelationship between religious beliefs and the non-religious aspects of life of the two religious groups in the process of immigration. The second part systematically compares and contrasts the two religious groups' religious profiles, formation and structure of congregations, religio-social functions of congregations, worldviews, religiosity, socioeconomic aspects of life, level of civic engagement, the role of the immigration process in promoting religious participation, and the degree of cultural assimilation. In detail, mostly based on participant observation, Chapter Five compares the two religious groups' congregational organization and religious services and rituals, which provide important background information concerning how the congregations of the two religious groups have initiated, organized, and served the religious immigrant community. Chapter Five is designed to show the general picture of religious activities of the two religious groups after immigration.

The next three chapters (Chapter 6-8) comparatively analyze the organizational structure of the two religious groups' congregations, pastoral emphases of religious

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leaders, and religious and social service participation after immigration. These chapters are based on the survey responses of the priests and the pastors of each congregation. The unit of analysis for these three chapters is the individual congregations of the two religious groups. These chapters focus on an analysis and comparison of the role of religious leaders in religio-social participation and the growth of each religious community in the host society. In Chapter Six, special attention is paid to the interrelationship between the structural organization of a congregation and its numeric growth.

The rest of the chapters in the second part (Chapter 9-13) compare the two religious groups' religious profiles (e.g., length of practice, conversion experience, salvation experience, parents' religious preference, reason for professing religion, life satisfaction, etc.), worldviews, religiosity, socioeconomic and politico-cultural aspects of life, attitude toward immigration and the host society. The unit of analysis for these chapters is the individual believer. In these chapters, special attention is paid to the contrast between the two religious groups in their interplay between religious beliefs and the non-religious sphere of life. In Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten, the two religious groups' basic religious profiles and worldviews are comparatively examined. Based on the differences and similarities of their religious profiles and worldviews, their level of economic achievement is examined in Chapter 11, their level of assimilation and civic engagement in Chapter 12, and their opinions and attitudes about immigration and the host society in Chapter 13. The last three chapters are designed to examine the pattern of interrelationship between religious beliefs and believers' daily life, focusing on group differences along the lines of religious identification.

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Notes

1. A private conversation with Professors Iida and Tajima, who specialize in the study of overseas Korean immigrants (New York City, February, 1998).

2. The figures are drawn from the studies of Hurh and Kim (1990), Min (1992), and Williams (1988).

3. Korean Buddhism teaches the Mahayana (or Northern) tradition, which emphasizes the salvation of others, as well as the believer's self. To Western society, Theravada (or Southern) Buddhism, which emphasizes the salvation of the believer's self, is better known than Mahayana Buddhism. Weber and Durkheim did not examine the differences between the two Buddhist traditions, but examined the Theravadan tradition only.

4. Approximately 0.7 million and 1.8 million Korean immigrants live in Japan and China respectively.

5. These data are based on a private conversation with Japanese sociologist Takafumi Iida, a professor of sociology at Toyama University in Japan.

6. A brief historical explanation of the general trend of religious beliefs in Korea might be helpful. Two traditional religious ideas, Confucianism and Buddhism, were introduced to Korea through China in the 4th century A.D. Confucianism was first introduced and developed as an educational and philosophical doctrine, studied by every intellectual and bureaucrat and taught in most educational institutions until the Western educational system was introduced. Associated with ancestor worship, Confucianism became a strong religious belief system in Korea. It prided a supportive doctrine for ancestor worship, and at the same time, an ideology, philosophy, and guide for the educational and social norms of Korean society.

Accepted by royal families in the ancient Korean kingdoms, Buddhism (Mahayana Buddhism) by the 8th century A.D. had become the religion of the ruling class. One sect of Mahayana Buddhism, Zen, became popular in the 9th century, growing rapidly in association with indigenous shamanistic religions. Different from Confucianism, Buddhism has elements such as doctrine (scripture), believers, religious leaders, and physical gathering places. The two religious ideas, Buddhism and Confucianism, however, have influenced each other just, as each has been influenced by indigenous shamanistic religions.

Catholicism was introduced to Korea by Kim Dae Gun, the first Korean Catholic who converted to Catholicism in China in the late 18th century. A few decades later, in the early 19th century, Protestantism was directly introduced to Korea from Western countries, mostly the United States. Coupled with rapid Westernization, Protestant Christianity in Korea grew fast. Since the mid-1980s the number of Christians in Korea has exceeded that of other religions in spite of its relatively short period of influence.

Christianity in Korea has been Koreanized. Korean Christians think and act according to

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Korean customs, which contain many elements of traditional religious ideas. They adopt Western Christian ideas and blend them with traditional Korean ideas, mostly from Confucianism, Buddhism, and indigenous shamanism. It is hard to sort out a straight forward Judeo-Christian ethic in Korean Christianity. It is not clear, however, how Korean Christians incorporate Judeo-Christian ideas.

7. There is no commonly used term for Buddhist congregations. Usage differs person by person. Some people prefer using "Buddhist church" to "Buddhist temple." People who use "church" more emphasize the ecclesiastical function of Buddhism in Korea. But Buddhism is no longer a single dominant religion in Korea. On the other hand, people who use the term "temple" are more likely to emphasize features and traditions rather than functions. Most Korean Buddhist congregations use "temple" instead of "church," mainly because they differentiate their group from Christians. For this research, I also would like to use the term "Buddhist temple" to differentiate Buddhist congregations from their Christian counterparts. The term "church" in this research does not mean the ecclesiastic phenomenon but does mean a "religious gathering."

8. Although in pre-modern times, eight or nine out of ten Koreans were Buddhists, it was only since a branch (denomination) of Mahayana Buddhism, Zen, was introduced in the 9th century that Buddhism became so popular. Since then, Korean Buddhism has blended with indigenous shamanistic folk religions and Taoism. This clearly influenced religious activities as well. One of the particular characteristics of their religious practice is individualism. Many aspects of Zen religious activities are anchored in each believer's personal goal to experience what Buddha did. Similar to Christianity, however, Buddhists' religious practice is performed either collectively in their temples or individually in personal spaces.

9. Another reason why Buddhist temples are mostly located deep in the mountains is due to the persecution of Buddhism by the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910) in favor of the development of Confucian idealism.

10. The Korean Buddhist Won Kak Temple ("Wonkaksa" in Korean pronunciation) is located at 301 Clove Road, Salisbury Mills, New York 12577. The Grace Korean Presbyterian Church is located at 216-50 28th Ave. Bayside, New York 11360.

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Chapter 1. Immigration Waves and Ethnic Church Growth

There have been three distinct waves of Korean immigration to the U.S. since 1902. Those who came with each wave show distinctive social characteristics which directly reflect the unique historical context of both their homeland and the U.S. In each stream of immigration socioeconomic conditions of both Korea and the U.S. produced specific forms of supply and demand for selection among the Korean immigrants. These historically unique waves of immigration share a common pattern, however; disproportionately large numbers of Christian Koreans crossed the Pacific and have led a church-centered community life after immigration. As will be seen in Chapter Three, Korean immigrants' church-centered community formation is due primarily to the immigration process that selected for the Christian immigrants and produced an oversupply of Christian religious leaders.

The periodization of Korean immigration varies among researchers, but it is generally agreed that Korean immigration to the U.S. can be divided into three distinctive time frames according to criteria such as immigrants' social background, the characteristics of the U.S. immigration law, and socioeconomic factors in Korea. The first wave of Korean immigrants was small and divided into two socially distinctive groups -- a large majority of sojourning manual laborers, and a smaller number of religious leaders, mostly Protestants, and political refugees. The first wave began in 1902 and lasted until 1950 when the Korean War broke out. The second wave of immigration, resulted from the Korean War, consists mostly of war brides and adopted war orphans. This second wave

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began after 1950 and continues to this day. The third wave of Korean immigration was brought about by 1965 U.S. immigration law and has been proceeding through the present. The first group of the third wave of Korean immigrants were largely medical professionals (doctors and nurses) who came to the U.S. under the category of occupational immigration and family members of the naturalized ethnic Korean U.S. citizens. It was the third wave that many religious leaders, mostly Protestants and a few Buddhists and Catholics, entered the U.S. under the separate religion category. Different from the two previous waves, the third wave, however, was drawn from all walks of life in Korea. The third wave of Korean immigration was heavily influenced by the 1965 U.S. immigration law which focused on family reunion and occupational demand in the U.S. Interestingly, however, in terms of religious affiliation, more Christians than any other religious groups immigrated throughout the three waves.

First Wave of Korean Immigration (1902-1950)

The majority of the first-wave Korean immigrants that arrived at the Hawaiian Islands were contracted manual laborers. Interestingly, however, a few religious leaders, political refugees, and students were included in this group. Most of them were sojourners who did not intend to live in the U.S. permanently. Since few Koreans emigrated to other countries because of Confucian ideology and the Korean government's severe control and discouragement of people's emigration, only a few people emigrated to the U.S. and most of the first-wave immigrants intended to return to their country (Choy 1979; Ryu 1988; Kim and Patterson 1974). Demographic profiles of the first-wave Korean immigrants

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reflect their sojourner status. They were mostly young males who held a strong wish to return to their homeland once they saved certain amount of money for their better life in Korea. Separation from their home basis was not imaginable for them at that time. Their number were therefore not large. The total number of the first wave Korean immigrants who came to the U.S. between 1902 and 1950 was estimated at 9,404 (see Table 1-1). Their intention and wish to return to their home country were changed once their began their new life in the U.S.

The first wave immigrants can be divided into two sub-groups in accordance with their social characteristics. The first sub-group, who mostly immigrated to the U.S. during the period of 1902-1924, consisted largely of young male laborers, their families, and quite a few Protestant religious leaders -- approximately thirty Protestant leaders in the first year (Choy 1979: 100). They came to work in the rapidly-flourishing sugar plantations in the Hawaiian Islands. By 1910, when Imperial Japan annexed Korea, a total of 7,697 Koreans had journeyed to the Hawaiian Islands. Among them 983 (964 men and 19 women) returned to Korea while 2,011 (1,999 men and 12 women) moved to the mainland U.S. and set up their new lives in farms and urban areas (KANY 1986: 14). More than 90 percent of the early Korean immigrants were male, and more than 80 percent of those were bachelors (Choy 1979: 88). Concerned about social problems in the plantation camps and a resultingly inefficient labor force, the plantation owners planned to bring spouses to the bachelor workers, introducing them to would-be picture brides. As a result, by 1924, when the Oriental Exclusion Act was passed, a total of 1,066 Korean picture brides had come to the U.S. Among them, 90 percent came to the Hawaiian Islands, and

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10 percent went to such West Coast urban areas as San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento, and Portland (Choy 1979: 88; KANY 1986: 13). The early statistics show that there were quite a large proportion of Christian leaders (0.4%) included among the early Korean immigrants, and from the beginning of immigration, Koreans began to build their own ethnic churches led by these religious leaders. Largely due to abundance of Protestant leaders, Koreans built their churches wherever they lived. By the 1930, when there were fewer than 10,000 Koreans in the U.S. territories, thirty-nine Korean Protestant churches were built. From the early period of immigration to the U.S., Korean ethnic churches emerged as a center of the Korean community largely because no other ethnic organizations effectively take care of the early immigrants' social needs (Choy 1979; Ryu 1988; Kim and Patterson 1974; Kim 1977).

The second sub-group of the first wave of Korean immigration, who mostly immigrated to the U.S. during the period of 1925-1950, largely consisted of anti-Japanese political leaders and students who came to the U.S. as political refugees. During this period, some Koreans came to the U.S. using Japanese passports because Korea lost its status as an independent nation under Japanese colonial control until 1945. Between the years of independence in 1945 and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, virtually no Korean immigrants were reported, but approximately 100 Koreans came to the U.S. during this period on student visas and 1,000 on political refugee status (KANY 1986: 14-15). Although they were a minority of the Korean community, the second sub-group of immigrants performed a critical role in shaping the Korean community in the U.S. as it appears today. Interestingly, most Korean political refugees and students who actively

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participated in the anti-Japan movement in the U.S. were Protestants, and they closely cooperated with Korean Protestant leaders in the U.S. Due to Protestants' active participation in independent movement, Korean ethnic churches in the U.S. turned a center for the independent movement during this period (Choy 1979; Ryu 1988).

When the first wave of Korean immigrants arrived in the Hawaiian Islands, the sugar industry had been booming since the late 19th century, and plantation owners suffered from a lack of cheap labor. To make their situation worse, Japanese workers, who were the largest ethnic group among plantation workers, struck frequently. When Korean workers began to arrive in Hawaii in 1902, there were 31,029 Japanese (73.5%) and 5,299 Chinese plantation workers (9.3%) out of 42,249 workers in sugar plantation in the Hawaiian Islands. Before Koreans came to the islands, other ethnic workers such as native Hawaiians, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and Portuguese had also worked in the plantations (Choy 1979: 94). By 1905, with total number of 7,226, Koreans became the second largest ethnic group in the plantations. Also by 1905, Japanese workers struck thirty-four times, and many of them left the plantation camp hoping for better opportunities in urban areas such as Honolulu and Los Angeles. Plantation owners recruited Korean workers to procure a supply of cheap labor and to check the Japanese workers' prominence in the plantation camps and fields (Choy 1979: 73).

Plantation owners thus turned their eyes to other Asian countries in search of more docile workers than the Japanese. U.S. Protestant missionaries provided plantation owners with information about international recruitment of plantation workers. One U.S. Methodist missionary, Dr. Horace N. Allen, who became an influential advisor to the

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Korean king and the U.S. embassy in Korea, had a friend, David W. Deshler, who ran trading companies in Korea and Japan. In a series of meetings with Hawaiian plantation owners and representatives in San Francisco and Honolulu in 1902, Allen informed them of the possibility of recruiting Korean workers for sugar plantations in Hawaii. Allen and other important American missionaries such as Dr. Underwood and Rev. Appenzeller urged Korea's king to allow his subjects to emigrate to Hawaii to alleviate poverty caused by severe droughts in 1901 and the encroachment of imperial superpowers. After successfully persuading the Korean king and government officials of the benefits of emigration, Horace Allen sent an official letter to the governor of Hawaii, Sanford E. Dole, stating, "The Koreans are a patient, hard-working, docile race, easy to control from their long habit of obedience... If the Koreans do get to the Islands in any numbers it will be a God-send to them (the Koreans) and I imagine they will be found to be un-objectionable and of good service as laborers" (Kim and Patterson 1974: 85-86). Despite the Korean government's self-isolation policy for more than two centuries, it finally authorized Allen's friend Deshler to charge for the recruitment of Korean workers for sugar plantation owners in Hawaii.[1]

The first wave of Korean immigration was initiated by the efforts of these American Protestant missionaries stationed in Korea at the time when Imperial Japan was strategically preparing for the annexation of Korea for further invasions of China. The U.S. missionaries in Korea saw the desperate situation of Koreans as a colony of the surrounding superpowers. Partly because of sympathy and partly because of their role as foreign missionaries who came from economically advanced country, they recommended

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Koreans for foreign employment.

The first wave of Korean immigration thus was the result of a few closely interrelated social factors. As a push factor, the desperate destitution that covered the whole peninsula in the early 20th century drove Korean people to look for better opportunities elsewhere. As pull factors, plantation owners in Hawaii desperately needed cheap manual laborers, and they also needed to gag Japanese workers' complaints and strikes. As an intermediary factor, the U.S. Protestant missionaries, in the course of world missionary efforts that accompanied capitalist expansion, functioned a brokerage agency that connected the Korean laborers and the plantation owners.

It is, therefore, not a surprise that a relatively large proportion of Korean immigrants (6%) were affiliated with Protestantism before they departed their country, even though the Christian population of Korea was very small (less than 1%) during the period. Since only Protestant denominations, mostly Presbyterians and Methodists, sent co-ethnic pastors to the U.S., it is not a surprise that Protestants became the most religiously active group after immigration, despite their unconscious adherence to Confucian ethics. Confucian ethics and the indigenous cultural norms were still observed while Koreans converted to Christianity. Protestant immigrants in Hawaii, however, gradually absorbed both those with other religious affiliations and those without and began to build a church-centered community, although their nationality and ethnicity were the most important source for identity in the U.S.

Despite American perceptions that conflated their ethnicity with the Chinese or Japanese, Koreans differentiated themselves ethnically and linguistically from other

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Asian plantation workers and organized their own community independent from other Asian ethnic groups. The prevalence of the Korean Protestant churches was a key point in maintaining their ethnic community from this period on, despite their geographic dispersion. Early Korean immigrants constituted self-governing community councils (*dongheo*) throughout the Korean communities in the Hawaiian Islands. The councils were organized to resemble the village organizations of their home country. Networking with the communities, Korean immigrants organized in 1910 a national self-governing body called the Korean National Association (*kook min hoe*). It had regional and local branches throughout the Hawaiian Islands and on the U.S. West Coast. Every Korean immigrant was supposed to become a member of the Association. The Association collected an allotment from each member. These dues were used by and large for immigrant children's education and to support the anti-Japanese independence movement (Choy 1979: 100). Interestingly there were no clear differences between the goals of the Korean ethnic umbrella organizations and those of the ethnic churches while Japan colonized Korea. The coincidence of the goals between the two organizations also blurred the lines of their respective leadership. From the beginning of Korean immigration, both church leaders and community leaders were mostly Christians. As a result, not only did Christian groups dominate community affairs, but they also were the only religious group that regularly held services and performed rituals after immigration (Kim and Patterson 1974; Choy 1979; Ryu 1988, Takaki 1989). Choy describes the early Korean immigrants' religious affiliation and their church-centered community formation in the initial stage of immigration as follows:

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> Within six months after the Korean immigrants landed in Hawaii, the first Korean church was established. The first church service was held under the leadership of Kim Ii-je on July 4, 1903, on a sugar plantation in Mokuleia, Oahu. There were already about four hundred Koreans who had been converted to Christianity prior to their departure from Korea, and more than thirty had taken part in church work in their homeland. The Reverend Mr. Jones [superintendant of the Methodist Church in the Hawaiian Islands of that time] stated: 'One third of all the Koreans in Hawaii were professing Christians, and they dominated the life in the camps on the sugar plantations in Hawaii.' In 1918 it was estimated that nearly three thousand were converted to Christianity, and thirty-nine churches of various denominations were estimated... Mrs. Kim [Tai-youn Kim, one of over a thousand picture brides] has been a Christian from childhood and attended the Korean Methodist Church in Hawaii. According to her memory, on every immigrant ship that carried Koreans to Hawaii there was at least one Christian minister who gave inspiration and hope to the despairing immigrants and led them toward a meaningful life. Mrs. Kim continued: 'Wherever Korean immigrants lived there was always a Christian church,' and the Christian church-goers became the center of the Korean community. Every Korean wanted to live near the church and almost every Korean went to church on Sundays to meet each other and to help those in trouble. (Choy 1979: 97, 100, 101)

Early Korean immigrants were extremely polarized in terms of their educational and class background. Plantation workers were mostly drawn from illiterate and lower class strata while religious leaders, political refugees, and students were drawn from highly educated and privileged social classes. The former financially supported their national goal -- the independence from Japan, and the latter led the Korean community provided the former with ideological basis. Korean immigrants' collective frustration at the loss of their country and their strong ethos for survival meshed well with Christian doctrine, which emphasizes equality, hard work, and triumphalism. Korean immigrants, especially Protestant immigrants, formed their ethnic identity and their community on the basis of these religious ideas and gradually became the dominant force in their community.

It was after the Korean picture brides arrived in Hawaii in the 1910s and 1920s that the Korean community began to change from a mostly bachelor community residing on

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the plantations to a family-oriented community in urban areas. As soon as the picture brides arrived in Hawaii, they realized that plantation life was much worse than what they had heard about in Korea. Experiencing the back-breaking hardship of plantation life, many of the new brides, who had much higher educational levels and better class backgrounds than their grooms, tried to find new livelihoods for their families elsewhere. Some newly-married couples began to move into either Honolulu, the most urbanized area in the islands, or Los Angeles, one of the most urbanized places in the mainland U.S. By the early 1930s, approximately one-third of the Korean workers in Hawaii moved away from the plantation camps and set up new lives in Honolulu or Los Angeles, where they took jobs as superintendents, janitors, and laundromat workers (Choy 1979: 124-125). Many of them became self-employed, opening small businesses such as shoe repair shops, Asian food stores, and ethnic restaurants.

During the period of 1910 through 1945, the United States admitted no Korean immigrants as Koreans because they had legally lost their nationality to Japanese colonialism. In expanding its colonies, Japan suffered from a dearth of manpower. They drafted all able-bodied adults in the territories they occupied. Emigration of both native Japanese and colonized people was not allowed. The U.S. government also excluded Japanese immigration, registering a series of immigration laws in 1900, 1905, and 1908 which were euphemistically labeled a Gentlemen's Agreement. Regarding Asians, U.S. immigration laws of this period were also notoriously restrictive. A series of anti-immigration laws[2] in the years of 1882, 1908, 1917, and 1924 and an anti-immigration mood among most Americans led to the end of Asian immigration until 1952, when

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McCarren-Walter Act finally removed the racial basis of eligibility for U.S. citizenship. Korean immigration was no exception. During this exclusionary period, legal immigration came to an end, except for a few political refugees and foreign students. Ironically, however, the U.S. received the largest number of immigrants ever in the period of 1901 through 1940, mostly from Southern and Eastern European countries. This means that a large portion of immigration to the U.S. still took place during this same exclusionary period (Ueda 1994: 2).[3]

During this period, nevertheless, several hundred Korean political refugees entered the U.S. via third countries such as China, Russia, Canada, or South America. They entered without passports, but Korean community organizations sponsored them until they were authorized by the U.S. government. Interestingly, the majority of the Korean refugees were also Christian intellectuals (mostly Protestant), and many of them became the leaders in the Korean communities. A majority of them eventually returned to their homeland after Korea became an independent country in 1945, but some remained in the U.S. the impact of these Christian elites was huge both on Korea and Korean community in the U.S. The Korean community in the U.S. from its earliest days in fact developed under the heavy influence of Korean Protestant leaders, intellectuals, and exiled political leaders. Interestingly, their leadership wielded through the Korean Protestant churches, which emerged as the center of the Korean community and became the only ethnic organization that practically concerned with problems of fellow immigrants and their hope for achieving independence of home country. During Japanese colonization, most Korean immigrants were patriotic. Their collective wish, the independence of their

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country, bound them together, centered in their ethnic churches. Their immigration ethos, hope for their country's independence, and their religious beliefs worked together to aid their survival and form an ethnic identity. Their ethnic church, as religio-social organization, became the center of their immigrant community. Church-centered community became the most important tradition since the beginning of Korean immigration, and it has characterized Korean immigrant community in the U.S. up to now.

The Second Wave of Korean Immigration (1951-1967)

Unlike the first wave of immigrants, who fled from severe destitute and brutal colonial oppression, the second wave was largely caused by war and expansion of capitalism. The second wave has continued to flow into the U.S., overlapping with the third wave, which is mostly composed of occupational and family reunion immigrants. U.S. military intervention in the Korean War and the subsequent stationing of troops in Korea were the two most important causes of the second wave of Korean immigrants. This stream of immigrants largely consisted of Korean wives of U.S. military personnel, family members of naturalized ethnic Korean U.S. citizens, and Korean children (at first mostly war orphans) adopted by American citizens. The size of the second wave of Korean immigration was not large, but its impact on the next wave has been quite huge.

The second wave of Korean immigration is a historical byproduct of ideological conflict between capitalism and communism that occurred on the Korean peninsula and of the process of nation-building that was heavily influenced by the U.S. military

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government after Korea's independence from Japanese imperialism. These events were in turn affected by Korea's rapid transition starting in 1910 from the premodern "Hermit Nation" to an industrialized society, a transformation that took place at the behest of, and under the domination of, Imperial Japan. After independence from Japan in 1945, Korea was politically controlled by two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR. Dividing Korea along the 38th latitude, the Soviet Union controlled the northern part of the peninsula, while the U.S. interim military government controlled the southern half from 1945 to 1948. After the two superpowers ceded control, both the South and North experienced chaos, mainly due to a lack of indigenous political leadership uncorrupted by past ties to the Japanese.

The war into which Korea plunged resulted in further destitution and social disruption. The Korean War was led by the world's two superpowers, U.S. and USSR, who were heads of capitalist and communist countries respectively. The two parties of the Korean regimes were nothing but representatives of the two opposing superpowers. The war made Koreans painfully aware that they continued to be subject to the geo-political maneuvers of more powerful nations. Throughout history, Korea has rarely been fully independent from the superpowers surrounding her, be they China, Japan, Russia, or the United States. Interestingly, these four countries have a large number of Korean immigrants. Today approximately 1.8 million ethnic Koreans live in China, 0.7 million in Japan, 0.5 million in Russia and the Central Asian countries, and 1 million in the United States.

Second-wave of Korean immigration since 1950[4] began as a result of the political,

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military, economic, and cultural influence of the U.S. on the Korean peninsula, especially on the South.[5] In the midst of turmoil brought about the rapid transition from a pre-modern society to a modern one, Koreans compliantly recognized the influence of the Western powers and the general trend of modernization of the world. Since Korea's Independence in 1945, regimes of both North and South have emphasized modernization (industrialization), which implies an acceptance of Western culture and jettisoning of their own traditions, including the religio-social ideas. After the Korean War, South Korea modernized rapidly by following the model of Japan and other rapidly-industrializing countries in Asia. After 1945 most Japanese withdrew, but the economic and political infrastructure that the Japanese constructed during their occupation remained and were utilized by the newly established Korean government. After the World War II and the Korean War, U.S. troops remained to provide regional security. Much as during Japanese colonization, under the influence of the U.S. military, American Christian culture spread throughout South Korean society. Popular perception held a clear division between high culture, which was identified with the U.S. or the West, and low culture, which was identified with indigenous one. This cultural division influenced the second-wave immigration to the U.S. For example, although the Korean government had restricted emigration to other countries until 1962, it allowed young women who married U.S. service personnel, and war orphans who were adopted by U.S. citizens, to leave for America.

Reflecting this cultural division and trend, a majority (57%) of Korean immigrants from 1950 to 1967 consisted of Korean wives of U.S. citizens and Korean children

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adopted by U.S. citizens. The former group made up 45 percent of all Korean immigrants during the period, and the latter 14 percent. Twenty-four percent of Korean immigrants admitted during the period 1950-1967 were children under age four.[6] Six out of ten of these children were adopted by U.S. citizens. By the mid-1970s, 13,000 Korean children were adopted by U.S. citizens (Kim 1981: 41). Their numbers increased to more than 30,000 during the 1970s and 1980s (Min 1995: 203). By 1968 the number of Korean immigrants who entered as wives of U.S. citizens amounted to 10,318. For the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, 85,632 Korean wives of U.S. citizens, including naturalized ethnic Korean U.S. citizens, entered the U.S. Their numbers, however, have gradually decreased since 1988 as Korea achieved a substantial level of economic growth.

Although the number of Korean wives and adoptees are not large, the impact of their arrival on both American society and the Korean community was significant because they provided a foundation from which further chain migration could proceed. Once the wives of U.S. service personnel became naturalized citizens, they usually invited their parents or close relatives. Due to the chain migration that occurred during this period, Korean immigrants began to surge into the U.S. even before the Korean government ended its policy of discouraging emigration in 1962. It occurred even before the U.S. government loosened immigration restrictions in 1965. The surge of Korean immigration to the U.S. was a reflection of Koreans' strong desire for emigration, which was a result of bad economic conditions and an unstable political situation after the war. At that time marriage to the U.S. citizens was the only legitimate route available for emigration to the U.S. Because of this, Korean immigrants who came to the U.S. in this second wave were

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disproportionately female and concentrated in a narrow range of ages. Even after the new U.S. immigration law was passed in 1965, the number of wives of U.S. citizens continued to increase and later on contributed to an increase in the total number of Korean immigrants during the period of third-wave Korean immigration. During the period of 1962-1968, the proportion of wives of U.S. citizens out of total Korean immigrants was decreased to 39.4 percent out of all immigrants, but it still consists of the highest proportion in the immigration categories. In the 1970s, however, the highest proportion of Korean immigration was turned to relatives of naturalized ethnic Korean U.S. citizens or permanent residents. The cases of marriage immigration kept increasing in absolute numbers, although that proportion decreased out of the total number of Korean immigrants because categories such as invitation and occupation had rapidly increased since 1968. In the 1970s, the early period of the third wave, approximately 45 percent of Korean immigrants were invited mostly by the Korean wives of U.S. citizens (Min et al. 1991: 319).

The number of Korean immigrants who came to the U.S. as wives of U.S. citizens were estimated at some 136,000 in the early 1990s (Min et al. 1991: 318). This marriage immigration has been proportionately reduced since 1968, but still continues today and will continue in the future as long as U.S. military forces are stationed on the Korean peninsula, naturalized ethnic Korean U.S. citizens bring their spouses from Korea, and the commercial ties between the two countries deepen.

The number of Korean adoptees are now estimated to be 140,000. In 1997 alone, some 1,800 Korean children were adopted. This number equals 12.8 percent of the 14,000

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international adoption cases that took place in the U.S. that year. South Korea was the third largest adoptee- sending country in the world following Russia and China, which sent 28 percent and 27 percent, respectively, of all international adoption cases to the U.S. In 1997, 48 percent of adoptees came from Asian countries; 38 percent from East European countries; and 10 percent from Central and South American countries.[7]

Since the majority of Korean immigrants in this period were adopted children and wives of U.S. citizens, the socio-demographic characteristics of the second wave of Korean immigration differed remarkably from those of the first and the third waves. As expected, the sex ratio and age composition of the second-wave Korean immigrants were very much skewed. Approximately, 80 percent of the Korean immigrants of the second wave were female, as opposed to the 10 percent of the first wave; 24 percent of the second wave were children under age four; and 47 percent of them fell into the age category, 20-29. In the whole age category, female children under age four made up 16.5 percent, and females aged 20-29 made up 37.2 percent. During the same period, 87 percent of all Korean immigrants fell under the occupational category of 'housewives' and 'children and other with no occupation'; 9.1 percent under the category of 'professional and technical'; and 5.9 percent under other occupational categories.[8] These statistics suggest that relatively larger number of female adoptees and wives of U.S. citizens entered US in this period.

According to a survey conducted by Lee in 1980 (Min et al. 1991: 319-320), the educational level of the U.S. servicemen' wives was extremely low. Some 63 percent of them graduated from elementary school only, and only 2.7 percent of them had higher

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than high school education. This figure is quite striking when we compare it to the cases of chain migration and occupational migration in the same period. The same survey revealed that 62 percent of the invitation cases and 83 percent of the occupational cases had higher than high school (12th grade) education.

According to the same survey, the Korean wives of U.S. citizens also showed a high rate of religious affiliation (74%) before immigration. Among them were more Christians (43.3% including Catholics) than Buddhists (30.7%). After immigration, however, 70 percent of them identified themselves as Christians (including 10% Catholics), and 14 percent as Buddhists (Min et al. 1991: 320-321). These survey results reveal that approximately 10 percent of Korean wives of U.S. citizens began to profess religion (mostly Protestantism) after their immigration, and 50 percent of the Buddhist wives converted to Christianity after immigration. The Korean wives' high rates of religious practice and conversion to Christianity were associated with both the first-wave Korean immigrants' tradition of church-centered community formation and the wives' more isolated situation after immigration. Although the second-wave immigrants showed quite different socio-demographic profile from first and third waves, they also set a pattern of church-centered community formation much like that of first wave immigrants.

Different from first and third wave Korean immigrants who mostly concentrated in the Hawaiian Islands or urban areas where other Korean immigrants resided, the second-wave Korean immigrants dispersed throughout the U.S. Korean wives followed their husbands to military bases or other places of residence. Most Korean wives experienced a feeling of sudden relocation in the process of immigration to their husbands' homeland.

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Further isolating them in the U.S. were difficulties with communication and cultural adjustment, as well as a sense of exclusion from the Korean community, because of Koreans' negative impression of U.S. military personnel's wives.

Separated from both U.S. society and the Korean community, Korean wives usually formed a common community with co-ethnics married to other servicemen. Sometimes independent from their husbands' occupation the Korean wives of U.S. citizens formed their own regionally-based associations, for instance in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Virginia, etc. When Korean wives of U.S. military personnel organized their own associations, they usually organized their ethnic congregations by inviting Korean clergy. Mainly because the Protestant groups were the most active, and because the Buddhist and Catholic groups lacked co-ethnic religious leaders, Protestant groups were most successful in forming congregations. Other religious groups or non-affiliates usually joined the Protestant congregations once they were organized. The abundance of Korean Protestant clergy made forming congregations relatively easily. It was one of the major reason why the second-wave immigrants also constructed Protestant church-centered communities. Similar to first and third wave immigration, they also had a high proportion of Protestant church affiliation before immigration and a high proportion of religious conversion after immigration. These are the two major factors that led them to form church-centered community as well.

Third Wave of Korean Immigration (1968-present)

Although a portion of the third-wave Korean immigration is a continuation of the

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second wave in terms of its migration mechanism, the majority of third-wave Korean immigrants show social characteristics quite different from those of the two previous waves. While the majority of the Korean immigrants of the two previous waves had low levels of education and limited job skills, the majority of the third wave are well-educated and skilled or professional workers. Their social characteristics were directly influenced by the 1965 immigration law, which eliminated national origin quota systems and put a special emphasis on the categories of 'family reunion' and 'job skills' which can contribute to the growth of the U.S. economy.

Reflecting the immigration policy of the U.S. since the 1965 Immigration Act, third-wave Korean immigrants consist of two distinct groups; the first is family members of naturalized Korean Americans who entered the U.S. in the two previous waves of immigration, and the second is skilled workers or professionals who had higher educational levels and better job skills. The latter group who are mostly medical doctors and nurses raised the educational standards and demographic profile of third wave immigrants. Although as late as 1976 when new immigration laws regulated the number of entering medical professionals, they consisted of approximately 10 percent third-wave immigrants. The former group of family members have similar or slightly lower educational levels than the average Korean immigrants of the same period and consist of 60 percent of the third-wave Korean immigrants. By the 1980s, approximately 30 percent of the third wave were made up of wives of U.S. citizens and the children adopted by U.S. citizens. Invitation cases since the 1980s have been the largest category of the third-wave immigrants. Once substantial numbers of immigrants came and settled in the U.S.,

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invitation immigration became the most prevalent type.

During the early period of third wave (1965-1976), when the new immigration law took effect and the number of medical professionals were regulated, 190,889 Koreans emigrated to the U.S., with an average of 21,210 annual entries. It was this period that first mass immigration from Korea took place, largely due to more generous U.S. immigration policy that gives a special preference to professionals and family members of U.S. citizens. Reflecting the new immigration policy, the majority of Korean immigrants entering the U.S. in this period were young females. Wives of U.S. military personnel, children adopted by U.S. citizens, and young medical professionals -- mostly male doctors, their family, and young female nurses -- constituted the majority Korean immigrants of this period. It is interesting to see that the major categories of second wave (wives and adopted children of U.S. citizens) still made up a large proportion in this period. Once these young immigrant groups entered the U.S., family reunion immigration followed in the late 1970s, a time when the second-wave immigrants were eligible for naturalized citizenship.

Annual reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service show some interesting facts on Korean immigrants of this period; at the time of entry, 73 percent of the Korean immigrants fell into the occupational category of "housewives, children, and no occupation," and 16.6 percent fell into "professional, technical, and kindred workers." Only 10 percent were in other occupational categories. This means that only 26.6 percent of Korean immigrants of the period were occupational immigrants. These statistics inform that chain migration has begun in massive scale from this early period of third

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wave.

The age and sex composition of the Korean immigrants who entered the U.S. in this period was quite unbalanced. Quite contrary to gender ration of the first wave immigrants, young females were dominant in the third wave. Female immigrants made up 65 percent out of all Koreans in this period. Combining both male and female, 91.2 percent of Korean immigrants in this period were under age thirty-nine. The majority of them (68.6%) were under age 29. The sex ratio of the age 20-29 category was severely skewed, because more women than men entered the U.S., mainly as military wives or nurses.

The immigration law of 1965 was amended again in 1976 and in 1986, periods of relative economic stagnation in the U.S. The aims of the amendments of 1976 and 1986 were to restrict the number of immigrant professionals and illegal immigrants, respectively. Affected by these laws, occupational immigration among Koreans slowed drastically, and family reunions based on chain migration have increased sharply since the late 1970s. Some 61 percent of Korean immigrants in 1979 and 67 percent in 1994 were invitation cases. This type of immigration continues to grow in recent years.

Economic development in Korea during the late 1980s and the early 1990s decreased the number of occupational immigration cases but increased the number of chain migration cases. The change in the entry mechanism affected the demographic profile of recent Korean immigrants as well. Their educational level is slightly lower than those who came into the U.S. in the early period of the third wave. Different from the first and the second waves of Korean immigrants, the majority of recent Korean immigrants had

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urban middle class backgrounds before immigration and settled in metropolitan areas after immigration. Slightly more women than men across all age categories immigrated to the U.S. in the late period of the third wave. Interestingly, however, women age 20-29 still are the largest group (14% in 1994). The size of the third wave is the largest of all the waves. The number of third wave immigrants equals 94 percent of all Korean immigrants up until the present (see Table 1-1).

Although the number of first and second waves were much smaller, it is important for Korean immigrants that the first two waves paved the way for the church-centered immigrant community and geographically-dispersed ethnic communities in the U.S.. As we have seen, each wave of Korean immigrants showed distinctive socioeconomic characteristics which reflected the particular historical juncture of both Korea and the U.S. For instance, in the first wave, sugar plantation workers predominated, with some minor religious leaders, students, and political refugees; the second wave had a preponderance of Korean military wives and adoptees of U.S. citizens; the majority of the early immigrants of the third wave were young professionals; and the majority of recent immigrants are invitation cases. As the summary chart of Korean immigration (Chart 1-1) below shows, there has been distinctive socioeconomic characteristics from one wave to another. Despite their distinctiveness, however, all the waves of Korean immigration have maintained a high rate of ethnic church (Protestant) attendance and utilized their ethnic churches as community center. Third-wave immigrants are no exception. Although they have quite a different socioeconomic background from the two previous waves, the third wave continues the pattern of attracting more Protestant Korean immigrants and their

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religious leaders, who now largely make up the middle-class urban population of South Korea.

In the case of Koreans, immigration brought a sudden change in the number of Protestant and other religious groups, especially Buddhists, who in Korea maintained almost equal numbers with Protestants. Once Koreans cross the Pacific Ocean, however, the proportion of Protestant believers among the first-generation Korean immigrants increases to more than 70 percent, while the Buddhist population shrinks to less than 5 percent. Korean immigrants' shift of religious affiliation is due to self-selection in the immigration process and a switch of religious affiliation after immigration, caused by Protestant churches' performance of social functions for newcomers.

As shown in the introduction, Park's predeparture survey conducted in 1986 and the Korean government survey in 1985,[9] when the number of annual Korean immigrants reached its peak (see Table 1-1), more Christians (both Catholics and Protestants) than Buddhists, and more believers than non-believers, immigrate to the U.S. In terms of the religious affiliation of Korean immigrants, immigration itself is a selective process through which disproportionately large numbers of Christians and religiously active people immigrate to the U.S. The church-centered community tradition of the first and the second waves provided the social infrastructure for recent Korean immigrants to pursue a church-centered community upon their arrival in the U.S.

As the Korean immigrant case has shown, international migration is not only a process of uprootedness but also a process of selection. Immigrants are not randomly or arbitrarily selected but a sort of chosen people who meet the qualifications and terms that

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the host country requires. Immigration is intrinsically selective because not everyone can do it. Host countries always set regulations to filter qualified immigrants. Theoretically, therefore, international migration from a less advanced country to a more advanced one intrinsically entails a selection of people who are able to migrate to the host society. As we have seen in the cases of the three distinctive waves of Korean immigrants, their socioeconomic characteristics directly reflect American selection requirements.

In the case of Korean immigrants, such socioeconomic variables as religious affiliation, class background, place of origin, and educational achievement are all closely interrelated. In the process of urbanization and industrialization during the last three decades, Christianity, especially Protestantism, has emerged as a new major religion in South Korea and is coupled with a rapid influx of Western (mostly American) culture. Participation in many indigenous and traditional religions such as Confucianism and Buddhism has declined, while Korean versions of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism have thrived. Christianity rapidly diffused in the urbanized and industrialized areas, while other traditional religions gradually lost adherents in these areas. Industrialization in South Korea accompanied two new social phenomena: growth of Christianity in industrialized areas and the emergence of a new urban middle class comprised mostly of white-collar occupations. The majority of third-wave Korean immigrants has been drawn from this segment of the population.

Most of the new urban middle class have also experienced migration from rural to urban locales in the process of industrialization. To some extent, their migration experience in Korea makes it easier for them to think of international migration when

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opportunity arises. In the process of an economic restructuring based on capital intensive production aimed at export-oriented industrialization, the new urban middle class willingly accepted Western ideas that emphasized logical thinking, rationality, and efficiency in their everyday lives. They therefore eagerly accepted elements of Western thinking, while trying to jettison as many traditional ideas as possible. Christianity was accepted with pleasure by many of the new urban middle class while they rejected or modified traditional religions. They also put an emphasis on upward social mobility. Since most of them were uprooted, urban propertyless workers, they were well aware of the importance of human capital and middle-class values -- diligence, frugality, hard work, and the deferment of immediate gratification. In other words, they were well aware that an emphasis on upward social mobility was the only way of staying in their own class stratum as propertyless middle-class people. This new Western religion and worldview also supported their ambitions by equipping them with ideas of elitism, triumphalism, can-do spirit, and rational thinking. It was thus common for the new urban middle class to emigrate to other advanced countries as a means of achieving those aspirations. When they experienced situations blocking upward social mobility in Korea, they often sought to fulfill their aspirations in advanced foreign countries who are willing to accept them.

This theoretical explanation of international migration between South Korea and the U.S. convincingly accounts for why more Christians have knocked on the gates of the U.S., and why Korean immigrant communities in the U.S. have become the church-centered ones. Various sources consistently show that a majority of Korean immigrants in

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the U.S. are Protestants; a majority are also drawn from the major cities of South Korea; and following the tradition of church-centered community that early Korean immigrants initiated, a majority of Korean immigrants continue practicing Protestantism. Hurh and Kim's survey conducted in Los Angeles in the late 1970s revealed that 51.3 percent of Koreans in Los Angeles were affiliated with Christian churches prior to their immigration, and 70 percent of their respondents were affiliated with Korean ethnic churches after their immigration. Only a few Buddhist Koreans (1.5%) were traced in their survey (Hurh and Kim 1984: 129-130). According to another Hurh and Kim survey conducted in Chicago in 1986, 52.6 percent of Koreans in Chicago were Christian church affiliates prior to their immigration; 4.2 percent were Buddhists; 76.8 percent of their informants were affiliated with Korean ethnic churches after immigration (Hurh and Kim 1990: 19-24). Min's survey conducted in New York in 1992 found similar results as Hurh and Kim's. According to him, more than 70 percent of Korean immigrants in New York City and Atlanta, Georgia are affiliated with ethnic (mostly Protestant) churches (Min 1995: 214; 1992a: 1371). These survey results reveal that Korean Protestant groups gain more members, up to 75 percent, while their Buddhist counterparts lose their members drastically after immigration (Hurh and Kim 1990; Min 1992a). My survey for this study, which counted registered members of individual Korean congregations located in the New York metropolitan area, also shows that 3.2 percent of the Korean first-generation population are identified as Buddhists, while 74 percent in the New York metropolitan area are identified as Protestants. Compared with other Asian immigrant groups, Korean immigrants maintain a high rate of church affiliation and religious practice as well.

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It is thus obvious concerning first-generation Korean immigrants that religious activities become an important part of their life after immigration, and as a result, their ethnic churches become the center of their community in the U.S. The impact of church-centered community on the life of first-generation Korean immigrants seems broader and deeper than imagined. Arguing that Korean ethnic churches formed a social basis for the Korean immigrant community in the New York metropolitan area as early as the late 1970s, Kim summarizes the role of Korean ethnic churches as following:

> In the absence of effective community organizations that might meet the secular needs of all segments of the Korean population, Christian churches have emerged as a basic grass-roots community organization. Churches have become a focus for strengthening the immigrants' psychological defenses against the dominant institutions of the larger society. And for Korean immigrants, who have not formed any territorial enclaves, churches are the surrogates of ethnic neighborhoods. In their nonreligious roles, churches act as brokers between Korean immigrants and the dominant institutions of the larger society. They also serve as a surrogate for the extended family in a situation where immigration often severs the generational and local ties that constitute the basis of the extended family. But even more than this, the churches, in this nonreligious role, reinforce the secular culture of the homeland among Korean immigrants and keep alive, even strengthen, Korean nationalism. (Kim 1981: 191)

Agreeing with Kim's argument, Min also points out that Korean immigrant ethnic churches serve as a center of the Korean community in the U.S. According to Min (1992a: 1370), ethnic churches in the Korean community have four major functions, "providing fellowship for Korean immigrants," "maintaining the Korean cultural tradition," "providing social services for church members and the Korean community," and "providing social status and positions for Korean adult immigrants."

With these major roles and functions, the Korean ethnic churches not only connect and hold the community members together, but also become the first place many newcomers

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stop by for help in their new lives. In the case of the Korean community in the New York metropolitan area, the Council of Korean Churches of Greater New York, which is a representative organization of individual ethnic congregations, closely cooperates with other voluntary organizations of Korean immigrants and sponsors major community affairs. Ethnic churches with their frequent religio-social activities, perform an important function by maintaining solidarity among the Korean immigrants in spite of their geographic dispersion.

Chart 1-1 Summary of General Characteristics of Three Waves of Korean Immigrants

	First Wave (1902 - 1950)	Second Wave (1951 - 1967)	Third Wave (1968 - present)
Educational level	Polarized High: religious leaders & political refuges Low: plantation workers	Generally low	Generally high
Estimated gender ratio	Male : Female = 9 : 1	Male : Female = 3 : 7	Male : Female = 5 : 6
Premigration occupational background of majority group	Rural laborers; unskilled	Semi-urban laborers & entertainers; unskilled	Urban professionals & their families
Main purpose of immigration	To sojourn as plantation workers, religious leaders, political refuges	To be family member of U.S. citizen either voluntarily or involuntarily	To achieve a higher career or life aspiration by being a part of U.S. residents
Immigration method	Temporary occupational contract or asylum	Marriage and adoption (permanent basis)	Occupation and family reunion (permanent basis)
Occupation of dominant group	Plantation worker	House wife or adopted child	Self-employed or professional

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	First Wave (1902 - 1950)	Second Wave (1951 - 1967)	Third Wave (1968 - present)
Dominant religion in Korea	Confucianism, Buddhism, & Shamanism	Buddhism & Christianity	Christianity & Buddhism
Dominant religion of Korean immigrants in the U.S.	Christianity (Protestant)	Christianity (Protestant)	Christianity (Protestant)

Growth of Churches and Temples in New York City and in the United States

Following their predecessors, the recent third-wave Korean immigrants also actively build their ethnic churches wherever they settle. Only since the massive new wave of immigrants began surging into the U.S. in the late 1960s, Buddhist immigrants began to build their temples in the U.S. The number of churches and temples have rapidly increased since the third wave of Korean immigration. As Table 1-1 shows below, the number of the Protestant churches nevertheless far exceed that of the Buddhist temples throughout the Korean immigration history.

There are 3,225 Korean Protestant churches as opposed to 93 Korean Buddhist temples in the U.S. territories in 1999. The number of churches and temples are directly proportionate to the numeric size of Korean communities and the number of ethnic clergies. In the case of the Buddhist temples, 35 (37%) are located in California (half the Korean temples in California are concentrated in Los Angeles area); 14 (15%) in the New York metropolitan area; six in Texas; five in Illinois; three in Hawaii; one in Georgia; one in Washington; and six in Canada. Table 1-2 also shows that most of these Korean

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Buddhist temples were built in the 1980s and 1990s. Only two Korean Buddhist congregations were organized in the New York metropolitan area before 1980, when the total Korean population in the area reached about 50,000. In the case of the Protestant churches, 945 (30.1%) are located in California and 573 (18.3%) in New York and New Jersey. If some other denominational and sect groups, such as the Korean Roman Catholic churches, Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, and Seventh Adventists, are included, the number of Korean ethnic churches in New York and New Jersey are increased to 600 in 1999.[10]

Table 1-2 summarizes a brief history of Korean church and temple growth in the U.S. and in the New York metropolitan area. In the Table, the number of both churches and temples are compared with the number of Korean immigrants in the U.S. in general and in the New York metropolitan area in particular. Aspect of growth of both religious groups directly reflects the findings of recent surveys (Hurh and Kim 1991; Min 1992a), which reveal that among the Korean-American population in the U.S., the majority (65-75%) go to Protestant churches, whereas only the minority (3-5%) go to Buddhist temples. Back in South Korea, however, in 1997 approximately 50 percent of Korean population are religiously active, and among them 39 percent are Buddhists, 44 percent are Protestants, and 17 percent are Catholic.[11] It is interesting to see that the Korean Protestant churches have been overrepresented in the community since the beginning of their immigration to the U.S., despite their underrepresentation in Korea. Chapters Three and Four detail the reasons why the Protestants have been overrepresented throughout Korean immigration history, examining both pre-migration and post-migration factors.

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Table 1-1 Number of Korean Immigrants, Churches, and Temples in NYC and the U.S.

Year	No. of Protestant Churches (U.S.)	No. of Protestant Churches (NY, NJ)	No. of Buddhist Temples (U.S.)	No. of Buddhist Temples (NY, NJ)	Korean Immigrants (U.S.)	Korean Immigrants (NY)
1901-1910	7	u	u	u	7,697	u
1911-1920	39	u	u	u	8,746	u
1921-1930	u	1	u	u	9,344	u
1931-1940	u	u	u	u	9,404	u
1941-1950	u	u	u	u	u	u
1951-1960	u	u	u	u	15,635	u
1961-1970	100	u	u	u	50,161	u
1971-1980	1,017	72	9	4	322,117	35,433
1981-1990	2,000	279	20	8	660,941	72,704
1991-1999	3,225	573	93	14	830,505	197,410

Source: (1) Number of Korean Protestant churches (U.S.): Choy, Bong-Youn. *Koreans in America*. Chicago: Nelson Hall (1979); Harris, Scott Collins."Korean Church Growth in America, 1903-1990: History and Analysis." Ph.D. dissertation, South Western Baptist Theological Seminary (1990); Shin, Eui Hang. "An Analysis of Causes of Schisms in Ethnic Churches: The Case of Korean-American Churches." *Sociological Analysis*. Vol. 49. (1989) pp. 234-248; *The Christian Press* (weekly Korean Christian newspaper). New York and Los Angeles, January 1, 1998 - August 28, 1999; *99 Jun Miju Hanin Kyohoe Jusorok (99 Korean Church Address Book)*. New York and Los Angeles: The Christian Press (Miju Christian Sinmun). (2) Number of Korean Protestant Churches (NYC): Kim, Illsoo. *New Urban Immigrants: The Korean Community in New York*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press (1981); The Korea Times New York. *Korean Business Directory of New York* (1985-1998). (3) Number of the Korean Buddhist Temples (U.S.) and (NYC): Yu, Eui-Young. "The Growth of Korean Buddhism in the U.S., with Special Reference to Southern California." *The Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*. New Series. No. 4. (1988) pp.82-93; Korean Association of New York (KANY). *The Korean Community in America*. Seoul, Korea: Onul Publishing Inc. (1986); *Miju Hyundae Bulkyo (Modern Buddhism)*. January 1998 - August 1999. (4) Number of Korean Immigrants (U.S.) and (NYC): Gall, Susan B. & Timothy L. Gall (ed.). *Statistical Record of Asian Americans*. Detroit: Gale Research Inc. 1993. pp. 411; The Government of Korea (Korean Consulate, New York), *Hawoe Dongpo Hyunwhang (Overseas Koreans)*. 1997. u=unidentified.

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Table 1-2 shows how the Korean churches and temples have been located in the New York metropolitan areas and vicinities during the last three decades. The locations of the churches and temples are closely associated with the Korean immigrants' residential pattern in the areas. During the last three decades, the number of churches and temples have increased as high as 7.25 times and 4.7 times, respectively, in the tri-state metropolitan area. Queens County, New York and New Jersey suburban areas, which have the highest Korean immigrant concentration rate in the East Coast, have experienced the most rapid increase in the number of Korean churches. Queens has experienced a nine-fold increase in the number of churches during the same period. Forty-seven percent of all Korean churches in the New York metropolitan area are concentrated in Queens County. The New Jersey metropolitan and residential areas also have experienced an eight-fold increase during the same period. Twenty-eight percent of all Korean churches in the New York and New Jersey metropolitan areas were concentrated in the New Jersey area in 1998.

The growth of the number of the Buddhist temples, however, are slower and more scattered around the suburban areas than are their Protestant counterparts. Queens and the Upstate New York areas have largest number of the Buddhist temples. During the last three decades, Queens has experienced a four-fold increase in the number of the Buddhist temples, while Upstate New York has three new Korean temples. Fifty-seven percent of Korean temples are concentrated in the Queens area, while 21 percent are located in Upstate New York areas such as Westchester and Orange Counties, in which only seven percent of the Korean Protestant churches were located in 1998. Only one Korean temple

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is located in the New Jersey area in which 29 percent of the Korean Protestant churches are concentrated.

Interestingly, Korean Buddhists follow the same method they used to locate their temples back in their home country. Buddhists have traditionally located their temples deep in the mountains, far from residential towns or cities to search for a good environment for spiritual training. Two out of three Korean temples in the Upstate New York are located on the verge of the Catskill Mountains for the same reason. Not only Korean temples, but a few other Asian immigrant temples are located as far as the Catskill Mountains in Upstate New York. It takes about two hours drive to get there by highway from New York City. The distance from the city ranges from 80 to 100 miles. The members of these Korean and other Asian temples mostly live in the New York metropolitan area. Whereas Buddhists like to build their temples far from their residential areas, Christians like to build their churches near their residential areas, as they used to do before immigration.

Table 1-2 Locations and Number of Korean Churches and Temples in New York City

Location	Number (1978)		Number (1988)		Number (1998)	
	Church	Temple	Church	Temple	Church	Temple
New York: Manhattan	7	1	10	2	9	2
Brooklyn	3		13		14	
Bronx	2		6		12	
Staten Island	3		5		12	
Queens	28	2	109	5	246	8
Other; Upstate NY			7	1	36	3
Long Island	8		14		35	

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Location	Number (1978) Church	Temple	Number (1988) Church	Temple	Number (1998) Church	Temple
New Jersey	19		60		147	1
Connecticut	2		8 (1990)		11	
Total	72	3	232	8	522	14

Source: (1) Number of Korean Christian churches (1978): Kim, Illsoo. *New Urban Immigrants: The Korean Community in New York.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press (1981, Table 6-2, pp. 192). (2) Number of Korean Buddhist temples (1978): Korean Association of New York (KANY). *The Korean Community in America.* Seoul, Korea: Onul Publishing Inc. (1986); (3) Other: *Korean Business Directory of New York* (1985-1999). New York: The Korea Times New York.

Notes

1. For a more detailed description of early Korean immigration, see Bong Youn Choy's *Koreans in America* (Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall Inc., Publishers, 1979) and Hyung Chang Kim and Wayne Paterson's *The Koreans in America (1882-1974)* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, 1974).

2. Each immigration law aimed at excluding certain racial or ethnic immigrants is better known by its nickname. The 1882 law is known as the "Chinese Exclusion Act," the 1908 law as the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which aimed at excluding Japanese immigrants, the 1917 law as the "Barred Zone Act," and the 1924 law as the "Oriental Exclusion Act."

3. According to Reed Ueda (Ueda 1994: 2), "[I]mmigration to the U.S. from 1820 to 1990 can be divided into three relatively equal parts: 1820-1900 (81 years, 33.6%); 1901-1940 (40 years, 33.6%); and 1941-1990 (50 years, 32.8%)."

4. Very few Korean immigrants were admitted during the period of 1945 to 1950. INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) records reveal that there was only one Korean immigrant in the year of 1950.

5. From this time on North Korea has strictly maintained an anti-U.S. policy.

6. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. 1950-1966. *Annual Reports.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

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7. *The Korea Times*, April 16th, 1998 and July 9th, 1998.

8. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. 1950-1966. *Annual Reports*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

9. According to Park's predeparture survey conducted in Seoul in 1986, when the size of the Korean immigration to the U.S. reached the highest point, 41.6 percent of Korean immigrants surveyed were non-Catholic Christians, 12.3 percent Catholics, 12.8 percent Buddhists, and 32.5 percent without religious affiliation. A nationwide survey conducted with adult populations (ages 18-68) in Korea in 1985, however, shows that only 16.2 percent of the Korean population are non-Catholic Christians; 4.9 percent are Catholics, 24.4 percent Buddhists, and 52.2 percent without religious affiliation (Park et al. 1986: 60-61).

10. *The 1999 Korea Times New York Korean Business Directory*. New York: The Korea Times New York. 1999.

11. *The Korea Times*. July 3, 1998. The data was originally collected by Korean Gallup Institute.

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Chapter 2. Demographic Profiling of Korean Immigrants in New York City

Number of Koreans in Comparison with Other Asian Immigrants

By the time United States immigration law eliminated national origin quotas as an entry mechanism in 1965, the number of Korean immigrants and their descendants in the United States barely exceeded 30,000. For more than three decades since the 1965 immigration law went into full effect, an average number of 25,000 Korean newcomers have annually entered the United States. As of the end of 20th century, given a natural increase of approximately 30,000 illegal immigrants and all legal immigrants, the total population in the United States having Korean ancestry was estimated at one million (see Table 2-1).

According to the 1990 census, first-generation Koreans who were not born in the United States make up 73 percent of Koreans. Asians comprise 8 percent of the United States population, with 67 percent born outside of the United States. Among Asian-American groups, Japanese-Americans have the lowest foreign-born population (32.3%), while Koreans maintain one of the highest foreign-born population rates (72.7%), next to Vietnamese (79.9%) and Asian Indians (75.4%) (Bureau of the Census 1993c, Table 1). In terms of population size, Koreans are the third-largest group among Asian immigrant groups following Chinese and Filipino Americans (see Table 2-1).

Compared to other major Asian immigrant groups, Koreans began to emigrate to the United States relatively late. Chinese began immigration to the United States first and Vietnamese latest among the major Asian nationalities. During the 1980s, Koreans were

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the fourth-largest group of immigrants to the United States. Mexico sent the largest number of immigrants to the United States during this period, with the Philippines second and China third. As Table 2-1 shows, however, mass immigration from Korea and the Philippines is a recent phenomenon while China and Japan have had a relatively long history since the mid-19th century of immigration to the United States. Mainly because of the economic boom in Korea during the period of 1991-1997, the number of Korean immigrants decreased drastically. Among the six major Asian countries, only Japan has sent fewer immigrants to the United States. During this period, the Philippines, Vietnam, and China were three of the four largest sending countries in the world. India also sent a large number of immigrants to the United States during this period (see Table 2-1). Mexico has sent the greatest number of immigrants in the world during this period. As seen in Chapter One, changes in the number of immigrants directly reflect the historical relationship between the sending country and the United States, the largest immigrant receiving country in the world.

Korean immigration to the United States began early in the 20th century as a result of the demand for labor from commercial plantation owners in the Hawaiian Islands. Interestingly, however, Korean immigration to the United States was initiated by American Protestant missionaries who acted as brokers between plantation owners and Korean migrant workers. American Protestant missionaries helped plantation owners by supplying cheap migrant workers from Korea, where they had just launched religious missions. American missionaries' job of encouraging Korean workers was made easier by drought-induced poverty and economic disruption caused by Japanese industrialization.

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Under the influence of the American Protestant missionaries, many early Korean immigrants became baptized or affiliated with Protestant churches before their immigration. The majority of Koreans at that time, however, were Buddhists or Confucians with strongly-held shamanistic beliefs. Protestants had a disproportionate influence in Korean immigrant communities in the United States, despite shamanistic beliefs in Confucianism and Buddhism that were still dominant in Korea.

However, the early Korean immigration to the United States ended with the intervention of Imperial Japan and resumed with the U.S. military government's 1945 occupation. The U.S. government stations 39,000 troops in South Korea to this day. Only family members of U.S. citizens could enter the United States at that time. The Korean wives of U.S. citizens and war orphans made up most Korean immigrants in this period. The number of Korean immigrants continuously grew from the time that the United States military stationed forces in South Korea until the late 1980s, when the economy of South Korea began to thrive. Due to the strong Korean economy, the number of Korean immigrants decreased in the early 1990s (see Table 2-1).

Migration to more developed countries is still desirable for many Koreans. With the recent experience of money market crises and a severe recession, a majority of Koreans are again thinking of emigration as a way to fulfil their aspirations. There is still an immense potential for emigration, especially among those who have a relatively high educational level, an urban background, frequent exposure to economically advanced countries, and an experience of living abroad. Factors pushing Koreans to emigrate include: political and military tension brought on by the conflict between the North and

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South, widespread regionalism and factionalism, a living environment with high population density and water and air pollution, economic instability caused by heavy dependencies on the United States and Japan, and the strict conservativism of Confucian ideas. On the other hand, political stability, better economic well-being, a better environment, and greater educational opportunities are major factors that constantly pull Korean immigrants.

Reflecting these push and pull factors, the majority of adult Koreans emigrate to improve their life chances. As long as Korean society is less developed than other economically advanced countries like the United States and Canada, international migration from Korea is expected to continue. According to a recent Korean newspaper[1] survey of 215 South Korean adults conducted after the IMF intervened in South Korea's economy in 1997, 70.6 percent of respondents considered emigrating to an advanced country. Among them, 32.6 percent preferred Canada; 21.4 percent the United States; 18.2 percent Australia; 13.4 percent New Zealand; and 1.1 percent chose South American countries. As the primary reason for emigration, the largest number of the respondents (47.6%) picked the category "to begin a new life in a new society." These survey results suggest that many Korean adults' lives in their home country are not so satisfactory, or at least they want to change their life settings. Quite a large proportion of the respondents (38.9%) felt "disappointed with all issues of the society they live in." The third largest number of respondents (3.2%) were "concerned with their children's education." It is interesting to know that contrary to the commonly-known reasons for Korean immigrants' motivation, only few of them chose education as their primary reason for

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immigration. Lastly, only a minimum (1.1%) thought to emigrate because they were "unemployed." As will be seen in Chapter Six in more detail, my survey of the Buddhists and Christians reveals similar answers for considering emigration. Koreans who want to leave their country, especially those who follow through, do not immigrate to the United States simply because they have fallen on hard times. They rather choose emigration because they want to change their current life situation, and they hope to have an opportunity to enjoy a better life in more advanced (or developed) countries. As Portes and Rumbaut (1996) point out in *Immigrant America*, immigration is not only a way of expressing dissatisfaction with one's life situation in one's homeland, but also, at the same time, is a means of fulfilling aspirations.

Different from their emigration to China and Japan, which mainly resulted from semi-forced migration, Koreans' emigration to the United States was voluntary and intended as a means to achieve their anticipated lifestyles. The history of Korean immigration to the United States directly reflects the unique historical context of both the sending and receiving countries. As shown in Chapter One, based on its historical characteristics, Korean immigration to the United States can be divided into three distinctive periods that reflect the changing relationship between Korea and the United States (see Table 1 and Chart 1 in Chapter One). The first wave of Korean immigration to the United States occurred during the period 1902-1950 and consisted of plantation workers, a few religious leaders, and some political refugees. They came to America to escape severe destitution and Japanese colonization. The size of the first immigration wave was small. The second wave occurred during the period 1951-1967 and mostly consisted of war

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brides and war orphans. They came to the United States in search of hope or to be taken care of by their adopting American parents. The number of the second-wave immigrants also did not exceed 25,000. The third-wave of Korean immigration has taken place since 1968, when the new American immigration law went full effect. The third-wave Korean immigrants consists mostly of the immediate relatives of the early Korean immigrants and professionals and their families. The majority of the third-wave Korean immigrants have come to achieve their life aspirations in America. In terms of its size, the first and second waves were small. It was since the period of the third wave that a massive immigration has taken place. For the last three decades, 35,000 Korean immigrants entered the U.S. every year on average. Interestingly enough, each wave shows quite distinctive socioeconomic backgrounds and purposes for immigration to the U.S. The three immigrant groups, however, show quite similar pattern of settlement and community formation. Different from other Asian immigrants, Korean immigrants have formed a church-centered community from the beginning of their immigration to the U.S.

Table 2-1 Asian Immigrants Admitted to the United States by Decade, 1850-1990

Decade	Chinese	Japanese	Indian	Korean	Filipino	Vietnamese
1850-1860	41,397	-	43	-	-	-
1861-1870	64,301	186	69	-	-	-
1871-1880	123,201	149	163	-	-	-
1881-1890	61,711	2,270	269	-	-	-
1891-1900	14,799	25,942	68	-	-	-
1901-1910	20,605	129,797	4,713	7,697	-	-
1911-1920	21,278	83,837	2,082	1,049	869	-

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Decade	Chinese	Japanese	Indian	Korean	Filipino	Vietnamese
1921-1930	29,907	33,462	1,886	598	54,747	-
1931-1940	4,928	1,948	496	60	6,159	-
1941-1950	16,709	1,555	1,761	-	4,691	-
1951-1960	9,657	46,250	1,973	6,231	19,307	-
1961-1970	34,764	39,980	27,189	34,526	98,376	3,788
1971-1980	12,326	49,775	164,134	271,956	360,216	179,681
1981-1990	366,622	43,248	261,841	338,824	495,271	401,419
1991-1997	309,807	50,048	274,439	127,932	397,319	356,331
Total	1,132,012	508,447	741,126	788,873	1,077,315	941,219

Source: For 1850-1990, Gall, Susan B. and Timothy L. Gall (ed.). *Statistical Record of Asian Americans*. Detroit. Gale Research Inc. 1993. table 515. pp. 411. For 1991-1997, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1992-1997 (U.S. Department of Justice, Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office). Primary Sources: For 1851-1980, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, various years. Data on Filipino migration to mainland United States for the decades 1911-1940 were derived from INS *Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration*. A dash (-) represents less than 0.5 percent. Notes: (a) Beginning in 1957, Chinese total includes immigration from Taiwan. (b) Beginning in 1982, Taiwan was no longer included in the Chinese total. Immigration from Taiwan to the United States from 1982 to 1990 was 118,105. These immigrants are not included in the total for Chinese which appears in the table.

Gender and Age Distribution of Korean Immigrants

Among 7,394 Korean immigrants who first came to the Hawaiian Islands between 1903 and 1905, 755 were women (10.21%) and 447 were under age 14 (6%) (KANY 1986: 13). The rest were young single male laborers. Between 1910 and 1924, however, 1,066 picture brides came to the Hawaiian Islands to live with their new husbands. But

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the gender ratio of Korean immigrants was still severely skewed with four males to every female. Up until 1940, some 900 Korean students and political refugees, who were mostly male, entered the United States. During that time, 964 males and 19 females returned to Korea, and 1,999 males and 12 females moved to the mainland United States, mostly to California. Because of the high proportion of men among the first wave of Korean immigrants, their population grew very slowly. The 1930 U.S. census tracked only 8,332 Korean descendants, and the 1940 census recorded an increase to 8,568. By the end of the Second World War, approximately 9,000 Korean immigrants resided in the United States and its territories, more than 7,000 of whom lived in the Hawaiian Islands with their total population never exceeding 10,000 until 1950 (KANY 1986: 14). Before the Korean War, the gender ratio and age stratification of Korean immigrants were severely skewed; 79 percent were males, and less than 10 percent were under age fourteen.

The preponderance of young males in the first wave of Korean immigrants was reversed during the second wave of immigration. Young females and children under five were dominant among the second- wave Korean immigrants who arrived from 1950 to 1967. During this period, 15,049 Korean immigrants entered the United States. Approximately 80 percent were either war brides (42.6%) or adoptees (35.5%). The remainder (21.9%) came as students for higher education, but a majority stayed in the United States to take advantage of better opportunities than their homeland offered (KANY 1986: 15). The sex ratio of the second wave immigrants was approximately seven females to every three males (see Chart 1-1 in Chapter One). Female immigrants in

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their twenties were the most dominant group. During second-wave immigration, 36.5 percent were females in their twenties, 3.9 percent males of the same age; 21 percent were under five years old, and among them, the percentage of females and males were 14 percent and 7 percent respectively (Kim 1974: 27).

Young adult females dominated Korean immigration into the first period of third-wave immigration. Although the new immigration law of 1965 endowed virtually all Koreans with an equal opportunity to immigrate to the United States, marriage and adoption continued to be the most prevalent means of immigration. Moreover, relatives invited by the naturalized Korean wives of U.S. citizens made up the majority of the third wave of immigrants in the 1970s and 1980s. During the third wave of immigration, the female to male ratio has remained skewed by a factor of six to one. Female immigrants in their twenties and thirties are the most dominant group among all Korean immigrants. During the third wave, the average percentage of female immigrants in their twenties was 30 percent, while that of female immigrants in their thirties was 9.5 percent. The percentage of male counterparts in their twenties and thirties was 14.7 percent (7.1% in their twenties and 7.6% in their thirties). Over 70 percent of Korean immigrants throughout the second and third wave immigration period were under age forty. As the size of Korean immigration grew and chain migration based on family invitation began in the 1980s, the percentage of senior immigrants, those over age sixty, increased from 1.1 percent in 1968 to 7.7 percent in 1990 (Yoon 1997: 58-59). Different from early first-wave Korean immigrants, young female adults have predominated in second- and third-wave immigration. Korean immigrants have been a gender- and age-skewed immigrant

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group from the beginning up to today.

Urban-to-Urban Migration

The majority of Korean immigrants are urban-to-urban migrants. Their immigration pattern directly reflects a rapid urbanization process that has occurred in Korea since the early 1960s. In 1955 only 24.4 percent of the Korean population lived in central cities and urban fringes. The proportion of the urban population in Korea, however, reached 74.4% in 1990 and 85.8 percent in 1995.[2] In Korea, the population reversal between urban and rural areas took place only in the last four decades.

In the case of Korea, which has traditionally maintained agriculture as its economic base and Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism as its religio-ideological foundation, urbanization has been accompanied by industrialization, Westernization, and modernization in the process of developing a modern capitalist economic system. For the general Korean population, urbanization thus meant an inevitable conformity to Western ideas and a capitalist economic system based on mass production and mass commodity exchange. The sudden urbanization and modernization of Korea was accompanied by a massive internal migration, reconfiguration of infrastructure, and alteration of religio-social thoughts and social norms. Capital-intensive manufacturers and service industries began to concentrate in urban sectors. Highways and airports were built in and around industrialized urban areas and made it possible for people to travel greater distances. Life became busier in urban places, and due to the availability of jobs in urban sectors, more people surged into cities. Since city life required mobility and an adaptability to wage

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labor, the traditional extended family structure had been gradually replaced by the nuclear family. Young people left for the industrialized urban areas to search for better jobs and higher education which were lacking in rural sectors. Youngsters left for cities while the elderly remained in the countryside, where their generation-old economic bases still remained. According to statistics, females aged fifteen to twenty four, who were in much demand in the booming light manufacturing sector, accounted for 75 percent of all individual migration to Seoul, the largest metropolis in South Korea, during the period of 1966 to 1970 (Kim 1981: 76).[3]

Industrialization and urbanization altered not only demographic composition but also occupation and class structure. The new urban middle class -- composed of managers of small companies, professionals, white collar workers, and some well-paid blue collar workers, such as automobile assembly workers -- emerged in the midst of the changes that accompanied industrialization. The majority of the new urban middle class were drawn from the educated young population who migrated from rural areas. They were basically propertyless but were well educated or skilled and highly motivated to improve their lives. Since most were educated in Western-style schools in urban areas, they were well aware of the usefulness of imported technology and ideas. The new urban middle class and urban working class were the most rapidly growing classes during industrialization. According to one estimate, the new urban middle class and urban working class comprised 6.6 percent and 8.9 percent of the economically active population respectively in 1960, shifting to 17.7 percent and 22.6 percent respectively in 1980.[4]

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In the midst of industrialization, changes in material aspects of life resulted in changes in non-material aspects of life. Confucian norms and values which had provided a politico-economic ideology for the traditional agricultural society were gradually re-evaluated by urbanites, especially the new urban middle class. The old norms and values that co-existed with imported Western norms and values were not deemed by these recent migrants effective any longer to support newly restructured industrial urban life in their rapidly changing society. Traditional religious ideas and social thoughts such as Buddhism and Shamanism were considered inappropriate to their newly industrialized urban lives, and they less effectively supported urban lifestyles than those imported from the West, especially Christianity. New urban middle class and other capitalist groups who adopted new capitalist ideologies and forms of organization were thus among the first groups who willingly accepted new social norms and values from the Western world. In the midst of migration and urban settlement, these class groups eagerly replaced social norms and values that they used to believe in with the newly-imported ones based on rational thinking and economic efficiency. New educational models which were also imported from the West reinforced their newly-adopted norms and values. For the new urban middle class, Confucian ideology, traditional norms and values -- which supported a strict gender and age stratification, ancestor worship, shamanistic practices, and other aboriginalized religious ideas such as Buddhism -- became subject to reevaluation according to their usefulness in everyday life. To some extent, as a result of capitalist globalization, quite a large proportion of urban residents became a semi-Westernized group in terms of their ways of thought and behavior, even before immigration.

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Their exposure to Western culture provided them with a psychological affinity to Western countries, especially to the United States, which had the most powerful influence on the new urban culture in Korean society. Not only did they believe that traditional religion could not meet the needs of their new urban lives, but also their feelings of emptiness after migration to urban areas contributed to their acceptance of Christianity. Despite the long history of Protestant evangelism, it was only during industrialization that a new urban middle class could arise and subsequently accept Christianity, which dovetailed with its psychological and ideological needs. Additionally, many associated Western culture with an affluence based on mass production and mass consumption. Studies consistently show that the majority of Korean immigrants have been drawn from this urban middle class who mostly willingly accepted Western religion and life styles (Park et al. 1986; Kim 1981; Min 1996; Yoon 1997).

Prevalence of the urban middle class among Korean immigrants is one of the major reasons why more Protestants than other religious groups enter the United States. A pre-immigration survey conducted in 1986 revealed 91.3 percent of Korean immigrants to the United States lived in urban areas before their immigration. Among the urban emigres, 69.8 percent lived in the four major metropolitan areas while 21.4 percent lived in the other urban areas in South Korea before immigration. Out of all Korean immigrants to the United States, 53.9 percent were Christians (41.6%, non-Catholic Christian; 12.3%, Catholic).[5]

The survey of 109 religious believers conducted for this research in 1998 shows similar rates of urban life experience before immigration to the United States. According

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to my survey, 97 percent of the respondents lived in urban areas before their immigration. Among them only 10 percent lived in middle or small cities, and the rest are drawn from the four major urban centers in Korea. Interestingly, proportionately more Buddhist immigrants (98% of the Buddhist respondents) were drawn from the four major cities than were their Protestant counterparts (78% of the Protestant respondents).

Large proportions of both Buddhist and Protestant immigrants were urban-born also. The largest number of the respondents were born in Seoul, the capital city of South Korea (36% of the Buddhist respondents and 34% of the Protestant respondents). Another 28 percent of the Buddhist respondents and 16 percent of the Protestant respondents were born in the four major metropolises (Pusan, Taegu, Inchon, and Kwongju). Only 22 percent of the Buddhist respondents and 17 percent of the Protestant were born in rural areas. Considering that 42.5 percent of the Korean population reside in the four major cities (Park et al.: 31), Korean immigrants' urban residency rates are disproportionately high. This means that Korean immigration to the United States is clearly an urban phenomenon.

Mainly because of their familiarity with urban lifestyles and job availability, the majority of Korean immigrants flow into major metropolitan areas in the United States after immigration. Korean immigrants' concentration in metropolitan areas after their immigration is closely associated with their urban background before immigration, their high educational level, high economic motivation, handicaps in their language usage, occupational barriers in the United States job market, availability of labor intensive low paying jobs in metropolitan areas, and self-employment as an alternative livelihood. As

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will be seen, their educational level is much higher than general Korean population. With their high educational level, they generally show high economic motivation.

Their middle-class background is also closely related to their tendency toward high economic motivation. Because they cannot get the jobs in the United States equivalent to their educational level, they face two choices: either working in manual or menial jobs available mostly in the metropolitan areas, or opening their own businesses in urban business sectors or residential areas. An occupational shift of Korean immigrants occurs from white-collar occupations to blue-collar jobs or self-employment (Min 1984). Since these opportunities are concentrated in urban areas, it is natural that most Korean immigrants also flow into the urban areas to look for jobs.

The 1990 U.S. census data and other surveys consistently show that Korean immigrants maintain the highest rates of self-employment among the new immigrants (Min 1996, 1995; Light and Bonacich 1988; Yoon 1997). In the case of the Korean community in New York, 40 percent of first-generation Korean immigrants are self-employed, and another 30 percent are employed by Korean business owners (Min 1996). The survey results for this research also similarly show that 39 percent of the respondents are self-employed. Interestingly, slightly more Buddhists (42%) than their Protestant counterparts (37%) are self-employed. The results of these surveys suggest that the majority of Korean immigrants in the New York metropolitan areas are employed in small coethnic businesses. These employment opportunities concentrate Korean immigrants in urban areas after immigration.

According to the 1990 U.S. census, only 5.5 percent of Koreans live in rural areas,

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while approximately 20 percent of the United States population lives in rural areas. The majority of Koreans (90%), however, live in urban areas. Among them, 42 percent live in central city areas and 48 percent in the urban fringes. Only 4.5 percent of Koreans live in suburban areas. Urban concentration has become a general tendency for Korean immigrants as well as other Asian immigrants. The majority of other Asian immigrant groups are also concentrated in urban areas. The 1990 census also shows that 90.4 percent of Asian-Americans live in urban areas (U.S. Bureau of Census 1993a, Table 3). This thus strongly suggests new immigration from Asia reflects an urban-to-urban international migration.

Education and Social Class Background

Recent Korean and other Asian immigrants who have come to the United States since the late 1960s have a relatively high educational level, and they show disproportionately high rates of professionals. It is not only because U.S. immigration policy gives preference to highly-educated and professional workers specializing in high demand occupational categories, but also the highly-educated are more likely to be exposed to information about immigration and the life-styles of more advanced countries. Highly-educated people of the sending countries, therefore, are also more likely motivated to emigrate to the more advanced countries because they see in their everyday lives a large gap between their life aspirations and the true realities in their countries (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Highly-educated people by and large are more likely drawn from a higher-than-middle-class background, which relatively easily provides them with

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economic resources for emigration when they decide to emigrate. Immigration to the United States or to the more advanced countries thus intrinsically is a selection process of the highly-educated and higher-than-middle-class people. As Portes and Rumbaut (1996) point out in their book, *Immigrant America,* "not everyone can come but only those who can." Those who can come are selected by their education, occupation, and the length of exposure to the life of the country they want to live in. In terms of their background, most immigrants in general and Korean immigrants in particular are more pre-exposed to the lifestyle of the host countries, and they have more understanding of the life and culture of the countries they want to live in. The more they are educated, therefore, and the more they have economic resources, the higher probability of emigration to the advanced countries and the smoother adjustment they have after their immigration.

The improved socioeconomic profile of the recent Asian immigrants by and large is the result of this historical trend of combination of U.S. immigration policy and world economy. Immigration thus is not only a process of uprooting, but a process of selecting. This selective process also directly applies to the reason why more Christians among Koreans, who are more exposed to American lifestyles than any other religious groups, have immigrated to the United States since the beginning of Korean immigration.

Educational level of Korean Americans directly reflects this selective process of immigration to the United States. Korean immigrants' average educational level is higher than that of the general U.S. population, of the general Korean population, and of the entirety of the U.S. immigrant population. The percentage of four-year college graduates among adult Korean population (25 year and older) was 15.1 percent in 1986. According

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to the 1990 census, however, among the foreign-born adult Korean population who are twenty-five years old and over, 33 percent have four-year college education, whereas 21.6 percent of U.S. population as a whole and 26.9 percent of the overall foreign-born population have the same educational level.

The percentage of college graduates of all Asian immigrants is higher (40.7%) than that of Koreans. Slightly fewer than half of first-generation Indian (42.2%), Filipino (42.3%), and Chinese immigrants (40.7%) are college graduates. Japanese immigrants' college graduate level (35.1%) is in-between that of Koreans and other higher-educated Asian immigrant groups. The Vietnamese immigrants have the least number of four-year college graduates among all Asian immigrant groups. Only 6.8 percent have a four-year college education (U.S. Bureau of Census 1993b, Table 2, 3; 1994, Table 40, 42).

Before the United States Congress passed the Eilberg Act and the Health Professional Assistant Act in 1976, which aimed to regulate the number of foreign skilled workers and medical professionals, the proportion of college graduates among Korean immigrants were much higher than that of the 1990s. Although occupational immigration was one of the major categories of Korean immigration before the 1976 law, it has dropped to less than 10 percent of all immigration categories since 1979 (Kim and Min 1992: 134-136). This trend equally applies to all Asian immigrants since then. As a result, although new immigrants' educational level is still higher than the U.S. average, Korean and other Asian immigrants' educational level becomes lower.

Self-Employment as a Major Means of Livelihood

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The majority of first-generation Korean immigrants hold self-employed jobs as their means of livelihood after immigration.[6] According to the 1990 census, the nationwide adult (16 years or older) Koreans' self-employment rate was 24.3 percent. A survey conducted in the New York metropolitan area, however, reveals much higher self-employment rates among first-generation Korean immigrants. According to my survey, conducted in New York in 1998, 39 percent of respondents in the New York metropolitan areas are self-employed, and another 30 percent are employed by Korean self-employed employers. Compared to the national average of all ancestry groups' self-employment rates appeared in the 1990 census (9.7%), the rate of Korean immigrants is extremely high. These survey results show that self-employment -- most of which is derived from small businesses, such as dry cleaners, laundromats, green groceries, delicatessens, fish stores, stationeries, nail salons, and variety shops -- is the basic means of livelihood of first-generation Korean immigrants.

In contrary to first-generation Korean immigrants' high rate of self-employment, other foreign-born Asian immigrants show a relatively high rate of professional and managerial occupational categories. The 1990 census also reveals that Native-born Korean-Americans' self-employment rates are as low as that of the general U.S. population. Among the employed persons whose age is sixteen years old and over, 44.1 percent of foreign-born Asian Indians, 33.9 percent of Chinese, 28 percent of Filipinos, 39.1 percent of Japanese, and 45 percent of Pakistanis have professional or managerial occupations, whereas only 25.5 percent of foreign-born Koreans and 27.2 percent of the general U.S. population have the same occupational category. The non-citizen foreign-born Korean

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population's rates of managerial and professional occupation (21%) is lower than that of the total foreign-born population (U.S. Bureau of Census 1993b, Table 4).

As the statistics show, the majority of first-generation Korean immigrants work together with fellow Koreans in isolated self-employed business settings. High rates of self-employment among first-generation Korean immigrants bring them mixed blessings. High self-employment rates among Koreans may give them financial security and maintain a strong ethnic solidarity that rewards them with mental security through a sense of belonging and mutual supports after immigration; but it may hinder them from assimilation to general American culture and set them apart from American society. They do not even have a strong motivation to learn English, because of their voluntary isolation and the lessened need for English in their working environment. Although many first-generation immigrants do live a limited social life after immigration, first- generation Koreans' isolation through their means of livelihood makes them maintain a more limited social interaction with general American people and society; it sometimes causes them to look much more inactive than other immigrant groups. Korean local newspapers frequently place articles concerning their limited community participation in the issues that directly affect Korean immigrants' business interests. This is mainly because of their lack of English ability and the prevalence of the idea of "I don't care, except about my own interest." For many first-generation Korean immigrants, Korea is still their country they want to return to someday in the future, and the United States is a country in which they stay temporarily to earn a substantial amount of money for a return to their homeland. More than 5,000 first-generation Korean immigrants returned to Korea every

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year.[7] My survey also reveals that only 47 percent of respondents (30% of Buddhists and 61% of Protestants) reply that they have non-Korean American friends; and 46 percent of them (48% of Buddhists and 49% of Protestants) reply that they either plan to return to Korea or have not decided yet whether they will return or not.

Their strong ethnic solidarity through their economic isolation in turn increases the probability of ethnic conflict between Korean immigrants and other ethnic groups who reside near Korean-owned businesses. They can easily find small business opportunities in the inner cities where there are frequent business turnover rates and vacuums of self-employed small businesses, as the previous owners retire from their businesses or leave the inner city area for better residential or other economic opportunities in suburban areas. African-Americans and Hispanic-Americans became dominant in the inner city residential areas when mass immigration from Asian countries took place. In the case of the New York metropolitan area, shared by most large cities in the United States, the inner city population decreased, and the population of suburban areas and satellite cities around the New York metropolis increased during the period of 1950 to mid-1970s. The population lost to the inner city was refilled with African-Americans from the Southern states and the West Indian countries and Hispanic-Americans from Latin American countries. The inner cities of the United States underwent dramatic transition. The majority of the new Asian immigrants moved in inner cities of metropolises at the same time the cities were being ethnically and racially restructured. Many Korean immigrants built occupational niches in inner city areas where racial and ethnic recomposition was being undertaken. With strong upward economic mobility, high education, and other

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cultural and social resources, Korean immigrants opened shops wherever their business opportunities arose. Because inner city Korean shop owners are mostly absentee owners who live in exurbia or suburban areas and sell their goods to racially and ethnically differing customers, conflict between Korean owners and local residents has taken place more frequently, since many Korean immigrants opened their businesses in these areas. The Los Angeles riot of 1994 and the series of boycotts with pickets in front of Korean-owned green groceries in Brooklyn and Harlem in New York city since 1992 are a symptomatic example of ethnic conflict between Korean shop owners and local residents.

In addition to inter-ethnic conflict between Korean shop owners and local residents, many intraethnic conflicts over the same business opportunities have taken place in the Korean community since mass Korean immigrants surged into the United States. With a strong competition among many Korean would-be shop owners, intraethnic conflict in the Korean community over the similar self-employed small business has been a major community issue since their mass immigration in the 1970s and 1980s (Kim 1981; Min 1996; Yoon 1997).

Occupational and economic well-being of Koreans and other Asian immigrants is closely associated with both their pre-immigration backgrounds and the U.S. immigration policy. The early Korean immigrants who entered the Hawaiian Islands a century ago as mostly unskilled manual workers, including few Christian pastors and intellectuals, and they mostly worked for sugar plantation owners as sojourning migrant workers. When the three-year contract with the plantation owners expired, some of them, especially married people, flew into Honolulu or the Los Angeles metropolitan areas for urban jobs or for

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self-employment opportunities in the urban areas. The self-employment rate of the early Korean immigrants thus was relatively lower compared to recent Korean immigrants. Some historical evidence exists that some Korean umbrella organizations engaged in enterprises to make up their scarce budgets. But the enterprises run by the Korean umbrella organization, which were mostly import-and-export businesses, did not last long. When the Korean organizations dissolved, their businesses also shared the same fate (Choy 1979).

It was after the new immigrants came to the United States since the late 1960s that the self-employment rate of Korean immigrants has grown rapidly. Frequently mentioned reasons for Korean immigrants' high self-employment rate are their high level of education, mismatch of their skills or qualifications and job requirements (or status inconsistency), language barrier, high probability of under-employment, and relatively easy budget preparation for opening businesses through their tight ethnic or clan networks. These social factors, however, equally affect all Asian immigrants, except a few nationalities who speak English as a public language, such as India, Pakistan, and the Philippines. As we have seen, immigrants from these three countries in fact have much higher rates of professional and managerial occupation than other Asian immigrants.

Moreover, these factors do not directly cause high rate of self-employment among Koreans after their immigration. If the social factors above are crucial for immigrants to increase their self-employment rates, other Asian immigrant groups who have similar socio-economic conditions should have a similar self-employment rates as Koreans. Self-employment rates among Asian immigrants, however, vary from the lowest (Malaysian,

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2.7%) to the highest (Korean, 24.3%), according to the 1990 census. If higher education is key for the high rates of self-employment, Korean immigrants should remain in the middle among all Asian immigrants. Even influenced by the 1976 Immigration Act aimed to regulate the number of skilled workers and professionals, Korean immigrants who came to the United States since 1980 have much lower educational levels and lower rates of professional occupation than those who came in the late 1960s and 1970s. Their self-employment rate, however, is still the highest among all immigrant groups according to the latest census data.

Why do more Korean immigrants than other Asian immigrants engage in self-employed small businesses after their immigration to the United States? Compared to other Asian immigrants, are they more likely to fit into the requirements and the conditions for self-employment? Or do they have more advantages in running self-employed small business? For instance, do Korean immigrants have more availability of social capital, such as close family ties and social networks with the same ethnic members, more emphasis on middle-class values which conveys them upward mobility, a relatively higher educational level that allows them a better understanding of social reality after immigration, and much handier supply of financial resources through close intraethnic relationship?

First, on the surface, Koreans are the most homogeneous group among all Asian immigrant groups, in terms of their ethnicity and language. Cultural homogeneity might endue them with strong ethnic solidarity after immigration. Strong ethnic solidarity in turn might endow them with a higher availability of social and cultural resources through

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intraethnic networks, which are crucial for the success of self-employed small businesses. Second, the low level of Korean immigrants' English proficiency hinders them from getting decent and professional (or managerial) jobs equivalent to their educational level or qualifications after their immigration, and it might drive them to become self-employed business owners, who do not require as high English proficiency as is required by professional or managerial jobs. Once it is known that adult Korean workers' English proficiency is among the lowest in all Asian countries,[8] their high rates of self-employment after immigration might have possible relation to their low level of English proficiency. It surely hinders them from getting the jobs equivalent to their educational level, making them either unemployed or underemployed in the U.S. job market. It is natural that with high economic upward mobility and mental insecurity, first-generation immigrants who do not enter the United States as occupational immigrants first look for any available jobs for survival after immigration.

Situationally and psychologically, therefore, first-generation immigrants cannot afford to care about the quality and the nature of jobs they look for in the initial stage of settlement. What they mostly care about is availability of work and financial security in the new society. Opportunities of self-employment in free capitalist society are prevalent if individual immigrants meet the condition for self-employment. Korean immigrants and other Asian and Middle-East ethnic groups who have a high self-employment business rates, however, do not seem to intend to engage in self-employed small business before their immigration, but their social and economic situation as first-generation immigrants somewhat coerces them plunging into such an occupation. In other words, their high level

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of involvement in self-employment is the result of semi-voluntary choice urged on them by their situation. Rudimentary communication skills, minimum amount of start-up money, minimum accounting skills, a few of low-wage helpers or unpaid family laborers, and willingness to endure hardship and long hours of work are the basic requirement for getting into the self-employed small business. Studies, therefore, disclose the fact that the higher an immigrant group maintains self-employment rates, the higher probability of unemployed or underemployed the group maintains (Yoon 1997; Min 1995; Kim 1981). Korean immigrants' high rates of self-employment thus appear to be a disguised form of both unemployment and underemployment situationally generated in the process of international migration.

However, the Korean immigrants are at least aware of the fact that once they become entrepreneurs, they feel a sense of achievement by endowing themselves with a conviction of, "I made it." Sociologists therefore agree that when self-employed Korean immigrants' social characteristics are analyzed, highly-educated people, foreign-born people, people with middle- or upper-class background, and people with large number of family members show a higher probability of engaging in self-employed businesses and a higher success rate (Kim 1981; Light and Bonacich 1988; Min 1996; Yoon 1997). This means that higher quality of human resource, shorter length of stay (or first-generation or foreign-born immigration status with stronger immigration ethos), more financial resources, and more availability of unskilled free (or family) laborers are the crucial factors for success in the world of self-employed small businesses. The more Korean immigrants are successful in their businesses, the more they feel mental security and a

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sense of achievement of the American dream.

In his case study of Korean fruit and vegetable business, Kim (1981: 114-116) pointed out the three causal factors that make Korean immigrants get into the business: 1) relatively little amount of money for opening the business and the possibility of running the business with limited knowledge of English; 2) Korean immigrants' abundance of family labor and their economic aggressiveness; 3) their competence in managing with supermarket chains with long working hours and cheap wages. Kim (1981: 119-146) also emphasized the fact that Korean immigrants were able to find their occupational niche in self-employed small businesses in the inner city areas because pioneer immigrants dared enough to start up such major self-employed small businesses as green groceries and wig stores, and they were able to accumulate business skills and capital, based on these small businesses. According to Kim (1981) and Yoon (1997), green groceries and the wig business thus became stepping stones for the Korean immigrants' further self-employed small business opportunities. Pioneers' success in these two types of businesses provided later Korean immigrants with competence and confidence to open other self-employed businesses during their rapid influx into the United States. Following in their predecessor's footsteps, a majority of the new Korean immigrants pursue self-employment, despite difficult working conditions and low pay, because it is their only pathway to the American dream.

During the 1970s and 1980s, running their own shops became a fad among first-generation Korean immigrants. Shop owners were considered as winners or so-called achieved groups among the new immigrants. While the Korean government's policy was

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encouraging Koreans' emigration to advanced countries in the 1960s and 1970s, Koreans not only longed for American mass consumption culture, but also were envious of successful Korean businessmen who showed off their success in the U.S. when they returned home. The Korean term *gyopo,* which originally stood for "fellow Korean immigrants," began to have a special meaning. Throughout the period of mass Korean emigration to the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, *gyopo* denoted a successful emigrant businessmen who lived abroad. In the United States, many old-time Korean immigrants strongly urged Korean newcomers to develop self-employed small businesses to attain their dreams of success in American society. Korean immigrants now are fully aware of the fact that engaging a *jangsa* (the Korean word that stands for "commercial business") is "the fastest way to get ahead in America" (Kim 1981: 102). The majority of Korean employees who work for Korean owners build their apprenticeship for their own future business ownership. Quite large proportion of Korean first-generation immigrants (approximately 30%) work for Korean business owners.

For the majority of new Korean immigrants, immigration to the United States identifies with running their own businesses. As long as new Korean immigrants find their occupational niche in this self-employed small business world, and sufficient numbers of new Korean immigrants come to the United States, their highest rates of self-employment among the new immigrant groups are expected to continue. Quite a few studies argue that the Korean ethnic churches, the most wide spread ethnic organization, help newcomers expand business opportunity after immigration (Yoon 1997; Kwon 1997). According to these studies, the Korean ethnic churches perform a brokerage

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function, spreading business information for the would-be business owner and functioning as a helping institution, providing the newcomers with important know-how and social capital. As long as their ethnic religious institutions perform such important functions, the fad of running businesses among first-generation Korean immigrants is also expected to continue.

In the New York metropolitan area, Korean-Americans are dominant in such businesses as green groceries, delicatessens with salad bars, dry cleaners, laundromats, fish stores, stationery shops, sweat shops, nail salons, and liquor stores. All of these businesses can be categorized as middleman-type business, in which suppliers and consumers are ethnically or racially different from the Korean distributors. Recently, however, in major cities like Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, and Chicago, where substantial numbers of Korean-Americans reside, there has been a rapid growth of enclave-type businesses, such as wholesalers, law firms, insurance brokerages, travel agencies, ethnic hospitals (including naturopathic "Oriental Medicine" centers), barber shops, ethnic food stores and restaurants, and ethnic funeral homes. Different from middleman-type businesses, enclave-type businesses have the same ethnic members from suppliers to consumers. Some goods that wholesalers carry, such as wigs, luggage carriers, clothes, jewelry, some ethnic foods, and toys, are supplied from their home countries or the third countries where Korean business persons have signed supply contracts.

Korean-Americans' business types in the major metropolitan areas have been reformulated after their massive immigration during the 1970s and 1980s. The numbers

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of businesses that require inter-ethnic or inter-racial commercial interactions have reduced or remained the same, whereas businesses that require commercial interactions with the same ethnic members within the Korean community have increased in their number and rapidly expanded, as the community grows with the mass influx of new immigration from Korea. This shows that the Korean community in the United States has become big enough to sustain its own. Between 1988 and 1998, the number of Korean-run dry cleaner (which is one of typical middleman type Korean businesses in the New York metropolitan area) has decreased 0.85 times (163 dry cleaners are listed in 1988 *Korea Times Business Directory* and 139 dry cleaners in 1999), while the number of travel agency (which is one of typical enclave-type businesses) has increased 2.4 times (40 agencies in 1988 to 97 in 1998).[9]

One of the most rapidly-growing Korean businesses these days is private educational institutes. Only few were recognized a decade ago (only sixty seven cases in the 1988 *Korea Times Business Directory*). The 1998 *Korea Times Business Directory*, however, lists 268 private educational institutes located in the New York and New Jersey metropolitan areas. Customers of the institutes are almost all Koreans, and many of the institutes are run by Korean ethnic churches. There are 59 (47 in New York and 12 in New Jersey) private institutes whose goal is the language and academic improvement of Korean children, 19 after-schools, 29 kindergartens, 65 art schools which teach music and painting, 35 driving schools, 12 vocational schools, and 49 Korean language schools. The general trend of businesses that ethnic Koreans run shows that as more Korean immigrants enter the United States, self-employed Korean businesses serving their own

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ethnic members, the so-called enclave type, are growing, while the businesses serving non-Korean customers, the so-called middleman type, remain the same size or shrink, as in the cases of dry cleaners and travel agencies.

Economic Well-Being of Korean Immigrants

How well then Korean Americans are economically? Does their heavy concentration on self-employed small businesses affect their economic well-being and differentiate them from other racial or ethnic groups in terms of money-converted income? In 1990 Korean Americans' average family income was $46,307 (median family income was $33,909), average personal income was $10,473, and 14.7 percent of Korean American families were at the poverty level (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993b, Table 5; 1994, Tables 48, 49). The average Korean family income is lower than that of Asian Indians ($65,945), Japanese ($55,200), Filipinos ($53,566), Taiwanese ($51,760), Chinese ($50,233), and Pakistanis ($46,336), who have higher rates of professional and managerial occupation and lower rates of self-employment than Koreans. The average Korean family income, however, is higher than that of Thais ($44,497), Vietnamese ($38,864), and Malaysians ($35,370), who have lower rates of both self-employment and professional and managerial occupation than Koreans. The percentage of Korean families at poverty level (14.7%) is higher than the Asian average (11.6%) and is second-highest among the Asian immigrant groups, next to the Vietnamese (23.8%). Japanese and Filipinos maintain the lowest poverty level among Asian-Americans. The percentage of Japanese and Filipino families at the poverty level is 3.4 percent and 5.2 percent

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respectively. The low family income and high poverty level of the Vietnamese are due to their immigration conditions and status as refugees, who usually do not bring any means or skills for economic adjustment in a host society.

Despite their high rates of self-employment and high educational level, Korean-Americans' income level is relatively low. Koreans' lower income level than expected (for a group so heavily involved in commercial activities) is explained in two ways. First, in terms of their economic adjustment, measured by yearly earnings, Korean-Americans are bipolarized into two groups: those who are far better off and those who are far worse off after immigration. In fact, there is a big difference between Koreans' mean family income ($46,307) (which stands for the numeric average family income of Koreans, the result of total sum of all income of Korean households divided by the total number of Korean households) and their median family income ($33,909) (which stands for the income of the person who is in the exactly mid-point of Koreans' income strata). This discloses the fact that since the Koreans' mean family income is much higher than the median family income, a large proportion of Koreans who earn more than middle income level are concentrated in the top portion of their income strata, and at the same time, another large proportion of Koreans who earn far lower than average income are clustered in the lowest portion of their income strata. Koreans' high rates of families at poverty level directly reflects the bipolarization of family income among Korean immigrants. The proportion of the Korean families at the poverty level (14.7%) matches the proportion of affluent Koreans. The second explanation is quite persuasive too.

Since the majority of Korean immigrants engage in self-employed businesses in which

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the owners are able to maintain their own ways of recording income, their exact income is not revealed publicly. They are more likely to not disclose their actual income to reduce their taxable income. Studies also show that self-employed small business owners tend to underreport their real income (Min 1995: 211). It is not known how much of a proportion of their income is underreported, but underreporting of their income is another reason why Koreans' family income is relatively lower than expected, according to the census data. When I asked the self-employed informants about their annual family income during field research and interviews, many of them were hesitant to give a real family income or refused to give exact information about their income. A few confessed that, "I reported X amount of money to the IRS as my annual income last year, but my real income was quite different from what I reported."

According to our survey, out of 109 respondents, 43 (39%) were engaged in self-employed businesses. Out of 50 Buddhist respondents, 21 (42%) were engaged in self-employed businesses, while out of 59 Protestant respondents, 22 (37%) did so. In terms of their economic earnings, the self-employed respondents earned $82,090 as their average annual family income. The survey result shows that the Buddhist respondents earned more than their Protestant counterparts in terms of their family income. Forty-five Buddhist respondents out of fifty revealed their family income, and their average family income was $103,822. Fifty-five out of fifty-nine Protestants reveal their family income, and their average was $64,309. Only fifty-five respondents out of one hundred and nine revealed their personal income, and their average personal income turned out to be $47,827. Only twenty-three Buddhists revealed their personal income, and their average

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personal income was $53,130. Only thirty-two Protestant respondents out of fifty-nine revealed their personal income, and their average personal income was $44,016. The average family income of the respondents who are categorized as private wage and salary workers was $54,000 (mean of Buddhists is $59,375; and mean of Protestants is $51,611), and their average personal income was $32,921 (mean of Buddhists: $36,250 and mean of Protestants: $30,500). Both the family and personal income of the respondents who have other than self-employed jobs also exceed the U.S. median family income ($35,225), which appeared on the 1990 census data.

Sites of Resettlement

Korean immigrants are more dispersed throughout the United States, compared to other Asian immigrants. According to the 1990 census, 45 percent of Korean Americans live in the West Coast region; 23 percent live in the East Coast region; 14 percent live in the Midwest region; and 18 percent live in the Southern states. Other Asian-Americans are heavily concentrated in the West Coast region. For instance, the majority of Japanese-Americans (76%) and Filipino-Americans (68%) are concentrated in the Western states, mostly California. There are 42.8 percent of Chinese Americans, 45.6 percent of Vietnamese, and 45.8 percent of other Indochinese-Americans (those who came from Cambodia, Laos, and Hmong) who live in California. Meanwhile, 24.2 percent of Chinese-Americans live in East Coast states such as New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, while only 8.8 percent of Vietnamese-Americans live in the same East Coast states (U.S. Bureau of Census 1993a, Table 253). The total

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percentage of Asian-American and total U.S. population living in these four East Coast states is 18 percent and 17.5 percent respectively. Proportionately, more Korean- and Chinese-Americans than the average of Asian-Americans live in these four major East Coast states. The New York and New Jersey metropolitan areas especially have the largest Asian-American population in the East Coast, and these areas also hold the most rapidly growing Korean- and Chinese-American communities in the United States. During the last two census periods, 1980 and 1990, New York and New Jersey experienced 180 percent and 200 percent growth of their Korean-American populations respectively, while the U.S. total and California had 125.2 percent and 150.3 percent growth rates of the Korean-American population. During the same period, New York and New Jersey experienced 93 percent and 152 percent growth rates of the Chinese-American population, while U.S. total and California had 103 percent and 116 percent growth rates of Chinese-Americans (U.S. Bureau of Census 1993a, Table 253, 277; 1983, Table 62, 63). As we have seen, since most Korean immigrants move into the major U.S. metropolitan areas, the New York and New Jersey metropolitan areas are where the Korean-American population is growing more rapidly than any other major metropolitan areas in the United States. From 1990 to July 1997, New Jersey had 305,099 net increase in population. This was a four percent net increase since 1990, and below the national average of 7.6 percent during the same period. Among the net population increase during the same period, however, 288,509 (95%) were made up of immigrants from foreign countries. The percentage of increase in the Asian immigrant population made up 43 percent, while that of its Hispanic counterpart was 29 percent in New Jersey during the

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same period.[10]

The Korean Community in New York City -- Semi-Attached and Semi-Segregated

In terms of their geographic settlement in the United States, as we have seen, Koreans are one of the most dispersed groups among Asians, although a majority of them (68%) are settled in either West (45%) or East (23%) Coast regions. Koreans in the New York metropolitan areas are quite dispersed too, from the inner city to the suburban areas. In all 20 counties within one hundred miles around New York City, a minimum of 1,000 and a maximum 50,000 Koreans are found. When we take only five counties (boroughs) of New York City into account, based on the 1990 census data, the majority of Koreans (70%, N=49,970) live in Queens County, and others (30%) are scattered in the other four boroughs -- 9 percent in New York (Manhattan) County (N=6,200), 7 percent in Bronx County (N=5,273), 10 percent in Kings (Brooklyn) County (N=6,648), 4 percent in Richmond (Staten Island) County (N=3,134). Queens County, in which the majority of Korean New Yorkers live, is one of the most racially diverse counties in the nation. Approximately 58 percent of the county's population is White; 22 percent African-American; 12 percent Asian; and 8 percent American-Indians, Hispanics, and others. Among the sub-areas of Queens County, Flushing has the largest Korean population, and Flushing is where the Korean community first originated in New York City, with the early period of mass Korean immigration in the 1960s. Approximately a quarter of Koreans in New York City are concentrated in the downtown Flushing area, where many Korean ethnic businesses are clustered around Union Street, Kissena Boulevard, and

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Northern Boulevard. Some other Koreans are concentrated in Woodside, Sunnyside, Elmhurst, Jackson Heights, Whitestone, and Bayside. Today Bayside in Queens County, Douglaston in Nassau County in New York, and Palisade Park in Bergen County in New Jersey are the three most popular suburban areas where Korean populations are most rapidly growing. None of the subareas above, however, is forming a typical ethnic enclave community, such as Chinatown in Manhattan and the Cuban community in Miami.[11]

Typical Korean ethnic businesses, which have Korean language signs and sell their ethnic-origin goods to their own ethnic members, are concentrated in a few places around New York City and New Jersey urban areas. Most Korean wholesalers who distribute imported Korean goods to Korean retailers in the United States are concentrated in so-called New York Koreatown, which is located in from 27 to 32 Streets between Broadway and Fifth Avenue. Some Korean retailers who sell goods to ethnic Koreans are concentrated in Union Street and Northern Boulevard in Queens in New York City and in Limoine Avenue and Broad Street in Bergen County in New Jersey. The heavy concentration of Korean ethnic businesses in these areas, however, does not form a typical Korean ethnic enclave community, because both the store owners and customers do not live where the Korean businesses are located. Korean stores are concentrated in certain areas to reinforce business productivity and visually demonstrate themselves to fellow Koreans and the American public at large while promoting cooperation among the owners for better business. They compete with each other, and at the same time they cooperate for greater profits and better protection for their businesses. In every sub-area

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or district of the city, Koreans form their own business associations. Through the association they exchange valuable information, attempt to improve communication, maintain intimate relationships among the members, which contribute to uphold their ethnic solidarity, and protect their rights, property, and profits. Through the lines of the similar business type (for instance, accounting, insurance, wig, jewelry, nail salon, dry cleaner, produce, grocery, stationery, garment, restaurant, and etc.) the Korean business organizations of each sub-area in the city are associated with the Korean Association of New York, the citywide Korean umbrella organization. Joining to the organization is voluntary, but the majority of Korean business owners are the member of Korean business organization of each district or sub-area, and at the same time they are members of Korean Association of New York. Koreans who do not engage in small businesses actively form occupational and other voluntary associations as well as their own ethnic religious organizations, such as surname associations, hometown friendship associations, both high school and college alumni associations, and churches and temples. Only ethnic Koreans are eligible to be members. As Mangiafico (1988) and Kim (1981) indicated, the majority of Koreans (over 75%) become active members of ethnic voluntary organizations after immigration to the United States. This also denotes that Korean immigrants maintain a strong bond with fellow Koreans, even though they do not build a typically ethnic enclave community which occupies a certain geographical area like Chinatown. Korean newspapers and other ethnic mass media in New York City mostly cover the activities of these organizations and associations, and they also contribute to bond Koreans together, providing them an opportunity to share ethnic events in New

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York and news from Korea.[12] The survey for this research also discloses the fact that the majority (95%) of first-generation Koreans interviewed read Korean ethnic newspapers and received American news through Korean mass media.

The concept of community today in a big metropolis is no longer the same as that of a traditional village in a rural society. Thanks to the development of communication and transportation technology, a community without geographic boundaries becomes possible today. Examples are ethnic communities, intellectual communities like the ASA (American Sociological Association), music lovers communities, sports lovers communities, religious communities, and other communities that share the same interests; they are all able to be called "communities" without geographic boundaries. The members are not concentrated in a certain geographic area, but are all connected through their own networking strategies. Computer technology not only makes them communicate easily, but also to manage their membership effectively. Community today, therefore, consists of a set of people who maintains similar interests, fates, and membership reproduction mechanism, and the members are able to access to each other through communication media. A community is different from a cultural subgroup, as long as it maintains membership reproduction mechanism and generational transmission system. A community lasts longer than subcultures and generates its collective opinion and consciousness. A community thus may have its own subgroups in it. As we have seen, there are a lot of sub-organizations and cultural sub-groups in the Korean community in New York which eventually work for the survival of the community.

It is not certain why Koreans do not form their own geographically-concentrated

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ethnic enclave community in the New York metropolitan areas. The downtown Flushing area, where the first group of Korean immigrants settled thirty years ago still hold the largest Korean population in the city. However, its members do not build their own ethnic enclave community confined to this area, but they live with other racial and ethnic groups and move to suburban areas where the white middle class is dominant. Few Koreans, however, live where many African-Americans live.

Two social factors seem to contribute to Koreans' formation of a geographically dispersed community in the New York metropolitan area. First, due to its large influx and outflow of new immigrants from all over the world, New York City is one of the places least sensitive to racial differentiation. New York City's lack of racial differentiations and discrimination is also possible because the U.S. Constitution encourages racial cooperation and equal opportunity among racial groups. After immigration, racial and ethnic minorities thus have relatively less problem to move to wherever they want to live in the metropolitan area. Their timely immigration after the passage of human rights law in 1965 helped them build their own communities to protect their own rights and cultural heritage without forming any geographical concentration. Second, Korean ethnic churches, which have functioned as a center of their community, help them avoid building their own ethnic enclave community. Since the beginning of Korean immigration to the United States, Koreans have maintained a tradition of high church attendance rates (75% in most large cities in the U.S.). Their high rate of church attendance provides them with an opportunity to meet their own ethnic members often (more than once a week), and their frequent meetings through religious activities

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reinforce their ethnic solidarity and networking without constructing geographically concentrated ethnic enclaves.

Korean ethnic (especially Protestant) churches have prevailed everywhere Korean immigrants live. As long as Korean immigrants are able to meet members of their own group often, they do not need to live together. Their business organizations and other voluntary organizations also function the same way as their ethnic churches, to create ethnic solidarity. The prevalence of their primary and secondary group organizations does not make them feel the need to live together to maintain their traditional ethnic and cultural traits after immigration. Since their ethnic churches function as both primary and secondary groups, providing members with intimate relationships among fellow members and at the same time with status achievement, which they are deprived of in mainstream American society (Min 1992a; Hurh and Kim 1990), Korean churches become a community within a community and centers of home away from home (Handlin 1973; Mol 1970).

Interestingly enough, however, the prevalence of primary and secondary organizations in their community deters them from active involvement in American life, because these organizations provide them with what they want and need to live in America. American society's relatively liberal attitude toward immigration allows new immigrants to keep their own ethnic heritage. With both the prevalence of primary and secondary ethnic organizations in the Korean community and the liberal ideas of New Yorkers, Korean immigrants in New York City thus are able to maintain their own ethnic and cultural heritage. Koreans' heavy concentration on self-employed small businesses and high rates

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of church attendance call for their active participation in business activities with Americans and other minorities, and at the same time these cause them to maintain a high rate of intraethnic interactions, which in turn possibly makes them maintain a high level of ethnic solidarity, a strong attachment with their own ethnic members. Because of their interethnic interactions through their occupational activities and intraethnic interactions through their ethnic churches and voluntary organizations, the Korean community can be called a semi-attached and a semi-segregated immigrant community, which means the community has not only a few geographically-clustered business districts, but also many dispersed residential areas. Although Koreans do not form a geographically-confined community, like the segregated African-American communities in New York City or self-segregated (or ethnically-attached) communities like Chinatown, they form a half-segregated and a half-attached ethnic community in the metropolitan area.

Notes

1. *Hankook Ilbo (The Korea Times)*, June 5, 1998.

2. 1955 data is drawn from *South Korea: A Country Study* (Area Handbook Series), edited by Andrea Matles Savada and William Shaw (Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. Washington DC. 1992. pp. 82-83). Data for 1990 and 1995 are drawn from National Statistics Bureau. *Korea Statistical Yearbook, (43rd edition)*. (National Statistical Office, Republic of Korea. 1996. pp.23).

3. Original data was drawn from the paper of Jong-ju Yoon, "Population Concentration into Seoul -- Its Problems and Solution." The paper was presented at the Korean Population Association Seminar, April 2-3, 1976.

4. Hong, Doo-Seung and Kwan-Mo Surh. 1985. "The Current Status of Korean Class and Problems with Conceptual Reconstruction," in *Studies of Korean Class*, Vol. 1, edited by Jin Kyun Kim, et al. Seoul, Korea: Hanul. pp. 21.

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5. Park, Insook H., J. Fawcett, F. Arnold and R. Gardner. 1989. "Koreans Immigrating to the United States: A Pre-Departure Analysis." Paper No. 114. Hawaii: Population Institute, East-West Center. pp. 32, 60.

6. The terms, "self-employment" and "self-employed business," are being used interchangeably with "small business" in immigration studies. The usage and definition of the terms vary along with the purposes of study and writers' preferences. The two types of business, however, differ in many respects. "Self-employed business" means that the business is run by the owner him- or herself or a few co-owners, and the profits made by the business usually do not much exceed the expenses of the owners' own living costs, wages for owner or other employees, and the cost of purchasing goods for sale. The number of employees usually does not exceed five persons, although it is not agreed upon by all scholars, most of them are intimate family members or fellow ethnic members. So-called "mom and pop" businesses fall into the category of self-employed businesses. In case of the United States, many first-generation immigrants engage in this type of business. Such businesses as green groceries, liquor stores, laundromats, delicatessens, stationary shops, dry cleaners, wig stores, barber shops, nail salons, ethnic food markets, ethnic restaurants, printing shops, jewelry shops, bakeries and coffee shops, newsstands, small size motels, gas stations, and gift shops fit into self-employed business categories. Store owner (or shopkeeper) is closer to self-employed worker in its meaning.

On the contrary, the concept of small business is compatible with that of corporate incorporation. The concept of small business usually includes that of self-employed business. In its scale of employment and amount of dealing commodities, small business differs from self-employed small business. In case of small business, the amount of invested money is larger, the number of employees are more than five persons (although some scholars assert more than twenty persons) and employees are usually recruited from outside the owner's immediate family members. Employers look for specialized and skilled workers in certain areas of business. A major characteristic of small businesses is expansion, like big capitalized corporations investing more into each business's specialized business items. The main criterion differentiating the two business types is number of employees, amount of goods dealt (or amount of money transacted), and availability of further investment. Since there are lots of venture enterprises focusing on high technology in these days, it is not easy to differentiate the two types of business. But the business scale and capability of further expansion is different between the two types of business. The profits made from small businesses are not only used for owner's living expenses, but also for further investment. Further investment and expansion are the intrinsic characteristics of capitalized small businesses or high-technology businesses. Small business is a beginning enterprise, while self-employed business is a means of livelihood.

7. *Hankook Ilbo (The Korea Times)*, September 29, 1998.

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8. According to an ETS (Educational Test Service) record revealed on April 29th 1998, Korean workers' average score of TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) ranked seventh out of eight selected Asian countries. The perfect score of the test is 990. Malaysian workers ranked the highest with 669 points; Chinese the second with 534; and Taiwanese the third with 492. Contrary to expectations, Japanese ranked the lowest with 439 points. Koreans' average score was 465. Malaysians' average is still the highest, even compared world wide. France and Spain followed with averages 633 and 586 respectively (*Hankook Ilbo*. April 30, 1998).

9. *Korean Business Directory* (1988, 1998). New York: The Korea Times.

10. *The New York Times*. March 18, 1998.

11. Koreatown in Los Angeles is not included here to be compared with the Korean community in Flushing because, different from other "ethnic enclaves," there are so many absentee store owners in Koreatown in Los Angeles. Only 15 percent of store owners in Koreatown in Los Angeles live in the town, and approximately the same proportion of Koreans who own businesses in Flushing, New York is estimated to live in the area in which their store is located. In this sense, Koreatown in Los Angeles and the Korean community in Flushing, New York, are not considered "ethnic enclaves" at all.

12. In New York City, there are four Korean newspapers and three Korean radio stations, two Korean TV stations, one Korean Cable TV station, and a few other weekly newspapers, as of October 1999.

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Chapter 3. Reasons for the Rapid Increase of Korea's Christian Population

1. Religions in Korea in its Recent History (1957-1997)

For the last four decades, South Korea has experienced a dramatic change in religious alignment. In general, the number of Buddhists has steadily decreased, while those of Protestants and Catholic have steadily increased. The number of believers of other indigenous religions increased in the period of industrialization and urbanization (1969-1980), but decreased dramatically after industrialization reached a peak. This change in religious groupings in Korea affirms that as the society changes from traditional (or premodern) to modern, indigenous and traditional religions lose their followings, while the newly-imported Western religions gain their adherents (see Table 3-1). The reshaping of religious groups in Korea has coincided with the process of modernization, which accompanies population movements and changes in both material and nonmaterial culture. Cities, which were once considered as a place of deterioration for the traditional cultures, emerge as a center of industry and new cultures. Cities now appear as symbols of modernization. Urbanization thus equalizes modernization. The capital city, Seoul, is now considered the most important center of the country's industry, business, education, and culture.

People are also conscious that modernization generates new jobs in urban areas which require special skills and mobility. In the process of urbanization, people are constantly moving from countryside to cities and from one city to the other, searching for better opportunities. As a result, cities now are full of uprooted mobile migrants who constantly

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search for opportunities. New urbanites thus are not only people of mobility, but people of hope. From a socio-theological perspective, Harvey Cox argues that Protestantism best suits urban residents because it best supports the urban lifestyle by conferring the idea of both geographic and social mobility. Believers' mobility in Protestantism is supported by the idea of the omnipresence of God, which is widely believed in by Protestants (Cox 1965). Cox's view seems to effectively explain the reason for the rapid growth of Protestantism in major urban areas in Korea, but it leaves room for criticism when we consider the cases of Japan, China, India, and other Asian countries that have also experienced rapid modernization but kept their traditional religious alignment more strongly.

Then what has happened to Buddhism and other traditional religions in Korea while Protestantism and Catholicism have grown in a rapidly-changing society? For more than five hundred years, when the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910) ruled Korean peninsula, Buddhism suffered from state persecution. Buddhism since then had retreated into the deep mountainous areas where the ideas of indigenous religions were prevalent. Partly due to the state persecution and partly due to Buddhism's power of amalgamation with indigenous ideas, Buddhism closely consorted with indigenous religions in the mountainous and rural areas, most of which were variations of Shamanism, which has constituted the basis of the religious ideas of Korean people. Not just for survival but for its intrinsic characteristics, Buddhism very much absorbed Korean folk religions since its introduction in the fourth century. Since that time, maintaining its core religious ideas and rituals, Buddhism has espoused all prevailing indigenous ideas from Shamanism to

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Confucianism. Ancestor worship, which is considered a uniquely Confucian ritual, has become an important part of the religious practice of Korean Buddhism today. Cultural fusion has been the most influential strategy for its survival. Even since the fourteenth century when the new Confucian ruling class launched the Chosun Dynasty, Buddhism has been systematically excluded from the politics, but has been able to survive because of its power of cultural fusion. Buddhism's tenacious survival in rural areas made it possible to spread to urban areas in the midst of modernization through internal migration although it lost a substantial proportion of its adherents. This is one of the reasons why quite large proportion of the indigenous religious groups and Buddhists are found in the major urban areas in Korea. According to a recent survey, only 1.8 percent and 48.8 percent of the religious groups in urban areas turn out to be indigenous religion and Buddhism respectively (see Table 3-2).

According to the 1997 survey conducted by the Korean Gallup Institute, 39 percent of the religiously active population were Buddhists, 44 percent were Protestants, and 17 percent were Catholics (see Table 3-3).[1] The survey results suggest that Protestant recently became the single largest religious group in Korea. As Table 3-2 shows, the concentration rates of Buddhists, Protestants, and Catholics in the four major cities is 44.8 percent, 48.9 percent, and 52.5 percent respectively. These figures also confirm that Buddhists are more likely to be concentrated in rural areas while Christians are in urban areas. As modernization progresses, the number of Buddhists is expected to decrease in the major urban areas. As Table 3-1 and Chart 3-1 show, by the early 1990s, Buddhists had still been the largest religious group in Korea. According to the data compiled by

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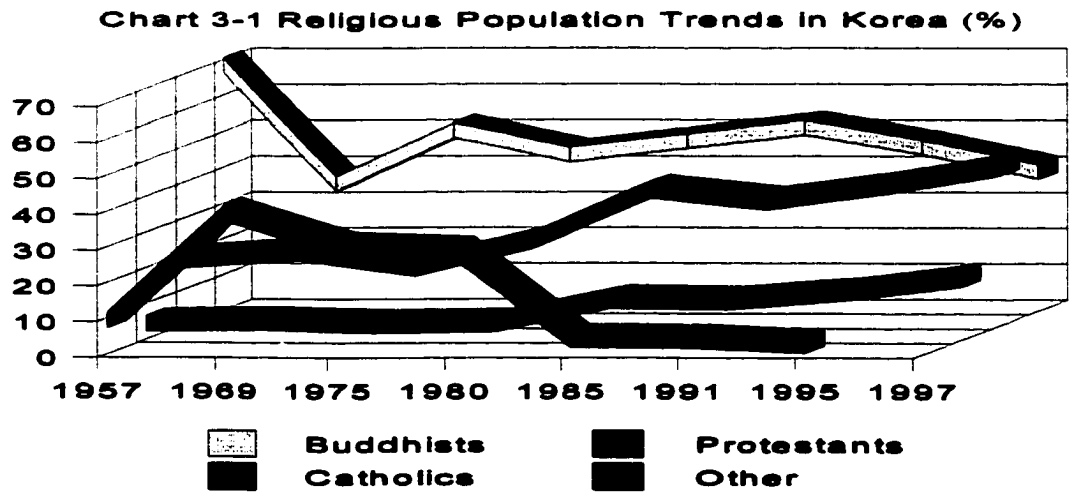
Yoon (1994), Buddhist population was rather increased slightly, and the number of the Christian counterpart was slightly decreased from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s. By the late 1990s, however, the trend of religious forces changed again. For the first time in Korean history, the number of Protestants exceeded those of the Buddhists in 1997, according to the Gallup survey. This is one of the major reasons why more Christians than Buddhists are found among Korean immigrants in the United States in these days.

Table 3-1 Trend of Religious Population in Korea, Selected Years by Percentage

Religion	1957	1969	1975	1980	1985	1991	1995	1997
Buddhists	68.15	35.42	50.30	43.54	47.39	51.08	45.61	39.00
Protestants	18.06	20.33	15.90	23.55	37.72	34.40	38.72	44.00
Catholics	4.32	4.78	4.00	4.33	10.84	10.60	13.12	17.00
Other	9.47	39.47	29.80	28.58	4.05	3.92	2.55	u
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: (1) Data for 1957-1991; Yoon Yi Heum (ed.) 1993. *The Year Book of Korean Religions*. Vol.1. Seoul: Korea Research Institute for Religion and Society, Korea Halimwon. pp.122-208. (2) Data for 1995; Korean Government, National Statistical Office. Seoul, Korea. *Korea Statistical Yearbook*. 43rd Edition. 1996. pp. 46-47.
(3) Data for 1997; *The Korea Times*. July 3, 1998. [The data was originally collected by the Korean Gallup Institute].
* The proportion of religious population to the total population is 51 percent in 1995.
u=unidentified.



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2. Urbanization and Growth of Christian Population

Although Catholicism and Protestantism were introduced to Korea in 1783 and 1884 respectively, only since 1960s has mass Christianization taken place in South Korea. Christianity, especially Protestantism, has been more eagerly accepted by people in the middle class, especially by the new urban middle class which has emerged in the process of industrialization (Kim 1981; Yoon 1993). As the term itself implies, the new-urban-middle class consists of people who migrate to urban areas from countryside to obtain newly-generated urban jobs. They experience an uprootedness from their generation-long basis of livelihood, and their uprootedness characterizes them as people of mobility. Not only they are very attracted to their new urban lifestyle, which is similar to Western style, but also they are more likely to be adherent of Western ideas. Protestantism, especially, is more likely to be associated with their urban new lives because it more effectively guides them to adjust to their new urban environment and eventually helps them achieve their life goals.

Harvey Cox, the author of *The Secular City*, also pointed out that urbanization and industrialization are in part a result of upward social mobility of the urbanites who migrated from the rural areas (Cox 1965: 4). It is natural that more urbanites who have experienced internal migration would consider emigration to other advanced countries, because of their migration experience and high level of socioeconomic mobility. It thus is not a coincidence that this urban middle class comprises the largest proportion of recent Korean immigrants. Urbanites in Korea are also more conscious of the new Western ideas and social concepts. Harvey Cox asserts that "mobile people are generally tolerant of new

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ideas and possibilities. Having entertained and acted on one big change already, they are never reticent to entertain the possibility of others." (Cox 1965: 51)

Religious Groups of the Four Major Cities in Korea

When we look at the religious groups of the four major cities in Korea from which the majority of Korean immigrants are drawn, we encounter more interesting findings. The proportion of the religiously active population of the four major cities is slightly higher than that of the national average. This is largely because most religious groups, both new and old, competitively proselytize urban residents first. Each religious group thus establish its base of operation in urban areas first where more would-be believers live. As Table 3-2 shows, Seoul and one of its nearest satellite metropolitan area, Inchon, which constitute the biggest industrialized metropolis, have the highest rate of religious population and Christians among the four major metropolitan areas. The proportion of the religiously active population in Seoul is a little higher (49.78%) than the national average (42.53%). Seoul also had approximately 10 percent less Buddhist population and 10 percent more Christian population than the national average in 1985. By and large, Christianity, including Catholicism, is strong in these four major cities. And proportionately, Catholicism also appears to be the strongest in the four major cities in Korea. Cities become not only the major population concentration areas, but also more religiously active areas. Some 44 percent of Buddhists, 49 percent of Protestants, and 53 percent of Catholics are concentrated in these four major cities in Korea (see Table 3-2).

Each religious group maintains geographical differences in its proportion as well.

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More Christians are concentrated in mid-western cities such as Seoul and Inchon, which have the largest population concentration. More Buddhists, however, are concentrated in southeastern cities such as Pusan and Taegu, around which famous Korean temples are located, and where Buddhism has been historically stronger than any other areas (see Chart 3-2).

If we compare these statistics of religious forces of Korea to those of the Korean immigrant communities, Buddhists are extremely underrepresented in the United States. According to my survey conducted in the New York metropolitan areas in 1998, only 3.2% of Korean population in the New York metropolitan area identify themselves as Buddhists (see Table 4-1 in Chapter 4). The proportion of the Korean Buddhists in the other major metropolitan areas in the United States presumes to be similar to that of New York City according to the other previous survey in Chicago and Los Angeles (Hurh and Kim 1990). Buddhists are underrepresented in Korean communities in the United States not only because fewer Buddhists emigrate to the United States, but also because a large proportion of Buddhists convert to Christianity after immigration.

Table 3-2 Religious Population: National Total and Four Major Cities in 1985

Religious Population	National Total	Seoul	Pusan	Taegu	Inchon	% of Four Cities
Buddhists	8,059,624 (46.85%)	1,771,973 (36.93%)	1,094,690 (67.66%)	558,336 (60.11%)	185,721 (30.54%)	44.80%
Protestants	6,489,282 (37.72%)	2,292,109 (47.77%)	354,113 (21.89%)	227,173 (24.46%)	302,207 (49.68%)	48.94%
Catholics	1,865,397 (10.84%)	628,826 (13.11%)	129,298 (7.99%)	117,888 (12.69%)	103,509 (17.02%)	52.51%

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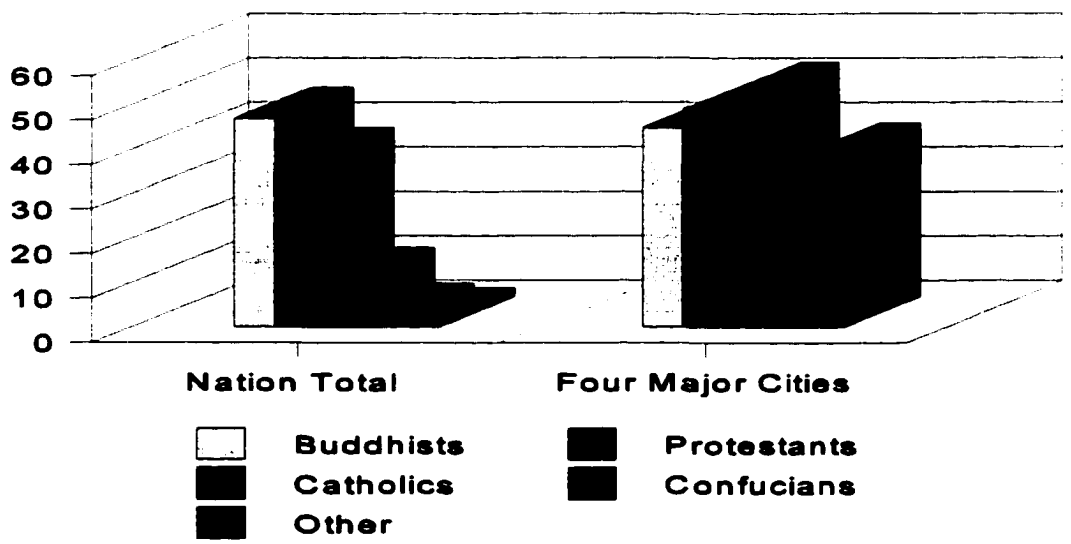
Confucians	483,366 (2.81%)	40,112 (0.83%)	13,220 (0.82%)	7,076 (0.76%)	8,785 (1.44%)	14.31%
Other*	305,627 (1.78%)	65,512 (1.36%)	26,542 (1.64%)	18,391 (1.98%)	7,986 (1.32%)	38.75%
Total Rel. Population	17,203,296 (42.53%)	4,798,532 (49.78%)	1,617,863 (46.03%)	928,864 (45.76%)	608,208 (43.85%)	46.23%
Total Population	40,448,486	9,639,110	3,514,798	2,029,853	1,386,911	40.97%

Source: 1) Religious data; Korea Research Institute for Religion and Society. *The Year Book of Korean Religions,* Vol. 1. Seoul: Korea Halimwon. 1993. pp. 207. [Original source: *Administrative Data Source for Religion.* Korea Ministry of Culture and Public Affairs. 1988. pp. 6-7.] 2) Population data; *Korea Statistical Yearbook.* 43rd Edition. National Statistical Office. Seoul, Korea. 1996. pp.23.
*This includes indigenous Korean religions such as "Chundokyo," "Wonbulkyo," "Daejongkyo," and other shamanistic religions.

Chart 3-2 Korean Religions; National Total & Major Cities



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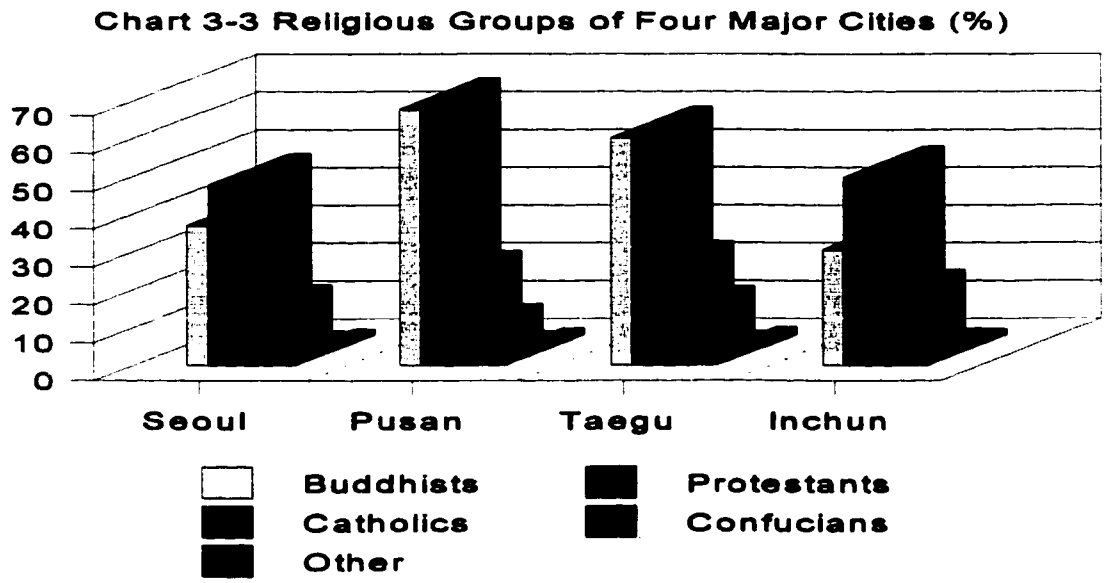

Changes in Urban and Christian Population

Proselytizing urban residents was one of the major strategies of the early American missionaries, not only because more would-be believers were there, but also because their relatively liberal attitudes towards foreign religions made it easier for the missionaries spread the Gospel (Kim 1971; Paek 1974). What made it much easier for the missionaries to perform their work situationally was the fact that urbanization in Korea took place concurrently with the heavy influence of Western culture. As a result, urbanization, Westernization, Christianization, and industrialization went hand in hand. It was in this period that the number of Christians rapidly increased in South Korea. It implies that in the case of South Korea, urbanization might have a strong correlation with an increase in the Christian population.

By the time the third wave of Korean immigration began in the late 1960s, approximately one-thirds of the Korean population lived in cities, and some 20 percent of

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the religiously-active population were Christians. As Table 3-3 shows, however, by the mid-1990s over 85 percent of the Korean population were concentrated in urban areas, and the Christian population (Catholics and Protestants combined) reached 61 percent out of religiously active populations. Whether it is coincident or not, these statistics show that the urbanization rate is directly proportionate to the increase in the Christian population in South Korea (see Chart 3-4).

Table 3-3 Rural and Urban Population Distribution and Christian Population, 1955-1995

Area	1955	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Seoul-Largest City	7.3%	19.9%	22.3%	23.8%	24.4%	22.9%
Pusan-2nd Largest City	4.9%	7.1%	8.4%	8.7%	8.8%	8.6%
Other Cities	12.2%	21.5%	26.5%	32.9%	41.2%	54.3%
Rural	75.6%	51.5%	42.8%	34.6%	25.6%	14.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
% of Christians	22.38% (1957)	19.90% (1975)	29.88%	48.56%	45.00%	61.00% (1997)
Total Population	21,526,374	34,706,620	37,448,836	40,466,577	43,410,899	44,606,199

Source: (1)1955-1985; Savada, Andrea Matles and William Shaw. Ed. *South Korea: A Country Study* (Area Handbook Series). Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. Washington D.C. 1992. pp. 82-83. (2) 1990-1995; National Statistics Bureau. *Korea Statistical Yearbook.* National Statistical Office, Republic of Korea. 1996 (43rd edition). pp. 23. (3) Percentage of Christians among religiously active population: Yoon, Yi Heum (ed.). *The Year Book of Korean* Religions. Vol. 1. Seoul: Korea Research Institute for Religion and Society, Korea Halimwon. 1993. pp. 122-208.

A strong correlation between urbanization rate and increase of Christian population seems to be caused by changes in industrial structure and in the mode of urban residents'

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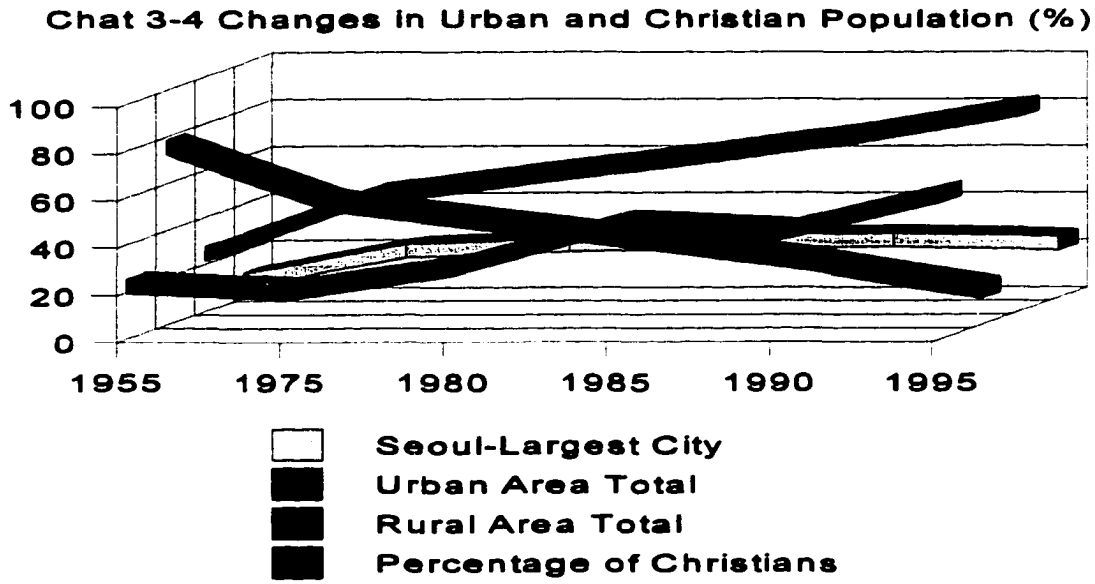

economic behavior that requires a high level of efficiency suited for the busy urban lifestyle. As Marx argued, changes in economic structure, symbolized by modification of the mode of industrial production, alters the social thoughts and ideas of the society's members. Industrialization brought overall social restructuring from the mode of production to religion. With its emphasis on mobility based on an omnipresent God, rationality, individuality, and equality, Christianity, especially Protestantism, appealed to the new urbanites who searched for a simple and efficient lifestyle in the city.

As the Table 3-3 and Chart 3-4 above show, urbanization most rapidly took place in South Korea during the last three decades. During this period, not only the urban concentration of population took place, but also industrial structure and social class drastically changed. In 1965, when the third wave of Korean immigration was about to occur, 58.6 percent of the Korean labor force worked in the "first industry" -- agriculture, fishing, and forestry; 10.4 percent in the "second industry" -- mining and manufacturing; and 31 percent in "third industry" -- service and commerce. Two decades later (in 1985),

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the percentage of the labor force in the first industry decreased from 58.6 percent to 24.9 percent; the percentage in the second industry increased from 10.4 percent to 24.5 percent; and the percentage in the third industry increased from 31 percent to 50.6 percent (Yoon 1991: 49). During this period, the bulk of urban industries, the second and the third, almost doubled.

Changes in industry type also accompanied changes in occupational distribution and class. During this rapid urbanization period, the proportion of rural jobs diminished, while that of urban jobs increased and diversified. During the period of 1966 to 1986, the percentage of urban middle class occupations such as professional, technical, managerial, administrative, and clerical doubled, and the percentage of other urban concentrated occupations such as production, operation, and sales also sharply increased (see Table 4-4 in Chapter 4).

The changes in industry structure accompanied an alteration of class structure and occupational distribution, which in turn accompanied with religious and social ideas that appropriately supported the interests of each class. The reshaping of social class structure rapidly altered the religio-social ideas. It was in this social restructuring process that Christianity began to gain mass adherents among the new urban middle class, mainly due to Christian tenets that dovetailed with the interests and ethical values of the adherents -- hard work, frugality, future orientation, and mobility (Weber 1930; Cox 1965). Cox emphasized that Christianity is well-suited to the lifestyle of urban middle class because it bestows on them the idea of an omnipresent mobile God that strongly supports their socio-economic interests. With this theological concept, Christianity is more likely to be

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hailed by urbanites than Buddhism and Confucianism, which emphasize the importance of geographic origins and filial piety that strongly binds believers to the homes of their ancestors. It might be natural that more urbanites who have already experienced internal migration would be more sympathetic to a Christian doctrine that was equipped with omnipresent mobile God.

Moving into the urban places in the social restructuring process, the new urbanites were more likely to adopt new ideas that spoke for their socioeconomic interests -- efficiency and practicality. The old traditional Confucian moral virtues such as honor, submissiveness, hierarchy, harmony, cooperation, and collectivism -- suited for a large extended family or a tightly-knitted communal society -- were expected to be jettisoned, to effectively adjust to busy urban life. Protestantism, which has maintained a strong affinity with urban lifestyle, quickly captured many new urbanites who moved to cities in search for better life.

"Wanting to lead a simple and efficient life" was the catch phrase most of the urbanites held as their life credo during the rapid urbanization process. The traditional religions failed to catch up with this newly-adopted life credo. For example, it took Confucian housewives more than a day to prepare for the food and clothes for the ancestor-worship ceremony. Ancestor worship is still being ardently observed by all non-Christians. If a Confucian householder succeeds the patrimonial linage of a big family, he has to observe a worship service almost once a month. Christianity, Protestantism especially, which fought to eliminate the ancestor worship service at home, was silently hailed by the new urbanites as an alternative.

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The new urbanites not only experienced uprootedness, but also were estranged by the newly-adopted capitalist economic system. In cities most of them also suffered from a lack of communal life and familial bonds. During the rapid process of urbanization, neither Confucian nor Buddhist organizations were effectively committed to solving the problems that the new urbanites encountered. Their congregational meetings and services in urban areas were not only less organized, but also rarely provided. Only when their Christian counterparts actively provided adherents with regular collective services did Buddhist temples revise their religious services to resemble Christian ones. Christian congregation was the only religious group that offered them a collective communal type religious services regularly. Like immigrant congregations in the United States, the churches in urban areas became a social gathering place where the internal migrant congregation members soothed their nostalgia, feelings of estrangement and emptiness, and hardship. Many new urbanites attended church services to fill their spiritual emptiness, and the Christian churches were the only religious organization that effectively accommodated them.

Regardless of their previous class backgrounds, the new urbanites were also sensitive to social changes, because of their weak social ties in the cities. With their weak social ties and uprooted migrant status in cities, their social situation was to some extent similar to that of the involuntary North Korean migrants in the South. The new urbanites' relatively vulnerable social status allowed them to be self-made persons in cities. They thus showed a tremendously high level of upward social mobility. Mainly because of their high level of achievement coming out of unfavorable socioeconomic conditions,

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migrants have been featured as people of new hope and success (Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Handlin 1973). Most of them were aware of the fact that if they failed to survive, there was nowhere they could go. The migrants' general emphasis of "hope" and "success" developed a newly-adopted mind set, which could be called "migration ethos." This ethos was reinforced when the migrants hold a strong religious beliefs because their religious beliefs fortified their new resolutions in the new migrant places. Their migrant ethos in turn focused their consciousness and made them concentrate on beliefs and behavior that helped them make their life more productive. Mutual reinforcement between their migrant ethos and religious beliefs further augmented their orientation for success. This was one of the reasons why many successful business persons in South Korea were found among North Korean origins. The founder of the Hyundai automobile corporation, Jung Ju Young, was one of them. Those of North Korean origins have also been known as the most religiously active people in South Korea. One of the biggest Protestant churches, Young Nak Presbyterian Church, which currently has more than 150,000 members, was founded by members with North Korean origins. Ever since its establishment, the church became a symbol of success for both North Korean migrants and South Koreans.

3. Reasons for the Rapid Growth of Christianity in South Korea

South Korea is the most Christian country in Asia now. Nearly a quarter of Koreans are considered Protestants. Different from the adjacent countries like Japan and China, Korea had experienced much less difficulty in accepting Christianity, especially

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Protestantism. As Chart 3-5 shows, there have been three great changes in religious forces in South Korea since initial stage of modernization: first, Christian population, both Protestants and Catholics, have steadily increased; second, the Buddhist population has decreased proportionally as Christians increased; and third, other indigenous religious forces have steadily decreased as well. By and large, the new religion has gained its members dramatically, while the old religions have lost their members and power. What social factors have contributed to increase Christian population in such a relatively short period of time? The plethora of explanations for the rapid growth of Christianity can be summarized into a few sociological and theological factors as follows.

Koreans' Concern with New Western Ideas

Christianity was introduced to Korea when Western civilization was vigorously expanding to non-Western societies. Many Koreans still think that the rapid growth of Christianity is a result of the expansion of the West, especially the United States of America. When Catholicism was first introduced in the 18th century, a small group of Confucian intellectuals who were called *silhakpa,* or the School of Practical Learning, was interested in it as one of the Western intellectual bodies of thought. While Catholicism was introduced through China, such Western inventions as books, clocks, and rulers were also brought by missionaries. Some Confucian intellectuals were more concerned with advanced technology than Catholicism itself and decided to learn more about Western technology. Some out-of-power intellectuals who were a victims of a power struggle between the conservative Confucian power elites and the liberal first

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began to practice Catholicism. Their unprecedented beliefs and behavior that purged traditional ancestor worship and the Confucian politico-economic ideology resulted in a great social agitation in the political arena. They were not only young, but also sympathetic to Western science and religion. Their revolutionary ideas were rebellious enough to threaten the Dynasty's history-long Confucian ideological basis, which emphasized power hierarchy, reciprocity, social stratification, formalism, harmonious relationship, and ancestor worshiping. The Confucian Dynasty of Chosun began to persecute both the believers and the Western missionaries. By the early 1880s, when Korea was forcefully opened by the Western superpowers, more than 2,000 Korean converts and Western missionaries were executed (Clark, 1986: 6). When Catholicism was introduced, it was strong enough to agitate the whole country, not just as a new religious thought, but as a new and an advanced rational idea.

It is interesting to see how the liberal, estranged power group and the Chosun court interpreted the Christian God differently. The estranged power elites identified the Christian God with the supreme Confucian being, which was traditionally identified with their king, while the Chosun court considered it as an alien god who took care of the powerless.

After one of the American Protestant missionaries, Dr. Horace N. Allen, demonstrated the power of the Western medical technology in 1884, the power elites and the king began to accept Western ideas. As soon as Dr. Allen arrived in Korea, he had an opportunity to take care of the lethally-wounded Queen's brother (Min Young Ik), who participated in a coup d'etat attempt (*Gapshin Chongbyun*) supported by Japanese

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conspirators. Because of Allen's sincere care. the Queen's brother was completely cured. Allen's humanitarian caring of the important figure of the court brought an opportunity to recognize the advancement of the Western medical technology, and the American missionaries were fully admitted by the King of Chosun, Koh Jong. Later on, Allen became the first official United States envoy to Korea since the 1882 United States-Korea treaty. Advised by him in 1885, the Chosun court built the first Western-style hospital, called *kwang hye won,* which later became Korea's first medical center and school, the Severance Medical Center. Allen's effort gained the Chosun court's full approval and Korean people's acknowledgment. This was the reason why he could easily earn a gratitude from the Korean king for his religious missionary works. About this time, that other Presbyterian missionary, Horace G. Underwood, and Methodist missionaries Henry G. Appenzeller and Marry B. Scranton founded such prestigious Christian educational centers as Yonsei University, Baejae High School, and Ewha Women's University.

Also at this time, the first wave of Korean immigrants began to arrive in the Hawaiian Islands. Inquired by his friend in Japan and sugar plantation owners in Hawaii, Allen also advised the Korean king to allow his subject to emigrate to Hawaii. The first wave of Korean immigration to the Hawaiian Islands in 1902 was not possible without Allen's effort.

Partly influenced by these missionaries' effort, the Korean government finally legalized all religious activities of the foreign missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, in 1886. Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries brought their cultural makeups with their religions which immediately attracted the indigenous people's concerns such as

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Western sciences, medical technology, and educational system. Koreans' awareness of scientific advancement of the West began to take a look the Western religions more closely than ever before. To put it another way, what the Christian missionaries tactically did to transplant Christianity in Korea was sufficient enough to invoke Koreans' concern with the Western culture.

New Hope for the Deprived and the Oppressed

It was not a surprise that the out-of-power elites began to convert to the Western religion first. Although they still adhered to the Confucian worldview, their estrangement from mainstream politics drove them to search for an alternative way to realize their aspirations. Western religions and thoughts arrived to replace their Confucian worldview. They were more likely interested in the Western thoughts and more eagerly devoted themselves to innovative and inventive research activities than were other Confucian power elites. Differentiating their intellectual interests from those of the conventional Confucians, they called their intellectual work "practical learning," *silhak* in their mother tongue. The newly imported Western thoughts, including religion, were better associated with these *silhak* intellectuals who were deprived of their opportunity to achieve their aspirations.

When Protestantism was first introduced in 1884 by an American Presbyterian missionary, Horace N. Allen, Korea was in deep deprivation. The superpowers around her, the United States, France, Russia, Germany, Japan, and China, all struggled for their imperial interests over occupation of the Korean peninsula. These superpowers

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successfully made unequal treaties with the Korean government at the expense of Korean's deprivation and agony by the late 1890s. Victories of Japan in the two wars against adjacent countries, China (1894) and Russia (1904), allowed her to monopolize the occupation of the Korean peninsula. The Korean government belatedly proclaimed that Korea was an internationally neutral country in January 1904. Useless of this proclamation Japan forcefully made a protectorate treaty in 1905 and began to expand its military intervention to China and Russia. The United States and other superpowers conceded Japan's domination in the Korean peninsula through a series of international agreements with Japan. After five years protectorate state, Korea eventually became a Japanese colony in 1910. As Illsoo Kim (1981) put it, Korea virtually plunged into an international "pariah state." Frustration and anger prevailed, and hope and provision despaired. There are many foreign missionaries' and observers' descriptions on the social condition of the Korean society in those days. Among them Spencer J. Palmer effectively describes how collective frustration of Koreans affect the acceptance of Christianity in Korea (Dearman 1982: 167-168; Kim 1981: 189):[2]

> During these years surrounding the turn of the century, Korea was beset with an almost incredible sequence of tragic events. The queen was murdered. Japan announced its intention of exercising paramount control in Korean affairs. The Korean king's frantic efforts to gain American governmental support for his shaky kingdom failed. Two wars were fought between Japan and China and Japan and Russia, with Korea as the focal point of conflict. Korean domestic political strife remained at a bewilderingly high pitch. Famine and epidemics were ever present threats to human life. The people were caught up in a spirit of despondency and decline (what Buddhists called *kali yuga* of the "last days"). Feelings of loss and shame pervaded the country. Finally, the fate of the people seemed forever sealed in 1910 when Japan, after having earlier coerced the king into abdicating his throne, politically annexed Korea into the Japanese empire.
>
> Each of these crises in turn had a profound effect upon Korean attitudes toward

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> Christian religion, although there was not always an exact correspondence between specific crises and periods of increases in membership. Sustained social and intellectual pressures also had their longer-range historical ramifications in Korea, as well as in China. One response was a search for Utopia and a desire for messianic deliverance...
>
> In Korea, popular attraction to Christianity was motivated in part by a search for psychological relief. Korea has never been an expansive, self-sufficient civilization as China was before the West came. Self-advancement was rarely possible. The traditional religious supports had fallen into disrepute. The will and strength for moral and spiritual regeneration were lost. The focus of intellectual interest was on the spiritual destiny of the individual, not on theories of history and society which would explain the dynamics of states... Furthermore, Christianity attracted certain young sons of the nobility at Seoul who found it difficult to follow Confucian rules which they felt were too rigid and formal and inapplicable to modern problems. These young *yangban* reformers were conservatives who also saw the advantage of allying themselves with this foreign faith as an entree to the power and knowledge of foreign nations, particularly America.

The Christian Koreans in those days held their hope in their religion. They believed that the societal turmoil and their national agonies could not be abated by reasons or politics but by their religious conviction only. It was not a coincidence that a great Protestant revival movement took place in a northwestern city, Pyongyang, in 1907 when Japan was about to annex Korea. The movement was a direct expression of their hope in their religion through which they searched for better society and nation. Since the Protestant revival movement at Pyongyang, the number of Protestant converts had substantially increased (Kim 1971; Paek 1974).[3]

Ironically, when Protestantism was first introduced in Korea, not only the offspring of the ruling groups (*yangban*), but also other lower social strata, who had long been suffered from deprivation and oppression, showed a strong interest in it. As they encountered with Western culture, the former were interested in Protestantism mainly because they began to realize that social stratification system, ancestor-worshiping rituals,

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and everyday human relations under Confucianism were not practical. On the other hand, the latter were interested in it because they hoped that they could achieve liberation and freedom out of a long tradition of oppression.

Western Forces as an Alternative against Japanese Imperialism

Coinciding with these two different classes' interest in Protestantism, a new home-grown rebellious social movement, which was called Eastern Learning (*donghak* in Korean), was rapidly spreading all over the country. *Donghak* forces sturdily stood against both the traditional Confucian ideology and incoming foreign thoughts. People who advocated *donghak* mostly shared lower-class peasant origins, and they accused the government of corruptions and unequal treatment of the lower class, which had long been taken for granted under Confucian ideology. In 1894, ten years after Protestantism was introduced, *donghak* advocates launched a large-scale militant movement in the southwestern region. Their slogan was, "Sustain the nation and provide for the people" (Yi 1984: 285). Their demand can be summarized into three main points: first, the economic exploitation of the lower social strata and discriminatory treatment against them should be abolished; second, those who collaborated with the Japanese invaders should be punished; and third, the rigid Confucian moral codes should be revised (Yi 1984: 287). Largely influenced by the *donghak* movement, the Korean government at last enacted a nationwide social reformation in 1894. The reform of 1894 eventually abolished the rigid Confucian social stratification system and moral imperatives, paving the way for liberating the oppressed people. At about this time, Koreans were encouraged

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to wear more practical and convenient Western-style clothing and to get modern-style haircuts.

As most Koreans were at that time, *donghak* advocates were strongly anti-Japan and anti-foreign power. Interestingly enough, once they failed to achieve their goals because of the Korean government's suppression, anti-Japanese sentiment among the *donghak* advocates remained unchanged, but their anti-foreign or anti-Western sentiment become favorable, and caused many Korean intellectuals and Christian converts fought against Japan. The rapid increase in Christian influence in Korea is largely due to this situationally-generated anti-Japan sentiment. Western ideas were once considered a national foe, but after the Japanese invasion, they turned into favorable sentiments. It is an interesting historical phenomenon that during the colonization period, anti-foreign sentiment among the general population had gradually been replaced by anti-Japanese sentiments. Taking advantage of this peculiar historical situation, the Christian population increased in Korea relatively faster than any other Asian country.

Christianity's Ideological Support for Upward Social Mobility

The major tenets of Christianity, both Catholicism and Protestantism (e.g., salvation, redemption, liberation, equality, and freedom) very much appealed to those who suffered from unequal treatment. Especially the lower social strata, such as artisans and merchants, were more interested in Christianity than were the upper social strata. Once the Christian missionaries established Western-style educational institutes and began to take care of the lower class children without any discrimination, more lower class people

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showed interests in Christianity. This was why there were disproportionately high rates of Christian converts among social outcasts in the introductory period (Kim 1971; Paek 1974). Paek observed that in the late 1890s, many butchers, who were considered as one of the lowest social strata at that time, converted to Protestantism in the Seoul area. Since the lower social strata usually maintained a high level of solidarity among themselves and constituted their own subculture, after Christianity was approved by some of their members, many other butchers followed and became Christians. Paek described the high rate of conversion into Christianity among butchers as "a strange social phenomenon" (Paek 1974: 214).

In the modernization process, the rank orders of social class system altered. Such class strata as Confucian literati, farmers, artisans, merchants, and servants regrouped into the two basic social classes along the line of socioeconomic power -- those who had property and those who did not. Ironically, however, class consciousness under Confucian ideology persisted even after Korean society adopted the capitalist economic system. Under the newly-adopted economic system, the capitalists, no matter what social class origin they had in the Confucian era, psychologically enjoyed the same prestige and privilege that the Confucian ruling class enjoyed in the old class system. The social power of the ruling elites shifted from the Confucian literati to the newly-emerged capitalists in the modernization process. New social ideology was now determined by the new ruling class, capitalists, most of whom traced their genealogical roots to either the Confucian literati with huge land holdings, or the descendants of those who collaborated with the Japanese bureaucrats. The new capitalists replaced the position of ruling elites of

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the old Confucian system. Estranged by this new ruling group, the new propertyless class in the new capitalist system, who were mostly servants or poor tenants, were also placed at the lowest stratum. The economic system had changed rapidly, but people's class consciousness changed relatively slowly. The Conservatism of the new ruling group (the new capitalists) thus persisted with the new economic system. This was mainly because upper-class people directly embraced the conservative ruling ideas of the old Confucian system. The strictness and exclusiveness of the new ruling group unexpectedly contributed to the increase in Christianity among the lower classes, mainly because the latter were impressed by its inclusive tendency and emphasis on liberty, freedom, and equality.

Interestingly, Buddhism contributed to develop and inherit conservatism as much as Confucianism did. Buddhism had been dominant in the countryside amalgamated with indigenous religions, and it was more likely aligned to the Confucian ideology than to the new Western religious ideas. Although Buddhism maintained an unfavorable relationship toward Confucianism for a long time, both Buddhism and Confucianism situationally had to associate with each other when Western and Japanese Imperial forces invaded. Furthermore, partly because of Buddhism's ability to amalgamate many other religions and its competitive but culturally fraternal relationship with Confucianism, Buddhism and Confucianism to some extent have shared similar religious ideas and have commonly supported the Korean people's welfare. Although persecuted by the central government, Buddhism associated with local power elites and developed a supportive ideology for them. In the process of nation-building after independence, the majority of the new ruling

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groups were drawn from these central and regional elites of the Chosun Dynasty. Buddhism's closeness to Confucianism naturally seceded from the Western religions and other radical religious thoughts. This is one of the major reasons why the Buddhist population has not increased since the Western religions' advent while the Christian population has increased.

The interventions of the West and Japan and the sudden breakout of the Korean War disrupted a gradual progression from a pre-modern society to a modern capitalist one. These historical disruptions further impeded a gradual emergence of the urban middle class. Impediment of emergence of new class system in accordance with the newly employed economic system brought a vacuum of social thoughts that supported the interests of each class appropriately. Suffering from a vacuum of social ideas that hold people together in the turmoil of rapid social change, the lower classes, especially those who migrated from countryside to newly-emerged cities, have gradually immersed themselves in Christianity, which commends evangelism and inclusiveness and confers belongingness and a new identity. City residents, most of whom were uprooted and mobile, were more likely to become Christian not only because they were attracted by its major tenets that support their interests but also because its ideological basis fits their urban lifestyle. In the case of Korean Christianity, which first began to gain its force in urban areas, its idea of an "omnipresent mobile God" (Cox 1965) and its sincere caring for the oppressed greatly contributed to its rapid spread.

Nationalism as a Pro-Christian Force

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As Korea become a victim of imperialism in the late 19th century, Koreans began to doubt their major political and economic ideologies and religious ideas. Buddhism and Confucianism were considered too weak to provide believers with a mental fortress against the incoming Western forces. Koreans could do nothing but accept the reality they encountered. It was at that time that Koreans began to look for new social thoughts and religious ideas strong enough to contend with Western religions and thoughts.

A social thought inspired by their colonial situation was nationalism. Korean nationalism was further reinforced by various religious beliefs that endowed Koreans with faith, belief, truthfulness, and hope. As we have seen, Protestantism began to spread rapidly from this time on. For this particular reason Protestantism began to exert its power on Korea at an unexpectedly faster clip than other Asian countries, who were less severely affected by imperialist superpowers. Competing with each other, Japan, China, and Russia maintained strong political and economic power in Korea.

The Philippines has a long history of colonization, but in a different historical period and by a Catholic colonizer. During colonization, the Philippines by and large racially and religiously amalgamated with the colonizer. India also experienced colonization by the West, but the anti-colonial force in India was identified with the indigenous religions, not with imported religions. Accepting the religion and social ideology of the English colonizer was violently prohibited by the majority of Indians, and also it was treated as a betrayal of their country. Unlike Korea, accepting Christianity in India (and in most other Asian countries who experience colonization by the West) was considered non-patriotic and anti-nationalistic. This is one of the major reasons why these Asian countries have

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very low rates of a Christian population, despite Western countries' active missionary work.

Developed as self-grown imperial force in Asia, Japan never felt any need for Western religious ideas. Japan became economically powerful enough to selectively accept various aspects of Western culture. Soon after China was threatened by the West, Communism swept all over China and reunified it. Through a series of socialist cultural revolutions up to the 1970s, China violently eliminated all religions in her territory.

Korea was different from all of these Asian countries, because not only she actively accepted Christianity but also she replaced Japanese influence with Western thoughts and religion. Most Western cultural elements imported before the Japanese annexation were eliminated by Japan during its colonization period. Without any plausible alternatives, Korean nationalists could not help but ally with other superpowers of the West for survival. It was not the intention of the majority of Koreans to actively adopt the West's politico-economic ideologies and religious ideas. Different from other Asian countries who intentionally prohibited from accepting Western cultural elements, Koreans' acceptance of Western culture was situationally motivated by the brutal occupation by Japan.

The attitude of the majority of Koreans toward Western culture was therefore ambiguous. Neither Western nor Japanese culture was welcomed at first. The majority of Koreans accepted Christianity as the second-best alternative set of social thoughts (following nationalism) that could provide them with hope of independence and liberation. Different from other Asian countries that experienced colonization by the

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West, Korea might be the first country that gave Christianity a favorable glance. As long as Christians opposed Japanese imperialism, they were not only welcomed, but also considered patriots. Japan thus identified Christians with nationalists, or the anti-Japanese activists, and severely persecuted them. Christians used their churches as both a haven from brutal Japanese oppression, and at the same time, a place for independence movements. A historical record shows that out of thirty-three representatives of the 1919 independence declaration movement, the biggest anti-Japan movement since colonization, sixteen (48%) were Protestants (Clark 1986: 10; Dearman 1982: 181). The movement took place when less than 1 percent of Koreans were Christians. Since then, it has become more common to find Christians among political leaders, anti-Japanese activists, and intellectuals.

In association with nationalism the Christian missionaries' Bible interpretation in Korean was a major factor in spreading Christianity among lower-class people (Clark 1986: xi; Paek 1974: 56-58, 430-432). Although the Korean alphabet was invented in 15th century, both the Chinese characters and the Korean alphabets had combinationally been used for writing. Yet people of the upper class and intellectuals preferred using Chinese characters. The Chinese characters were mostly used for official documents and formal letters, while the Korean alphabet was used for colloquial language. Literate women and a few cognoscenti used the Korean alphabet for writing, but this was still considered as a sign of lower-class culture. Illiteracy rates were high before the Korean alphabet was popularly used. American Protestant missionaries were aware of the widespread illiteracy among the lower classes. The missionaries decided to publish Bible

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in Korean, and they realized that their strategy helped in both proselytization and reduction of illiteracy rates more than they expected. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Japanese regime eliminated the Korean language completely by requiring all Koreans to change their name to Japanese ones and ordering all educational institutions to use Japanese only. Korean speakers in due course were considered anti-Japanese. Reading the Korean Bible and having a Christian identity were considered patriotic, nationalist actions. This was how nationalism was easily associated with Christianity in Korea. The rapid increase in the Christian population in this period was largely attributed to an unexpected side effect caused by an interplay between anti-colonialism and pro-nationalism.

Christian Missionaries' Active Involvement in Social Problems and Issues

One of the effective strategies for proselytization was the missionaries' active participation in Western-style medical and educational enterprises. As soon as the Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea late 19th century, they began to build modern-style schools and hospitals.[4] The missionaries' timely concern with education and health greatly boosted on increase in Christian converts. Many Christian institutes and hospitals built in this period became the most prestigious. Severance Medical Center, Yonsei University, and Ewha Women's University, which were built by American missionaries near the turn of the century, are now only a few of the many good hospitals and institutes built by the missionaries.

Before the 1894 Reform, modern-style schools and hospitals did not exist.

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Government regulation of modern education was not passed until 1908. A 1896 statistics on the number of schools and students showed that out of thirty modern schools recorded, eighteen (60%) were mission schools. These mission schools accommodated 514 (57%) students out of 899 students who enrolled in Western-style schools. Out of eighteen mission schools, nine were run by missionaries of the United States Northern Presbyterian Denomination, eight by the United States Northern Methodists, and one by an Australian missionary. In 1910, two years after the governmental regulation, the number of mission schools increased from 18 to 822, but interestingly the percentage of mission schools out of the total number of schools dropped to thirty-seven, showing that various modern-style schools were being built at this time. In 1942, the number of mission schools (29,956) exceeded those of non-mission schools (21,835) (Kim 1971: 383-384). Due to the great effect of schools and hospitals on proselytization, the increase in the number of mission schools and hospitals was directly proportionate to the increase in the number of Christians.

As the statistics above show, approximately half of Koreans who had a certain level of schooling had an opportunity to become acquainted with Christianity. The more they had opportunities to be acquainted with Christianity, the less likely they were exclude it. Koreans' inclusive sentiment toward Christianity not only positively affected the popular spread of Christianity, but also made Christians perceive equivalent to other religions which they had not felt before. In the mid-1980s, Clark, an American historian, observed a powerful influence of mission schools on the spread of Christianity and the ways in which Christianity became an inclusive religion. He said, "Most denominations have

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seminaries to train their clergy; many have schools and colleges. Most also support good works such as orphanages, old people's homes, and schools for the handicapped. There are still missionaries from abroad, but with few exceptions they work within the hierarchies of the Korean church and are diminishing in number. Christianity, it may truly be said, is now a Korean religion" (Clark 1986: 2).

Citing a Korean scholars' notions about the contributions of Christianity to Korean society, Dearman looked for answers to an intriguing question -- why has Christianity in Korean society grown so drastically in its recent history? According to him, answers to this question can be summarized as follows: 1) a close association of Christian schools and churches with the Korean independence movement and the leading role of Christian, especially Protestant, leaders for Korean independence while Korea was colonized by Japan; 2) the popular revival of Korean alphabet and "mass enlightenment," which were made possible by printing and using the native Korean language, *hangul,* to proselytize Christianity to Koreans, especially to the estranged and oppressed; 3) Christian churches' active engagement in both secular and theological education to make their church a self-supportive organization; 4) Christian churches' sincere concern with social welfare and social problems and their active engagement in social movements focused on the improvement of social conditions, eliminating various social vices such as drunkenness, smoking, and gambling in the public space. (As early as 1970, Christian churches operated "a total 600 social welfare institutes, including nursery schools and nursing homes."); 5) Christian churches' launching of evangelizing missions in prisons, military camps, and non-mission schools, where many people suffered from harassment or

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authority of power; 6) Christian churches' help in training the Korean youth mentally and physically Christian institutes and organizations such as YMCA and YWCA and their religious and non-religious social programs; 7) lastly, Christian churches' strong support for democracy, liberty, freedom, and the Korean government's adoption of a rapid economic growth policy based on an export-oriented mass production system (Dearman 1982: 181).[5]

Christianity's Similarity with Indigenous Religions

The most important factor for the rapid increase in the Christian population might be the religio-cultural one that created a condition where Koreans could easily accept Christianity. It is a surprise that Korea became the largest Christian country in Asia, because Christianity is a completely foreign religion. It is the religio-cultural basis of Korean society that provides Christianity with a new plausibility structure, which greatly contributed to a rapid increase in the Christian population. It is closely related to Koreans' general mental psyche and cultural characteristics that allow Koreans to easily accept Christianity, and it is not difficult to surmise that the indigenous religious elements of Korea might have an affinity with those of Christianity. At least some socio-culturally plausible reasons exist why Christianity in Korea has been accepted without any serious oppositions. What is Korea's religio-cultural basis that has avoided any violent conflict with Christianity? Theologians and social scientists (Yoon et al.1994; Kil 1994; Ryu 1965; Grayson 1995, 1989, 1985; Clark 1986) look for the answers to this question in both the high level of religiosity among Koreans and the similarity of religious ideas

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between Christianity and their indigenous religions.

Those theologians and social scientists agree that Koreans maintain a relatively high level of religiosity and a strong sense of supplication. These tendencies create a mental basis upon which they can eagerly and easily accept religious ideas either indigenous or foreign. They also agree upon that the relatively high level of religiosity among Koreans is mainly due to their history-long ethnic lament, which is called *han* in their mother tongue. The majority of adult Koreans are aware that they keep a sense of *han* in their consciousness. *Han* is created by frequent encroachments from adjacent countries and of its long economic hardship with insufficient resources. There are still counter-military threats between North and South which make people feel intimidated, insecure, and low self-esteem. Insufficient resources, breeding severe, inhumane competitions among fellow Koreans strengthen the sense of *han*. Since three-fourth of the land of Korea is covered by mountains, there is little arable land. Koreans have suffered from insufficient food resources, both grain and meat, with a high population density. They always have to import grain and meat to meet demands. South Korea has the world's third highest population density, next to Bangladesh and Singapore.[6] Due to its peninsular landform surrounded among the powerful nations, such as China, Japan, and Russia, Korea has frequently been the target of military attacks by the three countries. Japanese colonization and the Korean War in recent history also added some ingredients of their own to *han*. It is hard to generalize that Koreans' collective lament derived by these encroachments and hardships has primarily caused their high level of religiosity. The Jewish case seems to share some similarity with the Korean. The Jewish and Korean cases seemingly support

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the idea that religiosity is related to a dearth of resources and external encroachments. This might be one of many reasons why Korean pastors often emphasize the historical similarity between the Jewish and Korean experience and the importance of the meaning of "Canaan affluence" and "chosen people." The same analogy can be applied to the early European immigrants in the United States, the Puritans especially, and it is why new immigrants are more likely to maintain a higher religiosity than old-timers (Warner 1993; Williams 1988; Handlin 1971).

In addition to Koreans' high religiosity, a similarity between Christianity and indigenous Korean religions has also positively affected a rapid increase in Christian population. As we have seen, theoretically, frequent encroachments and a dearth of resources may render Koreans more religion-oriented. What then characterizes their religio-cultural ideas that contribute to accept the new Western religion so leniently? It is also agreed upon by many theologians and social scientists that indigenous religions and even Buddhism are closely associated with shamanism, which once dominated in Manchuria, Siberia, and the Korean peninsula (Ryu 1997; Grayson 1995, 1992, 1985; Iida 1988; Hardacre 1984). The shamanistic idea is predominantly based on supplications and demarcations (or binary oppositions) between vice and virtue, heaven and hell, fortune and hardship, and gratification and dissatisfaction. Although shamanism is not similar to Christianity in terms of its ritual, it is also true that the wide dissemination of the shamanistic idea comprises the religio-cultural foundation upon which Christianity innocuously is based in Korea.

Shamanism is similar to other popular religious ideas in many respects: for instance, if

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a person does good deeds in this world, maintaining a good relationship with various gods around him or her, he or she will be blessed with many good things in this and the next world; and if he or she does not, he or she will be cursed by gods with many bad things. In this respect, the core of shamanism is comprised of the supplicational idea and polytheism. Supplication is a wish for fortune and well-being, while polytheism affirms that all things in this universe contain soul, spirit, and meaning system in themselves. According to shamanism, every being in the universe, whether it has its life or not, has a deity embodied in it. Each being functions like a god, in charge of the core aspects of human life such as protection, affluence, life, death, weather, and etc. God exists everywhere according to shamanism. It can be in heaven, ancestors, mountains, rivers, water, houses, villages, and any dead person who maintained a relationship with an individual believer. Not only has each god power and rank, but also it is in charge of a particular domain of worldly matters of believers.

A believer thus chooses specific gods who are most likely to be concerned with his or her impending problems. The god who takes care of more important matters ranks higher. For instance, the god of heaven (*hanulim* or *okwhang sangje* in Korean), who is believed to take care of life and death, is considered the most important and powerful. The next are ancestor gods (*chosangnim* in Korean), who are considered to take care of economic and psychological well-being. It is not a surprise that these two important gods, *hanulim and chosangnim*, were blended into the Christian god and renamed by an unique Korean Christian term, *hananim,* which combines the literal meanings of "ecumenical [or universal] god of heaven" and "the only god in this world."[7] The marriage between

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Christianity and indigenous Korean religions culminated in a conversion of the linguistic meaning of the gods of the two religions. The phonetic similarity between the translated Christian god (*hananim* in Korean) and the god of heaven in indigenous Korean religion (*hanulnim* or *hanunim*) had a positive impact on growth of Christianity. The phonetic similarity of the terms was effectively able to eliminate Koreans' adversity toward Christianity's image as a foreign religion. The convergence of the Christian god with the most powerful god of the indigenous religion greatly contributed to a rapid increase in the Christian population because Koreans began to believe that the Christian god, *hananim*, was as powerful as the god they used to believe in.

The indigenous religions and Christianity share many similarities in their leaders' role and ethical imperatives as well. The ritual of shamanism, for an example, is primarily led by a shaman or sorcerer. The believers participate in the rituals only by offering foods or valuables with supplications for problem-solving or for fortunes. The shaman performs the ritual upon the individual believer's (or client's) request. Shamanistic believers never collectively participate in the religious ritual, instead wanting the shaman to mediate individually between themselves and the gods. There is no organizational form for collective religious practices in Shamanism, which is why shamanism has never become a church-like organization, although it was once widespread throughout the Korean peninsula. There has never been a shamanist church.

The shaman's role in the ritual is similar to the combined roles of priest and exorcist in Western society. Almost all shamans are women, however. With deistic energy or power, the shaman pinpoints the problems of the believer (or client, *dangol* in Korean) by

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spiritually examining the believer's relationship with any important gods existing around the client, for instance, the gods of house, streams, mountains, and villages. The shaman calls forth one or more gods that are seemingly related to the client's problems and ask the gods to solve them. Believers do not engage in the ritual directly, but call for the shaman to mediate between them and the gods whenever required. Although rudimentary, the shaman's role as a mediator is similar to that of Buddhist and Christian religious leaders. Many early Korean Christians believed that Christian god was much greater or more powerful than their indigenous gods and that Christian leaders were much efficient to mediate between themselves and the new god (Paek 1974).

Shamanism's ethical imperatives are also similar to those of Christianity. The basic principle of shamanistic ethical imperatives is that if the believers do good things, they are rewarded with all the good things in this world, for instance, health, wealth, and long life; on the other hand, if the believers do bad things, then they are punished. Shamanistic moral imperatives encourage believers to expel social vices. A significant portion of its moral imperatives have been transmitted into dominant religions such as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity. All these religions specially emphasize the term known in Korean as *gwonsun jingak*, which stands for "praise the good deed and condemn the bad." One of the most basic religious ideas found in almost all major world religions, the idea of heaven and hell, is dominant in shamanism. The moral imperatives and religious ideas that the two religions share have made it easier for Koreans to accept Christianity.

Koreans' Identification of Americanization with Christianization

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The rapid growth of Christianity in Korea has been accompanied with modernization, and Christianity in Korea has also heavily been influenced by American missionaries. It is also true that modernization of Korea has been achieved under the heavy influence of America's economic and political presence. This is one of the main reasons why many Koreans tend to identify all Western influences with American or Christian ones, because of the heavy influence of American culture since the West opened the Korean peninsula. The changing aspect of religious forces in South Korea has resulted by social, economic, political, and cultural reshaping -- from a pre-modern agricultural society to a modern capitalist one. Korean immigration has also taken place while Korean society has been reshaped by Western ideas and ways of life, especially American ones. Therefore, it is natural that under these social conditions, more Christians who are heavily influenced by American culture emigrate to the United States.

Historically, South Korea has maintained the closest diplomatic relationship with the United States since World War II. Politically, the South Korean government has been supported by the United States government, which has considered the Korean peninsula an important symbolic political fortress to defend capitalism against communism, and it supports South Korea militarily by stationing 39,000 United States troops. Economically, the United States has been the South Korea's biggest trade partner since the Korean War. The South Korean economy is so dependent on the United States economy that there is a popular saying, "If the United States sneezes, South Korea catches a cold." Culturally, since the Korean War, South Korea has been heavily influenced by the United States's popular culture (songs and fashions) and educational ideas.

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With all this influence of American culture on Korean society, the majority of Koreans think that the United States is their stronghold and savior which protects them from the communist North. They also think that American ideas are more rational and practical than theirs; American way of life and culture are much more admirable; and the American mainstream religion is stronger and more influential. Some Koreans thus ardently support American ideas and religion in the same way their ancestors fervently supported China and its religio-cultural ideas for a long time in their history before the advent of the West. Just as Confucianism was a strong supportive ideology of the Korean ruling group under the heavy influence of China, so Christianity becomes a supportive ideology of the Korean ruling group now under the heavy influence of the United States.

From the beginning, Christianity has been unevenly supported by many political leaders. For instance, Syngman Rhee, the first president of the Korean government after independence, declared Christmas as national holiday in 1949 when Christian population reached only 5 percent of the total Korean population (Yim et al. 1994: 226). He declared it when the United States military government controlled South Korea. Few people attended the Christian churches at that time, but many people celebrated Christmas as their national holiday. Since the declaration, the original meaning of Christmas has been diluted. Many non-Christians began to celebrate the holiday with Christians. In due course, commercialization and secularization have accompanied it. The declaration, however, had a great impact on a rapid growth of Christianity. Some nationalistic intellectuals criticized it as one of the typical vulgar "Koreanizations of Western culture."

Syngman Rhee himself was an elder of the Methodist church while president of

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Korea. He considered himself a devout Christian since his teens. Interestingly he became a brutal dictator in the turmoil of Korea's nation building process in the 1950s. He was eventually forced to step down and exiled to Hawaii. After his declaration of the Christmas holiday, Buddhists asserted that the Gauthama Sitarta Buddha's birthday should also be observed as national holiday, because there were more Buddhists than Christians. But their assertion were not accepted until President Park's military regime approved their assertion in the mid-60s under the influence of the devout Buddhist First Lady.

Ironically, the birthday of the founder of Confucianism is not observed as a national holiday in Korea, although Confucianism was once a declared ecclesiastical state religion. This is mainly because Confucianism drastically lost its practical supporters in the midst of modernization, although its influence is still prevalent in Korean society. Because of its heavy influence on Korean history, almost all Koreans today still implicitly consider themselves Confucian, but few Koreans explicitly practice Confucianism on daily basis. However, they are aware that Confucian ideas are obsolete and not practical for everyday moral choices. Ancestor worship is observed by mostly non-Christian populations as a folkway, not as a religion. Less than 1 percent of the Korean population now practices Confucianism as their religion (Korean National Statistical Office 1996: 45-46).

Recently a Korean newspaper surveyed the religion of the thirty-nine leading political figures who maintained a close relationship with the current president, Kim Dae Jung. The survey shows that among them, eighteen (46%) are Protestant, twelve (31%)

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"without religion," eight (21%) Catholic, and only one person (2%) Buddhist.[8] The religious identification of these leading political figures is not proportionately representative of the general Korean population. The current president's Catholic identity might have caused a higher proportion of Christians among leading political figures. As we have seen in the case of anti-Japanese movement for independence, however, since the colonial period, Christians have been overrepresented in political and economic elites. According to the survey of the same newspaper, 70 percent of the chairpersons of the fifty leading conglomerate corporations (*chaebol* in Korean) actively practice their religion. Out of twenty-one chairpersons of the leading corporations, eight (38%) are Protestant, three (14%) Catholic, six (29%) Buddhists, and four (19%) other religion affiliate or without religion.[9] Although the proportion of Buddhists among the leaders of big corporations are much higher than among political leaders, the proportion of Christians is predominantly higher in both groups.

The high proportion of Christianity among political and economic leaders significantly contributes to the rapid increase in the number of Christians in Korea in many respects. First, since most of them are role models, more younger people tend to follow the leaders' religion from which they think they get spiritual strength for their ambitions. Second, coupled with elitism, which has prevailed in Korean society from the Confucian era, important figures are more likely to be praised by Christians as winners in this world. Korean Christianity emphasizes the blessing of God upon the chosen people who faithfully follow the major tenets of Christianity. Korean Christians are thus more likely align themselves to the new Christian elitism, which was inspired by Christian

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triumphalism. In their everyday lives, Korean Christians exchange greetings by saying, "Be triumphal today too!." They also frequently cite the idea of elitism in their prayer -- for example, "Be a head of a snake, not a tail of a dragon!"All revival preachers and most pastors of Korean churches preach to the audience by invoking the examples of success stories of leading political or economic figures who sincerely practice Christianity. Coupled with the Confucian idea of success in this world, which is still predominantly practiced in Korean society, the Christian emphasis on elitism and triumphalism is openly recognized by Christians as well as non-Christians. Confucian elitism has been well blended with Christian triumphalism in Korea, and this shows a typical example of religious syncretism between indigenous religion and foreign one. Christianity became the most influential part of Korean culture by adopting the important religio-cultural elements of the previous religions such as Shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. Most interestingly, since Christianity (Protestantism especially) was mostly brought by American missionaries, both Christians and non-Christians still identify it as a core cultural element of the United States of America. As long as the United States of America holds the world's strongest economic and political power, Christianity, and Protestantism in particular will thrive in Korea.

Notes

1. *The Korea Times*. July 3, 1998. Original data was collected by Korean Gallup Institute.

2. These statements are originally drawn from Spencer J. Palmers' article, "Western Religion and Korean Culture," in *Korea's Response to the West* (pp. 99-102), edited by Yung-Hwan Jo, the Korean Research and Publications, Inc., Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1971.

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3. Protestantism in Korea was once stronger in this northwestern area, especially in urban areas, than any other from its introduction until the communist regime took over in the mid-1940s.

4. The first Western-style hospital, which was called *kwang hye won*, was established by American Presbyterian missionary Dr. Horace N. Allen one year after his arrival in Korea in 1884. A medical school affiliated with the hospital was also opened two years later. In 1897 with the donation of an American philanthropist, Louis Severance, *Kwang hye won* was expanded and renamed after the donor. It is known as *Yonsei* Medical Center (or Severance Hospital) today. The center yielded many doctors since 1908 (Kim 1971: 368-369). Since then *Yonsei* Medical Center has become the most prominent medical school and hospital in Korea.

5. Dearman's citation was originally from Ick-Dal Kim's book (pp.162), *Korea: Its People and Culture*, which was published by Hakwon-sa, Seoul, Korea in 1970.

6. According to *1997 World Almanac and Book of Facts* (Mahwah, New Jersey: World Almanac Books), the population density of Singapore (per square mile) is 13,753; that of Bangladesh is 2,160; that of South Korea is 1,185; and that North Korea is 504.

7. Before Christianity was introduced in Korea, the ideas about the two important gods, *hanulim and chosangnim*, had been combined with Buddhism and Confucianism (Ryu 1997; Grayson 1989, 1985). Ideas of these gods have been developed and manipulated throughout the history of Korean religion. It is apparent that shamanism has set the foundation for current Korean religions.

8. *Ilryo Sinmun (Sunday News)*, a part of *Hankuk Ilbo (The Korea Times)*, March 9, 1998.

9. *Ilryo Sinmun (Sunday News)*, a part of *Hankuk Ilbo (The Korea Times)*, December 29, 1997.

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Chapter 4. Why Are There More Protestants in the Korean Community?

The Korean immigrant community in the United States has had a disproportionately large proportion of Christians (mostly Protestants), since the first groups of Korean immigrants arrived in the Hawaiian Islands at the turn of the century, while Buddhists were prevalent in Korea until the mid-1990s. An unanticipated increase in the Korean community's Christian population in the United States is interrelated with the immigration process through which more religiously active people and more Christians are selectively drawn. Influenced by the Christian predominance and by various religio-social functions and activities performed by the ethnic churches in the Korean community, approximately two-third of non-Christian immigrants also convert or switch to Christianity after their immigration to the United States.

A few studies have pointed out such major reasons for the unexpected increase in the Christian population in the Korean community as selective migration (Hurh and Kim 1990; Park et al. 1986; Kim 1981), social and psychological functions of ethnic churches (Min 1992a; Hurh and Kim 1990; Dearman 1982), schisms of the ethnic churches (Shin 1989), oversupply of Protestant clergies, overheated competition among ethnic churches for recruiting of new members, and the secular entrepreneurial-style operation of the Protestant churches (Kim 1981).

Interestingly, these studies have never been interested in the factors that contributed to the abrupt decrease in the Buddhist immigrant population. Only one study briefly described the reasons why Korean Buddhist congregations began to grow in the Korean

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community in Southern California (Yu 1989). Yu, however, bypassed some important social factors that contributed to grow the Buddhist congregations in the Korean communities since the early 1980s, nor did he mention the interactional aspects that the two major religious groups in the community performed for maintaining their religious forces. It is important to understand that if more than two religious groups co-exist in an ethnic community, they constantly interact, exchanging either favorable or antagonistic gestures towards the other. In the case of Korean immigrants, the Buddhists have long been ignored because of their minor status and their emphasis on serenity.

It was only when mass immigration from Korea continued for substantial period of time that the Buddhists began to build their temples. As the Christian community began to grow when substantial numbers of religious leaders accompanied their fellow immigrants in the early immigration period, so did the Buddhist community, beginning in the late 1970s when a few Buddhist priests began to accompany their fellow Buddhist immigrants. The numeric growth of each religious group is proportionately associated with the number of religious leaders.

Reviewing the previous studies of the factors that contributed to the changing proportions of religious groups in the Korean community, this chapter examines the socio-historical reasons why particularly the Protestants have been predominant in the community since the beginning of Korean immigration to the United States. To investigate the reasons for the abrupt increase in the Protestant population, both pre-migrational and post-migrational factors are reviewed. In the case of the Korean immigrants, both factors have equally contributed to the uneven increase in the Protestant

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population.

1. Religious Groups in Korea and in the Korean Community in the U.S.

Reflecting mass Christianization and rapid urbanization, which began in the 1960s, more than half of Korean immigrants since the beginning of the third wave (1968-present) were either already professing Christianity or at least were affiliated with Christian churches at the time of their immigration (Park et al. 1986: 60-61; Kim and Hurh 1990). Christians have been more densely concentrated in urban areas in Korea. And the majority of Korean immigrants have also been drawn from urban areas in Korea. Park's survey also revealed that 58.6 percent of Koreans immigrated to the United States in 1986 lived in Seoul, the capital city of South Korea, before emigration, and 71 percent of them lived in the four largest cities in South Korea. The percentage of Korean immigrants' urban residency increased steadily, as Korea has become more urbanized throughout the 1980s and 1990s. This trend suggests that more Christians than any other religious groups eventually immigrate to the United States.

Another survey conducted by Hurh and Kim in Los Angeles in the late 1970s revealed that 51.3 percent of Koreans in Los Angeles were affiliated with their ethnic churches prior to their immigration, and 70 percent of their respondents were affiliated with Korean ethnic churches in the United States. Very few Buddhist Koreans (1.5%) were traced by the survey (Hurh and Kim 1984: 129-130). By contrast, in Korea the Christian population has been far smaller than the Buddhist until recently. In 1975 Christians and Buddhists in Korea were 21 percent and 50 percent respectively of the total Korean

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population (see Chart 4-1).

Another Hurh and Kim's survey conducted in Chicago in 1986 revealed a slightly different profile of Korean immigrants' religion: 52.6 percent of Koreans in Chicago were affiliated with Christian churches prior to their immigration;[1] 4.2 percent were identified as Buddhists;[2] and 76.8 percent Koreans in Chicago were affiliated with Korean Protestant churches (Hurh and Kim 1990: 19-24). This survey indicated that slightly more Buddhist Koreans immigrated to the United States in the 1980s than in the 1960s and 1970s; and, many non-Christians became affiliated with Christian churches after immigration.

Table 4-1 contrasts the general feature of religious groups in Korea with that in the selected cities of the United States in mid-1980s and late 1990s. It shows a significant difference in the proportions of the two major religions in Korea and the United States. The number of Buddhists decreases in Korea while that of their Christian counterparts increases. The two major religions in Korea reciprocally interact with each other: the number of Buddhists increases, then that of Christians decreases. After immigration, the percentage of the Buddhists drops into a single digit, while that of the Christian counterparts increases dramatically. Religiously active populations also increase dramatically after immigration. This means that whether the majority of the Korean immigrants become devout believers or not, they either continue their religious practice or begin to affiliate with their ethnic religious organizations after their immigration. Chart 4-1 and Chart 4-2 visually show the contrast of the proportion of Korean believers in Korea and in the Chicago and New York metropolitan areas in the United States.

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Table 4-1 Koreans' Religions in Korea and in the U.S., Selected Cities and Years (%)

Religion	Korea (85)	Seoul (85)	Korea (97)	Chicago (86)	New York (98)
Buddhism	47.40	36.93	39.0	4.2	3.2
Christianity*	48.60	60.88	61.0	76.8	74
(Protestant)	(37.7)	(47.77)	(44)	(76.8)	(74)
(Catholic)	(10.9)	(13.11)	(17)	(u)	(u)
Other**	4.0	2.19	u	u	u
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	81.0	77.6
Religious Population***	42.53	49.78	52.0	81.0	77.6

Sources: 1) Korea (1985); Korea Research Institute for Religion and Society. *The Yearbook of Korean* Religions. Vol. 1. Seoul: Korea Halimwon. 1993. pp. 207. [Original source: Korea Ministry of Culture and Public Affairs. 1988. *Administrative Data Source for Religion.* pp. 6-7.] 2) Korea (1991); Yoon, Yi Heum. et al. (ed.) 1994. *Religion of Korea.* Seoul: Munduksa. pp. 237. 3) United States-Chicago; Hurh, Won Moo and Kwang Chung Kim. 1990. "Religious Participation of Korean Immigrants in the United States." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion.* 1990. Vol. 29. No.1. pp. 24).
4) United States-New York (1998); the survey of the author.

* Christianity includes both Protestant and Roman Catholic. The proportion of Catholic population shares about 10 percent in both Korea and the United States.

** "Other" includes indigenous Korean religions such as "Chundokyo," "Wonbulkyo," "Daejongkyo," and other shamanistic religions for the Korea data. The same category for the Chicago and New York data includes atheists and people without religion as well.

*** The data of Seoul and Korea in 1985 represents the percentage of the number of believers out of total population in Seoul and Korea. The data of the New York and Chicago in the United States is estimated examining all the available data sources. The 1997 data accounts the people of age 18 or older.

u= unidentified or less than three percent.

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Chart 4-1 Religions in Korea

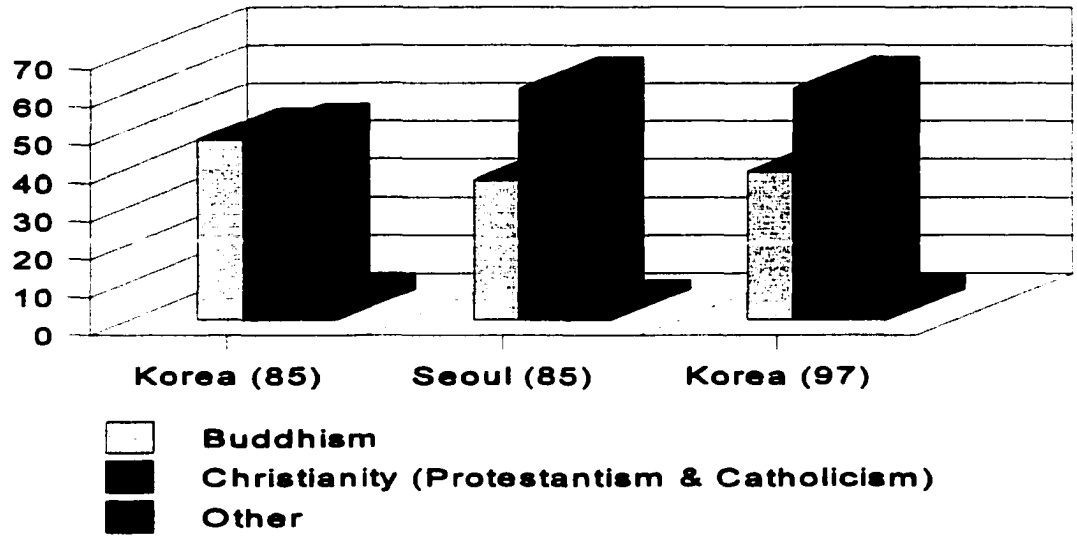
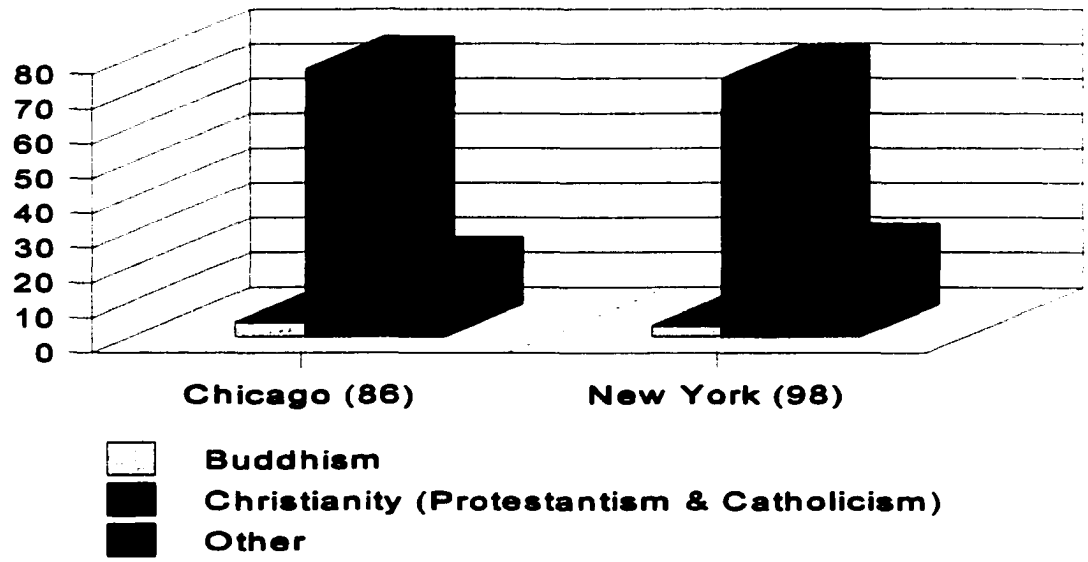


Chart 4-2 Koreans' Religion in Chicago and NYC



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2. Pre-Migration Factors

Division of the Nation and Internal Migration

Although Christian predomination was one of the major social characteristics of the Korean immigrants since the beginning of their immigration to the United States, it has been reinforced with the mass immigration since the late 1960s. The social characteristics of this immigrant group were largely determined by both socio-political changes in Korean society after World War II and the Korean War, and the changes in American immigration laws in 1965 which provided criteria for selecting recent immigrants in favor of professionals and family members of U.S. citizens. Although these determination factors did not affect selections of Korean immigrants in favor of any particular religious groups, more Christians than any other religious group have still emigrated to the United States. Christian predomination among Korean immigrants is intrinsically related to some pre-migration factors such as the internal migration experience of Christians from the North during the Korean War and the northern Christians' weak social and economic ties with the South.

Protestant Christianity was strong in northwestern urban areas until the Communists controlled the North (Kim 1971; Paek 1974). Before the Korean War, when people were still able to cross the 38th Parallel, the military demarcation line between the South and the North, many Christians, landowners, and proprietors left for the South to avoid brutal Communist persecution in the North. Approximately ten million northerners resettled in the South before the war, and 7.2 million of North Korean origin still live in South Korea today. When the 1962 immigration laws of South Korea and the 1965 laws of the United

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States made South Koreans' emigration to the United States much easier, more Koreans of North Korean origin than their southern counterparts emigrated to the United States (Kim 1981). Since most of the northerners in the South were forcefully expelled under Communist persecution, they experienced difficulties in adjustment in many respects. Lost social ties and a weak economic base in the South brought them psychological instability. Due to their psychic refugee status, most of the northerners were very sensitive to the political unrest of the Korean peninsula, which has persisted since the Korean War. Their mental vulnerability is largely attributed to the larger proportion of emigrants among them in the early stage of the third wave of Korean immigration to the United States. Because of their internal migration experience during the war and their stronger affinity to American Protestant Christianity and American culture acquired through the American missionaries, it was easier for them to decide to emigrate to the United States. It is no wonder that the majority of Korean Christian leaders of the Korean community in the U.S. were originally from the North Korea, throughout the waves of Korean immigration to the United States (Kim 1981: 190).[3]

Urban-Middle Class Background

As seen in the Chapter One, the third wave of Korean immigration is *de facto* urban-to-urban international migration. As the Protestants in Europe had founded their religio-social bases in urban settings from the beginning, so had Korean Protestants founded their bases in large urban areas such as Seoul and Pyongyang, the capitals of the two Koreas now. Since the introduction of Christianity to Korea, urbanization has

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accompanied with growth of Christian population.

The mass internal migration that took place in the urbanization process provided more reasons for the rapid growth of Protestantism in Korea and in the Korean communities in the United States. As we have seen, the political outcasts and the lower class were the first groups who eagerly accepted Christianity, not only because they wanted to recapture their dignity, but also because they wanted to apply new religious and social ideas to resolve the problems that Korean society encountered since the dawn of modernization. For the outcasts and the lower class, Western thoughts that emphasized such revolutionary ideas as equality, liberty, freedom, triumphalism, and practicality were the most plausible alternatives to a tradition that had failed Korean society in the 20th century. They became the first group that eagerly accepted the new religion. With the similar reason the new urbanites began to concern with the Western religion in particular and the Western culture in general. The new urban migrants shared a similar situation with the one that the estranged political elites and the lower class encountered in the early 20th century.

Surprisingly, the proportion of urban middle class jobs among the people who prepared for emigration to the United States was 4.5 times higher, and the proportion of rural jobs among them was 4.8 times lower than those of the general population (see Table 4-2, Chart 4-3, and Chart 4-4). The people who were about to emigrate to the United States were also heavily overrepresented by their higher-class backgrounds. In 1986, 40.3 percent of the Korean population were classified as higher than middle class, whereas 79.9 percent of Koreans who prepared for emigration were identified themselves

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as higher than middle class. Considering that Christianity, especially Protestantism, has been stronger in urban middle class, and that the majority of the Korean immigrants have been drawn from this stratum (Kim 1981; Park et al. 1986; Yoon 1991; Min 1992a), it was not a surprising that more Christians than any other religious group have been found among the Korean immigrants.

Table 4-2 Occupational Distribution of Koreans and Predeparture Immigrants (%)

Occupation	The Population of Korea 1966	1986	Predeparture Immigrants 1986
Professional/technical/ administrative/managerial	3.5	7.5	33.5
Clerical	4.9	11.6	18.9
Sales	8.6	15.2	14.9
Agriculture/forestry/fishing	47.5	23.4	4.9
Production/operation/labor	27.5	31.6	18.5
Other (unemployed)	8.0	-	9.3
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0

Source: (1) Data for the year of 1966: Kim, Jin Kyun et al. 1985. *Hankuk Sahoe eu Kyegeup Yonku.* Vol. 1. [*Studies of Social Class in Korea.* Vol. 1.] Seoul, Korea: Hanwool Publishers. pp.118. (2) Data for the year of 1986: Park, Insook H., J. Fawcett, F. Arnold and R. Gardner. 1990. *Koreans Immigrants and U.S. Immigration Policy: A Pre-Departure Perspective.* The East-West Population Institute Paper Series, No. 114. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center. pp. 50-51.

Table 4-3 Social Class of the Korean Population and Predeparture Immigrants (%)

Social Class	Korean Population 1960	1970	1980	Predeparture Immigrants 1986
Upper class	-	-	-	4.6
Upper middle class	0.9	1.3	1.8	30.2

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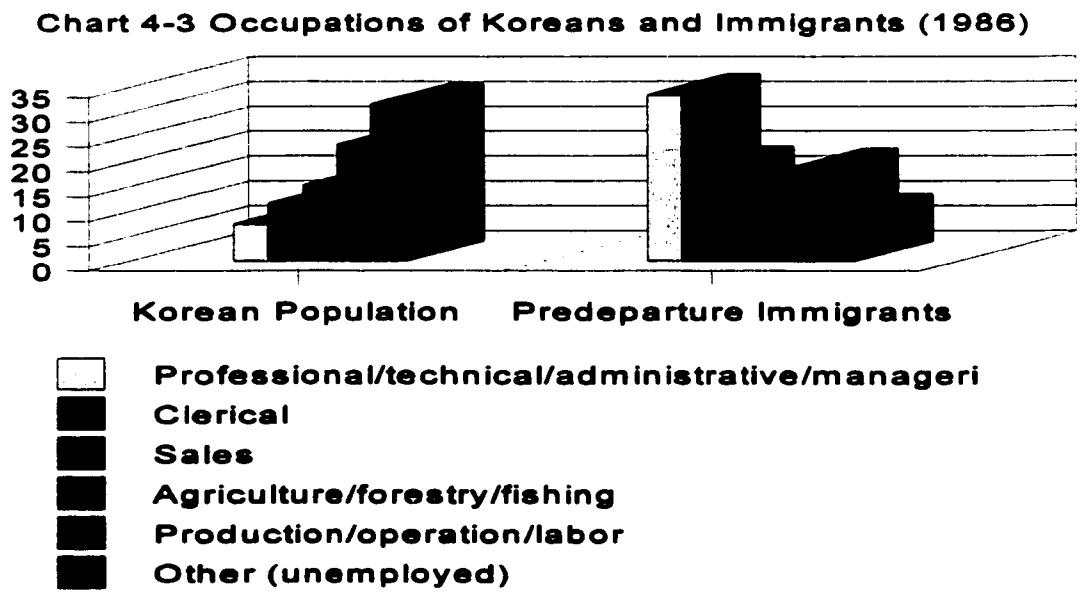
Social Class	Korean Population 1960	1970	1980	Predeparture Immigrants 1986
Middle class				17.2
New urban middle class	6.6	14.2	17.7	
Old middle class	13.0	14.8	20.8	
Lower middle class	-	-	-	27.9
Lower (working) class	39.5	41.6	36.6	18.5
Self-employed farmers	40.0	28.0	23.2	-
Other (don't know or no answer)	-	-	-	1.6
Total	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0

Source: (1) Data for social class composition (1960, 1070, 1980): Kim, Jin Kyun *et. al.* 1985. *Hankuk Sahoe eu Kyegeup Yonku.* Vol. 1. [*Studies of Social Class in Korea.* Vol. 1.] Seoul, Korea: Hanwool Publishers. pp. 21. (2) Data for occupation and self-identified class (1986): Park, Insook H., J. Fawcett, F. Arnold and R. Gardner. 1990. *Koreans Immigrants and U.S. Immigration Policy: A Pre-Departure Perspective.* The East-West Population Institute Paper Series, No. 114. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center. pp. 50-58.



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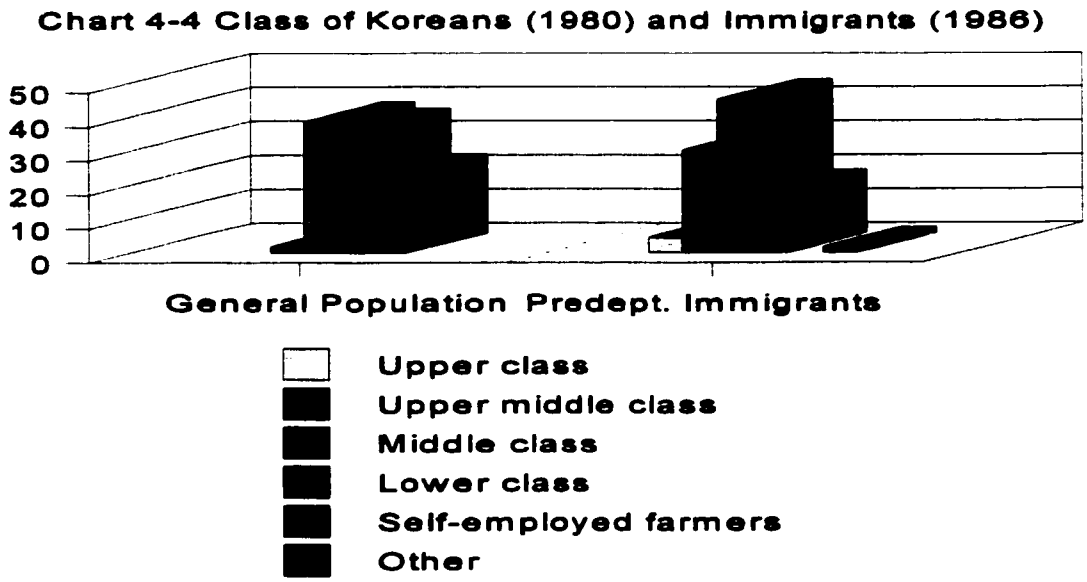

The majority of the urban migrants in Korea were small-scale farmers or poor farm laborers, who were rooted in the home soil of the countryside. They left their home town mainly because they could not afford the living expenses by the labor-concentrated traditional rice farming, which has been relegated from an important means for family business into the cheapest manual labor, due to easier importation of less expensive grains and meats from foreign countries under industrialization and globalization. Although the internal migrants moved to big urban places like Seoul for a better life, they eventually realized that their new urban life was a dupe. Rapid inflation and heavy taxes lessened their actual income. With the dense population came a deterioration of their living conditions. Once they realized the various problems in the new urban areas, they felt a deep frustration. Through hard work and higher education, some of them finally achieved middle class status. As soon as they achieved middle class status, they encountered another unsatisfied problem -- the limitation of the individuals' further

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economic and personal development and progress -- which are checked by the severely competitive social reality regulated by the newly adopted capitalist economic system. Their ambitions and opportunity for upward mobility were blocked by the stronger and harder layers of social structure. Realizing their opportunities were blocked, some of the new urbanites tried to achieve their dreams by moving to economically advanced foreign countries, in which they feel they will have a better life (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). More of the new urban middle class who achieve a relatively higher education than the general population and who feel that they have been relatively less rewarded in comparison with their educational level, eventually actualize their American dream through immigration at the expense of many difficulties, from language barriers, culture shock, cultural lag, or "fastening their belt more tightly."

As more people of North Korean origin decided to emigrate to the United States because of their previous experience of migration and weak social ties with the South, more new urbanites also emigrated to the Unites States for the similar reasons -- internal migration experience, relatively weak social ties, high level of mobility and life aspirations. Once people have experienced uprootedness from their home base, therefore, they are more likely to migrate again, even to foreign lands. Most of the new urban middle and working class who had so-called urban occupations such as clerical, administrative, sales, production, service, and manual labor seceded from their home base and land holdings when they moved to cities. Lacking in a sense of home and their own land made it relatively easy for them to be mobile. They are the group that feels spiritual emptiness more than landed property owners and old urban petty bourgeoisies, who

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maintain a stronger relation to land property in urban areas where they make their home.

Currently, 50 percent of all Christians are concentrated in the four largest cities in Korea (see Table 3-2 in Chapter 3). My survey also shows that the new urbanites who moved into cities are more likely to immigrate into the United States. One hundred six out of 109 informants (97%), regardless of their religion, lived in urban areas before they immigrated, and 84 (77%) lived in Seoul, the biggest city in Korea. Forty eight (44%) out of all informants were not born in urban areas (see Table 9-1 in Chapter 9 for details).

Mutual reinforcement between migration ethos and religious beliefs can be found in Korean immigrant communities independent from Korean immigrants' urban and class backgrounds. This is another reason why many Korean Christian churches have been built in Korean communities in the United States. The achievements of all walks of immigrants in United States history also were a good example of how the survival ethos of immigrants and their religious beliefs have contributed to their success in America. From the early Puritans to recent Korean Buddhist immigrants, those who have held their religious beliefs as a symbol of hope, regardless of their denominational or religious stances, have proved the power of mutual reinforcement between immigration ethos and religious beliefs, helping them make a productive life in supplication, which is commonly called the American dream.

Influence of American Culture

The modernization of South Korea is modeled after the American style. The United States has poured a countless billions of economic aid to debilitated South Korea since

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the cease fire treaty between the United Nations and the North Korea in 1953. Substantial number of the United States troops (39,000) are still stationed in South Korea, and the U.S. has been the largest trade partner of South Korea since then. The United States of America has always been featured as the world's most powerful country. During the frequent politico-economic business interactions, South Korea has gradually fallen under influence of the U.S. All aspects of both infrastructure and superstructure of the society have been under American influence. There is a saying popular among Koreans who maintain anti-American sentiment that, "It is rather better to be an American colony." As we have seen, even before Korea became a colony of Japan, the American missionaries were the most influential Western force. The scientific ideas and modern education system brought by them were embraced as a part of powerful American culture. Their religion, Protestantism especially, was symbolized as a new powerful American religion. For Koreans, thus, accepting Christianity means an approval of the power of the United States culture. Americanization has been expedited in urban areas first and has become influential on all aspects of life. Illsoo Kim describes how American culture influenced the urbanites and would-be emigrants in particular, and Korean society in general, as following:

> South Koreans, although noted for their ethnocentrism, have been deeply impressed with American affluence and mass consumption. The Korean urban elite classes in particular have emulated, since the end of the Korean War, a hodgepodge of America life styles. For Korean urbanites, wearing American-made shoes, hats, gloves, sunglasses, and wristwatches, most of which flow illegally from the PX's of United States military compounds, has been a powerful means of enhancing status. American popular songs and movies have fascinated Korean urban youth, and many Korean urban intellectuals today tend to ignore Korean television and radio programs in favor of the American Forces Korea Network (AFKN). Finally, learning English

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> has become a major tool by which businessmen, white-collar workers, public officials, and military officers strive for upward social mobility. This cultural impact has been cumulative: Korean urbanites yearn more and more for American life styles and mass consumption. Thus, American soldiers and businessmen in South Korea have unknowingly taken the role of recruitment agents who, like the older immigrants at the turn of the century, advertised and exaggerated the prosperity and well-being that an emigrant could hope to find in America (Kim 1981: 33).

The influence of American culture has a snowball effect. As Ilsoo Kim pointed out, the new urbanites used American cultural elements as a means of achieving a higher social status, after the majority of people admitted that American culture is powerful and instrumental. Christianity, which formed one of the basic elements of American culture, was accepted as one of the core elements of powerful American culture. Although once persecuted, the Christian converts were gradually accepted as members of society, as society accommodated Christianity and other aspects of American culture without maintaining any antagonistic relationship. Recruiting large proportion of new members in urban areas, Christianity in Korea began to participate in forming a new culture, which was characterized as a syncretic culture combining both Korean and Western elements. Korean Christians' frequent contact with American missionaries made them the first group who realized the huge gap of living standards and lifestyles between the United States and Korea. The Christian converts thus were probably the most Americanized group in the society. It was not a coincidence, therefore, that the majority of Korean immigrants were drawn from this group. Their eagerness to fill the gap between their Korean standard of living and an American one made them decide to emigrate to the United States when they had an opportunity to do so.

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3. Post-Migration Factors

After immigration to the United States, most Christians continue to practice their religion and more than a half of the non-Christians begin to attend Korean ethnic church services regularly. Christians also prefer to retain their denominational lines. Korean immigrants' high rate of conversion to Christianity after immigration is closely associated with some post-immigration factors that lead them to become involved in ethnic churches.

Historical Particularity of Korean Immigration

After Japan forcefully annexed Korea, the first group of Korean immigrants arrived in the Hawaiian Islands as plantation workers. The consecutive streams of Korean immigrants until 1950, classified as "the first wave immigration," included not only plantation workers but also other social strata -- students, political refugees, and religious leaders (mostly Protestant). Although the number of these early Korean immigrants was small (9,404), they were pioneer immigrants who constructed the prototype of the Korean immigrant community, collaborating with each other for the well-being of their fellow immigrants and the independence of their home country. Because of their homeland's colonial situation, the early Korean immigrants unanimously showed a strong sense of patriotism, which functioned as a key ethos for their immigrant lives. Patriotism also united Korean immigrants regardless of their class backgrounds. As we have seen, the first-wave Korean immigrants were bipolarized into two distinctive social strata -- intellectuals and manual laborers. Because of the heritage of Confucian tradition that

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strictly observes class demarcations, it was not easy for both classes to collaborate on their common goal, the independence of their homeland. Despite the tradition of strict social stratification, their homeland's colonial situation and their first-generation immigrant status, however, not only made it easier for them to collaborate with each other, but also it helped work together for their common goal. The plantation laborers needed leaders who could protect them and help them organize their own ethnic community, and the political and religious leaders also needed laborers to support their activities. In the case of the early Korean immigrants, class division rather helped them organize their community more efficiently. Situationally, therefore, the two distinctive social strata in the Korean community became a close collaborators from the beginning.

Many historical records disclose that the plantation workers in the Hawaiian Islands had a strong sense of patriotism and immigration ethos (Choy 1979; Kim and Paterson 1974; Ryu 1988). With patriotism they also adopted the new immigration ethos -- ethos for survival in the host society -- after immigration to the United States, and these two psychological forces became much stronger when they encountered hardships in the workplace. For the majority of the first wave Korean immigrants, an alternative way of soothing their hardships was immersion into religious practices, through which they collectively addressed such urgent problems as the independence of their homeland, destitution of their fellow Koreans, and work-related hardships. They immersed themselves in religious practices because they realized their patriotism and immigration ethos were reinforced by their religious beliefs. Not only for their religious freedom, but also for their personal livelihood, most first-wave Korean immigrants who experienced

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severe religious persecution and destitution in their homeland considered the Hawaiian Islands and the United States a locus of hope for freedom, liberation, and affluence. For them religious observance in a foreign land granted a special meaning to their lives, by helping them find ways to resolve their impending problems. For that reason, Korean immigrants more eagerly began to build their ethnic churches from the early period of their immigration to the United States.

Interestingly, it was only Protestant groups that began to organize churches. Since there had been many Protestant leaders and believers in the Korean community among the first-wave immigrants, it was not difficult for them to build their own ethnic churches. According to historical records, there was one pastor per 200 Korean immigrants (0.5%), and 6 percent of the first group of Korean immigrants in the Hawaiian Islands were identified as Protestants, while much less than 1 percent of Korean population in Korea was Protestants at the turn of the century (Choy 1979; Kim and Patterson 1974). These records also revealed that there were some Confucians and Buddhists among the first group of Korea immigrants, but neither Confucians nor Buddhists could construct their own religious organizations, mainly because most of them intended to return to Korea and their religious leaders were scarce. Virtually none of the Buddhist and Confucian organizations has been founded until the new mass of Korean immigrants began to enter the United States since 1965. In addition to these two factors, fewer number of adherents of traditional religions among the Korean immigrants caused fewer temples to be built. Proportionally, much fewer Confucians and Buddhists have emigrated to the United States since the beginning because their religious beliefs strongly discouraged foregoing

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their hometowns (*kohyang* in Korean) and ancestors (*chosangnim* in Korean).

As the result of the three major factors that contributed to the increase in the Christian population in the Korean community, more than one-third of Koreans in the Hawaiian Islands became Christians within ten years of their immigration. Approximately 2,800 Koreans in the Hawaiian Islands converted to Christianity during the first fifteen years of their immigration since 1902. There were thirty-nine Protestant Korean ethnic churches in the Hawaiian Islands alone by 1918 (Kim and Patterson 1974:127). Since then, approximately 20-50 percent of early Korean immigrants converted to Protestantism after they entered the United States (Choy 1979: 264). The Christian population accounted for 40 percent of the whole Korean population in the islands by the early 1920s, while the Christian population in Korea was still less than 1 percent. The Christian population in Korea steadily increased, but it did not exceed 5 percent until the Korean War broke out in 1950. Although the whole Korean community was not yet considered Christian, it is historically meaningful that the Christian group predominantly led in the formation of their ethnic community in the United States.

In addition to the major historical factors that contributed to the construction of the Christian immigrant community -- for instance, the colonial situation of their homeland, which brought patriotism; hardship in the plantation field, which brought immigration ethos; the accompaniment of religious leaders, which provided religious services and church formation; and the higher proportion of Christian immigrants, which brought a readiness to form religious congregation -- other socio-historical particularities of the Korean community provided an impetus for the rapid increase in the Christian

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population. Throughout Korean immigration history Korean ethnic churches have performed various religio-social functions through which they expanded their influence in the Korean immigrant community.

1. Church as Both Religious and Social Organization: Other religious groups and people without religion gradually converged into Protestant groups once their ethnic churches became a focal arena in their community (Choy 1979; Kim and Patterson 1974; Ryu 1988). Since church activities were the only opportunity for most Korean immigrants, many non-Christians also began to attend Korean churches on Sunday to get together with their own ethnic group. Especially for the elderly and women who did not work outside the home, attending Sunday services was the only opportunity for secondary social interactions. Women's social activities were disallowed by the Confucian cultural norm, and their economic activities outside the home were still discouraged. The traditional Confucian norms remained unchanged even after their immigration to the U.S. for a while. Once the Christian group formed the main line of their cultural mode in their community, many non-Christians and people without religion alike became involved in Christian church activities. Some ardent non-Christian patriots could not help but involve in church activities, if they wanted to add their voices to the community. As a result, Protestant churches have become the center of the Korean community, because no other social and political organization effectively took care of the community's problems. The multiple uses of ethnic churches encouraged Korean immigrants to build their own ethnic churches everywhere they lived. Since the beginning of their immigration, building ethnic churches became a tradition and a vehicle for Korean immigrants' community formation,

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regardless of the degree of their geographic dispersion or closeness.

Lack of social interaction opportunities outside the plantation camp made both Sunday services and fellowship meetings an ethnic feast. Almost all Korean ethnic congregations (both Buddhist and Christian) today still celebrate party-like luncheon fellowships after Sunday services every week. The emphasis on fellowship has been an important part of the Korean congregations' tradition from the early period of immigration, since they realized it was the most effective way of soothing their hardships and nostalgia. These ethnic churches became not only a place for religious services, but also place for social gatherings with fellow Koreans.

2. Church as an Agent of Mediation between Korea and America: Since the first wave of Korean immigration was initiated by American missionaries, it was no surprise that a large proportion of Christians and their leaders were included in the first wave of Korean immigrants. Since then, Korean communities in the United States had been inextricably interrelated with Korea through the ethnic Protestant churches. Once the Christian leaders arrived in the United States, they not only played a critical role in forming their ethnic community, but also they guided Korean Christian immigrants in Christian instructions, overcoming the vacuum of religious zest they were suffering and the various problems of their plantation camp lives. Immigration to Hawaii thus was considered by American Protestant missionaries and Korean Protestant leaders as an extension of their missionary endeavor. This was the main reason why early American missionaries encouraged Christian converts to emigrate to the United States for better opportunities (Paek 1973; Choy 1979). Giving a helping hand to the plantation owners in Hawaii, Horace N. Allen,

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a famous early American missionary, strongly urged the Korean king to allow his subjects to emigrate to the Hawaiian Islands.

The early American Protestant missionaries maintained a close relationship with American businessmen in both Asian countries and America. When the businessmen needed new laborers, they informed the missionaries stationed in these countries to help them supply laborers. American businessmen and missionaries collaborated to supply cheap laborers. American missionaries in Korea played an intermediary role between American capitalists and Korean laborers. Regardless of their awareness of the seriousness of the influx of American capital and culture, from the beginning of the Protestant missions, Korean Christian leaders were eager to accept them. Through the influence of Western missionaries, Korean Protestant leaders especially became the most Westernized group in Korea. They were also the first group that realized the gap between the pre-modern state of Korean society and the advanced state of Western civilization. Some Protestant leaders accompanied their fellow immigrants to the Hawaiian Islands and led the workers in constructing ethnic churches. Records of early Korean immigration history disclose that Korean religious leaders did not work in the plantation fields, but they instead mostly worked as interpreters, playing the role of intermediary between Korean laborers and plantation owners.

They nevertheless were the only group that was concerned with and devoted to the well-being of Korean plantation workers (Ryu 1988; Choy 1979). Whereas American missionaries bridged the gap between American businessmen and Korean immigrant workers, Korean Protestant leaders mediated between the Korean communities and

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Korea. Although criticized sometimes, Korean Protestant leaders' such roles as spiritual leaders, educators, counselors, psychological supporters, interpreters, and community leaders were strong enough for the new immigrants to seek help with their adjustment problems.

3. Church as a Place for Hope: Although the Korean workers arrived in the Hawaiian Islands with great hope, their lives in the plantation camp differed from what they had heard about. Plantation work was full of hardship, with very low pay. However, they were obligated to work at the sugar plantation fields for their period of contract. Most of the plantation workers worked for ten to eleven hours a day for six days a week (Choy 1979; Ryu 1988). Admitting that no other alternative was available, Korean Christians reaffirmed through their religious beliefs the meaning of their immigration to the Hawaiian Islands. As many religious groups interpreted the harsh situation they encountered as God's providence and took some advantages out of it, Korean Christians began to consider the new land as a new hope and opportunity. Their religious tenets encouraged them to live as Canaanites wherever they lived, and the believers tried to actualize the instructions of their religion through their new lives in the plantation camp. Their hardships and humble lives in the new land thus were not only religiously justified, but considered as a necessary step for their successful settlement. This religious justification of their hardship in the plantation camp was instructive to both the non-Christians and those who believed in no religion as a model of Christian way of life. Suffering from lacking in psychological stability, they gradually accepted the Christian way of life by praying for hope for better life in the future.

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Since the Korean ethnic church was the only place they could meet outside the plantation camps and fields, it naturally attracted the non-Christians and became a place for discussion over their common concerns. All first-wave Korean immigrants were sincerely concerned about the colonial situation of their homeland and the working conditions on the plantation. Their hopeless situation caused them to meet and discuss their impending issues more often. Their ethnic churches were the only place both members and non-members could meet and discuss these matters. The meetings were mostly presided over by the Protestant leaders (Ryu 1988). It was natural for the leaders to call forth hope in sermons and prayers. Although conferring hope is one of the most important function of religious organizations, it was particularly significant for the early Korean immigrants who encountered adversities and hardships. For the early Korean immigrants, one of the most important reasons for joining Protestant ethnic churches was because the churches were presented as a symbol of hope. Conferring hopes, the ethnic churches bound both believers and non-believers together.

4. Church as an Agent of Negotiation against the Host Society and as a Means of Getting Sympathy from the Host Society: Although there were some rudimentary forms of voluntary organizations like clan or regional associations in the early Korean community, they were not efficient enough to help immigrants deal with their impending problems. The lack of community organizations made it harder for community members to deal with other ethnic groups and American society in general. As a collective ethnic organization, the Protestant churches also acted as a negotiating agents whenever the Korean community had to collaborate with larger society. Since Christianity was the most

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powerful mainstream religion in the United States, Christian Koreans enjoyed the benefit of Christian identity and gained sympathy from American society. As an early American Methodist missionary described, Koreans might have voluntarily "fallen into sympathetic hands in Hawaii" (Kim and Patterson 1974: 127).

5. Church as an Agent for Religious and Ethnic Identity: Once Christians became a majority in the Korean community, beginning in the early stages of immigration, they did not hide their religious identity, but rather revealed it as their primary identity. While their racial and ethnic identity suddenly became minor factors in the United States, their Christian identity rather granted them to have an equal identity with the majority of Americans. Christian identity was used by Korean immigrants as a means of achieving equal social status with Americans in general on the one hand, and as means of getting sympathy from mainstream American society on the other throughout their immigration history (Kim and Patterson 1974; Choy 1979). My survey also shows that more Protestants prefer to use their religious identify as their primary identity in American society than Buddhists. While Christians more openly reveal their religious identity, Buddhists reveal their religious identity less often and less overtly than their national or ethnic identity.

Church As Community Center and A Substitute for Social Organization

Throughout Korean immigration history, Christian churches have been not only the center of the Korean community but also a community organization that performed religious and secular social functions for newcomers (Choy 1979; Kim 1981; Hurh and

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Kim 1990; Min 1992a). Providing newcomers with opportunities to meet other Korean immigrants after Sunday services and small group meetings at worshipers' homes, the ethnic churches acquainted newcomers with other religio-ethnic fellows, gave them job-related information, and soothed their homesickness. In this respect, the ethnic churches gave them a helping hand for adjustment and functioned as a "home away from home" for many newcomers (Mol 1970: 259). Illsoo Kim also described that Korean ethnic churches in New York City performed the function of a "pseudo-extended family" (Kim 1981: 199).

The ethnic churches' function as community center and pseudo-social organizations is one of most conspicuous and important functions commonly found among all immigrant congregations. All Korean Christian churches and Buddhist temples that I surveyed celebrated fellowship meetings after Sunday service. All Buddhist congregations and 95.3 percent of Protestant congregations celebrated it over a full lunch service. The lunch fellowship is the Korean ethnic congregation's extra social service activity that has newly been invented in the United States. Back in Korea, churches and temples provide lunch for only staff members and those who participate in extra religious activities, such as choir and Bible studies. Most Korean congregations, both Buddhist and Protestant, hold picnics at least once a year and hold bazaars to raise funds for missionary work. In many respects, for the immigrant believers, their ethnic congregation is the center of their universe. Many members meet each other over services at least more than once a week, pray for themselves and other members' well-being, and discuss the betterment of their church community. The majority of my informants (84%) are not involved in any other

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voluntary social organizations except their churches or temples, although 75 percent of first-generation Koreans appeared to be affiliated with at least one voluntary association, according to the Mangiafico's survey in the late 1980s (Mangiafico 1988). This means that members of the ethnic congregation are more likely to concentrate on their community affairs through their ethnic churches. For the newcomers, the ethnic churches' role of community center and secular social organization has been attractive enough to involve themselves in. Interestingly, my survey also shows that compared to their Buddhist counterparts, Christian groups by and large more actively participate in both religious and social service activities after immigration. This is a major reason why more and more non-Christian immigrants begin to affiliate with Christian congregations.

Ethnic Churches' Educational and Cultural Provision for the Next Generation

Most Korean ethnic churches in the United States run various educational and cultural programs for the children of Korean immigrants. The programs that ethnic churches provide include Korean language, after-school, Korean martial arts, and calligraphy. Since most first-generation immigrants want their children to maintain their Korean identity, not only congregation members, but also non-members enroll their children in the programs. Many non-Christian immigrants are affiliated with their ethnic churches because they are impressed by the church educational programs. Once immigrant children involved in the church programs through friends or classmates, their parents show interest in the programs, and the children also want their parents to attend the same church. Throughout Korean immigration history, Protestants have performed a leading role in

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organizing educational and cultural programs for the younger generation.

According to my survey, the children's programs the Protestant churches provide are much stronger and better organized than those of the Buddhist counterparts. There is a large gap of educational provision between the two religious groups. My survey with eighty-five churches and twenty-nine temples shows that only 17.2 percent of the Buddhist congregations provide Sunday schools, while 75.3 percent of their Protestant counterparts do so. While 95 percent of Protestant congregations run at least one educational program mentioned above, 60 percent of their Buddhist counterparts do so. After Christians became the majority in the Korean community, since the early period of Korean immigration, non-Christians felt some degree of group pressure within the community. Children of non-Christians frequently became acquainted with Christian friends and had an opportunity to become involved in children's programs and religious services at their friends' churches. In this case, most of non-Christian parents allowed their children to continue participating in the church activities, because they did not want their children to lose status with their peers.

Christian Leaders' Devotion to the Ethnic Community

The devotion of religious leaders to congregation members and the Korean community is another important factor that has contributed to the increase of the Christian population among Korean immigrants. Throughout Korean immigration history, Christian leaders have been the only group concerned with their fellow Koreans' well-being seriously, in the vacuum of their own ethnic political or self-help organizations. Buddhist leaders

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began to take care of their fellow Buddhists seven or eight decades after the first wave of Korean immigration arrived in the U.S. It was not a coincidence that non-Christians have gradually been absorbed by Christian groups in the vacuum of their own religious leaders' caring.

Christian leaders have had some advantages in caring for their fellow immigrants. Besides their religious commitment to the betterment of their church members, the Christian leaders have been substituting for the role of community intellectuals who were aware of their fellow immigrants' adjustment problems through frequent contacts and interviews with church members. It was also possible for them to handle their church members' problems, because they maintain a flexible time schedule during weekdays, when most members were busy with work. In addition to their church service on Sunday, the majority of Protestant leaders devote their time to such non-religious services as conjugal and family counseling, children's education counseling, job information and referral, linking (translation) services between individual members and American institutions like government organizations, schools, and hospitals. Many religious leaders perform a pick-up service at airports for new arrivals, to make newcomers members of their own churches. More than 68 percent of Protestant leaders have airport pick-up service experiences involving new arrivals, and more than 72 percent of Buddhist leaders have the same experience, according to my survey. Many newcomers who do not practice religion begin to attend Korean ethnic churches because they are impressed by the pastors' devotion to their congregation. According to Hurh and Kim's survey, approximately 8 percent of Korean church members in Chicago attend church service for

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either "meeting friends and relatives" or "paying the gratitude back to the pastors" (Hurh and Kim 1984: 236).

Religious Leaders' Role as Community Leadership

Not only Protestant pastors' devotion to Korean immigrants' well-being, but also their role as community leaders, significantly contributed to the increase of the Christian population in the Korean community in the United States. Due to Korea's unique historical circumstances following the Japanese colonization and the division of nation, Korean intellectuals, religious leaders, and political exiles have worked together in the U.S. for their mother land. Across each wave of Korean immigration, these leaders have played an important role to form the Korean community as it looks today. Interestingly, most political refugees, intellectuals, and religious leaders who came to the United States when the Korean peninsula was under Japan's control were Protestants (Ryu 1988; Choy 1979). Since their patriotic activities were supported by their ethnic congregations, the churches turned into grass-roots political organizations, not for their ethnic community in the United States, but for independence and the unification of their homeland. Many Protestant intellectuals and political leaders supported by their ethnic congregations became important political leaders in Korea. To name a few, the first president of Korean government after independence (Syngman Rhee) and Education Minister of the first modern-style cabinet in the Chosun Dynasty (Yoon Chi Ho) were out of the early intellectuals who studied in the United States in the early 20th century. Other historical figures such as Park Young Man, Ahn Chang Ho, and Suh Jae Pil, were few of many

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intellectuals and political leaders who led the independence movement in the United States at that time. Collaborating with their Protestant ethnic congregations, all these leaders were deeply involved in formation of the Christian dominant community in the United States.

During the Japanese colonization of their homeland, Korean immigrants raised funds for the independence movement through their ethnic churches (Takaki 1989; Ryu 1988; Choy 1979). Churches became an arena of discussion and activities for independence. Young political leaders were educated in the churches and equipped with Protestant ideologies. Korean ethnic churches performed a similar role and function during the Japanese colonization as African-American churches did during the Civil Rights Movement in the South.[4] Although many Protestant political figures immediately returned to their homeland upon independence, many Protestant intellectuals and religious leaders remained in the United States and played an important role in building their ethnic community.

Numeric Proliferation Caused by Schism

Although it is a negative aspect of the increase in Christian influence in the Korean community, schisms inside ethnic churches also significantly contributed to the proliferation of churches and the numeric increase of church affiliates (Kim 1981; Shin 1989). Competition among ethnic churches over recruitment of new members inspired church leaders to adopt entrepreneurial management techniques. This also expedited the secularization of Korean Protestant churches in the Korean community.

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According to Shin's survey, 81 percent of Korean ethnic churches near Washington D.C. (34 out of 42 cases) are schisms from original churches, and a quarter of the schismatic cases later experienced multiple schism (Shin 1989: 237). According to the same survey, the three most critical reasons for schism were "disagreement on denominational affiliation," "lack of the pastors' administrative capacity," and "internal conflict between lay leaders." The average congregation size at the time of schism was 142, and that of the divided group was 66 (Shin 1989: 239). Interestingly, the churches that have assistant pastors are much more likely to experience schisms, because assistant pastors want to have his or her own church after serving a contracted time. Loose affiliation with denominational authority and independent management and administration of individual churches encourage pastors to found their own church. The majority of Korean Protestant churches that I surveyed (82.3%) maintain loose affiliations with denomination authority and administer themselves independently on matters of personnel and finance. This might be due to a long tradition of congregationalism that the majority of the Korean Protestant churches have maintained since the beginning of its introduction to Korea.

Once a church experiences a schism, the leaders and the congregation members of both the mother church and the splinter group actively engage in recruitment activities to make up their loss. Because of their prevalence and their active participation in recruiting new members in Korean communities, the newly-started churches are specially called "pioneer churches" (*gaechuk gyohoe* in Korean). This competitive situation causes the churches to adopt more and more non-conventional management techniques. The

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adoption of secular accounting methods and a pyramid membership managerial system for recruiting and maintaining more members are common for most Korean Protestant churches. Because of both competition and schism, the numeric increase of churches in the Korean community conceals the true characteristics in numeric size and religiosity of individual churches. According to my survey, the median number of registered members of Korean Protestant churches in the New York metropolitan area is 100 while that of the Buddhist temples is 150, and 75 percent of registered members of the Protestant churches regularly attend Sunday services, while only 33 percent of the Buddhist counterparts do so. These simple data inform that, despite appearances, Koreans are not as devout as they appear to be, and their ethnic congregations are small in their size.

Oversupply of Ethnic Clergy

Oversupply of ethnic clergies also significantly contributed to the increase in the Christian population in both Korea and the Korean community in the United States, because under the influence of congregationalism, each ordained clergy member wants to serve his or her own congregation. Oversupply of ethnic clergies is caused by two factors: first, numerous Korean ethnic seminaries in demand of would-be clergy members and ethnic theologians; second, the generosity of United States immigration law concerning the religion category.

There has been a rising increase in the number of Protestant seminaries both in Korea and in the United States. Some are accredited by other academic institutes, but some are neither accredited nor acknowledged as academic institutes. The denominational diversity

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of Protestantism also significantly contributes to increase the number of seminaries. As other fundamentalist religious groups do, most Korean Protestant denominations establish their own seminaries to produce their leaders. There were 112 Protestant denominations and 26 Buddhist denominations in South Korea in 1990 (Yoon et al. 1994: 225). In 1984, fifteen Protestant seminaries were run by the various Protestant denominations, and 76,621 students were enrolled to the seminaries (Han 1987).

Buddhist leaders are being produced through both traditional monasterial training centers and modernized Buddhist mission schools. It is estimated that the number of Buddhist monastic students is half the number of Christian seminary students. As of 1990, there were 34,407 Protestant churches and 58,288 ordained Protestant pastors in Korea, whereas there were 9,231 Buddhist temples and 25,205 Buddhist leaders (Yoon et al. 1994). Approximately 15,000 Protestant seminary graduates who were trained in fifteen Protestant seminaries look for religious leadership positions in Korea every year. About 40 percent are recruited in religion-related fields in Korea, and others look for either non-religion related jobs or clerical positions available in overseas countries.

The Korean community in the United States has the biggest Korean Christian population besides Korea. During the 1980s, more than 210 Korean ethnic Protestant churches were formed every year in the United States. Clerical positions for the Korean ethnic churches were recruited either by immigrant clergies from South Korea or by United States seminary graduates or the Korean-established seminary graduates in the United States. In the *1999 Korean Church Address Book*, published by The Christian Press, listed sixty Korean theological seminaries in the United States which were run by

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Korean faculties (fourteen in the New York metropolitan area). Over 3,000 Korean students pursue degrees for clerical positions at these Korean seminaries. If students who study at American seminaries are included, their numbers may exceed 4,000. Interestingly, a few American seminaries located in the greater New York metropolitan area, for instance, New York Theological Seminary and Nyack College, run special Korean extension programs to meet the demand of Korean students.

In the case of Korean Buddhists, on the contrary, only two Korean Buddhist educational institutes had been founded in the United States in 1998: one in Washington D.C. and the other in Los Angeles. Both institutes, however, do not have American academic accreditation. The number of people who graduate from these institutes are much fewer than those of their Christian counterparts (fewer than thirty graduates per year).[5] Few of them intend to serve Buddhist congregation, but most take the courses at the institutes for their personal interest in Buddhism.

The second factor that causes an oversupply of Protestant clergies in the Korean community in the United States is the generosity of American immigration law towards ethnic religious leaders and religion-related immigrants. It is well-known by illegal immigrants and those who overstay their visas that their ethnic religious organization is one of the best agencies through which they can apply for the green card. Almost all Korean ethnic churches in the New York metropolitan area surveyed for this research sponsor at least one religion-related green card applicant, either in an ordained clergy position or in another church staff position, such as music director, accompanist, or Sunday School teacher. Some large Korean ethnic churches, Protestant, Buddhist, and

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Catholic alike, sponsor several applicants at a time.

Competitive green card application by ethnic churches sometimes causes unlawful activities such as document counterfeiting, misrepresentation, and perjury. According to an INS investigation, the fraud rate of religious workers is much higher (3%) than that of all other categories (1%). In the 1998 fiscal year, South Korea was issued the largest number of religion-related immigration visas. Out of 6,664 visas issued by the United States government for religious workers, 993 (15%) cases went to South Koreans, 267 (4%) to Asian Indians, 257 (4%) to Mexicans, and 227 (3%) to Poles.[6] Protestants apply for most of the South Korean cases.

Once Protestantism became a popular religion in Korea, the occupational prestige of clergies also rose. In terms of occupational prestige, it once was considered as low as being a peddler when Protestantism was relatively weak, but it is now considered as high as that of college professor in Korea. The popularity of the clergy as an occupation mostly came from the respect of laypeople, occupational stability, a flexible time schedule, and various fringe benefits. Moreover, immigrant clergies not only keep the same profession they did in their homeland, but also they have one of few professional jobs immigrants maintain after their immigration (Kim 1981). What makes them so much attractive is that they mostly work with their own ethnic people, speaking their mother language at work, even after immigration.

In addition to the attractiveness that clerical status confers, many Protestant Korean clergy members who have family responsibilities want to live in the United States because of its benefits. Since the United States has a better educational system, better job

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opportunities, and a better living environment than Korea, it is natural for many Korean clergymen to prefer living in the United States to give their children better opportunities. The Catholic and Buddhist clergies, on the other hand, are free from family obligations. They are less likely to be concerned with their profession's fringe benefits because most of Buddhist priests and all Catholic priests observe celibacy. Catholic and Buddhist clergy members are thus more likely come to the United States for such reasons as personal visit or delegation duty of the denomination they belong to. The family responsibility of the Protestant clergies thus is one of the major factors that contribute increasing the Protestant affiliates in the Korean community in the United States.

In addition to their feeling for family obligation, the Protestant clergies' high level of Americanization also contributes increasing their absolute numbers of Korean Protestants in the Korean communities in the United States. Since they had an opportunity to learn about American life through frequent contact with American missionaries before immigration, they have relatively less problem with adjustment in the United States compared to other immigrants. Their vocation of serving their fellow ethnic members, using their mother tongue, further reduces their adjustment problems. Their relatively convenient working conditions encourages other clergy members to immigrate and serve their ethnic congregations in the United States. By and large, there are two typical routes through which many clergy members come to the United States: chain migration by the invitation of friends and alumni members who are already serving their ethnic congregation, and the overstaying of United States seminary graduates.

In the case of the Korean immigrant community, the increase in the number of clergy

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members directly ensures an increase in the number of lay people, mostly through establishing new churches or splitting old ones. The number of clergy members is thus directly proportionate to the number of churches and number of adherents in the Korean community. This also applies to the Buddhist community. One of the main reasons why there are more Christians in the Korean community throughout the Korean immigration history, despite the similar proportion of the number of believers between the two religious groups in Korea, is the greater availability, in sheer numbers, of Christian clergy members in the Korean community. The increase in the number of Buddhist clergy members is proportionately related to the increase in the number of Buddhists. Korean Buddhists have immigrated to the United States from the beginning of Korean immigration to the United States, but they were not visible until Buddhist leaders began to come to the United States in the early 1970s, when Korean Buddhist leaders became concerned with overseas Korean Buddhists and came to the United States to take care of their fellow Buddhist immigrants. Throughout immigration history, the proportion of Protestant clergy members among the Korean population has been estimated 0.5 percent, while that of Buddhist clergy members 0.025 percent.[7]

Although Shin argues that the major reason for the frequent schism of Korean Protestant churches was discord between lay leaders and clergy members on denominational affiliation, the most critical factor that divided the churches is the number of pastors serving the churches. Secure and stable churches do not have more than one pastor, or, if any, they have female assistant clergy members. The divided cases usually have more than one male assistant pastor who have an equal number of followers as the

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head clergyman. This means that the numeric increase of clergy engenders a competitive situation in the ethnic community. Competition among the clergy members then not only increases a possibility of schism in ethnic churches, but also more likely makes them run their churches as business organizations to recruit more members. The numeric increase of the Protestant clergy members therefore is the primary factor to increasing of the Protestant population in the Korean community. And the increase in ethnic religious leaders is in part supported by the generosity of U.S. immigration law towards ethnic religious leaders and religion-related workers.

Notes

1. Studies of Korean immigrants' religious activities and the functions of the ethnic churches so far have adapted a vague term about religiosity. Although many studies (Kim 1981; Dearman 1982; Hurh and Kim 1984, 1990; Min 1992a) have argued that Korean immigrants might have the highest level of church attendance (75%), it does not mean that Korean immigrants are more religious than other immigrants. Koreans' high level of church attendance after immigration is closely associated with Korean churches' social functions performed in the community. As we will see in following chapters, the religiosity of Korean immigrants is not so high. Approximately 40 percent of registered church members are reckoned to be sincere Christians who follow the important religious instructions and who sincerely practice its rituals and tenets. Hurh and Kim's usage of the term "church affiliate" includes both sincere, baptized believers and non-baptized ones who attend Sunday services for social reasons.

2. Korean Buddhists are much fewer in number in the United States compared to their Christian counterparts. The Buddhists who keep practicing their religion, however, seem more strongly to identify themselves as Buddhist than their Christian counterparts. Those Buddhists who revealed their religious identity for the survey might thus be the people who strongly believe in their religious doctrines and practice it much more sincerely. Only few devout Buddhists have remained, and the rest were absorbed by Christian churches. This is the reason why I prefer to use the term "identify" for the Buddhist case instead of "affiliate," which is more proper term for the case of Christian.

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3. Those of North Korea origin among Korean immigrants apply for United States citizenship more eagerly because not only the United States citizenship guarantees them to visit their home town in North Korea with ease but also they do not have any material property remaining in their homeland. On the contrary many of South Korea origin still have property and strong kinship ties in the South. Moreover, once they decide to become United States citizens they have to sell all their property in Korea, because South Korean government has strictly regulated the property owned by foreigners. Recently, however, the government of South Korea renewed the regulation of foreigners' property and allowed them to have their property in South Korea. Many Korean immigrants in the United States are deterred from applying for the United States citizenship because they are afraid of losing their property in their homeland. Furthermore, the South Korean government plans to amend the regulations regarding the status of ethnic Koreans who obtain foreign citizenship. The new law aims at guaranteeing all ethnic Koreans who live overseas to have the same constitutional rights as Korean citizens in South Korea. If the new law is passed in the near future, 5.2 million overseas ethnic Koreans will be allowed to have equal rights with the Korean citizens in the Korean territories.

4. The role and function of African-American churches for the Civil Rights movement are well described in Aldon D. Morris's monograph, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The Free Press, 1984).

5. *Modern Buddhism.* Vol. 102. December 1998.

6. *Hankook Ilbo* (*The Korea Times*), April 21, 1999.

7. These figures are drawn by calculating the proportion of the estimated number of the clergies of the two religious groups (4,000 Protestant clergies and 200 Buddhist clergies) to the estimated Korean population in the United States in 1999 (800,000). The estimated number of clergy members of the two religious groups are drawn from the number of ethnic congregations of each religious group in the United States (3,225 Protestant churches and 100 Buddhist temples). The number of Korean Protestant churches is calculated by referring to *99 Jun Miju Hanin Kyohoe Jusorok (99 Korean Church Address Book)*, which is published by the Christian Press (Miju Christian Sinmun). The number of Korean Buddhist temples is calculated by referring to the Korean temple list that appears in *Modern Buddhism* (*Miju Hyundae Bulkyo*), No. 102, December 1998.

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Chapter 5. Buddhist Temple and Protestant Church: A Comparison of Formation of Congregation, Service, and Ritual

While the four vans of the Grace Korean Presbyterian Church (Grace Church hereafter) are preparing pick up church members from all over Queens County and Long Island at 9:30 AM Sunday morning, about forty-five church members, most of whom serve as Sunday school teachers, are already attending the first session of Sunday service in the main worship hall. At the same time, on Kissena Boulevard, near one of the Queens branches of New York Public Library in downtown Flushing, and on 32nd Street near Broadway in Manhattan, two large rented yellow school buses are waiting for members of the Korean Buddhist Wonkaksa (Wonkaksa hereafter), located in Orange County, upstate New York, eighty miles from New York City.

While the members of Wonkaksa are heading to their temple, the three priests are busy preparing for Sunday service. They get up 4:00 AM everyday, take showers, dress in robes and stoles, and go to the worship hall for routine morning rituals in front of golden Buddha images -- chanting, praying, and meditating. Although they begin with the same routine rituals everyday, they do these in a more energetic manner on Sunday because they are excited about meeting their fellow Buddhists from the city over a feast-like lunch and hearing about their immigrant's life after services.

Both the head pastor and the two assistant pastors of Grace Church share the same duties on Sunday. They lead the dawn prayer meeting at 5:45 AM, the first session service at 9:00 AM, the second session at 11:00 AM, and the praise music service at 2:30

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PM. Sunday is the busiest day of the week for both the Buddhist priests and the Protestant pastors.

When the four church vans arrive full of Grace Church members near 11:00 o'clock Sunday morning, the church parking lot, which accommodates 110 cars, are already full. Leaving the church vans and their own cars, the members, in nice, clean suits and black-leather-covered Bibles in their hands, rush into the main service hall. When the rented school buses arrive at Wonkaksa near 11:40 AM, the temple parking lot, which accommodates fifty cars, is filled with less than five cars. Getting off the buses, the members, mostly female senior members, in clean but casual suits with no Buddhist scriptures in their hands, walk toward service hall slowly and quietly, paying their respects to the priests and the image of Buddha. A few members who arrive in their own cars, before the rented school buses, park near the service hall building. Only a few lay leaders dress up nicely in suits, but most temple members wear casual suits for the sake of convenience during the service. Different from Grace Church members, who sit on pews during the service, many Wonkaksa members sit on cushions on carpeted floors during the service, although folding chairs are provided. Since most devout Buddhists prefer sitting on the floor with crossed legs and they have to prostrate themselves during the service, they wear specially-designed suits which resembles the Buddhist priests' robe in color and shape, or just casual suits.

As shown in the manner of the two religious groups' commuting to their places of worship, the Protestant groups are more distinctive and visible, while the Buddhists are banal and indiscernible. This is one of the reasons why the Korean readers frequently

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encounter Korean Protestant church vans on the streets in Queens County, where almost half (47%) of the Korean Protestant churches in the New York and New Jersey metropolitan area are concentrated. Interestingly, none of the Korean Buddhist temples operates their own temple vans to help their members' commuting. The members of the Korean temples either use their own cars or get rides from other members. Only few remotely located Korean temples rent American run school buses to help their members' commute. The differences in their commuting methods and appearances in the site of their services are indicative of the differences in beliefs and behavior of the two immigrant religious groups. Before we examine the main topics of this thesis in future chapters, such as differences in social, economic, political, and cultural aspects of believers' lives after immigration, a general description on various congregational activities, the formation of congregations, and the rituals of the two religious groups will show how religious beliefs are associated with non-religious behavior in believers' everyday lives.

The Buddhist Temple

General Features

The Korean Buddhist immigrant temple Wonkaksa is located in Salisberry Mills, near the town of Nonroe in Orange County, upstate New York. It takes a one-and-a-half-hour drive by highway to get to the temple (78 miles) from New York City. The official name of the temple is "The Korean Buddhist Wonkaksa Temple." The temple buildings are part of a religious facility complex that consists of a retreat center, recreation center, and sport

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facilities. The complex occupies 248 acres. It includes thirty summer camp houses, two residential houses and offices, recreation bungalows, nine tennis courts, four basketball courts, three baseball fields, five volleyball courts, two football fields, one soccer field, and a pond three acres wide. The complex had been used as summer retreat facilities by Jewish-Americans for forty years before Wonkaksa moved in August 1986, purchasing the complex at 1.5 million dollars. The indoor basketball building was renovated into the main worshiping hall. Beside the main worshiping hall building, only two residential houses and one soccer field are currently being used, leaving all other facilities dormant. The soccer field is not being used by the congregation members, but by a neighborhood children's soccer teem. Renting the soccer field to the neighbors is the only interaction with the community Wonkaksa maintains.

Although the temple is located in Orange County, most of the Sunday service participants reside in the New York and New Jersey metropolitan area. Not many ethnic Koreans reside in the county where the temple is located. According to the 1990 census, only 630 Korean immigrants and their descendants live in Orange County.[1] Wonkaksa is located far from its members' homes to enjoy the greater space, to have room for building a traditional Korean-style temple building there in the future, and to participate in a ritual that reminds them of Korean Buddhist culture. Traditionally, partly due to persecutions under Confucian regimes up until the turn of the 20th century, and partly due to a preference for serene places for spiritual training, avoiding secular environments, the majority of Buddhist temples in Korea are located in non-residential mountainous areas. Building a Buddhist temple in residential area is considered to be less effective and not

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conducive to the believers' spiritual discipline.

Two large rented school buses pick up the members and visitors at four different places in the New York and New Jersey metropolitan areas: downtown Flushing, Elmhurst, midtown Manhattan, Palisades Park, and Fort Lee. Interestingly, the bus drivers are not ethnic Koreans, nor temple members. They are hired by the bus company. Only an official business relationship exists between the riders (temple members) and the drivers. Approximately twenty to thirty people, mostly elderly female members, take the buses. By riding the buses, not only do they enjoy escaping the city, but memories of traveling to the temple home town in Korea. Simulating past experiences and escaping from the secular city spiritual rebirth are the two main motivations that the worshipers have when they go to the temple on Sunday. Like other religious immigrant groups, the Buddhist immigrants prefer to practice their religion in a similar way and environment as they did in their homeland before their immigration.

Because the majority of Buddhists do not go to their temple regularly, the number of Sunday service participants varies every week. It depends on the degree of significance of their religious holidays. Interestingly, the Buddhist religious holidays marked on their religious calendar are almost identical to the traditional lunar calendar that farmers and fishermen still use for their everyday work in Korea. On some religiously significant days, all of which follow the lunar calendar, the number of Sunday service participants more than quadruple, and sometimes there appear more than ten times as many as the usual number of Sunday service participants, which is thirty-five to fifty. This feature of Wonkaksa is a great contrast to that of Grace Church, which shows a very steady number

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of Sunday participants all year round, approximately 250 to 300.

The days when the temple has more than usual number of participants are Buddha's birthday (April 8th in lunar calendar, which approximately falls somewhere in mid-May in the solar calendar), the day the temple was established (August 15, coinciding with Korean Independence Day), the last and first days of the lunar calendar year, and many traditional Korean folk holidays, like Ipchoon (the first day of spring), Jung Wal Borum (the first full moon of the year), Baek Joong (mid-summer), Dong Ji (mid-winter: "the winter solstice"), Dano (late spring: "the oat harvest"), and Choosuk (mid-fall: "Korean harvest day").[2] Except Baek Joong and Buddha's birthday, which are originally Buddhist religious holidays, each of the special days listed above coincided with Korean folk holidays. All of these holidays also are closely related with important designated periods for rice cultivation in China and Korea. This shows that Korean Buddhism is very much rooted to the traditional Korean folkways and Korea's natural environment. On all of these religious holidays, Wonkaksa observes a special feast after the service.

Wonkaksa is affiliated with the Chogye denomination of Korean Buddhism, which is the most conservative in its religio-social stance and the largest in its numeric affiliation. Although the temple is affiliated with the Chogye denomination, the denomination's higher authority in Korea maintains no formal relationship with Wonkaksa. The financial management and temple personnel are entirely independent from the denominational supervision. Only some informal interactions are exchanged between the denominational authority and Wonkaksa. The priests of the temple sometimes visits the denomination headquarters, and the denominational authority sometimes distributes information

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regarding the denomination's yearly plans and asks some questions about the size and organizational structure of overseas temples. The Chogye denomination in particular, and Korean Buddhism in general, do not maintain the parochial type of networking system, except Won Buddhism, which is a thoroughly renovated home-grown denomination of Korean Buddhism. In its organizational formation, Wonkaksa much resembles congregationalism. All individual temples, both overseas and domestic, however, maintain a strong sense of psychological attachment to the denominational headquarters, even though individual temples do not maintain any hierarchical order or receive any financial support. All individual temples, however, maintain the same doctrines, rituals, and regulations that the denominational authority determines. As long as all individual temples share the same doctrines, rituals, and regulations, all Chogye-affiliated temples maintain a feeling of in-group solidarity, which in turn endows them with a shared identity. Not only the Buddhist temples in Korea, but also the Korean Buddhist temples in the United States thus maintain the same organizational characteristics: independent individually, but sharing doctrines, rituals, and regulations.

Although the priests serving the temple change constantly, a few male priests reside in the temple complex at all times. The number of priests residing in the temple complex changes frequently, depending on their personal schedules and plans, not depending on the number of people who register the temple. It ranges from three to seven.

As reflecting general Korean culture, the Wonkaksa monastic community also maintains a strict age and authority hierarchy. The founder of Wonkaksa, who is also the eldest among the priests, receives the highest respect from both lay members and other

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priests. Another criterion for their hierarchy is the length of priesthood, which is also generally parallel with overall age among the priests. The founder priest is treated with the highest respect and awe. Although there is a decision-making organization called *isahoe* which consists of all priests and selected lay leaders, the founder priest's orders, if given, are executed without exception. He is considered true Buddhist priest who has mastered not only Buddhist doctrines, but also the administration of temple. The founder priest thus symbolically wields the highest monastic authority in the temple. He lives in a relatively more luxurious single-family house located in a more comfortable place 400 yards away from the main service hall. He lives with two helpers, one young male priest in his early 30s and one middle-aged female helper.

The two helpers assist him with various tasks, attending to intellectual, physical, and various home chores, respectively. The female worker hired in full-time basis by the congregation takes care of meals and home chores. She works as a female servant for the monastic part of work in the temple complex. Another middle-aged female part-time worker takes care the lunch fellowship meals after Sunday service. Due to an intensive labor requirement to prepare for the lunch fellowship, few female members give a helping hand, taking turns every week.

Ranking in the power between the founder priest and younger priests, a middle-aged priest has the actual authority of running the temple. This position is specially titled, *juji,* which connotes the principal of the temple. In the case of Wonkaksa, while the founder priest is considered a symbolic authority figure, *juji* is the actual executive officer of the temple. Unfortunately, Wonkaksa had left the *juji* position vacant when I observed the

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temple. Although the priest who had taken on the position had passed away two years ago, the decision-making organization (*isahoe*) of the congregation had not replace him for the position yet.[3]

In terms of the size of registered members, Wonkaksa is the largest Korean ethnic temple in the East Coast region. Eight hundred members are currently registered, but the number of registered members of the temple once exceeded 1,200. Surprisingly, only one-twentieth of the registered members attend Sunday services on average. Out of forty-to-fifty regular attendees, 80 percent are female, and approximately 70 percent are also over fifty while another 20 percent are over thirty. Youthful members under twenty and young second-generation children are hardly to be found. Age and gender compositions are the most strikingly different features between Wonkaksa and Grace Church. Contrary to Wonkaksa, Grace Church maintains an almost equal gender composition, and more than 20 percent of all congregation members are under twenty.

The frequency of religious activities practiced by Wonkaksa is also fewer than that of Grace Church, which practices more than five religious activities per week: three Sunday services per week, dawn prayer meeting everyday, Wednesday evening service, Friday prayer meeting, and two Bible study sessions per week. Wonkaksa holds religious activities much less frequently, and the number of participants is much less than their Protestant counterparts. Although the temple gate and the main service hall are always open to both the members and non-members, few lay members drop by the temple and participate in the temple's religious activities. Some Korean temples located near the metropolitan area surely have more visitors and participants, but their number is much

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less compared to their Protestant counterparts. Currently, Wonkaksa holds only two religious activities a week: a dawn prayer service and a regular Sunday service. Because of the temple's distant location, only the priests and a few overnight visitors participate in dawn prayer. A special prayer plan is organized by priests and lay members together during some symbolically important periods. For instance, before the Buddha's birthday, a special prayer is organized and lasts for fifty, or a hundred, or sometimes one thousand days. During this period, designated priests and lay members intensively pray at a specified time and place. Grace Church also has planned prayers, but they are less often practiced and less emphasized than Wonkaksa. Beside planned prayers, Wonkaksa puts more emphasis on inviting guest preachers, seminars on Buddhist scripture, and retreat services.

A few times a year, the Korean Buddhist temples in New York organize large preaching services by inviting a few famous Buddhist leaders from Korea. For the services, they rent big auditoriums at New York City colleges or universities. Hundreds of Korean Buddhists participate in these special preaching services, and the participants are recruited from all Korean Buddhist temples regardless of their denominational differences.

Another interesting characteristic of the Wonkaksa members is their double or triple membership enrollments at a few different temples. Not every Korean Buddhist does have double membership, but different from their Protestant counterparts, quite a few Korean Buddhists do have more than one congregational membership and participate in Sunday services in various temples in turn every week. Some do this for their own

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convenience, and some do this hoping for more supplicational results. Two social factors, both positive and negative to the growth of the Korean Buddhist congregations, are meaningfully related with their maintenance of double or triple membership. The first, which is positive, is that Korean Buddhists maintain a higher degree of inclusiveness toward other Korean Buddhists and non-Buddhists than their Protestant counterparts, who emphasize strong in-group solidarity and exclusiveness toward other church members and non-Protestant groups. The second, which is negative, is that Korean Buddhist congregations' number of registered members does not represent the actual number because of their double membership. Because the membership list of each temple overlaps, the actual number of registered Buddhists in the Korean Buddhist congregations is usually overstated.

Another interesting aspect concerning Wonkaksa members is their attitude towards participation in service. While only one-twentieth of the registered members of Wonkaksa attend Sunday service regularly, more than three-fourths of the registered members of Grace Church do so. Approximately one half of Sunday service attendees at Wonkaksa also do not participate in services regularly. This huge gap between the number of registered members and that of actual participants at Wonkaksa is due to the Buddhists' belief that they do not have to go to temple regularly. The majority of Korean Buddhists believe they can go to their temple whenever they think it is meaningful and important for themselves. They feel it is all right with them, as long as Buddha is in their mind. This attitudes and beliefs of Buddhists definitely reduce their level of overall religiosity and dilutes their religious identity. The majority of Buddhists also argue that

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religious service participation should not be an obligation of believers, but a voluntary activity. This belief of Buddhists quite significantly affects their religious service participation rate. My survey with Buddhists also reveals that less than 10 percent of them say they have to go to their temple every Sunday.

Wonkaksa is governed by the board of temple leaders (a decision-making body called an *isahoe*), which consists of both all priests and some selected lay leaders. The *isahoe* of Wonkaksa is functionally equivalent to the board of lay (elder) and religious leaders (pastor) of Grace Church, which is called a *danghoe*. The Wonkaksa board of leaders runs like an *ad hoc* committee. It holds a meeting whenever the temple has to make an important decision. The Grace Church board is run more strictly and meets regularly.

The role of chair of the board is different between the two congregations. The Chair of the board of Wonkaksa is officially given to the head priest, but the actual power of the board now lies with the head of the lay leaders; the head priest of Wonkaksa is suffering from stroke, and only has symbolic reverence now. Also, since many Buddhist leaders sojourn in the United States to study and serve the congregation on a temporary basis, it is not a coincidence that lay leaders wield more power than their religious leaders. Literally, all the board members have equal power at Wonkaksa, but the lay leaders who make the biggest financial contribution to the temple not only have stronger voices, but also receive more attention in the board meetings. The numeric ratio of religious leaders to lay leaders who participate in the board meetings is three to eight. Because the lay leaders have an equal or higher level of power over the priests in the temple, the decision-making process is often lead by the lay leaders and causes an unexpected problem that

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hampers the development of temple -- the potential cleavage along the power lines of lay leaders. As an example, one priest who used to serve at Wonkaksa for several years founded a temple in a suburban area of New York City. One lay leader of Wonkaksa who was not content with other board members and priests gave financial support to found a new temple, and many members of Wonkaksa switched to the new temple, which is very conveniently located near the city and has less trouble among the temple leaders.

The power imbalance among the leaders and the Buddhists' relatively weaker conception of a supernatural god sometimes make the congregation much less of a religious organization. For instance, not only Wonkaksa members, but also other Buddhists, do not maintain a clear demarcation line between the sacred and the secular. They sometimes seem to believe the popular Buddhist proverb that says, "The sacred and the secular is not two different entities but one. It depends how a believer thinks of it."[4] Buddhists also believe that their religious doctrine is nothing but a tool by which they can achieve their worldly interests, keeping another famous Buddhist proverb in mind: "We need boat only to cross the river. We need not to carry it once we crossed the river." Different from their Protestant counterparts, the Buddhist temples I observed use their worship hall for both secular and sacred purposes. They perform their worship services in the hall, and in the same place they enjoy feasting, folk dances, and folk songs when they have festivals. The Protestant Korean churches, however, clearly demarcate the sacred places for worship from places for secular actions such as eating, dancing, and singing.

The role of head pastor of Grace Church is powerful enough to influence the final decision of various important matters although he is not entirely free from lay leaders'

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influence. Although all agendas are discussed openly with other board members, there is an atmosphere that the opinion of head pastor is more respected. Whenever the head pastor offers an agenda which he deems important at a board meeting, board members mostly do not turn him down. The actual power of the board of Grace Church is focused on the head pastor position, although the numeric ratio of religious leaders to lay leaders is much smaller (three to seventeen) than that of Wonkaksa. One of the important reasons that church authority goes to the head pastor is that the majority of the Protestant church members think their pastor substitutes for the authority of God within their church. The majority of Buddhists, however, think that not only their priests, but also themselves, can achieve the authority of Buddha in the future, as long as they discipline themselves enough to achieve Buddhahood in their religious beliefs. For the Buddhists, their ultimate religious goal is to achieve Buddhahood through religious training. For Christians, however, their ultimate religious goal is to achieve salvation through the grace of God. For this reason, Buddhists are individualistically oriented to their object of worship, while the Protestants are collectively-oriented. Recognizing individual particularity, Buddhists also show multilateral approach to their salvation, while the Protestants do not accept diverse approaches for salvation. Protestants believe they can achieve religious salvation only through the grace of God. Protestants thus believe that it is a God-given present under their God's consideration. Buddhists, however, believe that salvation itself is an obscure concept, because simply there is no such thing in Buddhism; but, if it does exist, it is not given by Buddha, but achieved by themselves through their self-discipline, modeling themselves after Buddha. Theoretically speaking, for Buddhists Buddha is not

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god but symbolically important object of their worship. Buddhist priests do not substitute for the role of Buddha. Lay Buddhists differentiate priests from themselves for one reason; they fully devote their lives to their religious training only, while the lay people engage in both worldly livelihood and religious training. Buddhist priests are therefore more revered by lay members only in relation to their religious sphere of activities. Protestant pastors, however, receive generally high level of reverence from lay members in relation to both religious and non-religious spheres of activities.

Congregational Structure and Activities

Different from their Protestant counterparts, which have as many lay member's associations as the number of age cohort groups, Wonkaksa has only one lay association, called a *shindohoe*. It is organized by the lay members who maintain a close relationship with each other and actively participate in temple activities. The head of lay leaders also takes on the positions of the head of lay association and the head of board of leaders. Although all the lay associations of Grace Church are autonomously run by members, they are under the guidance of the head pastor. The lay association of Wonkaksa, however, is run independently from both the board of temple leaders and from the head priest. The organizational structure of Wonkaksa is simpler than that of Grace Church, but its function is dispersed rather than focused as it is in Grace Church. The dissemination of organizational structure more efficiently checks any part's monopolization of power, but in terms of efficiency, it slows momentum and sometimes hampers the effective operation of temple organization and unity of the congregation.

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Wonkaksa manages members' offerings quite differently from Grace Church. Wonkaksa members make regular offerings every week and special offerings on special Buddhist holidays. On Buddha's birthday, virtually all temple members make special offerings, renewing their religious supplications. About a month in advance of the holiday, the temple official begins to collect special offerings from the members. Collecting the offerings, the temple official sells red lotus lamps with name tags to be hung on the ceiling of the worship hall, filled with the names and addresses of members and their whole family. This is a symbolic ritual for Buddhists who want to make their supplications all year around. Some members hang white lotus lamps for their deceased ancestors and red lamps for themselves and families. Beside this special offering on Buddha's birthday, other seasonal offerings, ancestor worship (*chesa*) offerings, personal gratitude offerings, and every week's regular offering are given in accordance with their degree of religiosity and gratitude. Usually on their birthday, some members donate money as part of their special offerings for the lunch fellowship. Grace Church provides for the lunch fellowship from the church budget, but smaller churches depend on member donations as well. Some Protestant churches post lists of lunch fellowship donors' names on the information board. The list is provided in the early part of each year. Church and temple members prefer to donate lunch fellowship money on their birthday or that of their family members. Each week's donor receives special attention from all congregation members and a special benediction from the preacher of the week.

Different from Grace Church, Wonkaksa does not circulate collection baskets for offerings. Instead the Wonkaksa members put their offering money in the wooden jar

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placed in front of the service hall before worship service begins. Putting their money into the jar individually, the members prostrate themselves before the altar in the front center of the worship hall, where the image of Buddha is located. The temple officials collect the money and list the amount of each individual's offering in the temple accounting book every week. The amount of individual offerings and the total amount of the weekly offering, however, are not announced to lay members, but to a few important leaders. Interestingly, Wonkaksa members show no interest how much is collected in offerings and for what purposes the offering money are spent. While Grace Church discusses openly its budgetary plan and yearly expenditures with all baptized members, Wonkaksa does not share information about temple's budget and expenditures with ordinary members. Only the members of the *isahoe*, board of leaders, are reported by the temple official. Wonkaksa does not even tell its members about its weekly service schedule, through which some important announcements are disclosed, including the amount of offerings collected in the previous week.

Grace Church, however, announces all detailed church information, including some members' traveling schedules, changes of address, worship service schedules, Bible study schedules, dawn prayer meetings, Wednesday services, the weekly or monthly plans of each sub-group association, and the amount of every week's offering. The amounts of individual offerings are listed and recorded in the church accounting book by a church official, but are not publicized. The sum total of each type of offering (such as tithes, celebration offerings for events like birthdays and graduations, and gratitude offerings) are always listed on the weekly service schedule. Grace Church also collects special

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offerings on religiously important holidays such as Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's Day. Every three months Grace Church holds regular board meetings where elders and pastors participate and board members audit the budget and revenue expenditures. The annual budgetary and expenditure plan is discussed by the board members first and approved by all members of the church, in a meeting called a *kongdong euhoe*. Buddhist do not hold such a large meeting, in which all members participate in discussion and approve of the budget and expenditures. The *isahoe* of Wonkaksa is the only meeting that discusses and approves the temple's budget and expenditures.

The relationship between lay members and Wonkaksa priests has become less favorable. Different from the most cases of Buddhist temples in Korea, Wonkaksa lay leaders are deeply involved in financial matters and the general management of temple, which are considered to be one of the most important responsibilities of the priests in Korea. Wielding the power of financial and general management of the temple, the priest responsible for these matters (usually called "*jujisunim*" in Korean) are able to control lay leaders and members. It is, however, practically impossible for the priests of Korean temples in the United States to wield the power they did in Korea, because of the equal status between priests and lay leaders in the United States, as we have seen previously. This might be one of significant intricacies that the immigrant temples encounter in Korean communities in the United States.

Buddhist temples in Korea, by and large, maintain three distinctive managerial lines, which are quite exclusively divided; financial, regulative, and scriptural spheres of the monastic community. Each line of management is handled by different group of priests.

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Immigrant temples in the United States cannot be managed as in Korea, because of their small size and the scanty number of Buddhist priests and lay members. Wonkaksa encounters the same problems. The lay leaders have equally strong voices with the priests on the decision-making for temple management. It is hard to minimize the lay leaders' involvement, due to their significant financial contributions. Furthermore, not only does the temple lack talented priests, but also the temple is not big enough to be sub-divided into a few managerial units.

Another problem Wonkaksa is encountering is the difficulties in maintaining Korean-style relationships between lay members and priests. Most Buddhist priests who are accustomed to Korean-style relationships between lay members and religious leaders would not accept the Americanized lay members' treatment. In Korea, Buddhist lay members pay almost unconditional respect to their priests. Americanized lay members, however, do not pay as much respect as lay people in Korea do to their priests. Lack of respect between religious leaders and lay people and lack of efficiency in managing the temple are the two main causes of frequent quarrels between lay people and priests in Wonkaksa.

A Short History of the Temple

Wonkaksa was first organized by a few female Korean Buddhist immigrants who lived in New York City in the late 1960s. Three female Buddhists (Kwon Sung Do Shim, Lee Myung Shim Hang, and Kim Bo Myung Wha) in their fifties and sixties regularly met and informally practiced Buddhist rituals at the house of one of the three, located in

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Elmhurst, Queens, in New York City. While they regularly met for their religious practice, they informally named their meeting place Wonkaksa after a popular Korean temple, nurturing their dream of building their own Korean Buddhist temple in New York City. Their dream came true in 1971, when about one hundred Korean Buddhists opened a Buddhist temple at a rented apartment building located near the Manhattan Central Post Office on 34th Street.[5] The temple's religious activities and social functions for its members, however, were not active enough to recruit more ethnic Buddhists, largely because it lacked religious leadership which is one of the most important elements in temple organization. Unfortunately, Wonkaksa could not invite their own priest to lead members' religious activities because few Korean Buddhist priests at that time came to the United States with a group of their own fellow Buddhist immigrants. This is a major reason why the Korean Buddhist immigrant congregations have started later in the United States than their Protestant counterparts. Protestant leaders come to the United States with their ethnic immigrants since the beginning of Korean immigration to the United States (1902) while Buddhists have only begun to accompany their fellow immigrants since the late 1960s.

Only after a few Korean Buddhist priests came to New York City did early Korean Buddhist immigrants begin to establish their temples. A Korean Buddhist priest, Soong Sahn, was only person who attempted to introduce Korean Buddhism to the American public when the third wave of mass Korean immigrants was about to surge into the United States. He came to the United States through Japan in 1962, when few Korean immigrants lived in the United States. He is possibly one of the few early Korean

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Buddhist priests to introduce Korean Buddhism to America. As soon as he arrived in the United States, he established small Buddhist meditation centers ("zen" in Japanese, "sun" in Korean, and "chan" in Chinese) in Boston, Massachusetts, and Providence, Rhode Island.[6] Priest Soong Sahn was invited to celebrate the opening ceremony for the Manhattan Wonkaksa in 1971. Priest Soong Sahn, however, could not take care of the congregation, because he was busy with other meditation centers in Boston and Providence. A lack of Buddhist leaders left Wonkaksa dormant until the Korean Buddhist priest, Bopan Oh, who came to the United States to study at the World Religion Center at Harvard in April, 1974, became involve in reorganizing Wonkaksa. Priest Oh's visit to the Korean Buddhist community in New York was a welcome surprise for Korean Buddhist immigrants.

On his way to Boston, he briefly stopped in New York City to visit alumni of his seminary at a Korean restaurant. When some female lay Buddhists happened to see priest Oh at the restaurant, they expressed their respect in the Buddhist way, with deep prostration and clasped hands, and directly urged him: "We need to build our own temple here in New York. Please do not neglect our hope and anticipation. There are more than thirty Korean Christian churches in New York now, but no Buddhist temple yet."[7] When priest Oh decided to come to the United States, he never planned to establish a Buddhist temple, so he was hesitant to give them a positive response at first. The lay Buddhists would not give up their hopes of building their own ethnic temple and also said they wanted to celebrate Buddha's birthday ceremony of the year with at least one Korean Buddhist leader. Priest Oh accepted their offer and told them to prepare for the ceremony.

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For convenience, the lay members and priest Oh held the ceremony at the house of one of the three female Buddhist believers, located in Flushing, Queens. More than three hundred Korean Buddhists participated in the ceremony. Priest Oh was impressed by the number of Korean Buddhists who appeared for the ceremony. Reading the mind of the lay Buddhists, he decided to build a Korean Buddhist temple in New York City.

Priest Soong Sahn and priest Oh decided to invite priest Yun Gak, who served at a Korean temple in Tokyo (Hongbupwon). As soon as priest Yun Gak arrived in New York City, priest Oh left for Boston to study. Priests Soong Sahn and Yun Gak relocated Wonkaksa to 20th Street in Manhattan and registered with the state authorities as a religious organization on August 15, 1974. It was the first Korean ethnic Buddhist temple established in the Korean immigrant community in the New York metropolitan area. Priest Soong Sahn served as a first head priest for Wonkaksa for two years. At the request of the temple lay members priest Oh came and preached once in a month and was involved in reorganizing the temple. Meanwhile, mostly because of the lack of Korean Buddhist priests in the Korean community, priest Soong Sahn left to care for the new meditation centers newly opened in various locations in the United States (Chicago, Providence, and Los Angeles), and priest Oh took charge of Wonkaksa in 1976.

Priest Oh was anxious of building Korean-style Buddhist temple in New York City. The first thing he planned for the congregation was to provide them with their own temple building -- "*doryang*" in Korean, which means a proper place for religious discipline. Mostly using his talent in calligraphy, he raised $70,000 in two years after beginning his service for the temple in 1976. With that money, the congregation members

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and priest Oh purchased a mansion located in Jackson Heights, Queens in 1978. First priority was given to the Jackson Heights mansion because it was conveniently located for both the elderly and for non-drivers to visit. Wonkaksa stayed there for three years, moving again briefly to downtown Manhattan on 17th Street in 1982. Wonkaksa purchased three stories out of a six-story building in Manhattan, for a half million dollars. Wonkaksa flourished day-by-day after it moved to Manhattan. More than 1,000 Korean Buddhists registered as members, and 170 people regularly attended Sunday services. Mainly because of lack of space and priest Oh's ambitious plan for establishing a traditional-type Korean Buddhist monastic center in the future, Wonkaksa moved again to its current location, Salisbury Mills in Orange County, upstate New York, after four years in downtown Manhattan. Wonkaksa began to thrive when the number of the third-wave Korean immigrants reached its peak in the mid-1980s.

After moving to its current place, Wonkaksa grew for a few years. A few assistant priests were hired and assigned to take care of lay associations and various official works. Wonkaksa then finally looked like a Korean Buddhist monastic community on an away-from-home basis, although none of the buildings in the complex looks like traditional Korean-style temple yet. The congregation's religious activities also grew more actively. Priest Oh has taught calligraphy art once a week since 1979 and has lead the Buddhist scripture study twice every week since 1978. Popular guest preachers were invited almost once a month. The monthly newsletter of the temple, *Wonkak*, has been published since May 1986. Some subgroups of lay associations which were organized for both friendship purposes and proselytization, such as youth group associations and men's and women's

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associations, were organized by the congregation members themselves. The number of registered members reached 1,200 by 1988. Including some weekday visitors, an average of 170 members participated in services weekly until the mid-1990s.

Priest Oh not only was interested in replicating traditional Korean Buddhism in the United States for Korean immigrants, but also he was interested in transplanting it in American society. Once he obtained an M.A. degree from New York University in 1978, he instructed a group of students in a Buddhist meditation course at the New School in Manhattan until 1986. He received his Ph.D. from New York University in 1988. His energetic activities in both religious and academic pursuits paved the way of introducing Korean Buddhism to Americans in the East Coast. While initiating further Buddhist evangelical activities in the New York metropolitan area, he was felled by a stroke in March 1988. Now he stays in one of residential houses in Wonkaksa complex.

Despite priest Oh's unexpected stroke, Wonkaksa kept growing numerically until 1996. A few assistant priests came and went during the temple's hard times. A new priest, Hye Kwan, finally began to take care of the temple beginning in October 1994. During the period of his service Wonkaksa was able to maintain its pace of former growth. Unfortunately, Hye Kwan suddenly passed away in 1996. Since his untimely death, Wonkaksa began to shrink in its size and function. With the loss of their two important spiritual leaders, the lay associations and the youth group association remained inactive. The congregation gradually lost its members. The programs for second generations, such as Korean language study and the Buddhist scripture study, stopped. The second generations' participation rate is near zero in these days. Calligraphy instruction and

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Buddhist scripture studies for adults also stopped. Registered members now have dropped to 800 people. The average number of participants for Sunday service dropped from 170 to 40.

In spite of the various unexpected difficulties, the lay members and the priests of this once-front-runner Korean Buddhist immigrant temple did not discard its ambitious plans for the future. Although suffering from a stroke, priest Oh, one of the founding priests, and other lay members who were first involved in founding the temple still invisibly guide the temple's direction. Lay leaders and priests plan to build a Korean-style Buddhist temple where Wonkaksa is currently located. They are accumulating funds for their new Korean-style temple building. Another plan the temple pursues now is establishing a Korean meditation center in Manhattan to proselytize both to ethnic Koreans and Americans. Although many Korean Buddhists now feel that Wonkaksa only remains a ghost of the Korean immigrant pioneer temple that a group of early Korean Buddhist immigrants established in the late 1960s, the early members are mostly alive and still hoping to build a bigger and stronger Buddhist temple.

An influential lay leader of the temple, who is respected as a successful businessman, a first-generation Buddhist immigrant, announced a plan for the new temple building in the near future: "We are planning to build a beautiful traditional Korean-style temple and erect a biggest sculpture of Buddha in the United States here in Wonkaksa. This would be a symbolic beginning of new era of the Korean Buddhism in America. Americans would also begin to recognize our cultural symbol once we build the biggest and the most beautiful Korean-style temple in this central gate of immigration. We are now looking for

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an ambitious priest who can take the plan successfully."[8]

While Wonkaksa was experiencing difficulties, few Korean Buddhist temples were newly built in the New York metropolitan area. Bulkwang Meditation Center ("Bulkwangsa" hereafter) located in Tappan, Paeklimsa in Upstate New York, Jungmyungsa, Jundeungsa, Sangunsa, Won Buddhist temple (Korean: *Wonbulkyo*) and Hanmaum Sunwon in Flushing, Queens in New York City are fastest-growing Korean ethnic Buddhist congregations. The head priest of Bulkwangsa once served at Wonkaksa for over three years in the early 1990s. Many registered members of these three new Korean ethnic temples are former Wonkaksa members. Most of these temples have more than two hundred registered members and have approximately fifty to seventy Sunday service participants every week currently.

The Protestant Church

General Features

The Grace Korean Presbyterian Church is located in the heart of Bayside residential area in Queens, New York City. The church building, which once was a home of yacht lovers, has become a center of worship for 350 first-generation Korean Protestant immigrants and their children. Surrounded by Long Island Bay and Cross Island Parkway on the northern side, and decent residential houses mostly owned by middle- and upper-middle white Americans on the other side, Grace Church is located like an ethnic island in a semi-suburban white American residential area. It takes about ten minutes by car to reach the church from downtown Flushing and forty-five minutes from Manhattan.

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Nassau County, Long Island is just a few miles away. One of the busiest thorough fares in Queens, Bell Boulevard, is just few blocks away from the church, and one of the busiest and largest shopping complexes in Queens, Bay Terrace Shopping Center, is located just around the corner of Bell Boulevard. The church, different from the Buddhist temple, somehow enjoys the benefits from its location in exurbia of one of the world's largest cities -- anonymity and autonomousness. The church still looks a yacht club house, because the outside of the building has minimally been renovated, except for the cross placed on the top, the Korean sign on the fence, and the new gate on the main entrance. The church has 70,000 square feet of land and 20,000 square feet of building space. The church has a parking lot, which accommodates more than 100 cars. One big swimming pool in front of the church building is dormant and waiting for constructing a new church building, which will accommodate more than a thousand people.

The Grace Church is a member of a conservative ethnic Korean Protestant denomination -- the Korean American Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (KAPCUSA), which was established in 1976 in Chicago independently from Presbyterian Church of U.S.A. As an ethnic denominational congress KAPCUSA established three regional branches in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York, which cover the West Coast, the Central region, and the East Coast, respectively. KAPCUSA also has a denominational association with both the Korean Presbyterian Church in Korea (Tonghap[9]), the Reformed Church, the Canada Presbyterian Church, the Japanese Presbyterian Church, and the Presbyterian Church in United States of America. Similar to the Buddhist congregation, Grace Church maintains a cooperative association with

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denominational authority in Korea, but the church is running entirely independently in its financial and personnel matters from higher denomination authority. Different from Wonkaksa, which is not affiliated with any ethnic denomination in the United States, Grace Church is a member of an ethnic denomination headquartered in the United States. Although the church is affiliated with the Korean Presbyterian Denomination, interaction between the church and denominational headquarters is superficial. The Grace Church is thus a *de facto* congregational-style immigrant church.

The members of Grace Church are drawn from both inner-city residential areas, such as Manhattan, the Bronx, and Flushing, and adjacent suburban areas, such as Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester, Staten Island, and Bergen County in New Jersey. The majority of the members drive to church in their own cars. The church operates four church vans. Different from their Buddhist counterparts, the drivers are all church members. They get paid from the church as well. They are eager to take care of their own church members. Approximately forty members, mostly elderly and young children whose family members do not attend the church, come to church in these church vans. Different from the case of their Buddhist counterparts, the church van riders do not seem to enjoy riding to church, because the vans travel around the city mostly, and in Korea the majority of churchgoers walk to church or use public transportation. Korean churches in the Korean community both in the United States and Korea, different from their Buddhist counterparts, are located in or near the members' own residential area.

Out of 300 registered members, 280 members participate in Sunday service every week. The Sunday service participation rate among registered members of the church is

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80 percent, while that of their Buddhist counterparts is only 10 percent or less on ordinary weekends. The participation rate of the church does not fluctuate as much as that of the Buddhist temple. The church maintains more or less the same participation rate every Sunday all year round.

According to the head pastor of the church, 70 percent of registered members were either baptized or held church membership before they immigrated to the United States, and 55 percent of church members practiced the same religion before their immigration (75% of Wonkaksa members did so). Approximately 70 percent of registered church members of the church are baptized. This is a little higher than the average of baptized members of Buddhist Korean temples and other Protestant Korean churches in the New York metropolitan area. According to my survey, 49 percent of the Buddhist temple members and 63 percent of the Protestant church members are baptized, respectively.

Approximately 15 percent of the registered members of Grace Church are second generation while almost no second generation members are currently registered at Wonkaksa. The church has offered an English chapel for the second-generation members since 1992. One bilingual assistant pastor has been hired to take care of the second generation members since 1992, and two other assistant pastors who speak English as their second language have been hired since 1994 to take care of elementary school students and secondary school students, respectively. Approximately 45 percent of the regular attendees are male while only 20 percent of their Buddhist counterparts are male. Different from their Buddhist counterparts, age groups of the church are also fairly equally distributed from children to the elderly.

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Different from the Buddhist temple, Grace Church is not open all the time, even to the church members, because it does not have residence for pastors. Almost no Korean Protestant churches open their physical facilities for the public, even for members when their churches are not in session. Some Korean Protestant churches are open to their members only on Sunday. During the week, most of Korean Protestant churches look dormant. Not only the pastor of Grace Church, but also almost all pastors of the other Korean Protestant churches, live outside their church, mostly in the residential area adjacent to their churches. One of the main reasons they live apart from their churches is because of their family obligation. According to my survey of head pastors of the Korean Protestant congregations, over 98 percent of the male head pastors are married.

Both Korean lay Protestants and the pastors stress that the role of the pastors' wife is very important for managing the church effectively. Without support of pastors' wives, pastors and lay people believe that their pastoral work could not be accomplished efficiently. The wives of the Korean pastors thus receive an equal degree of respect and reverence from lay members.

Marital status is the most strikingly different feature between Protestant pastors and Buddhist priests. Protestant pastors thus share the same everyday concerns of their congregation members. For both lay people and pastors, however, their church is a symbol of the sacred. Living with their families on church premises therefore brings not only unprecedented expectations from lay members but also psychological inconveniences. Psychologically, Protestant pastors thus not only want to separate their everyday lives from their churches, but also want to maintain a balance between their

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secular family life and sacred church life. This is one reason why almost all Korean Protestant pastors live apart from their own churches today although many church buildings provide residential facilities for them. The pastor of Grace Church is no exception. Protestant pastors are instead expected to live in the secular residential area, as model householders who nurture a good family with their Protestant religious beliefs.

The Grace Church and other Korean Protestant churches are open to the members and to the public only when religious activities are held and when church officials are working there. Ironically, however, although the Buddhist temples are open to the public all the time, the Protestant churches have busier regular religious activities. Eight religious activities are regularly held in Grace Church every week. There are daily dawn prayer meetings, Wednesday evening services, Friday night prayer meetings, Bible study every Saturday evening, high school student meetings on Saturday, youth group meetings for high-school graduates and over on Friday evening, praise music service on Sunday afternoon. Sunday service is also divided into three different time zones and groups: English service for the second-generation members at 11:00 AM; the first session of Sunday service for members who work on Sunday at 9:00 AM; and the main service for all others at 11:00 AM.

The everyday schedule of the church is as follows. Between 6:00 AM and 7:00 AM everyday, 15 to 20 members of the congregation participate in dawn prayer service. The service is over within thirty minutes, and after the service, the participants concentrate on their own individual prayers for another thirty minutes. Some participants leave the church immediately afterwards, and some pray longer. Dawn prayer service is over by

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7:00 AM. The church is closed until 9:00 AM, when a male assistant pastor and a female evangelist come to the church for everyday routine work. They take care of telephone inquiries, prepare teaching materials for Sunday school and Korean school on Saturday, consult with church members by appointment over various matters, prepare for the Sunday worship service schedule and announcements, mail the last week's service schedule with a brief letter to absent members, arrange the appointment of the pastor's visit for members who have special occasions like the birth of a baby, a business opening, buying a new home, moving, weddings, and funeral ceremonies. They sometimes engage in a special projects under the supervision of head pastor. The two church officials leave church at 5:00 PM on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday. They stay longer on Wednesday and Friday to take care of the special worship services on these days.

Twenty-five to thirty adult members (approximately 10% of the average Sunday service participants) attend the Wednesday evening worship service. The service consists of Bible reading and its interpretation, prayer, a short sermon, and announcements. Each week's Wednesday service is organized in turn by lay evangelical associations. The members of the association that takes charge in the Wednesday service that week are obliged to participate. After the service, the majority of the participants leave church immediately, but some enjoy talking over refreshments provided by the members who organized the service. The service begins at 8:45 PM and lasts slightly more than an hour. Other religious activities such as Bible study and Friday night prayer meetings follow more or less the same procedure and manner of Wednesday services. The number of participants of the Bible study and Friday night prayer services are little less than that of

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the Wednesday service.

The praise worship service has been newly invented by Korean Protestants. It is usually led by the church choir conductor. It begins after lunch fellowship and lasts approximately an hour. Equipped with popular musical instruments such as electric guitars, drums, synthesizers, and tambourines, the conductor leads participants with gospel songs. During the service, the leader manages the mood of the participants by changing the music. Singing the songs together with other members the participants not only enable them to enjoy the mood, but also to unite emotionally. This is the one of the many reasons why many conservative Korean Protestant churches also hold the praise music service competitively. Many participants of the praise service reveal their individual emotions unobstructedly because many participants share the same ideas as others in the service. The individual believers' emotional expression is rarely seen in the main worship service. Some of the participants cry and shake during the praise music service. They also express their emotions by raising their voices, stretching their arms, and shouting "amen" and "hallelujah" repeatedly. A valuable effect of the praise music service is allowing the participants to release their mental distress and experience an emotional catharsis. A participant of the praise worship service confessed that, "I personally like the dynamics of this praise service, because I can reveal my mind toward God unrestrictedly. The main service is too ceremonious to express my emotion to God. I think the worship service should function as a means of communication between myself and God through the expression of my emotion that He gave me to praise Him."[10]

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Congregational Structure and Activities

The Grace Church is functionally divided into eight sub-parishes. The geographically-divided parishes cover all five boroughs of New York City and suburban areas such as upstate New York, New Jersey, and Long Island. Each parish is divided into two or three cell districts (21 cell districts all together). Each parish has forty-four members on the average, and each cell district has seventeen district members on average. Elders take charge of managing parish members, and an active female deacon is appointed by the elders and the head pastor to take charge of cell members' religious activity participation. The appointed female deacon is called the district leader (*kuyokjang* in Korean). This lay position is newly invented by Korean Protestants, and the district leaders' role has been significantly recognized for the expansion of Korean Protestant churches. Recognizing the importance of the district leaders, all Korean Protestant churches in both Korea and the United States have put increasing emphasis on the position. Between elders and the district leaders, there are female lay leaders, called *kwonsa* in Korean, the highest lay position given to female members. The position is expected to mediate, support, and encourage cell district leaders. Between the cell district leaders and district members, there is another female intermediate lay leader, called a *kwonchal* in Korean, the second-highest lay position given to female members. The position's major role is to encourage and support the district members' religious activity participation.[11]

Cell meetings of the Grace Church are currently being held on a weekly basis (on any days convenient for district members during the week) at one of the district member's home. The elder in charge of the cell district, or the district leader, presides over the cell

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district service. The district cell service is a miniature of Sunday service. It is in the cell district service that district members' sacred religious worship and their secular mundane lives meet. After the cell district service, refreshments or a full dinner is served by the host. Over their ethnic foods, the participants enjoy chatting and exchanging ideas and information. The cell district service, which is a half-sacred religious service and a half-fraternal meeting, is the most effective way to make non-believers be exposed to the ethnic religious community and reinforce their sense of solidarity and identity as an ethnic religious group. The cell district network of the Korean Protestant churches thus is the most effective way of maintaining and increasing the number of church membership, because non-believers are usually first involved in a religious community through their neighbors, close friends, family members, or relatives. Once a new face enters their religious community, the cell district reinforces the new member's attachment and involvement to the community through frequent interactions with other members. The cell district meeting thus functions as a vanguard for church growth.

Annually, the Grace Church holds four special religious meetings to inspire members' religiosity and spiritual upbringing. Usually in October every year, Grace Church adds some newly nominated deacons to the previous year's lay leader list. Newly selected lay leaders and continuously serving leaders (192 people in 1999) are all obliged to take a leadership training class in late January of the next year. More than half (56%) of the registered members hold the lay leader's position, which is higher than the acting deacon position. A lecturer specializing in the lay leadership training program is invited to give a series of special lectures for four days. Most of the material given to the leaders is

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excerpted from the Bible and is systematically organized to maximize the efficiency of the leadership training program. During the program, stories about model immigrant churches which experienced steady numeric growth from the beginning are given as examples. The training program thus mostly focuses on such important issues as the role of lay leaders for the growth of their church, putting minimal emphasis on such important issues as the role of the church in the community and the meaning of Christian beliefs in their immigrant life.

In late March every year, the church holds another yearly celebration, a revival service, for three or four days. An influential male preacher (either an elder or pastor) in the Korean Protestant community is invited for the special service. The revival service is held in the evening (at 8:30 PM) for the convenience of the participants the majority of whom engage in self-employed small business. The major themes of preaching for the revival service are how could the believers become real Christians, what kinds of benefits follow once a person becomes Christian, and how Christians can expand their world. Many success stories in the preacher's life, impressive to the audience, are repeatedly emphasized as an example of God's blessing. Not only is the invited preacher himself a successful person as a pastor, but also in his preaching, he repeatedly emphasizes such themes as success, triumph, and elitism. The uniqueness and outstanding characteristics of Christianity as a religion are also the main menu that the preachers never forget to emphasize. These are sometimes emphasized too much by the preacher, so that it sounds like real Christians can become successful people easily and they have superior beliefs. This is one of most popularly-used strategies that Korean Protestant churches embrace to

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gain members. The Protestants' emphasis on the uniqueness and superiority of their religion also causes them to remain dogmatic and exclusive in this multi-religious and multi-cultural world. When the Grace Church held a revival meeting in November, instead of focusing on the preaching of the influential preacher, it more likely focuses on Bible study and Bible interpretation. The themes and activities are very much the same as the spring revival service held in March. Approximately 90 percent of the regular Sunday service participants attend the two revival meetings, and about 10 percent of the revival service attendees are new faces who are invited by church members.

In July, Grace Church held a family training program. For the program, the church rent a prayer center far from the city. All applicants, most of whom are married and have children, stay there while the program is going on. The church leaders provide the participants with various Biblical, educational, and athletic programs. The program usually lasts two days, but some members adjust their yearly vacation schedule to participate in the program. Since this program focuses on the cohesiveness of family members and solidarity among the families in the church, cooperation and affection are mostly emphasized. The program's overall emphasis, however, is on the expansion of their religious world. Grace Church has been holding this family training program for seventeen years.

In addition to regular Sunday services, the Grace Church and other Korean Protestant churches, like their Buddhist counterparts, celebrate important holidays with other religious holidays bestowing religious meaning on them. New Year's Day, the church foundation day (January 25th), Korean Independence day (August 15th), Palm Sunday

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(the first Sunday of April), Good Friday, Passover (the second week of April), Easter Sunday (the second Sunday of April), Children's Week (the first week of May), Parents' Week (the second week of May), Religious Reformation Day (the last week of October), and Thanksgiving week (the last week of November), and Christmas are the major holidays Grace Church observes with a special zest. Interestingly, not only the religiously important days, but also ethnically and nationally important days, are celebrated by the Grace Church and Wonkaksa. This indicates that the Korean national or folk holidays are observed by Korean congregations of both religious groups with an equal importance as their religious holidays. This also means that the Korean congregation of both religious groups preserve both their religious traditions and their cultural heritage. The Buddhist congregation observes more folk holidays, while the Protestant congregation observes more Korean national holidays. Another evidence that the Buddhists are more likely rooted to the tradition of Korean culture is, as we have seen, their usage of lunar calendar. Different from the Buddhist congregation, the Protestant congregation uses the solar calendar only. The calendar printed the logo of the Grace Church, however, also shows the dates of the lunar calendar for senior citizens, who are very much accustomed to using it.

The internal organization of Grace Church is so complex that it resembles a big bureaucratic business organization. The highest decision-making device is the "common congress" (Korean: *kongdongeuhoe*) which is constituted of all registered members of the church. It discusses the budget and expenditures. All important agendas of the church, however, are first screened and discussed by the board of leaders, the *danghoe*, which is

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constituted of all religious leaders and all elders. The regular board meeting is held every three months, but the board meets whenever Church has important agendas. The women leader positions, *kwonsa* and *kwonchal*, are excluded from the board. Two supportive *ad hoc* committees -- the committee for the new church building and the committee for scholarship and education -- serve as supplementary committees for the board. The members of these two committees consisted of a few lay leaders, either elders or deacons, who specialized in the subject matter.

The board is divided into thirteen different sections, in accordance with their functions of supporting the goals of the congregation, such as worship services and prayer meetings, church documentaries, evangelization, education, music, finance, fellowship, ceremonies and special events, property management, transportation, social services, new member care, and the church library. Under the supervision of the board, two semi-autonomous sub-organizations -- lay associations and the Korean language school -- are associated with the board. They are less religiously-oriented compared to the sections under the direct supervision of the board. These sub-organizations, however, perform much more important functions to recruit new members, because most of the non-believers first are involved in churches through these organizations.

The church has nine autonomous lay associations, which are organized in accordance with the age groupings and gender. Every individual member of the congregation, even the newly registered members, is expected to join these autonomous associations, corresponding to his or her own gender and age. The autonomous lay association consists of a high-school student group, the first youth group (from high school graduates up to

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age 22), the second youth group (ages 23 to 29), the first women's evangelical group (female members in their 30s), the second women's evangelical group (female members age 40 to 55), the first men's evangelical group (male members in their 30s), the second men's evangelical group (male members age 40 to 55), early senior group (*midumhoe*, male and female members age 56 to 65), and senior group (*somanghoe*, male and female members over 66). With the cell groups of each parochial district, these autonomous lay associations constitute the basic organizational unit through which the solidarity of the congregation is originated. The members of each association maintain the most frequent contact with each other. With their particular age and gender characteristics, each association also contributes to the church in different ways. Like the cell district group, the autonomous lay associations have their manifest functions, e.g., evangelization, but they also have latent functions, e.g., fraternization and mutual help. Each group's activities thus are highly encouraged by the church authority. At the monthly meeting, members of each association discuss how they contribute church growth. When a member of an association has a special occasion, all other members are invited first.

The church has four choirs: the first choir, named Hallelujah, which serves for the main service; the second choir, named Hosanna, which serves for the first session of Sunday service; the third choir (Salem), which is organized by middle-aged women to serve various church events; and the student choir which serves for children's English service. A music director who majored in music supervises the church's music and choirs. Each choir is run independently, but under the supervision of the music department. Not the conductors, but the elder who in charge of the department, has actual

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power. The church choir members have double membership with other lay associations, but each choir not only has an independent budget, but also unique activities. Before and after the Sunday service each choir practices a special song that is supposed to be performed for the services. The first choir of the church perform for the main Sunday service with vocal soloists and musical instruments such as, organs, cellos, and violins.

The education department is divided into two units: religious and secular education. Eight age cohort groups, from infant to middle aged, are stratified. Each cohort group is guided by an appointed lay leader under the supervision of the pastors. The activities of each educational group, however, are confined only to a few hours per week. Focus is given to Bible study only. The secular education unit, on the contrary, focuses on non-religious education. It operates a Korean language school on Saturday. Qualified part-time teachers are hired, and more than thirty students from kindergarten to young adults who do not speak Korean attend the school. Approximately 10 percent of the Korean school students are not children of church members.

The organizational structure of Grace Church is strikingly different from that of Wonkaksa, which has only two departmental units. One is the board of leaders, and the other is the lay association. Two other striking differences found between Grace Church and Wonkaksa are the roles of leaders and the degree that general information about the congregation is disclosed. In the case of Grace Church, every important matter of the church is fully under control of the head pastor. The final decision of the church events is made by the vote of the board members, but in the case of Grace Church, the religious leaders' opinion is always revered and has more weight. On the contrary, although the

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final decision of the temple events is drawn from the vote of board members as well, in the case of Wonkaksa, religious leaders' opinion has an equal reverence and weight with that of other lay leaders. Sometimes in Wonkaksa the lay leaders' decision making-power overrides that of the religious leaders.

Every January, Grace Church holds a common congress, in which such important matters as the new year's revenues and expenditures are openly reviewed by all congregation members. Through these procedures, church members become aware of all the details related with the financial transactions of their church. At Wonkaksa, only the board members review and discuss these important matters, never revealing them to other lay members. The Grace Church also holds the board meetings regularly and discusses the usage of the church budget and various upcoming issues. Wonkaksa, however, holds board meetings irregularly and does not holds a common congress at all.

The lay members of the temple therefore have less opportunity to participate in both the religious and non-religious matters of their congregation. Their lessened congregational involvement and participation also leads the temple members to be less concerned with their congregation, and it in turn causes weak solidarity among members. This might be one of the most important reasons why Korean Buddhist temples lose their members in the United States, even after many Korean ethnic temples have been built since their mass immigration in the 1970s and 1980s. The first-generation immigrants wanted a much stronger bond within their community after their immigration, to soothe their loneliness and hardship which mostly come from the blocked opportunities in the job market and difficulties in maintaining normal social status equivalent to their personal

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abilities. For the believers, participation in their congregational activities can be one way of resolving their problems. For the Buddhist immigrants, their congregational participation is doubly difficult, because only a few leaders have the opportunity to do so.

A Short History of Grace Church

Different from the case of the Buddhist temple, which was first organized by middle-aged female lay leaders, Grace Church was organized by male religious leaders. The church started with two Korean religious leaders, one pastor and one evangelizer, and ten lay members on January 5, 1975. They first rented an American church building (St. Martin Luther Church) located in 75th street in Elmhurst, Queens in New York City. Right after the Korean ethnic denomination -- the Korean-American Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. -- was organized on August 9, 1976 in Chicago to consolidate Korean congregations in the United States, the Grace Church switched its membership from the Korean Presbyterian Church in Korea to the Korean American Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The church's switch to the new denominational organization, however, did not affect its growth, because the majority of lay members did not care about their congregation's decision, as long as it stayed in the same conservative denominational line.[12] The newly established America-based Korean ethnic denomination was just an extension of the Korea-based denomination that the church was affiliated with.

The first thing the congregation did to increase its membership was to organize the autonomous lay associations and the board of leaders. The church quickly formed all kinds of organizations to prepare for its growth. Just three months after the

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congregation's first meeting, seven acting deacons and one ordained deacon were elected, and the board of leaders was organized. When the congregation decided to relocate their place of worship another American church located in Long Island City, Queens on May 4, 1975, the church rapidly grew. Children's Sunday school and Friday prayer meetings began in May. In June, the choir, women's lay association, youth group association, and high school student association were organized. Exactly one year after the church's establishment, five elders were elected, and at the same time, the board of lay and religious leaders was organized. Three more male lay leaders (ordained deacons) and three female lay leaders (*kwonsa*) were elected. The men's evangelical association was organized, and at the same time, Wednesday service began two years after the church's establishment. Church membership reached to 108 in 1978, three years after the church's establishment. The Grace Church moved again to Astoria, Queens, in June 1979. Three months later, the congregation finally decided to buy their own building. The new church building was located on 39th Avenue in Woodside, the heart of Korean community in Queens. The building the congregation bought was a two-story family house. It was entirely renovated and turned into a church building.

For six years since its establishment, the Grace Church has experienced five internal divisions, which have resulted in the separation of a few members in factional groups from the congregation. Internal division was mostly caused by power struggles among the church leaders. Cases of internal division vary in accordance with the power structure of lay and religious leaders of various Korean Protestant congregations.[13] Generally, however, when a congregation has more than one assistant pastor and more than one

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elder, the congregation is more likely to experience internal divisions. The cases of divisions Grace Church experienced were similar to the general patterns of schism that Korean immigrant Protestant congregations encounter. Out of five cases of internal division in the Grace Church, three cases were initiated by religious leaders and two cases were by lay leaders. Ten months after the church was established (November 23, 1975), an associate pastor, Reverend Park, left the church with a few followers and built their own church. Six months later (March 1, 1976), another associate pastor, Reverend Ahn, and his followers left the church and built their own. Four years after the Grace Church started (January 30, 1979), Reverend Kim, who himself was the most important founder of the church, and his followers established a new congregation a few blocks away from the church. Soon his church grew to be twice as big as the mother church. For some reason, however, Reverend Kim's church today is half the size of the mother church.

Two months before Reverend Kim's separation from the church, five elders and their followers rebelled against the head pastor and left the church, setting up their own church and inviting a religious leader. The lay leaders left the church because they wanted to wield more power against the pastor. Two years later, two more elders who served as associated elders and a few of their followers left the church and built their own, inviting a pastor who shared the same beliefs as the lay leaders and members. Tired of frequent internal divisions, the congregation members in the original church decided to invite a new, experienced pastor, who was able to effectively lead the congregation. Seven years after the church was established (January 31, 1982), a new pastor, Reverend J. Kim, was inaugurated as the third head pastor of the church. He has been serving for the church for

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seventeen years now. Under his service, Grace Church has never experienced any internal division. The church has steadily been growing since his inauguration. He recalled the internal divisions of the church that occurred soon before he began to serve, as following:

> A church is religious organization in which religious leaders and lay people together should work for God's intention that is being executed all the time for believers and non-believers. Church members, both leaders and ordinary believers, have an obligation to cooperate with each other. Power struggles between lay leaders and religious leaders occur all the time in modern churches because most churches today follow the mundane bureaucratic management style to draw more efficiency out of the church, for instance, more amount of offerings and more members. The internal divisions that happened before I served for this church were caused by the same problem. The pastor wanted to manage church in an entirely religious [sacred] sense. The lay leaders, however, wanted the managerial aspects of church to be handled in more secular way, to be more efficient. Both sides never compromised with each other, and internal conflicts between these two groups became obvious. Internal division is one of many problems that Korean immigrant churches encounter in the United States. Not only the leaders of congregations, but also the lay people themselves, create the seed for potential for internal conflicts in immigrant congregations. Although many Korean first-generation immigrants were church-goers before they immigrated to the United States, many Korean immigrants begin to go to their ethnic churches because they want to hang around with their own ethnic people. Without any systematic and serious study or consideration of their own religious beliefs, they just go to their ethnic churches as soon as they arrive in the United States. The Korean churches always welcome new immigrant members and even expect the new members -- of course, some of them are mere novices in terms of their religious life -- to play an important role to grow their churches. Some of the new members become involved in their churches as soon as they obtain membership. They usually can't tell the difference between religious organizations and social organizations, so they encounter difficulties about what behavior and ideas are appropriate for situations they meet in their churches. Even worse, once they are involved in church matters, they also want to get lay leadership positions, because for some of them, presenting themselves in church is their only opportunity to have self-esteem in their immigrant society. Comprehending this general situation that the first-generation immigrants encounter, religious leaders mostly are aware of what their lay members want to have in attending church services. Influenced by this strong demand from their lay people, religious leaders can do nothing but appoint them to various lay positions, regardless of the individual member's degree of religiosity or devoutness. The appointment of lay leaders who have insufficient religious training can thus frequently encroach the normal operations of a church. The worst case can be internal division and factionalism within the church. The cases

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> of the Grace Church's division that happened before I came to the church are a clear evidence of this. If the members are not immigrants, internal division or factionalism might less frequently occur in Korean Protestant congregations.[14]

The head pastor of Grace Church, Reverend J. Kim, began to serve in 1982. He was anxious about consolidating the two sides of church functions -- sacred and secular -- into one. Applying reconciliation to pastoral work is the most important strategy to avoid possible conflicts between the two opposing sides of an immigrant congregation, according to him. He also strategically focuses on the growth of the church for balancing the two sides of church functions -- sacred and secular (or religious and social).

As soon as he began to serve Grace Church, he opened a school for the children of church members on February 10, 1982. He strongly emphasizes the importance of both religious and public education, because he thinks that only through education are the congregation members able to become real believers and to be an appropriate member of the society that the congregation belongs to. Reverend J. Kim strongly believe that education can consolidate the two sides of functions of this immigrant church into one unified whole. The school was named "Grace School" after the church and has been run by religious and lay leaders of the church together since it was opened. The school curriculum includes after-school, a Korean language school, and an English language school. To raise funds for educational facilities, the congregation decided to buy a commercial building nearby the church and rent the building to a supermarket owner in 1985. The monthly rent from the building tenants is the church's second largest revenue, next to the weekly offerings by the members.

To accommodate increasing membership, the congregation bought another family

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house located within a block (39-29 57th St.) in March 1989. The first floor and the basement was renovated into church offices and educational facilities, and the second floor was used as a residence for the pastor's family. Being aware of the rapid growth of the Korean community in the New York metropolitan area, the leaders of the church began to search for a new place of worship, as Wonkaksa did when its membership grew. Different from Wonkaksa, however, Grace Church looked for a place close to the semi-suburban areas where many Korean immigrants have moved since the late 1980s. The congregation finally found a yacht club house in the heart of Bayside area (216-50 28 Avenue), into which many middle class Korean immigrants have surged since the late 1980s. Despite opposition from both Bayside residents and some yacht club members, the Grace Church was finally able to move into the club house on October 2, 1994. According to the head pastor, one of main reasons the congregation decided to move was to keep up with the changing aspects of the Korean immigrant community in the New York metropolitan area.

The Grace Church's reason for altering worship place is quite different from that of Wonkaksa, which is physically secluded from the residential areas where the majority of temple members live. Wonkaksa tries to preserve the traditional Korean way of locating of temples apart from residential areas. The Protestant congregation, however, locates church buildings where their members live. Some Korean Buddhist temples are located in inner-city area, but this is a recent trend developed in Korean Buddhism, influenced by some young Buddhist leaders who emphasize the importance of "engaged Buddhism." Observing the gradual alteration of Korean immigrants' residential pattern as their

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community keeps growing in the New York metropolitan area, Reverend J. Kim and members of Grace Church decided to move into the new place. Reverend Kim describes the reason for moving as follows:

> Geographically, the Woodside area has many limitations for the growth of the church. Because it is adjacent to Manhattan, many just-arrived immigrants live in the area. Once they achieve economic well-being, they mostly look for better residential places and alter their type of businesses and occupation. Woodside is truly a "stopping-over" place for many first-generation Korean immigrants. Many church members also just stop over the church, until they accumulate enough money to move out. After they leave Woodside, many attend the same church for a while and eventually transfer their membership to an ethnic church near their new home. Many immigrants came and left until we moved to Bayside. When we moved to Bayside, we lost some members who lived near Woodside. Many Korean immigrants keep moving in this area, and quite a few new residents register to our church. More importantly, fewer members withdrew their membership, due to their moving to other areas, after we moved in this place. The congregation members and I also feel much more comfortable and secure after we moved here. The church has grown steadfastly since we moved. Church membership has not fluctuated much since then.[15]

Different Aspects of Ritual and Service between the Two Congregations

The Buddhist Congregation

At 11:30 AM on Sunday, entering the main service hall, a few Wonkaksa members remove their shoes, grab a cushion, and find a comfortable spot on the floor in the middle of the hall. Approximately 300 folding chairs are arranged on both sides (left and right) of the rectangular-shaped hall, leaving the middle area open for cushion-users. One half of Wonkaksa members prefer sitting on the floor. As soon as they find their preferred spot, they begin prostrating themselves toward the image of Buddha, which is located on the center of the altar. Interestingly, some traditional Korean rice cakes, which are used to

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celebrate special festivities and ripe vegetables and fruit are placed around the image of Buddha. After making deep prostrations as many times as they want (five to ten times on average), they sit still for about five minutes on the cushion, with their legs crossed and hands clasped. During meditation, according to respondents, they reset their mind, clearing all mundane thoughts acquired in the secular world, and they refill with new energy for a better everyday life. New energy comes from the environment surrounding the believer himself or herself. The believer collects the energy of the universe by emptying his or her mind. This is the main purpose of meditation for the majority of Buddhists. As their Protestant counterparts do in prayer everywhere, so do the Buddhists through meditation and prostration. While the members prostrate themselves and meditate individually in the open space in the hall, two or three priests are chanting prayers for the well-being of temple members, of the U.S., and of Korea. Few lay leaders, mostly members of the *isahoe*, are busy preparing for the main Sunday service, discussing procedures and the contents of the announcement in the office next to the service hall.

The Sunday service begins with the presider's announcement. The lay leaders preside over the service. The first procedure of the service is paying congregations' respect to the three treasures of Buddhism: the Buddha's teachings, the ultimate truth (Dharma), and the life and order of the Buddhist priests, which confer a model for everyday life for Buddhists (Sangha). Prostrating themselves toward the Buddha's image from a standing position, the congregation sing a Buddhist hymn that expresses a deep veneration for the three treasures. No choirs or musical instruments accompanies their singing, although a

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piano and an electric organ are placed in the hall.[16]

The Buddhist hymn and prostration are followed by the priest's chanting prayer. Setting the tempo with the monotonous beating of wooden gongs, two priests perform chanting prayers uttering all the members' names and the contents of their supplications. The priests always include the well-being of America and Korea in their chanting prayer. It lasts approximately fifteen minutes. During the chanting prayer, congregation members either follows it or do their own prayer. Some members prostrate themselves a few times again when their names are mentioned by the priests, and some members either sit on chairs or cushions quietly or meditate in the midst of chanting. During the service, many congregation members perform their own rituals individually.

After chanting prayer comes the collective meditation. All congregation members immerse themselves into a mental world of their own, their eyes closed and legs crossed. One priest signals the beginning and end of the collective meditation ritual by tapping a bamboo stick on his palm. The collective meditation lasts exactly five minutes, and during this short meditation, the whole temple suddenly turns into a different place -- silence and tranquility overwhelm the temple.

The five minutes of silent meditation is followed by the priest's sermon. Interestingly, the topic of the sermon is never given until the preacher discloses it to the audience. The sermon is based on the Buddhist Scripture, but it always ends with a wise way of applying Buddhist wisdom to the members' everyday life. There is no yearly or monthly plan for sermon, unlike Grace Church. The contents of sermon are entirely dependent on the preachers' own intention. Sometimes temple officials do not know who is going to

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preach for the next week's service, although the priests preach in turn.

The congregation members sit quietly either on cushions with crossed legs or on the folding chairs during the sermon. They rarely respond to the preacher, but a few senior members sometimes talk to their friends siting next to them, commenting on specific points of the sermon. Different from Grace Church, which maintains as reverent atmosphere as possible during the sermon, the Wonkaksa congregation does not maintain any pious atmosphere during the sermon. They talk and move during the sermon. Different from the Grace Church congregation, most of whom think that the sermon is the most important ritual in the whole service, the Wonkaksa congregation pays less attention to the sermon than on meditation and prostration, which are usually called "prayer" by the Buddhists.

To the Buddhists, prayer means not only the words and thoughts of supplication, but also all the actions accompanied with them. To the Protestants, however, prayer means the words and thoughts of supplication only, because they mostly emphasize their verbal utterances, not the actions accompanied with them.

Then there is a public announcement which includes both sacred and secular aspects of religious service. The announcement is a device of secular communication between temple officials and congregation members and is the last part of the main service. After the service, most members proceed to the dining hall, which is attached to the main hall. But a few attendees remain in the main hall and extend their religious fervor by performing individually-oriented rituals, such as prostration and meditation. On some designated Sundays, the temple provides ancestor-worshiping ceremonies immediately

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following the service. Individual members who want to participate in the extended worship service remain in the hall and pay their veneration to the special altar for the souls of their ancestors by making extra offerings.

A part-time worker and a few female members prepare the lunch feast during the service. The lunch fellowship begins immediately after the main service. The temple is strict about the kinds of food provided. Only vegetables (except those having strong odor and stimulus like garlic and green onion) and some seaweeds are used for the feast. Although the majority of Koreans, including Buddhists, enjoy eating garlic and meats, the Buddhist temple is considered one of the few places that preserves traditional Korean food culture. The lunch fellowship looks like an extension of the Sunday service. Interestingly, although all Buddhists do not make the thanksgiving prayer as a part of their daily religious observance, a priest always leads the lunch fellowship with a short collective thanksgiving prayer to Buddha, mentioning, "Thanks for allowing us such precious foods and health." The priest's thanksgiving prayer sounds contrary to the basic idea of Buddhism -- self-achieving Buddhahood, which excludes the concept of a supernatural being. It seems that for many Buddhists, Buddha is featured as omnipotent god who takes care of their everyday life. This contradiction makes it difficult to capture their basic characteristics as a religion, when it is perceived from the Western viewpoint of the concept of religion.

Although the Buddhist congregation generally maintains a sense of in-group solidarity, like their Protestant counterparts, dining tables are divided along the line of gender, age, and lay leadership position.

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The Protestant Congregation

The general aspects of ritual and service of Grace Church differ from those of Wonkaksa in many respects. Twenty minutes before the Sunday service, half of the fifty pews of the main service hall on the first floor are already filled (by approximately 100 people), and one of the three conductors leads preparation hymns, accompanying by a piano, electric organ, two violins, and one cello. The members of the main choir are busy practicing a special song for the service of the day on the second floor. Seated on pews, individual members pray for one to five minutes, with their heads lowered while the preparation hymns are being performed loudly. As soon as they finish their individual prayers, they follow the preparation hymns. At 11:00 AM sharp, the head pastor and one elder in charge of public prayer enter the hall, followed by the specially-uniformed choir members and accompanied by musical instruments and all participants' praising. The main service is presided over by the head pastor at all times, but he only follows the detailed procedures of the service written on the weekly service schedule, without mentioning each procedure every time it begins. The weekly service schedule is distributed by some designated lay leaders in front of the church building before the service begins.

With the opening announcement, the head pastor prays for three-to-five minutes, mentioning all the participants' expectation that their God will receive their devotion and prayers. The opening announcement and prayer is followed by a recitation of the Lord's Prayer and hymns, accompanied by the musical instruments. There follows public prayer by an elder. While the elder prays, the participants silently listen, eyes closed and heads

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lowered; some participants sometimes respond with "amen" when the elder prays impressively and emotionally. Elder's prayers can be largely summarized into three subjects: gratitude, sharing love, and the supplication for better well-being in their immigrant life. But supplication is most emphasized in almost all prayers. Elders take turns for public prayer. Responding to the elder's prayer, the choir sings a specially-designed hymn for public prayer every week. Then there is a recitation of the Bible by the pastor. The verses recited from the Bible are selected by the pastor while preparing for sermon. The attendees silently follow the verses on their own Bibles. Some other Protestant congregations, however, recite the verses all together while standing. Following the recitation is a special hymning performed by the choir and accompanied by soloists and musical instruments. While the choir performs the special hymn, the majority of participants quietly appreciate it. Once the performance is over, a few participants respond with "amen" or "hallelujah." Participants responded depending on the quality of the choirs' performance and the hymn's popularity.

There follows the head pastor's sermon. The sermon is the major part of the service in many respects. Not only the preacher spend longer on it than other procedures, but congregation members pay special attention to sermons. The congregation acquires important Biblical knowledge and refresh their fervor through the pastor's sermon. While the Buddhist congregation put their major emphasis on prostration and meditation (which are called "prayer" in their own terms), the Protestant congregation places their major emphasis on sermons. Like the Buddhist priest, the pastor's sermon is based on Scripture, but it always ends with emphasis on a wise application of Christian religious wisdom to

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the members' everyday life. Different from the Buddhist priest at Wonkaksa, the pastor of Grace Church sets a monthly and yearly plan for sermons. He also takes elders' commentaries and advice into account when he draws up his sermon schedule. This is also different from the Buddhist congregation, which does not have concrete sermon plans or lay leaders' commentaries and advice. The congregation members sit quietly on pews, never responding to the preacher during the sermon. The preacher also rarely invokes the congregation's responses by asking any questions. The congregation's response entirely depends on the impression and emotion the preacher creates during the sermon. The sermon thus is *de facto* a one-way process. Some Protestant congregations like the Full Gospel actively respond to the preacher during sermon, reciting "amen" and "hallelujah" whenever the preacher makes an impressive and emotional statement. Grace Church participants, however, use these expressions sparingly. There is only passive reception by the congregation. Different from Wonkaksa, Grace Church maintains a reverential atmosphere during the sermon. The attendees never talk or move during the sermon. Different from the Buddhist congregation, most Grace Church members think that the sermon is the most important ritual in the service.[17] The sermon ends with a prayer of the preacher to God, and the preacher leads the congregation members to pray loudly. This type of prayer is called *tongsung kido* in Korean, and during this, the congregation members believe that their prayer is more affirmed and reinforced.

Different from the Buddhist congregation's service procedure, the sermon is followed by an offering. The offering is considered an important ritual by the Protestants because of its symbolic importance. Four designated lay leaders collect individual participants'

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offerings, circulating the offering baskets, which are made of wood and cloth. While the offerings are being collected, either the organist plays a hymn or a few choir members sing hymns in front of the audience. Different from the Buddhists, who offer individually with their own supplications, the Protestants offer collectively and uncoveringly, and they thus not only ritualize, but also consecrate the offering procedure in the service. As mentioned earlier, the Buddhist congregation never discloses individual offerers' names, while the Protestant congregation always lists the offerers' names and the kinds of offerings on the following week's service schedule. By and large, offerings can be categorized into six types: tithe, resolution, gratitude, evangelization, construction, and education. Approximately 20 percent of the registered members offer tithe, and another 20 percent offer resolution offerings every week. The total amount of the church's weekly offering ranges $9,000 to $13,000. The offering ceremony ends with a supplicational prayer by the preacher.

Then comes a public announcement, which is the time that new members and visitors are introduced to the whole congregation and matters pertaining to individual members and the church are announced. As in the case of the Buddhist temple, the public announcement becomes an important device of secular communication between congregation officials and members. The Grace Church's public announcement lasts approximately ten times longer than that of Wonkaksa, because it includes every detail about individual members and their church. One page out of six of the church's weekly schedule is allocated for the public announcement. Like the Buddhist temple, public announcement is the last procedure of the church's main service. The public

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announcement is followed by another hymn and the pastor's benediction.

Right after the benediction, the choir sings the postlude hymn with the organ accompanying. While the choir sings, the pastor and the elder who lead the service proceed to the main entrance first and prepare to see all individual congregation members off. Proceeding to the dining room, which is located in the upper floor, all members shake hands with the two leaders individually at the entrance of the hall. It generates a cordial and intimate atmosphere between the leaders and the participants. Different from the Buddhist temple, none of the service participants of the church remain in the hall and extend their religious fervor by performing individually-oriented rituals.

Almost all service participants also participate in the lunch fellowship. For the Protestant church members, the lunch fellowship is another extension of their Sunday service. Although informal, the lunch fellowship also begins with a religious ritual -- the thanksgiving prayer. In the prayer, the pastor emphasizes the importance of fellowship as a Christian tradition of *koinonia* -- the fellowship of congregation in their Christian belief. Contrary to the pastors' prayer and the ancient Christian tradition, however, the dining tables are divided along the lines of gender, age, lay leadership position, parochial district, and length of church membership. The members of the middle-aged female association usually prepare the lunch fellowship. The members of the association take turns providing service for the fellowship. All Korean-style dishes are provided for the lunch fellowship, but different from temples, there are no food restrictions in the case of Grace Church.

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Notes

1. The 1990 U.S. Internet Census Data. Database: C90STF3A.

2. Each day stands for a specially meaningful Buddhist religious festivity, which coincides with the popular folk holidays observed by the majority of Korean people in Korea. In the parentheses I give the seasons in which the ceremonies are celebrated by the Korean Buddhists in the New York metropolitan area.

3. Division of authority observed by Korean temples today is originally from the tradition of tripartite authority division of traditional Buddhist monastic society, in which the lines of such precious Buddhist traditions (The Three Treasure or Tri-ratna in Sanskrit) as Buddha's preaching (Buddha), the ultimate truth (Dharma), and well-running monastic order and priests' life (Sangha) are respectively observed. This tradition, however, is almost gone, and the *juji* position in an individual temple consolidates all three of these authorities and wield the biggest power.

4. English translation is done by author.

5. *Modern Buddhism,* No. 90. December 1997. pp. 39.

6. Kim, Yong Oak. 1989. *I View Buddhism This Way* [printed in Korean]. Seoul, Korea: Tongnamu. pp. 99, 109-110.

7. *Modern Buddhism,* No. 4. April and May 1990. pp. 51. Translation into English is done by author.

8. Excerpt is from the public announcements after Sunday service, made by one of the temple's lay leaders in charges of financial matters of the temple (I. W. Cho). Field notes, April 13, 1997.

9. There are more than sixty sub-denominational groups within Presbyterian denominations in Korea. Among them, the Tonghap sub-denomination is the largest in size and is the most solid group that has never divided into other sub-groups since its establishment in 1959. Tonghap stands for integrity in English.

10. From an interview with one of the Protestant informants (interview notes, August 28, 1998).

11. For detailed research on the structure and functions of a cell meeting of a Korean Protestant Church, see Victoria H. Kwon, Helen Rose Ebough, and Jacqueline Hagan's article, "The Structure and Functions of Cell Group Ministry in a Korean Christian Church." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion.* 1997. Vol. 36. No. 2. pp. 247-256.

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12. According to my survey, 76.2 percent of the Korean Protestant churches in and around the New York metropolitan area are affiliated with either the Presbyterian denomination (57.2%) or the Methodist denomination (19%).

13. For the reasons and patterns of the Korean Protestant congregations in the United States, see Eui Hang Shin's article, "An Analysis of Causes of Schisms in Ethnic Churches: The Case of Korean-American Churches." *Sociological Analysis*. 1989. Vol. 49. pp. 234-248.

14. From the interview with Reverend J. Kim, the head pastor of the Grace Church (interview notes, November 2, 1998).

15. From the interview with Reverend J. Kim, the head pastor of the Grace Church (interview notes, November 2, 1998).

16. Buddhist hymns with Western musical instruments have been performed in the larger urban temples since the 1970s. This is one of many influences of Christianity that the Korean Buddhist temples adopted.

17. Since the sermon is important in understanding Korean immigrant congregations' way of constructing their religious community, a research based on a content analysis the religious leaders' sermons in the two religious groups is intended separately. Field research and tape recordings of one-year's sermons of each congregation have been completed.

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Chapter 6. Organizational Structure of Churches and Temples

This chapter investigates the ways in which the two Korean immigrant religious groups construct their religious organizations and communities. It also explores how the structural aspects of the religious organization are related to the growth of ethnic immigrant congregations after immigration. This chapter thus aims to uncover a pattern of relationship between the structural and functional aspects that the two religious groups maintain and the extent to which each group grows in size on the congregational level. Also examined is the impact of their organizational differences on individual members' involvement and participation in congregational activities after immigration.

Comparison and Contrast of General Characteristics of Churches and Temples

Denominational Affiliation and Theological Stance

The majority of Korean immigrant congregations, both Buddhist and Protestant, are affiliated with conservative denominations. The degree of concentration of Buddhist congregations in the most popular and conservative denomination (Chogye) is much higher than that of their Protestant counterparts. Eight out of ten Buddhist congregations are affiliated with the Chogye denomination. Other Buddhist denominations such as Taego and Won, however, are also considered conservative, because they maintain similar attitudes towards both religious practices and social thought. Approximately more than 85 percent of Korean Buddhist congregations surveyed are affiliated with these conservative denominations. The majority of Protestant congregations are also affiliated

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with the two most conservative denominations, Presbyterian and Methodist. More than half of the congregations (56.5%) surveyed are affiliated with Presbyterian denomination, while one fifth (20%) are affiliated with Methodist. The Christian and Missionary Alliance (10.5%) and Holiness (6.2%) are the third and fourth largest denominations with which Korean Protestant congregations are affiliated.

Compared with the results of two earlier surveys conducted in the early 1980s in Los Angeles and 1990s in New York City, these two denominations are currently gaining greater congregational membership among the Korean Protestant congregations in the New York metropolitan area (see Table 6-1). The Baptist affiliates are small in size mostly because Baptism is weaker than other conservative denominations in the Northeast, including the New York metropolitan area. Since *Korean Churches Directory of New York*, which is published by the Council of Korean Churches of Greater New York, does not include some minor Protestant sects and denominations, such as the Seventh-Day Adventist, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Latter-Day Saints, the Korean congregations affiliated with these denominations and sects do not appear on this survey. The council excludes the sects and denominations considered to be heretical.

The cases the Protestant congregations' denominational affiliation appearing in this survey are thus a little different from those appearing in the 1982 survey in Los Angeles conducted by Dearman and the 1992 survey in New York City by Min. According to Dearman's survey, only 30 percent of 180 Korean Protestant congregations in Los Angeles area in the early 1980s were affiliated with Presbyterian denominations; only 8 percent were Methodist; another 8 percent were Baptist affiliates; 9 percent were simply

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marked as Korean; and other 39 percent were affiliated with other denominations (Yu et al. 1982: 168-169). Min's survey conducted in New York City in the early 1990s showed that among 185 Christian congregations, including Catholics, 49.2 percent were Presbyterian affiliates; 14.6 percent were Methodist; 8.6 percent were Baptist; 2.7 percent were Catholic; and 24.9 percent were affiliated with other Protestant denominations (Min 1992a: 1378).

Table 6-1 Denominational Affiliations of Buddhist and Protestant Congregations

Buddhist Congregation			Protestant Congregation		
Denominations	Frequency	Percent	Denominations	Frequency	Percent
Chogye	23	79.4	Presbyterian	48	56.5
Taego	1	3.4	Methodist	17	20.0
Won Buddhism	1	3.4	Baptist	1	1.2
Jingak	1	3.4	Full Gospel	2	2.4
Sunkyo	1	3.4	Holiness	7	8.2
Other	2	7.0	Non-denominational or independent	1	1.2
			C&MA and other	9	10.5
Total	29	100.0	Total	85	100.0

Interestingly, however, although the majority of Buddhist congregations are affiliated with the most conservative denomination, their self-identified theological and religious stances are quite diverse. As Table 6-2 shows, 38 percent of the Buddhist congregations and 65.8 percent of Protestant congregations identify themselves as congregations with a conservative religious stance. Proportionally, however, more Buddhist congregations than Protestant identify themselves as liberal (10.3% versus 2.4%), fundamentalist (17.2%

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versus 7.1%), and intermediary (31% versus 16.4%). Like other mainstream Protestant groups in the United States, the majority of Korean Protestant congregations align themselves with either conservative or intermediary religious and theological stances. By and large maintaining the same religious and theological stance as in their homeland, a large proportion of Buddhist congregations (58.5%) reset their religious and theological stance by building new congregations in the United States. More Buddhist congregations maintain fundamentalist, liberal, and intermediary religious stances after immigration in reaction to the host society than their Protestant counterparts. One of the main reasons why Buddhist congregations are more diverse in their religious and theological stances is because they suddenly become a minority religious group on their arrival in the United States. Like European Catholics who still maintain a conservative religious doctrines, but hold much more liberal attitudes toward political and social matters in the United States (Herberg 1983: 155), the Korean Buddhist congregations' minority status in the United States makes them hold quite diverse religious stances against their host society after immigration (see Table 6-2).

Table 6-2 Theological and Religious Stance of the Korean Immigrant Congregations (%)

Theological Stance	Buddhist Congregation	Protestant Congregation	Total
Fundamental	5 (17.2%)	6 (7.1%)	11 (9.6%)
Conservative	11 (38.0%)	56 (65.8%)	67 (58.8%)
Liberal	3 (10.3%)	2 (2.4%)	5 (4.4%)
Reformed	1 (3.5%)	6 (7.1%)	7 (6.1%)
Intermediary	9 (31.0%)	14 (16.4%)	23 (20.2%)

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Theological Stance	Buddhist Congregation	Protestant Congregation	Total
Other		1 (1.2%)	1 (0.9%)
Total	29 (100.0%)	85 (100.0%)	114 (100%)

Interestingly, the individual congregation's relationship with the denominational authority is shallow. Almost all individual Buddhist congregations maintain independence in their financial and personnel matters. Although it entirely depends on the policy of each denomination, out of twenty-nine Buddhist temples surveyed, only two (6.9%) depend on denominational supervision, whereas ten out of eighty Protestant congregations (11.8%) do so. The Protestant congregations' higher rate of dependency on their denominational supervision is due to their relatively high rates of affiliation with Methodism which largely supervises individual congregations by dispatching superintendents. The majority of Korean immigrant congregations, both Buddhist and Protestant, are thus *de facto* congregation-type religious organizations.

How much does each congregation of the two religious groups depend on its higher denominational authority for important matters, such as personnel and finance? An individual congregation's degree of dependency on denominational authority is closely associated with the degree of congregationalism they maintain in American society. A majority of the congregations surveyed (82.8% of Buddhist congregations and 77.6% of Protestant) maintain a nominal affiliation with higher denominational organizations. In other words, the majority of both are running their congregations independently, without any intervention or supervision from their higher denominational authority on matters of

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personnel and finance.

Only 6.9 percent of Buddhist temples and 11.8 percent of Protestant churches have denominational supervision on both financial and personnel matters. Only two Buddhist congregations (one Won Buddhist and one Jingak) and four Protestant congregations (all Methodist) depend on higher denominational organizations, and on personnel matters only. Including congregations entirely independent from any denominational organizations on these two important managerial matters, 86.2 percent of Buddhist temples and 82.3 percent of Protestant churches are not supervised by higher denominational organizations on both matters (see Table 6-3). The majority of Korean ethnic churches and temples maintain independent congregation-style religious organizations.

Table 6-3 Degree of Dependency on Higher Denominational Organization (%)

Dependency on denominational organization	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Entirely independent	1 (3.4%)	4 (4.7%)	5 (4.4%)
Dependent on personnel matter only	2 (6.9%)	4 (4.7%)	6 (5.3%)
Dependent on both financial and personnel	2 (6.9%)	10 (11.8%)	12 (10.5%)
Affiliated but running independently	24 (82.8%)	66 (77.6%)	90 (78.9%)
Other		1 (1.2%)	1 (0.9%)
Total	29 (100%)	85 (100%)	114 (100%)

Location of Churches and Temples

There is a remarkable difference between the two religious groups as to where they locate buildings for religious services. Protestant congregations prefer to locate their

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church buildings near their residential areas, whereas their Buddhist counterparts prefer to locate them farther from home. Both religious groups follow the same pattern of locating their buildings as they did in their homeland. The majority of Buddhist temples in Korea are located in non-residential countryside areas, while Protestant churches are located in wherever their members live, whether rural or urban areas. Approximately one half of Buddhist congregations (48.3%) surveyed are located in urban residential areas, while the rest are located in non-residential suburban areas or mountainous areas. Two Buddhist temples (6.9%) are located in mountainous areas apart from the members' homes. On the contrary, the proportion of the Protestant congregations that are located in urban residential areas (70.6%) is much higher than that of their Buddhist counterparts. A surprisingly high proportion of Protestant churches (10.6%) are located in inner-city commercial or manufacturing areas, while no Buddhist temples are located in these areas. Only 1.2 percent of the Protestant churches are located in non-residential areas, while 51.7 percent of Buddhist houses of worship are (see Table 6-4).

Buddhists' preference of locating their temples apart from their place of residence is associated with two major reasons: first, their stronger tendency to emphasize the importance of nature (Contrary to their Protestant counterparts, who view human being as a prime being among creatures, the majority of Korean Buddhists view human beings as a mere part of nature); second, as a practical reason, Buddhists prefer to locate their place of worship in clear and serene areas in which they can better express their religious practices. Separating their temples from their residential areas, however, seems more closely to be related to Buddhists' otherworldly ascetic tendency. Weber tried to discover

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the cause of early Buddhists' tendency toward otherworldliness from the religious doctrine of Buddhism that emphasizes contemplation of the world and the immanency of divine character, which Buddhists strongly believe in. He felt that Buddhists' stronger otherworldliness led them to secede from the mundane world. Different from Christians, who believe in the transcendency of God, who always exists outside of individual Christians, Weber argued that the immanency of divine ideas and Buddhists' contemplative characteristics maintain possibly guide them to disengage from the secular world (Weber 1963). Buddhists' physical seclusion seems to reasonably support Weber's argument. But if Weber's argument is correct, Buddhists would not care about the location of their temple, because they hold their beliefs in their minds, so place of worship is unimportant. According to my survey with both religious groups, few Buddhist respondents maintain other-worldly attitude. Also in the Mahayana Buddhism, which is popular in China, Korea, and Japan, the demarcation between sacredness and secularity is very weak compared to Theravada Buddhism, popular in Southeast Asian countries (Humphreys 1962; Ono 1994).

Then why do they particularly prefer to build their temples away from their homes? It is simply because of practical reason to enjoy better environment for their religious practices. As we have seen in the previous chapter, since meditation is a major part of Korean Buddhists' religious practice, they prefer to have a calm and tranquil environment. Different from Protestants, the majority of Buddhists believe that prayer, which means both prostration and meditation rituals, is an activity of consolidating the energy prevailing in the universe into their minds. For Buddhists, prayer is not just

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sending supplication messages to their god, but an action through which individual believers communicate with the natural world and make it useful for their everyday lives. Historically, Buddhists' tendency of building their temples apart from their homes is also influenced by Taoism, which is almost thoroughly syncretized with Chinese and Korean Buddhism (Ono 1994). Taoism and Taoism-influenced Korean Buddhism strongly emphasize individual believers' accommodation with nature and their reverence for nature's energy.

Table 6-4 Location of Buddhist Temples and Protestant Churches (%)

Location	Temple	Church	Total
City residential area	14 (48.3%)	60 (70.6%)	74 (64.9%)
City commercial area		7 (8.2%)	7 (6.1%)
Non-residential suburban area	13 (44.8%)	1 (1.2%)	14 (12.2%)
Residential suburban area		15 (17.6%)	15 (13.2%)
Mountainous area	2 (6.9%)		2 (1.8%)
Industrial (manufacturing) area		2 (2.4%)	2 (1.8%)
Total	29 (100%)	85 (100%)	114 (100%)

Length of Establishment

For many immigrant communities in the United States, the length of establishment of ethnic congregations is one of the most important indicators of ethnic community development. This is especially true for the Korean community, in which, since its early immigration history, the ethnic church has performed as a community center. Since the turn of the 20th century, when Korean immigrants first began to enter the United States, the number of Korean ethnic churches has been directly proportionate to the number of

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Korean immigrants. Although Buddhist temples were established much later than Protestant churches in the Korean immigrant community, the number and the year of the establishment of temples directly reflect the growth of the Buddhist sub-community in the Korean community.

According to the survey, 24.1 percent of temples and 23.7 percent of churches were established in the 1970s; 38.5 percent of temples and 44.0 percent of churches were established in the 1980s; and 38.4 percent of temples and 32.2 percent of churches were established in the 1990s (see Table 6-5). Table 6-5 also reveals the fact that the majority of Korean ethnic congregations of both religious groups were established when mass immigration from Korea occurred. Proportionally speaking, the rate of Buddhist temple establishment is steadily growing today, while that of Protestant church has been diminishing recently. This means that the growth of the Protestant community is stagnant, while the growth of the Buddhist community is continuing. But the absolute numbers of Protestant churches are incomparably larger than those of Buddhist temples. The ratio of Protestant churches to Buddhist temples in 1999 was thirty-six to one.

Table 6-5 Establishment Year of Korean Buddhist Temples and Protestant Churches (%)

Year	Temple	Church	Total
1970-1974	2 (7.7%)	6 (7.1%)	8 (7.3%)
1975-1979	4 (15.4%)	14 (16.7%)	18 (16.4%)
1980-1984	6 (23.1%)	17 (20.2%)	23 (20.9%)
1985-1989	4 (15.4%)	20 (23.8%)	24 (21.8%)
1990-1994	5 (19.2%)	18 (21.4%)	23 (20.9%)
1995-1998	5 (19.2%)	9 (10.8%)	14 (12.7%)

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Year	Temple	Church	Total
Total	26* (100%)	84* (100%)	110 (100%)

* Missing values: 4 (3 temples and 1 church)

General Characteristics of Korean Churches and Temples

Numeric Size

The number of registered members of congregations of both religious groups is moderately large. The mean (average) numbers of registered members of Buddhist and Protestant congregations (including children) are 258 and 237, respectively. Some large congregations influence the mean number of registered members of the two groups. Statistically speaking, the distribution of registered members of both religious groups is positively skewed. This means that the majority of congregations surveyed are small in size, and the few large congregations inflate the average number of registered members. This is why the mean number of registered members of all congregations surveyed is more than twice as large as the median number, which represents the midpoint of all cases. The median numbers of the registered members of Buddhist and Protestant congregations are 150 and 100, respectively. One half of Buddhist congregations surveyed have fewer than 150 registered members, whereas half of Protestant congregations have fewer than 100. The most frequently appearing number (mode) of registered members of both the Buddhist and Protestant congregations are 150 and 60, respectively. Protestants thus show more skewed distribution than Buddhists. In terms of size of registered numbers, Buddhist congregations are by and large a little bigger than

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their Protestant counterparts.

The extreme cases are also different between the two religious groups. The smallest Buddhist temple has 25 registered members, and the biggest has 1,200 members. The smallest Protestant congregation has 24 members, and the biggest has 3,200 members. Out of 29 Buddhist congregations, only one has more than 1,000 registered members, while out of 85 Protestant congregations, three have more than 1,000 registered members. Standard deviation of the registered members of Buddhist temple is 293, while that of Protestant church is 482.

Compared to the two previous surveys conducted in Los Angeles in 1982 and in New York City in 1992, which surveyed only Christian congregations, including Catholics, the size of Korean Protestant congregations surveyed for this research is a little larger. According to a survey conducted in Los Angeles (Dearman 1982: 170), the mean size of Korean Christian congregations, including four Catholic congregations, was 122.3, median was 69.9, and mode was 50. The survey, however, did not count child members. According to a survey conducted in New York City in the early 1990s (Min 1992: 1379), mean and median sizes (including children) of Korean Christian congregations, including five Catholic congregations, were 214 and 82, respectively (mode and standard deviation are not known).

Since my survey counted both the average number of registered members and the total number of congregations of the two religious groups, it is not difficult to figure out the total number of believers of each religious group. According to the survey, the sum of the registered members of 29 Buddhist congregations is 7,492, and that of 85 Protestant

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congregations is 20,131. The total number of Korean Buddhists who register to their ethnic temples in the New York metropolitan area is 3,612, and that of the whole United States is some 23,994, which is equal to 3.0 percent of the entire Korean-American population in the United States. The total number of Korean Buddhists registered to their ethnic temples is calculated by multiplying the total number of the Buddhist temples (93) to the mean number of registered members of temples (258). By the same method, the total number of Korean Protestant congregations in the New York metropolitan area (573) is estimated at some 135,228, and in entire United States (2,500), it is some 590,000. These figures make up approximately 70 percent of the Korean population of the New York metropolitan area and 74 percent of the overall Korean population of the United States respectively. The numbers of registered members of Korean congregations of both religious groups are somewhat exaggerated, because they depend on each congregation's self-reporting.

To get a realistic figure of the religiously active population among Korean immigrants, the numbers of regular service participants of both religious groups were also collected. The survey shows that there is a large discrepancy between the number of registered members and the number of regular service participants of both religious groups. Although the average number of registered members of Buddhist temples is quite larger than their Protestant counterparts, much fewer Buddhists attend Sunday service regularly than Protestants. Only a small proportion of the registered number of Buddhists regularly attends their weekly religious services. The Buddhists' Sunday service participation rate among registered members is only 33 percent in average, while the

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Protestants' participation rate is 75 percent. The survey shows that Buddhists' average number of Sunday service participants is 43, while the Protestants' average is 166.

According to the survey result, 1,192 Korean Buddhists in the New York metropolitan area regularly attend Sunday services (0.6% of the Korean population in the New York metropolitan area), while 8,514 Buddhists attend Sunday services every week nationwide (approximately 1.1 percent of the Korean population in the United States). In contrast to Buddhists' number of regular service attendees, 95,118 Korean Protestants in the New York metropolitan area attend Sunday services (47.6 percent of the Korean population in the New York metropolitan area), while 415,000 Protestants attend Sunday services every week nationwide (51.9 percent of all Korean-American population in the United States). These figures indicate that Korean immigrants' religious participation rates have been inflated, although it is true that the majority of Korean immigrants, especially Protestants, regularly participate in religious services after immigration. In summary, according to my survey, 77.2 percent of Koreans are affiliated with either Buddhist or Protestant congregations, but only 64 percent of the registered members of the two religions (33% of the Buddhist group and 75% of the Protestant group) regularly attend Sunday services (see Table 6-6).

Same Religion Practice Rates

Interestingly, however, more Buddhists than Protestants not only practice the same religion that they did before immigration, but also consider themselves devout believers. Among registered members of Buddhist congregations, 75.4 percent practiced the same

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religion before immigration, while 54.8 percent of registered members of Protestant congregations did so before immigration. The survey reveals that 60 percent of all registered members of the surveyed congregations practice the same religions they did before immigration. One of the major reasons why Buddhists maintain a higher rate of practicing the same religion after immigration is because of their minority status after immigration. As we have seen, many Korean Buddhists switch their religion to Christianity, because the Christian churches perform more useful functions as religio-social organizations for their members. Since more Buddhists than Christians switch their religious affiliation after immigration, a relatively larger proportion of Buddhist immigrants continues to practice the same religion as before immigration, although their absolute number shrinks after immigration. As we have also seen in the previous chapter, Buddhist congregations' weak solidarity is another reason their members leave their community and join the Christian community, in which they feel a stronger sense of belonging and group solidarity, which are significant for first-generation immigrants' psychological well-being. This is the reason why only devout Buddhists, even after immigration, remain practicing Buddhism, although they realize that their religion has become a minority religion in the Korean community in the United States. This is why proportionally more Buddhists are more devout members than Protestants, who consist of people of heterogeneous religious backgrounds.

Number of Devout Members

The devoutness of the two religious groups is measured by the number of baptized

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believers. Since the standard for baptism of the two religious groups is not identical, the proportion of baptized members of the two groups may not be compatibly contrasted. However, the proportion of baptized member is the most useful indicator to measure religious sincerity because baptized members show the higher rates of religious commitment. According to the leaders' accounts, almost half (49%) of the members of Buddhist congregations are baptized, whereas more than half (63.1%) of Protestant congregations are baptized (see Table 6-6).[1]

There are a few reasons why Buddhists are less likely to be baptized (or to receive *sugye* in the Korean expression). First, Buddhists observe a different form of baptism ritual from Protestants. Buddhists do not perform the immersion ceremony, which is observed as a symbol of baptism by some Christian denominations. Instead, Buddhists who are ready to receive *sugye*, which is equivalent to Christian baptism ritual, just make a plea for their promises in front of the priest who performs the ritual. The lack of preparations for the baptismal ceremony weakens Buddhists' awareness of the significance of the boundary between baptized and non-baptized members. For Buddhists, receiving *sugye* is entirely dependent on an individual believer's decision, which reinforces their self-defined regulations, not on any requirements set by religious authority or other regulations. Receiving *sugye* for the Buddhists is thus nothing but heightening their self-defined religious duty. Buddhists feel less pressure to receive *sugye* than Protestants. For instance, Protestant congregations never allow non-baptized member to hold any lay leadership positions, but Buddhist congregations less significantly care about the members' baptismal status to be appointed to lay leadership

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positions. This makes Buddhist temples resemble voluntary social organizations sometimes. Second, Buddhist congregations do not give the baptismal ritual regularly. On the contrary, Protestant congregations hold baptismal ceremony regularly -- at least twice a year. Buddhists hold the ceremony whenever they can invite famous and authoritative figures from their higher denominational organization. Buddhists thus have fewer opportunities to receive baptism than Protestants. For baptism, Buddhists maintain a more strict hierarchical involvement from the higher denominational authority, and at the same time it holds more liberal attitude toward baptism. Third, Buddhist religious leaders do not compel members to become baptized, whereas Protestants strongly encourage new members to be baptized. Many times the Protestant congregation leaders make a list of candidates for baptism and urge them to receive the baptismal ceremony. As mentioned earlier, baptism for the Buddhists, however, is almost entirely dependent on the believers' own decision. New members of the Buddhist congregation rarely get any group or individual level of pressure to receive baptism. Fourth, Buddhists are not obliged to do any special religious study for baptism, while Protestants provide candidates with a special religious study program for baptism. All Buddhist candidates have to do for their baptism ceremony is to promise themselves to follow all the important religious regulations traditionally signified -- five basic rules and more than a hundred detailed regulations, which are designated differently for male and female believers. It is much more difficult for Buddhists to observe all these regulations than for Protestants. Lastly, different from their Protestant counterparts, Buddhists can perform the baptismal ceremony as many times as they want. They do it to reinforce their religiosity.

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Nevertheless, this does not make more Buddhists receive baptism. Buddhists thus are much more likely to be voluntary (or individualistic) believers than Protestants when it comes to baptism. They maintain weaker religious imperatives and a less collective tendency than their Protestant counterparts.

Gender Ratio

Gender composition of registered members of churches and temples is different as well. By and large, both religious groups have more female members. The ratio of male to female members of all congregations surveyed is approximately four to six. Male members of all congregations make up 41.4 percent, while females make up 58.6 percent. Buddhist congregations have a higher proportion of female members. Only 36.1 percent of Buddhist congregation members and 43.2 percent of Protestant congregation members are male. The uneven gender composition seems to be closely related with the premigration legacy of both congregations. Traditionally, more women than men have practiced religion in Korea.

Ironically, however, the congregation leadership positions, both cleric and lay, have been occupied by men. Despite this, it is a surprise that almost half of the congregations surveyed, 44.8 percent of the Buddhist and 47.1 percent of the Protestant congregations, reply that women leaders can reach the highest clerical leadership positions in the congregation or denominational organizations. Practically, however, 95.6 percent of the congregations surveyed (89.7% of the Buddhist and 97.6% of the Protestant congregations) are headed by males. This indicates that both religious groups do not

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allow women to be their spiritual leaders yet. Women's position in the Korean ethnic congregations can be described as "a majority in laity but a minority in clergy."

Proportion of non-Korean members

Racial and ethnic profiles of Korean ethnic churches and temples are a good indicator for measuring their level of cultural incorporation into the United States society and of interaction with their community nearby. According to the survey results, Korean churches and temples are very much isolated from the general American society, in regard to their relationship with other racial and ethnic groups. In terms of their membership recruitment, the Korean congregations of both religious groups emphasize taking on the same ethnic members first. By and large, Protestant congregations put more emphasis on taking on the first- and second-generation members, while Buddhist temples put more attention on taking on the other racial groups than Protestant churches, in addition to the first-generation Buddhist immigrants. As a result, although their number is small, Buddhist temples have a higher rate of non-Korean members than Protestant churches. The mean number of non-Korean members of Buddhist temples is 6.2, while that of Protestant churches is 2.6. There are two different reasons why non-Korean members register with Korean churches and temples. In the case of Buddhist temples, non-Korean members register as members because they are interested in Buddhism and Korean culture. However, most non-Korean members of Protestant churches are intermarried family members.

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Proportion of Second-Generation Members

The proportion of second-generation members in the immigrant congregation is one of the most important indicators for their survival in American society in the future. Although Buddhist temples have a higher rate of non-Korean members, they show lower rate of second-generation members among registered members. The proportion of second-generation members among registered members of Buddhist temples is 14.2, while that of Protestant churches is 23.1.

Although some second-generation Koreans in the New York metropolitan area are indifferent to their parents' religious practices, quite a few second-generation Protestants are actively involved in various religious programs of their parents' churches; they create a unique religious and generational subculture in the churches, blending Korean and American cultural heritages. Some second-generation Protestants form their own congregation with other Asian ethnic second-generation members. This uniquely second-generation congregation is operated independently, without any organizational links with their parents' churches. It is common today for many Korean Protestant congregations to hire bilingual assistant pastors, who are able to take care of the second-generation members. Only large churches can hire bilingual pastors, because only large churches are able to support them financially and have substantial number of second-generation members.

As soon as the congregations of both religious groups grow enough to have substantial numbers of second-generation members, they begin to provide English chapels for them. But mostly because of the scarcity of bilingual priests and lower enrollment rates of

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Buddhist second-generation members, much fewer Buddhist temples offer English chapel. Among the Buddhist temples surveyed, 21 percent hold English chapel, while 52 percent of Protestant churches do so. As we have seen, the second-generation registration rate of Buddhist congregations is much lower than Protestants, and some Buddhist temples like Wonkaksa do not have any religious or educational programs for second-generation members, because no second-generation members are currently registered with the congregation.

Source of Revenue and Building Possession Rates

Other differences between the two religious groups are building possession rates and sources of revenue. Contrary to our expectations, the majority of Buddhist temples surveyed (89.7%) own their own temple buildings, while only 41.2 percent of the Protestant congregations own their own buildings. Out of twenty-six temples that possess their own building, 16 (61.5%) already completed mortgage payments, while out of 35 building-owned churches, only 17 (48.6%) completed mortgage payments. The Buddhist temples look much sounder financially.

For their annual revenue source, both religious groups heavily depend on offerings (over 75%). The two religious groups' offering dependency rate in their major revenue source is also dissimilar. Out of 29 Buddhist temples, 14 (48.3%) reply that offerings from their members are the only source for annual revenue, whereas 72 churches out of 85 (84.7%) do so. Interestingly, the survey shows that three Buddhist temples are run by membership fees only, but none of the Protestant churches are run by membership fees.

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Eight congregations (5 temples and 3 churches) are run by both offerings and membership fees. Four congregations (1 temple and 3 churches) are run by denominational support with their members' offerings. Twelve congregations (6 temples and 6 churches) have other supplementary revenue sources, in addition to their members' offerings, such as rent and other commercial activities (see Table 6-6).

Table 6-6 General Characteristics of Korean Churches and Temples

Characteristics	Temple	Church	Total
Total number of registered members (Number)	258	237	242
Regular (weekly) attendees (Number)	43	166	135
(Percent)*	33	75	64
Members who practice the same religion after immigration among registered members (%)	75.4	54.8	60.1
Baptized members among registered members (%)	49.0	63.1	62.5
(Estimated) Devout believers among registered members (%)	59.5	52.4	54.2
Gender (%) Male	36.1	43.2	41.4
Female	63.9	56.8	58.6
Non-Koreans among registered members (%)	6.2	2.6	3.5
Second-generation members among registered members (%)	14.2	23.1	20.8
Availability of English chapel (%)	21.0	52.0	44.0
Possession of congregation's own building (%)	89.7	41.2	53.5
Revenue -- members' offerings only (%)	48.2	84.7	75.4

*Average participation rate of individual congregations

Organization Structure of the Churches and Temples

Types of Congregation Foundation

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Between laity and clergy, who plays a more critical role to establish churches and temples? It is crucial to know who initiated ethnic congregations, because it informs us of the differential aspects of demand and supply on constructing churches and temples after immigration. By and large, the survey results below reveal the fact that religious leaders of both religious groups play the most important role in organizing their ethnic congregations. Proportionally, however, more churches are initiated by religious leaders than temples. Slightly more than half of Buddhist temples (51.7%) were initiated by laity and clergy together, while only 32.1 percent of Protestant churches were initiated cooperatively. More than half of Protestant churches surveyed (53.6%) were initiated either by clergy only or under the leading role of clergy members while 38 percent of temples were. A few Protestant churches (13.1%) were initiated by lay leaders only, while only two temples (6.9%) were. No churches were initiated by the denominational organization, but one temple was (see Table 6-7).

Since religious leaders play a crucial role in initiating ethnic congregations of both religious groups, it is not difficult to surmise that the more religious leaders an ethnic immigrant community has, the more ethnic congregations are organized in the community. Korean Protestant churches are a good example. As we have seen, since the beginning of Korean immigration to the United States, Protestant clergy has outnumbered the Buddhist counterparts and has played an important role to construct a church-centered community. One of the major reasons for the rapid numeric proliferation of Korean Protestant congregations is the oversupply of Protestant clergy. On the other hand, one of the major reasons why Buddhists have fewer congregations is, as the statistics show, due

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to the lack of Buddhist clergy. Not until the late 1970s, when a massive Korean immigration began, did Buddhist denominations in Korea send Buddhist priests to the United States to take care of Buddhist immigrants' religious activities.[2]

Table 6-7 Who Played an Important Role to Initiate Congregations? (%)

Who initiated congregations?	Buddhist	Protestant	Total*
Lay leader(s) only	2 (6.9%)	11 (13.1%)	13 (11.5%)
Religious leader(s) only	1 (3.4%)	14 (16.7%)	15 (13.3%)
Lay and religious leaders together	15 (51.7%)	27 (32.1%)	42 (37.1%)
Together but religious leaders playing a more important role	10 (34.6%)	31 (36.9%)	41 (36.3%)
Denominational organization	1 (3.4%)		1 (0.9%)
Other		1 (1.2%)	1 (0.9%)
Total	29 (100%)	84 (100%)	113 (100%)

*One case of a Protestant congregation is missing.

Employment Structure

Due to the small size of their congregations, the majority of Buddhist temples and Protestant churches do not hire any assistant clerical workers. Out of twenty-nine temples, twenty-two (75.9%) do not have a female evangelist, while out of eighty-five churches forty-three (50.6%) do not have the position. Only seven temples (24.1%) have more than one female evangelist while forty-two (49.4%) churches have more than one female evangelist. Both churches and temples prefer to hire male evangelists. Thirteen (41.4%) temples have more than one male evangelist, and fifty-three (64.4%) churches have more than one male evangelist. Approximately one half of all congregations surveyed (51.7% of temples and 52.9% of churches) do not hire any assistant pastor or

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priest. Interestingly, seven Buddhist temples (24.1%) do not hire any clerical workers. They are either run by lay members themselves or are served by visiting clergy members who do not receive any remuneration from their congregations. A large proportion of congregations (48.3% of temples and 75.3% of churches) also have fewer than three employees, including both clergy and lay workers. Another large proportion of congregations (31% of temples and 22.4% of churches) also hire only one employee.

A big gender difference in clerical employment of both Buddhists and Protestants also exists. As Table 6-9 shows, 95.6 percent of the congregations surveyed are headed by male clergy. The proportion of male-headed Protestant congregations is slightly higher than that of Buddhist congregations. Ironically, however, as we have already seen, slightly fewer than half of both congregations (44.8% of temples and 47.1% of churches) reply that women religious leaders can reach the highest position. Practically, however, only 4.4 percent of the congregations of both religious groups are headed by women leaders. Other assistant positions, such as assistant pastor and evangelist, are also mostly occupied by males. (see Table 6-8 and Table 6-9).

Table 6-8 Employment Structure of Korean Ethnic Congregations (%)

Categories of employee	Congreg.	0	1-3	4-7	Over 8	Total
Female assist. evangelist (paid, including part-time)	Buddhist	22 (75.9%)	7 (24.1%)			29
	Protestant	43 (50.6%)	38 (44.7%)	4 (4.7%)		85
Male assist. evangelist (paid, including part-time)	Buddhist	17 (58.6%)	11 (37.9%)	1 (3.5%)		29
	Protestant	32 (37.6%)	51 (60.0%)	1 (1.2%)	1 (1.2%)	85
Assistant Pastor or Priest (paid, including part-time)	Buddhist	15 (51.7%)	12 (41.4%)	2 (6.9%)		29
	Protestant	45 (52.9%)	38 (44.7%)	2 (2.4%)		85
All paid employees (including part-time)	Buddhist	7 (24.1%)	14 (48.3%)	8 (27.6%)		29
	Protestant		64 (75.3%)	18 (21.2%)	3 (3.5%)	85

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Table 6-9 Gender of Head Pastor or Priest of Korean Ethnic Congregations (%)

		Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Gender of head pastor or priest	Male	26 (89.7%)	83 (97.6%)	109 (95.6%)
	Female	3 (10.3%)	2 (2.4%)	5 (4.4%)
Possibility of female head	Yes	13 (44.8%)	40 (47.1%)	53 (46.5%)
	No	16 (55.2%)	45 (52.9%)	61 (53.5%)

Lay Positions

For first-generation immigrant believers, the lay leadership positions in their congregations not only have a special religious meaning as servant but also play a significant role of providing them with self-esteem and social status that they lost after immigration. Lay leadership positions also allow the members to have an opportunity to participate in their own congregational activities. Through participation in their own religious community the members also attain a sense of belonging and self-awareness. Because of its important role for both lay leaders and regular members, the lay position is not only tactically used by religious leaders to increase the size of their congregation, but also fervently demanded by lay members who long for social status in the host society.

Immigration suddenly changes immigrants' social position in the host society. Korean immigrants, who used to live in a racially and culturally homogeneous society, never felt they were a racial or cultural minority in their homeland. As soon as they arrive in the United States, however, they realize that they are suddenly plunged into racial and ethnic minority position. Not only in racial and ethnic relations, but also in their occupation, they experience a sudden devastation which few of them experienced before immigration.

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For this reason, many Korean immigrant believers turn their attention to their ethnic congregations or ethnic organizations, in which they can possibly compensate for their lost social status in the host society.

For many Korean first-generation immigrants, their ethnic congregations and other ethnic voluntary associations might be the only way they can achieve their social status in the United States. Most voluntary associations that first-generation immigrants organize, however, are relatively small, narrow in their scope of activities, and too homogeneous in their characteristics. Like some primary groups, all the members of the voluntary associations also share the similar social status and acquaintanceship. For these reasons, the voluntary associations confer members less satisfaction than ethnic congregations, in terms of attaining self-esteem and social status. As Hurh and Kim (1990) observed, ethnic congregations provide members with both primary and secondary group functions in an ethnic immigrant community. For these two important reasons -- bestowing self-esteem and social status -- most Korean congregations, regardless of their religious or denominational lines, provide members with various lay leadership position titles that are not appeared in their religious script. As we have seen in the previous chapter, in the case of Grace Church, more than 60 percent of all lay members hold lay leadership positions. Other Korean ethnic congregations have more or less the same percentage of lay leadership positions.

Among the congregations surveyed, only one Buddhist temple does not confer on its members any lay leadership position titles. Because of their small size, most of Buddhist temples (93%) confer fewer lay leadership position titles for their members than

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Protestants churches. Only one Buddhist temple provides four lay leadership position titles. Many Protestant churches (34.1%), however, confer more than four lay position titles, although still the majority of Protestant churches (65.9%) provides two or three lay leadership positions (see Table 6-10).

The lay leadership titles conferred by both religious groups are gender-specific as well. By and large, there are three popular lay leadership titles in Buddhist congregations. Male members are eligible for two leadership titles, for instance, *kursa* (master) for middle-aged and elderly male members and *bupsa* (ruler) for elderly male leaders who have a profound knowledge of Buddhist scripture. *Bupsa* is the highest position that lay Buddhists can reach, and it is regulated by denominational authority, requiring qualified examinations. It is compatible with the elder position in Protestant congregations in many respects. Because of relative difficulties in achieving the position, very few Buddhists hold that title. The number of *bupsa* is incomparably fewer than that of the elder counterpart in the Christian community. Different from the Protestant tradition, in which lay members elect the highest lay leadership position in the congregation, *bupsa* is not elected by the Buddhist congregation members, but is appointed by denominational authority in accordance with the qualification of candidates. According to my survey, only one temple out of twenty-nine has that position. Like the elders in Protestant congregations, Buddhist *bupsa* sometimes preaches to lay members.

The *Kursa* title is almost as difficult to obtain as *bupsa*. It literally means, "those who master all religious requirements and knowledge as true Buddhists." Interestingly, however, the title is given informally to almost every member who reaches middle-aged

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or senior status. It now becomes a semi-mundane title for male Korean Buddhists. The same method of entitlement for the deacon position in Protestant congregations is observed. Interestingly, both Buddhists and Protestants call their members by the title, immediately following their last name -- for example, "Kim *kursa-nim*" or "Lee *jipsa-nim*."[3] They never use the first name of the members, except for young children. If someone's first name is used, he or she considers that an insult. The age of members is more valued than the formal meaning of the title in their everyday interactions. *Bosal*, which is given to middle-aged and senior female members in the temple, is another example of transferring the actual meaning of the title. *Bosal* is Korean pronunciation of Chinese word that stands for boddhisattva, which means a person who is competent enough to achieve the Buddha-hood, but does not take that opportunity for himself or herself to help others achieve their religious salvation. Interestingly, although *bosal* title was traditionally given to both genders, it is given to female members only today. Almost all Buddhist congregations surveyed confer these two popular Buddhist lay leadership titles -- *kursa* and *bosal*. Different from their Protestant counterparts, the lay leadership positions in Buddhist congregations are not regularly appointed by the denominational authority, but are entirely dependent on individual Buddhists who intentionally wish to follow important Buddhist religious regulations. Literally speaking, therefore, only the individual Buddhists who want to reinforce their religious beliefs should receive these titles in accordance with their degree of religiosity. In reality, however, the lay leadership titles for both religious groups are mainly used to compensate lay people's social status gap, which they severely confront after immigration.

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Lay leadership titles given to Protestants are more diverse than those given to Buddhists and gender specific as well. The titles given to the Protestants consist of elder (Korean: *Jangno*), which is subdivided into honored elder and associate elder; deacon (Korean: *Jipsa*), which is also subdivided into ordained deacon and acting deacon; *kwonsa* (female elder in Presbyterian and male elder in Methodist denomination), which is the highest lay leadership position given to women believers; and *kwonchal* (encourager), which is usually given to women lay leaders only in some Korean Protestant denominations. Only middle-aged or older male members who are devout in their beliefs and have a profound knowledge in Bible can become candidates for the elder position. Their Biblical knowledge and moral soundness are tested by the denomination authority. Once the candidates for elder have passed the test, then the congregation vote to appoint them as elders. With the religious leaders, the elder becomes a major member of the decision-making body (Korean: *danghoe*) of the congregation. None of the other lay leadership position holders can be the member of the congregation's decision making body. *Kwonsa* is the highest lay leadership position that female members can achieve in Protestant congregations,[4] but *kwonsa* cannot be the member of decision-making body of congregation. They rather engage in various supportive and mediating work between religious leaders and lay members. A *kwonsa* is selected by religious leaders and ratified by congregation members' voting. *Kwonchal* is another lay leadership position given to female members, but it is positioned lower than *kwonsa.* A *kwonchal* is not elected by congregation members, but appointed by the religious leader. The role of *kwonchal* is similar to that of *kwonsa. Kwonchals* are more likely to focus on helping district affairs

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and district cell meetings, while *kwonsas* are more likely to help with congregation matters as a whole. This is why only a few large Protestant congregations confer the *kwonsa* title. Under an informal rule kept by both Buddhist and Protestant congregations, individual members should maintain good religious faith, a good social reputation and moral soundness in their community to be appointed to the lay leadership position. The higher a member maintains his or her social reputation and moral soundness, the more likely he or she is appointed to the lay leadership position.

The position of deacon is given to both male and female members who are in intermediate positions in their age and their degree of religiosity. By the regulations of most Protestant denominations, the position of ordained deacon is given to male members only, and they are tested by the denominational authority and then ratified by voting. Almost all Korean Protestant churches, however, give the title to both male and female members. Most Korean Protestant churches also confer the acting deacon title to the majority of adult baptized members who register longer than one year, regardless of their degree of devoutness or Biblical knowledge. This brings secularization of religious leadership titles. Just as their Buddhist counterparts call ordinary members *kursa* or *bosal*, most adult lay members of Protestant churches are called deacons (*jipsa-nim* in Korean). This is another example of how Korean immigrants do not correctly represent their individual qualifications in their congregations, as well as in their communities. In many cases church members call other members by their title given by their congregation even when they meet outside of their church. Most of Korean Protestant congregation members, as their Buddhist counterparts do, prefer to call other members by the title

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acquired from their congregation, and they themselves also want to be called by the title they obtained in their congregation. Not only congregation members, but also non-congregational affiliates also prefer to use the titles attached to their names.

Compared to Buddhist counterparts, however, Protestant churches confer more titles to their members. Among the Protestant congregations surveyed, 34.1 percent give more than four lay leadership positions to their members. Like the Grace Church, the numerous lay leadership positions in congregations cause the majority of congregation members to hold lay leadership positions.

Lay Associations

Lay associations are semi-voluntary subgroups within the congregation. They are formed by lay members themselves, but work for both their individual members and congregation as a whole, and they are guided and instructed by religious leaders. When a Korean ethnic congregation has just been established, religious leaders encourage members to form lay associations and expect them to support various congregational activities, both religious and non-religious.

Lay associations are formed along the lines of members' gender and age. Interestingly, the youth group and the senior group, however, are not divided by gender. By and large, as we have seen the case of the Grace Church, in most Korean ethnic congregations, the early middle-aged members in their 30s and 40s form two associations divided by gender lines, and the older middle-aged members in their 50s and 60s do the same. Although they are divided by gender lines, they frequently get together whenever they meet for

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fraternal purposes and work together to support congregational activities. When a new person attends Sunday service, one of the lay association members who has the same gender and a similar age pays special attention to the new person after the service. A follow-up contact with the new person goes on for several weeks, not only by lay association members but by congregation leaders. Follow-up contact is made for a few weeks after the new person's first attendance, and in accordance with gender and age of the new person, a lay association eventually makes the new person one of its members.

Protestant churches' lay associations are much more active and practical than their Buddhist counterparts. Protestant churches rarely lose new members, because lay associations maintain a close-knit relationship with their members much tighter than their Buddhist counterparts. The association leaders of the Protestant church make every effort to include new members. The Buddhist temples, however, less actively engage in any efforts to embrace new members into their associations. The lay associations of Buddhist temples thus are less active in their overall activities and fewer in number than those of their Protestant counterparts.

The lay associations have two basic functions: fraternal and evangelical. Each association elects its own leaders, has regular meetings (mostly once a month), and discusses what it can do to encourage individual members' participation in congregational activities. The members of the lay associations observe a miniature service in their regular meetings and mostly socialize with other members after the service. Independent of individual offerings given to the congregation, each association collects its own membership fees. By the funds collected, each association supports

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various congregation activities, such as church picnics and athletic festivals, youth group culture fairs, Christmas parties, scholarships, donation to the poor and nursing homes, and remittance for missionaries in foreign countries.

Whenever the members meet, the fraternal activities are more emphasized and anticipated by members, because they provide the members with an informal and pleasurable ethnic-style meeting ground. In terms of its function, thus, fraternal activities of the lay association look much more important than other activities. Fraternal activities are much more emphasized by immigrant congregations than by congregations back in Korea, because for many members the lay association meeting in their congregation is the only source for social gathering outside their home and workplace. When a member of lay association has a family occasion, other members are usually invited. They enjoy talking and exchanging business information over refreshments in the familial atmosphere. Through these frequent association meetings, every member of the lay association gets to know other members quite thoroughly. Although Protestant congregations never allow the drinking of alcoholic beverages, lay association members sometimes drink them when they get together for a party or for an informal meeting. Some members of lay associations sometimes become close enough to go to bars and play golf together. In this respect, lay associations play both secular and sacred roles in congregation. As a primary subgroup within the congregations, the lay associations not only function as a vanguard that connects their sacred religious organization to the mundane world, but also hold the congregation members together. Lay associations are a backbone of organization of the ethnic Korean congregation, and they are the major

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source of in-group solidarity in Korean ethnic congregations of both religious groups.

The survey shows that more than 10 percent of temples have no lay associations at all, while only 2.4 percent of the churches have none. The majority of temples (58.6%) have fewer than three lay associations, while only 8.2 percent of churches do so. The majority of churches (89.4%) have more than four lay associations, while only 31.1 percent of temples do so. The number of lay associations in a congregation is directly proportionate to the number of registered members. Interestingly, however, although the mean number of registered members of the two religious groups is similar, Protestants have more lay associations than Buddhists on average. This indirectly reflects the fact that Protestants are more organization-oriented than Buddhist in their establishment of congregations. This organizational effect is closely associated with the frequency of religio-social activities and the numeric growth of congregations. The cases of Wonkaksa and Grace Church also support the importance of organizational effect on the numeric growth of congregation.

Along with the abundance of the Protestant clergy members, the various lay associations' frequent participation in both fraternal and evangelical activities is one of the major contributors to the growth of Protestant churches in the Korean community. Two studies have also pointed out that most social and business organizations of the early Korean community formulated their organizational structure along the lines of Protestant church organization, because of its better organizational efficiency (Ryu 1988; Choy 1979).

Table 6-10 Number of Lay Position and Lay Association Conferred by Congregations

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	Congreg.	0	1-3	4-7	Over 8	Total
Lay Positions	Buddhist	1 (3.5%)	27 (93.0%)	1 (3.5%)		29
	Protestant		56 (65.9%)	29 (34.1%)		85
Lay Associations	Buddhist	3 (10.3%)	17 (58.6%)	7 (24.2%)	2 (6.9%)	29
	Protestant	2 (2.4%)	7 (8.2%)	69 (81.2%)	7 (8.2%)	85

Relationship among Congregation Members

The degree of maintenance of close relationship among congregation members is a good indicator for measuring the level of solidarity of ethnic congregations. To measure the level of solidarity of Buddhist and Protestant congregations, the religious leaders were asked a question about the interactional aspect among congregation members (see Appendix II for questionnaire). As predicted by the role of lay associations, which largely contribute to hold members together, the majority of congregations of both religious groups maintain a family-like relationship. The survey results show that 65.5 percent of Buddhist temples and 74.1 percent of Protestant churches maintain a family-like relationship among members (see Table 6-11). All of these congregations that maintain a close relationship among members are quite small in their size. It is impossible for large churches and temples with more than a thousand members to maintain an intimate family-like relationship among members.

The survey reveals that by and large, congregations with fewer than 170 registered members, regardless of religious and denominational affiliation, are able to maintain close relationships among members. As expected, more Protestant churches than their Buddhist temples maintain a close relationship among members. The Protestant

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congregations' higher rate of maintaining a close relationship among members is mainly due to the fact their lay associations and leadership hierarchy are better organized and run than those of Buddhists. Many Buddhist temples have no cell or association meetings, so there is less opportunity for members to meet others in their congregations. Quite a large number of the congregations of both faiths (20.7% of temples and 21.2% of churches) are divided into several small sub-groups in the congregations and maintain a close relationship with the members of their sub-group only. The congregations that maintain this type of relationship are relatively big in size. Fewer Protestant churches (4.7%) than Buddhist temples (13.8%) maintain a loose relationship among members. Members of this type of congregation interact individualistically with each other, according to their religious leaders' observation. This is largely due to Protestants' maintenance of higher level of organizational efficiency. Ilsoo Kim's (1981) earlier observation that Korean Protestant congregations maintain "pseudo-extended family" relationship among members is still applicable to the majority of Protestant churches that have a small number of registered members, but his notion is not applicable to large congregations (some 30%) of the two religious groups, which maintain either individualistic relationships or small group divisions among members. Congregation size is thus the key factor that tells the interactional aspect among congregation members.

Table 6-11 Relationship among Congregation Members (%)

Relationship Style	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
All members maintain family-like relationship	19 (65.5%)	63 (74.1%)	82 (71.9%)
Separated by several small intimate groups	6 (20.7%)	18 (21.2%)	24 (21.1%)

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Relationship Style	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Individualistic/ Loose	4 (13.8%)	4 (4.7%)	8 (7.0%)
Total	29 (100%)	85 (100%)	114 (100%)

Notes

1. The Buddhist group does not have the same ritual of baptism that the Protestant group observes. Buddhists, however, maintain a quite similar ritual, which is called *sugye* in Korean, which means the individual believers' promise to observe all religious commandments and rules. I use the term baptism for both groups to compare them in the same standardized level of analysis.

2. From a telephone conversation with a Korean Buddhist Priest, Samwoo Kim, who serves at a temple located in Chicago (Sunryunsa).

3. "*Jipsa*" means deacon, and "*-nim*" is a Korean suffix used to express respect to the person being addressed.

4. The *kwonsa* title is given to male elders in the Korean Methodist denomination.

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RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND SOCIOECONOMIC ASPECTS OF LIFE OF BUDDHIST AND PROTESTANT KOREAN IMMIGRANTS

BY

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VOLUME II

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY IN SOCIOLOGY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

2000

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Chapter 7. Religious Leaders' Preaching and Pastoral Emphases

The contents of religious leaders' preaching and their pastoral emphases are closely related to the socioeconomic situation that immigrant congregation members encounter in their host society. The religious leaders' emphases in their preaching and pastoral activities are a direct reflection of congregation members' urgent concerns after immigration. This is one of the major reasons why sincere believers and religious leaders together express that the immigrant congregation is different and difficult, with respect to their class background and degree of religiosity, compared to congregations in Korea, which are more homogeneous. The religious leaders also commonly mention that the immigrant congregations have more disparate demands and inquiries than those in their homeland. Since the function and role of immigrant congregations are largely guided by both the concerns of congregation members and religious leaders' responses to them the contents of religious leaders' sermon become a barometer for the congregation members' daily concerns, it is therefore crucial to review the religious leaders' emphases that appear in their preaching and pastoral activities, to understand the immigrant congregation better.

In relation to religious leaders' preaching and pastoral emphases, this chapter is concerned with two sociological inquiries. First, because the majority of first-generation Korean immigrants hold onto the membership of their ethnic congregations, even though only a relatively small proportion of registered members are devout believers, their congregations are the most important social agency through which they learn about American society and develop their own self-awareness as first-generation immigrants with

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other members who share the same social situation. Second, because a large proportion of congregation members acquire their Biblical or doctrinal knowledge and religious morality through sermon, the members' ethics and moral values are largely influenced by the contents of sermon. Guided by these two theoretical inquiries, three empirical questions will be comparatively examined in this chapter, based on the responses of the religious leaders of the two religious groups. First, what do the religious leaders actually emphasize in their sermon in relation to their members' everyday life in the new society? Second, what is the viewpoint that the religious leaders have of first-generation Korean immigrants' socioeconomic behavior and idea? Third, how differently do the religious leaders view the Korean cultural values to which many first-generation Korean immigrants adhere?

The Contents of Preaching and Pastoral Emphases

The Sermons Repeatedly Emphasized in Relation to Post-immigration Life

Some religious leaders emphasize the importance of immigration in a believer's life and place some religious meaning on the post-immigration life of their congregation members. Preaching therefore is the religious leaders' reaction to the collective situation congregation members encounter in this new immigrant society. The contents of the religious leaders' sermon thus is a qualitative indicator of the congregation members' new way of adaptation to the new life. Through sermon, the leaders give valuable advice to congregation members for effective adjustment to their new life, and congregation members obtain information about justifying their life situation in the new society. It is thus surmised that the differences in religious beliefs might be shown in different content

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in sermon, and in turn, different ways of justification of believers' new life.

As the survey results show in Table 7-1, the contents of the religious leaders' sermon on immigration is split along the two lines of religious belief. By and large, Buddhist leaders emphasize humane ways of problem-solving, while their Protestant counterparts emphasize theological ways. For instance, in relation to the members' immigration life, the majority of Buddhist leaders emphasize in their sermon such themes as "be aware of the self's means and capability -- use moral means/methods" (25.9%), "try to get wisdom of both the East and West" (18.5%), "hold on your cultural identity and build a new one on it" (14.8%), "achievement and success -- be a self-made man" (14.8%), "watch your mind -- maintain mental security and tranquility" (11.1%), and "cause and effect -- everything is dependent on what you think and do" (11.1%). Interestingly, rather than bestowing religious meanings on their members' immigration life, Buddhist leaders mostly emphasize some moral and psychological form of survival methods, which are indirectly related to their Buddhist religious doctrines.

The majority of Protestant leaders, however, emphasize the religious meaning implied by immigration and theology-oriented survival methods in their sermons. Protestant leaders' preaching emphasis is mostly concentrated on such themes as "immigration is God's divine providence for the chosen people -- an analogy with the new Canaan and the new calling" (31.5%), "obtain encouragement, challenge, vision, hope, and comfort under God's guidance" (26.3%), "look for help in God" (25.0%), and "achievement and success -- be a self-made man" (6.6%).

It is interesting that the themes Buddhist leaders emphasize are minimally or never

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emphasized by Protestant leaders, and vice versa. Interestingly, quite a large proportion of Buddhist leaders emphasize the cause-and-effect idea, which is one of the key concepts of Buddhism. A few Protestant leaders (2.6%) emphasize their members' assimilation to American society, while quite a large proportion of Buddhist leaders (14.8%) emphasize that the members of their congregation should hold their own cultural identity, even after immigration to the United States (see Table 7-1).

Table 7-1 Religious Leaders' Preaching Emphasis on Immigration Life

Religious leaders' preaching emphasis	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Look for help in Buddha or God		19 (25.0%)	19 (18.4%)
Obtain encouragement, challenge, vision, hope, and comfort under Buddha's or God's guidance	1 (3.7%)	20 (26.3%)	21 (20.4%)
Immigration is God's divine providence for the selected and chosen		24 (31.5%)	24 (23.3%)
Be aware of the self's means and capability -- use moral means/methods	7 (25.9%)	1 (1.3%)	8 (7.8%)
Hold own cultural identity and build a new one on it	4 (14.8%)	1 (1.3%)	5 (4.9%)
Watch your mind -- mental security and tranquility	3 (11.1%)	1 (1.3%)	4 (3.9%)
Achievement and success -- self-made man	4 (14.8%)	5 (6.6%)	9 (8.7%)
Cause & effect -- life depends on what you do	3 (11.1%)		3 (2.9%)
Try to get wisdom of both East & West	5 (18.5%)	1 (1.3%)	6 (5.8%)
Assimilate to the host society as soon as possible		2 (2.6%)	2 (1.9%)
Other		2 (2.6%)	2 (1.9%)
Total*	27 (99.9%)	76 (99.8%)	103 (99.9%)

*Missing data: 11 (2 Buddhists and 9 Protestants)

Religio-Social Values Emphasized by Religious Leaders in Their Sermons

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Interestingly, different from their emphasis on immigration, the religious leaders of the two different religions do not show a striking difference in their emphases on these selected religio-social values. The survey results show that the majority of leaders of both religious groups (55.2% of Buddhists and 31.8% of Protestants) reply that they most frequently emphasize their believers' repentance and confession in their sermons. The next theme that is most emphasized by Buddhist leaders is "being chosen as believers of Buddha" (20.7%), while the next theme most emphasized by Protestant leaders are "success in everyday life" (27.1%), and "being chosen by God" (21.2%). The two items that are most emphasized by the two religious groups in their leaders' sermons reveal that the religious leaders of the two religious groups do not remarkably differ in their emphases on these religio-social values, except Protestant leaders' stronger emphasis on "success in everyday life." Only 6.9 percent of Buddhist leaders emphasize it in their sermons, as the most important value for the congregation members' lives.

When it comes to the second most emphasized themes in the religious leaders' sermons, "sacrifice and devotion" is more emphasized (34.5%) by Buddhist leaders, and "evangelization" and "success in everyday life," are equally emphasized by many Protestant leaders (23.5%). The two important religious themes, "repentance and confession" and "being chosen," are still strongly emphasized by both Buddhist and Protestant religious leaders as their second most important religious value.

It is interesting to see that Buddhist leaders share their most emphasized religious values with their Protestant counterparts. To the Western world, Buddhism has been known as a religion that does not worship the transcendental supernatural being, but

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believes in the immanence of divine power in the believer's mind. Interestingly, however, the survey results show that many Korean Buddhist leaders emphasize the theme of "being chosen," which is a unique characteristics of Western religion, which shows a stronger tendency to worship a transcendental supernatural being. The concept of "being chosen" by the object of their belief does not sound like a Buddhist way of believing, but in reality, many Buddhist leaders emphasize it in their preaching as one of the most important religious values. Surprisingly, Buddhist leaders more strongly emphasize "repentance and confession," which is also traditionally known as a major characteristic of Western religion. It is thus inferred that Buddhists, especially the leaders, worship Buddha as their transcendental supernatural being, like God in Christianity.

Such themes as "evangelization," "sacrifice and devotion," and "success in everyday life" are strongly stressed by religious leaders of both faiths as the third most important religious value. Interestingly, such themes as "evangelization" and "success in everyday life" are moderately emphasized by Buddhist leaders as the most and the second most important value, but these two themes are emphasized by many Buddhist leaders as the third most important value in their sermons. "Sacrifice and devotion" are emphasized by Protestant leaders as the third most important religious value, while it is emphasized as the second most important value by their Buddhist counterparts.

In conclusion, religious leaders of both faiths strongly emphasize such religious values in their sermons as "repentance or confession," "evangelization," "sacrifice and devotion," "being chosen," and "success in everyday life." By and large, Buddhist leaders are more likely to emphasize "sacrifice and devotion," while Protestant leaders are more likely to

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emphasize "success in everyday life" in their sermons as the most important religious value. Surprisingly, "spirituality" is relatively less emphasized than the other values by the leaders of both religious groups. Contrary to expectation, Buddhist leaders, who seemingly more emphasize "spirituality" because of their doctrinal orientation toward mental concentration (or the "mind-only" tenet) rather less emphasize it than do their Protestant counterparts (see Table 7-2).

Table 7-2 Religious Values Emphasized by Religious Leaders

Values Emphasized	Buddhist Most	Buddhist 2nd Most	Buddhist 3rd Most	Protestant Most	Protestant 2nd Most	Protestant 3rd Most	Total
Repentance/ Confession	16 (55.2%)	5 (17.3%)	3 (10.4%)	27 (31.8%)	14 (16.5%)	14 (16.5%)	79 (23.1%)
Evangelization	4 (13.8%)	4 (13.8%)	7 (24.1%)	5 (5.9%)	20 (23.5%)	17 (20.0%)	57 (16.6%)
Sacrifice/ Devotion	1 (3.4%)	10 (34.5%)	7 (24.1%)	7 (8.2%)	12 (14.1%)	22 (25.8%)	59 (17.3%)
Success in everyday life	2 (6.9%)	2 (6.9%)	7 (24.1%)	23 (27.1%)	20 (23.5%)	16 (18.8%)	70 (20.5%)
Spirituality	0	1 (3.4%)	0	3 (3.5%)	4 (4.7%)	4 (4.7%)	12 (3.5%)
Being chosen	6 (20.7%)	6 (20.7%)	2 (6.9%)	18 (21.2%)	14 (16.5%)	10 (11.8%)	56 (16.4%)
Other	0	1 (3.4%)	3 (10.4%)	2 (2.3%)	1 (1.2%)	2 (2.4%)	9 (2.6%)
Total	29 (100%)	29 (100%)	29 (100%)	85 (100%)	85 (100%)	85 (100%)	342 (100%)

Ministerial Emphases of the Religious Leaders

Since the religious leaders' ministerial activities and goals determine the general characteristics of the religious community, it is critical to apprehend them, to understand the contrasting aspects of beliefs and behavior of the two religious groups. If there are clear differences in ministerial activities and goals between the two religious groups, it

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presupposes that the beliefs and behavior pattern of each religious group is distinctively oriented.

The survey results show that the majority of Protestant pastors (88.2%) and Buddhist priests (58.6%)emphasize "salvation" as the most important goal of their ministry. As the data shows, a much higher proportion of Protestant leaders emphasize "salvation" as their major ministerial goal. Interestingly, however, more Buddhist leaders (27.6%) than Protestant (5.9%) emphasizes "proselytization" as their most important ministerial goal. The majority of Buddhist leaders emphasize such themes as "caring for the problems of their congregation members" (48.3%), and "cooperation and koinonia" (17.2%) as the second most important ministerial goal, while a moderate proportion of Protestant leaders emphasize such themes as "caring for the problems of their congregation members" (22.3%), "proselytization" (24.6%), and "caring for second-generation members (27.1%)" as the second most important ministerial goal. When it comes to the third most important goal of their ministerial activity, a large proportion of Buddhist leaders emphasize such goals as "proselytization" (34.5%), "caring for second-generation" (24.1%), and "caring for the problems of their congregation members" (17.2%), and a moderate proportion of Protestant leaders emphasize such goals as "caring for second-generation members" (27.1%), "proselytization" (25.8%), and "koinonia -- religious fellowship" (18.8%).

Interestingly, however, only one Buddhist leader and a few Protestant leaders (less than 10% altogether) are concerned with community participation (see Table 7-3). By and large, Protestant leaders are more likely to emphasize the importance of salvation for their members and caring for second-generation members than their Buddhist counterparts.

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Buddhist leaders, however, place a little more emphasis on caring for the problems of their members and proselytization than their Protestant counterparts. Surprisingly, salvation is the most emphasized ministerial goal of both types of religious leaders. This implies that although the two religious groups show differing emphasis on their ministerial goals, their ultimate common goal is achieving the religious salvation. It thus overshadows the differing ministerial activities of the two religious groups after immigration although differences in degree of emphasis on the detailed activities are anticipated.

Table 7-3 Ministerial Emphases of the Religious Leaders

Pastoral Goals	Buddhist			Protestant			Total
	Most	2nd Most	3rd Most	Most	2nd Most	3rd Most	
Salvation	17 (58.6%)	4 (13.8%)	3 (10.4%)	75 (88.2%)	6 (7.1%)	2 (2.4%)	107 (31.3%)
Caring for members	2 (6.9%)	14 (48.3%)	5 (17.2%)	1 (1.2%)	19 (22.3%)	11 (12.9%)	52 (15.2%)
Proselytization	8 (27.6%)	4 (13.8%)	10 (34.5%)	5 (5.9%)	21 (24.6%)	22 (25.8%)	70 (20.4%)
Caring for 2nd generation	0	1 (3.4%)	7 (24.1%)	2 (2.4%)	23 (27.1%)	23 (27.1%)	56 (16.4%)
Community participation	1 (3.4%)	0	0	0	6 (7.1%)	10 (11.8%)	17 (5.0%)
Cooperation and koinonia	1 (3.4%)	5 (17.2%)	3 (10.4%)	1 (1.2%)	10 (11.8%)	16 (18.8%)	36 (10.5%)
Other	0	1 (3.4%)	1 (3.4%)	1 (1.2%)	0	1 (1.2%)	4 (1.2%)
Total	29 (99.9%)	29 (99.9%)	29 (100%)	85 (100%)	85 (100%)	85 (100%)	342 (100%)

Religious Leaders' View of Worldly Success and Accumulation of Wealth

Interviews with individual believers and the survey of priests and pastors disclose that regardless of their religious identification, immigrant believers maintain a unique way of

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justifying their worldly success or failure. Beyond perceiving the factual reasons for someone's worldly success and failure -- for instance, receiving a large amount of wealth from their ancestors, having an extraordinary talent on business and politics, or being incompetent in business and interpersonal relationships -- many times religious believers express their success and failure as dependent on the Supreme Being's intention. Their expression then usually follows an intrinsically human way of justification for success and failure, for instance, "they deserve it." By this human way of justification, they mean that the worldly success or failure of a person is entirely dependent on what the person does in this world. If the person is a religious believer, his or her worldly achievement usually has a religious meaning.

Even Buddhists -- who are known as believers who encompass somewhat otherworldly religious ideas, which are not only more contemplative about worldly matters, but also more seclusive from society than their Protestant counterparts -- show a strong sense of pursuing success in their everyday life. Korean Buddhists use the term *ghapi,* which stands for the blessing of Buddha. The idea of Buddha's reward and sanction has become stronger since the Mahayana ("the Greater Vehicle") Buddhism spread throughout China, Korea, and Japan, blended with indigenous religious ideas (Ono 1994). The idea of reward and sanction by the Supreme Being(s), dominant in most popular folk religions in Korea, was preserved intactly by both Korean Buddhism and Protestantism in the process of syncretization with pre-existing indigenous religious ideas, especially shamanism, which mainly focused on fortune-telling and supplication (Ryu 1997; Grayson 1995, 1989). Although the leaders and lay people of both religions claim that their religions do not

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emphasize asking for divine favor, they unconsciously practice this fundamental religious idea. It would not be possible for Buddhism and Protestantism to exist in this world without this intrinsic religious idea, because every moment of religious practice of the two religious groups connote some degree of pleading for divine favor (supplication and luck-invocation). The two religious groups' tendency of invoking luck or fortune and a strong emphasis on supplication is largely criticized by both the leaders and lay members themselves, but they cannot do anything but continue the tendency, failing to present any alternative religious ideas.

In the religious sense, however, supplication and luck-invocation are critically important for the believers of both religions, because these two intrinsic religious ideas not only motivate believers to practice their religions, but also function as a pure motif of development of their religious community. By supplicating divine power, believers wish something most important for themselves to be accomplished, and by pleading for divine favor (fortune or luck), they initiate their particular relationship with the object or being they believe in. These two religious ideas thus are bestowing a particular psychic energy on believers, that non-believers either might not have or might find from different sources and methods.

Weber eloquently addressed the relationship between religious ideas and believers' socioeconomic attitudes and behavior by taking an example of the cases of both ancient Buddhism, one of the most popular Asian religion, and modern Calvinism, one of the most popular Protestant sects in the Western society. Comparing the different ways Eastern and the Western religious believers achieve salvation, Weber tried to explain the ideal type of

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correlationship among religious ethics, occupational commitment, and socioeconomic success of believers. He disclosed the fact that these religious believers, especially the Calvinists who believed that their fates were pre-determined by their God, faithfully accepted whatever their God allocated to them as their vocation and did their best to fulfill the vocation their God bestowed on them. Weber asserted that the way that faithful Calvinists conceive their success in their vocation and life is through the accumulation of wealth which accompanies self-esteem and prestige. The accumulation of wealth is granted to faithful believers as a sign of God's blessing (Weber 1993).

Weber's explanation of the difference in salvation patterns between Calvinists and Buddhists prompts an intriguing question in regard to our research subject. Do the religious leaders of Korean Buddhists and Protestants also think worldly success and failure is dependent on their God's intention? It is also interesting and meaningful to know how these religious leaders interpret their members' socioeconomic achievement.[1] To see how the pastors and priests view their members' worldly achievement, they are first asked whether they think their members' worldly success is a sign of Buddha's or God's blessing. They are then asked how they view laymen's efforts to accumulate wealth. As expected, pastors and priests had widely divergent viewpoints on these two questions. A larger number of Protestant pastors (35%) than Buddhist priests (7.1%) replied that worldly success of their members is entirely the result of God's blessing. Although they do not believe that it is all dependent on God's blessing, a large proportion of the religious leaders of both faiths (82.1% of Buddhists and 62.5% of Protestants) still agree that their members' success is a sign of blessing and their degree of faith. Few Buddhist leaders

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(10.7%) replied that their members' success is dependent on personal effort only; but, interestingly, none of the Protestant leaders believe so. One Buddhist priest and five Protestant pastors did not reply to these questions at all.

The survey result shows that much fewer Buddhist leaders than their Protestant counterparts believe that their members' worldly success is entirely dependent on the blessing of Buddha. This result, however, should be interpreted carefully. According to the survey results, Buddhist leaders believe that the divine power of their religion is less likely to be associated with believers' worldly affairs. This, however, does not necessarily mean that Buddhist leaders and lay members are less likely to be supplication-oriented and fortune-invoking than their Protestant counterparts. The result also connotes that Protestants seem to be more fate-dependent, supplication-oriented, and fortune-invoking than Buddhists. But in reality, based on my ethnographic observation and in-depth interviews with Buddhists and Protestants, it is hard to prove that one group is more dependent on divine power than the other. Religion is intrinsically linked to supplication and fortune invocation.

The religious leaders' view of believers' accumulation of wealth also is somewhat different between the two religious groups, reflecting the differences in their view of believers' worldly success. According to the survey results, a large proportion of Protestant leaders (41.5%) think it is all right for their members to accumulate as much wealth as possible, as long as they use proper means, while only few Buddhist leaders (10.7%) believe so. The majority of Buddhist leaders (82.1%), however, avow that their members should live within their given means, while fewer than half (40.2%) of Protestant leaders

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do so. Proportionally, almost twice as many Buddhist leaders as their Protestant counterparts believe that thriftiness and frugality are more valued than individual efforts for the accumulation of wealth. Few Buddhist leaders (7.2%) and substantial numbers of Protestant leaders (17.1%) believe that the accumulation of wealth by an individual believer is entirely dependent on their God's hand (see Table 7-4 and Table 7-5).

It is also interesting to see that Protestant leaders, who are more influenced by Western religious ideas and culture (which are generally considered more rational and logical than Eastern religions) show a much stronger tendency toward fate-dependency, fortune-invocation, and supplication-orientation. Since these three tendencies are considered the most important elements that formulate an individual believer's religiosity, Protestant leaders probably have a higher degree of religiosity than do their Buddhist counterparts. The differences in the leaders' viewpoints on lay people's worldly success and manner of accumulating wealth are thus nothing but a different way of presenting their core religious ideas.

Based upon the survey results, we may draw a tentative conclusion that Buddhist leaders are in fact less fate-dependent, fortune-invoking, and supplication-oriented. Although tentative, this conclusion is contrary to the conventional perception about Buddhism, which has been considered more fate-dependent, fortune-invoking, and supplication-oriented. The false perception of Buddhism might have been created because of its influence from indigenous Korean religious ideas, such as shamanism, which shows a strong orientation towards fate-dependency, fortune-invocation, and supplication. Buddhist leaders' weaker orientation towards these intrinsic religious elements may also implies that

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Buddhist leaders and believers alike have a weaker sense of religiosity than their Protestant counterparts. This might be a reason why so many Buddhists switch their religion to another or give up practicing their religion after immigration.

Table 7-4 Religious Leaders' View of Believers' Worldly Success -- Sign of Blessing?

Success is a sign of Buddha's/God's Blessing	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Yes, entirely	2 (7.1%)	28 (35.0%)	30 (27.8%)
Yes, but dependent on the degree of believers' faithfulness	23 (82.1%)	50 (62.5%)	73 (67.6%)
Dependent on personal effort only	3 (10.7%)	0	3 (2.8%)
Other	0	2 (2.5%)	2 (1.8%)
Total*	28 (99.9%)	80 (100%)	108 (100%)

*Missing data: 6 (1 Buddhist priest and 5 Protestant pastors)

Table 7-5 Religious Leaders' View of Lay People's Accumulation of Wealth

View to accumulation of wealth	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Accumulate as much as possible, using proper means	3 (10.7%)	34 (41.5%)	37 (33.6%)
Live within individuals' own means-- thriftiness and frugality are more valued	23 (82.1%)	33 (40.2%)	56 (50.9%)
All dependent on Buddha/God	2 (7.2%)	14 (17.1%)	16 (14.5%)
Other	0	1 (1.2%)	1 (0.9%)
Total*	28 (100%)	82 (100%)	110 (99.9%)

*Missing data: 4 (1 Buddhist priest and 3 Protestant pastors)

Religious Leaders' View of the Shamanism

From the believers' point of view, immigration means a simultaneous process of pioneering and adjusting to the new social environment with their old religious beliefs. The

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immigrant community, especially the immigrant religious community, constantly interacts with the host society, each influencing the other. The immigrant religious community is a meeting ground of both the unique culture of the immigrants and the general culture of the host society. For instance, Korean Buddhist temples are where the unique Eastern culture that the temple members bring from their home soil and general Judeo-Christian religious ideas and pragmatic rational thoughts converge. Korean Buddhists who maintain an individualistically-oriented attitude toward salvation surprisingly adjust well to American society, which mirrors many values of Korean Buddhism -- individualism and practicality. In the case of Protestant immigrants, returning to the home of its early American missionaries, they also bring elements of their Korean cultural roots -- Confucian hierarchy and elitism, shamanistic supplication, and Taoistic quietism -- which have already been well-integrated with the Christianity in Korea. Like their Buddhist counterparts, Korean Protestants also are heavily influenced by American individualism and practicality.

Religiously speaking, Buddhists build a new holy place, while Protestants make a holy pilgrimage to the early American missionaries' home, under the same cultural influence of the host society. Racially speaking, however, both Buddhists and Protestants are pioneers in the new host society, because of their non-Western physical distinction. The two immigrant religious groups thus share the same immigrant alien status, while they encounter quite different psychological situations, when they come to identify their religious status. Korean Buddhists become pioneers who attempt to transplant their religious ideas to a foreign soil, while their Protestant counterparts are merely returning to their spiritual roots. As first-generation immigrants, Buddhists encounter more burdens for

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adjustment: pioneering their religion, coping with their racial minority status, and surviving economically. Their Protestant counterparts, however, always encounter one burden fewer than their Buddhist counterparts, because their religious identity is identical with the dominant religious group of the host society. Both religious immigrant groups are interacting with American culture; but one group has more difficulties, and the other less. Regardless of the differences in their situations in the host society, both immigrant religious groups share the common tradition of their indigenous religion, which was dominant before the two religions were introduced to Korean society. Competing with Confucianism, Korean ethnic Buddhism was emerged from the cultural soil in which shamanism prevailed. Korean ethnic Christianity also emerged from the cultural soil in which Buddhism and Confucianism competed with each other, on a cultural foundation where shamanism was dominant. Shamanism is thus the most fundamental religious idea on which most of contemporary Korean religious beliefs are formed and constructed (Ryu 1997; Grayson 1989, 1985; Iida 1988).

The situational particularity of the two religious immigrant groups -- one as an alien and the other as a returner -- may affect the two religious groups' degree of integration into the host society's culture differently. As an antecedent factor that governs the mode of behavior and ways of thinking of first-generation immigrants, their degree of affinity with Korean cultural roots, however, might more likely influence the two religious groups' mode of religious practice in the host society. It is interesting and important to see how the leaders of the two religions view the influence of the traditional Korean cultural roots on the current religious practice of lay people and their lay members' incorporation into

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American culture. The religious leaders' evaluation of the influence of shamanism is used as an indicator for measuring believers' tendency to regress to their own traditions, and at the same time, their tendency to accept new cultural elements of the host society after immigration.

To measure these tendencies, the religious leaders are asked how they view the influences of shamanism. Their responses are categorized into four types: positive, negative, equivocal, and none. If the leaders reply that the influence of shamanism is positive on their current religious practices, it means that the leaders think their lay members' religious practice after immigration is better inspired and supported by the traditional elements of their Korean cultural roots. If they reply it is negative, it means that they believe the shamanistic influence on believers thwarts the virtuous practice of their current religions or is not integrated well with their current religion. In other words, their current religious belief and practice are somewhat misled by their shamanistic beliefs. The "equivocal" and "none" categories mean that there is no significant influence of shamanism on their current religious practices.

Since Protestant leaders' view of the accumulation of wealth as a sign of blessing is much more similar to the shamanistic view than the Buddhist, it is expected that Protestant leaders more likely reply that influence of shamanism on their believers' current religion is positive than Buddhists. Contrary to expectation, however, the majority of Protestant leaders (67.4%) think that shamanism either negatively influences their current religious practices or has no significant influence, while a much lower proportion of Buddhist leaders (39.3%) falls under the same categories. On the contrary, almost half of Buddhist

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leaders (46.4%) think the shamanistic tradition their believers maintain has a positive influence on their current religious practices, while a much lower proportion of Protestant leaders (18.1%) do so. A relatively small proportion of the leaders of both religions (10.7% of Buddhists and 14.5% of Protestants) judge that shamanistic ideas have an equivocal influence on their believers' current religious practices (see Table 7-6). This means that a minor proportion of the religious leaders of both faiths think that their believers' holding on traditional shamanism has neither negative nor positive influences on their current religious practice. The survey results thus clearly reveal that more Buddhist leaders evaluate the influence of shamanism positively, while more Protestant leaders evaluate it negatively.

Interestingly, this result is contradictory to the survey result shown in the previous section. According to the survey results concerning the leaders' view of worldly success and manner of wealth accumulation, Protestant leaders show a much stronger tendency toward fate-dependency, fortune-invocation, and supplication-orientation. We thus assumed that the Protestant group might maintain a stronger sense of affinity with shamanism. But contrary to our expectation, the survey results disclose that more Buddhist leaders than Protestants feel that shamanism positively affects their lay immigrants' current religious practice, even after immigration to the United States. This result thus implies that Korean Buddhism still maintains a closer affinity with shamanism.

One of the Buddhist priests of Wonkaksa mentioned why the Korean Buddhism still maintains a stronger affinity with shamanism: "Buddhism has never ignored or abandoned already existing indigenous religions of the society to which Buddhism is newly

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introduced. Look at the cases of China, Korea, and Japan. Different from Western religions, which would not allow any indigenous religions to co-exist with them, Buddhism not only respects them, but also accepts them as part of Buddhist ideas. That is one of the strongest survival strategies Buddhism has maintained. Applying this strategy to Korean society, it becomes clear that Buddhism in Korea gradually adopted shamanism, which was once the most popular folk religion in Korea, and blended with it almost thoroughly, but Buddhism still maintains its doctrine and tenets intact, even after blending with shamanism, in spite of some alteration in ritual and format of service. This is one of the most important merits and strongholds of Buddhism."[2]

It is also interesting to know, however, that a large proportion of Buddhist leaders (28.6%) assert that traditional Korean shamanism has a negative influence on their current religious practices as well. Proportionately, however, more Protestant leaders feel that their religion is not closely related with, nor influenced by, traditional Korean shamanism. Most of the Protestant leaders, however, are also aware that the majority of their lay people are very much under the influence of traditional Korean shamanism, but they cannot do anything but evangelize the people who are full of shamanistic orientation. Since the introduction of Christianity, Korean Christians have been criticized largely because of their strong tendency of supplication-orientation and fortune-invocation, which are the reminiscence of shamanism (Ryu 1997).

Protestant leaders thus consciously set their religious beliefs apart from the influence of the traditional Korean shamanism, while their Buddhist counterparts are more likely to keep their cultural traditions after immigration. Their differences in viewpoint on

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shamanism are also associated with their view of lay peoples' assimilation. As the religious leaders' emphasis on post-immigration life shows in the previous chapter, Buddhist leaders emphasize keeping Korean cultural traditions, even after immigration, while Protestant leaders emphasize assimilating into the United States culture, which has a close affinity with their own religion.[3]

Table 7-6 Religious Leaders' View of the Influence of Shamanism on Their Religions

Views of influence of shamanism	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Negative	8 (28.6%)	31 (37.3%)	39 (35.1%)
Positive	13 (46.4%)	15 (18.1%)	28 (25.2%)
Equivocal (both negative and positive)	3 (10.7%)	12 (14.5%)	15 (13.5%)
No significant influence	3 (10.7%)	25 (30.1%)	28 (25.2%)
Other	1 (3.6%)	0	1 (0.9%)
Total*	28 (100%)	83 (100%)	111 (99.9%)

* Missing data: 3 (1 Buddhist and 2 Protestants)

Notes

1. Lay members' own idea about their socioeconomic achievement is shown in Chapter 11.

2. From interview with priest Wonyul in the Wonkaksa Korean temple after Sunday service on April 20, 1997.

3.The survey reveals that the Protestant leaders have a much more assimilative attitude toward American culture than their Buddhist counterparts. According to the survey, a large proportion of Protestant leaders (24.7%) use American names, while all Buddhist leaders use the Buddhist name they obtained when they were ordained. A quite large proportion of Protestant leaders (36.5%) also are ordained in the United States, while only 7.1 percent of Buddhist leaders are ordained in the United States.

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Chapter 8. Religio-Social Functions of Churches and Temples

According to the functionalist paradigm, religious organizations, like other social organizations, have both manifest and latent functions. The manifest function of a religious congregation is to reinforce members' spirituality through their collective gathering, in which they share their faith and worship and seek personal salvation through individual prayer or meditation directed toward a Supreme Being. The latent function of religious congregations is to reinforce solidarity among members through frequent meetings and gatherings, help other members who are in need, choose would-be spouses, and so forth. Interestingly, for most immigrant congregations, especially for both Buddhist and Protestant Korean immigrant congregations, their latent functions seem to be more valued and emphasized than their manifest ones. Overemphasis of the latent function of the immigrant congregation is due to the particular immigrant situation of the congregation members; they inadvertently tend to utilize their congregations as self-help groups or ethnic fraternity groups which provide them with sense of belonging, togetherness, mutual support, and ethnic identity. Regardless of differences in their religious identity, the ethnic immigrant congregations, which mostly consist of first-generation immigrant members, seem to share similar characteristics.

Studies of ethnic immigrant congregations recurrently uncover the fact that the congregations practice not only religious functions, but also such important social functions as providing fellowship for ethnic immigrants, maintaining ethnic cultural heritage, providing social services for congregation members and their ethnic community,

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and conferring social status upon first-generation immigrant members (Warner and Wittner 1998; Min 1992a; Dearman 1982; Choy 1979; Handlin 1973).

In relation to the importance of the latent function of ethnic congregations, this chapter examines whether the congregations of the two Korean immigrant religious groups maintain different religio-social functions for their members. In the first section of this chapter, we will examine the frequency and contents of regular (weekly and yearly) religious activities of the congregations of the two religious groups to compare how actively the two religious groups engage in religious practices in the host society. In the second section, the types of religio-social functions that the ethnic congregations perform for their members and community is examined. In the last section, the types and frequency of religio-social services that the ethnic religious leaders of the two religious groups conduct for their members and community are comparatively examined. If one group shows more active participation in their religio-social activities and services than the other, the reasons for the group's more active participation are also to be examined in this chapter, by investigating the particular way of believing and thinking emphasized by the religious groups.

The survey results reveal that regardless of their size, Protestant congregations by and large more actively participate in both religious activities and social services than their Buddhist counterparts. The survey results also show that Protestant leaders more actively commit to both religious and social services for their members and the community in general. As we have seen in Chapter Five and Six, one of the most important reasons why Protestant congregations practice more frequent religious activities and social services than

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Buddhists is largely due to their organizational diversity and efficiency. Protestant congregations frame all necessary internal organizations as soon as they are established, regardless of their size. The head pastors of Protestant congregations thus efficiently control and guide the whole congregation by forming an orderly relationship with lay leaders and members who operate semi-autonomous lay members' associations and other functionary sub-organizations in the church. Compared to their Protestant counterparts, priests of Buddhist temples maintain a weak orderly relationship with lay members, and the temples lack the organizational planning and operation the churches enjoy.

Regular Religious Activities of Protestant Churches and Buddhist Temples

The religious activities regularly held by congregations are categorized into two types: one is held on a daily or weekly basis (regular) and the other is held on a yearly basis (special). The daily or weekly religious activities are Sunday services, Wednesday services, Friday night prayer meetings, cell meetings, dawn prayer meetings, Bible or Buddhist Scriptural studies, and Sunday school. The three yearly activities are revival meetings, lay leadership training, and family retreats. The survey results show that Protestants have much more frequent participation in both regular and special activities than Buddhists. More than half of the Buddhist congregations surveyed (51.7%) hold fewer than one yearly religious activity. Surprisingly, quite many Buddhist congregations (24.1%) never hold any yearly religious activities. On the contrary, much more than half of Protestant congregations (72.9%) hold more than two special religious activities annually. When we come to look at the number of their regular religious activities, the gap between the two

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religious groups becomes much wider. The majority of Buddhist congregations (89.7%) hold fewer than five religious activities weekly, while the majority of Protestant congregations (82.4%) hold more than five religious activities every week. Buddhist congregations' mean number of yearly religious participation is 1.38, while that of Protestant congregations is 2.18. The mean number of the regular religious activities of Buddhist congregations is 3.17, while that of Protestants is 5.55 (see Table 8-1). Interestingly, however, many Buddhists individually go to their temples whenever they think they have to and participate in individualistic religious activities such as prayer, recitation, meditation, and prostration (Korean: *jerl* or *bae*) in their temple.[1] Few Protestants do the same individualistic religious activities in their church. Most of the Protestant rituals are performed collectively. All religious activities listed above are formally organized by the congregations and are collectively performed. It can be concluded thus that Protestant groups not only meet more frequently for their religious participation, but also have a stronger tendency toward collective participation in their religious activities than their Buddhist counterparts.

Table 8-1 Number of Religious Activities Held by Congregations (No. of case and %)

Number	Daily & Weekly (Regular)		Yearly (Special)	
	Buddhist	Protestant	Buddhist	Protestant
0			7 (24.1%)	5 (5.9%)
1	3 (10.3%)	1 (1.2%)	8 (27.6%)	18 (21.2%)
2	10 (34.5%)	2 (2.3%)	12 (41.4%)	23 (27.1%)
3	5 (17.2%)	4 (4.7%)	1 (3.4%)	36 (42.3%)
4	4 (13.8%)	8 (9.4%)		2 (2.3%)

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	Buddhist	Protestant	Buddhist	Protestant
5	4 (13.8%)	26 (30.6%)	1 (3.4%)	1 (1.2%)
6	3 (10.3%)	24 (28.2%)		
7		13 (15.3%)		
8		6 (7.1%)		
more than 8		1 (1.2%)		
Total	29 (99.9%)	85 (100%)	29 (99.9%)	85 (100%)
Mean	3.17	5.55	1.38	2.18

The detailed information about each congregation's holding of religious activities reveals a better feature of the two religious groups' religious activity participation. As Table 8-1 shows, throughout all religious activities (daily, weekly, and yearly), Buddhists much less frequently participate in religious activities than Protestants. Which religious activity then is more frequently held by the two religious groups, and why? All yearly-held religious activities, such as revival meetings, lay leadership training, and family retreat programs are provided by churches and temples to recruit more new members. The survey results show that a much higher proportion of Protestant churches participate in all three yearly special activities. In detail, the majority of Protestant churches (71.8%) and a little more than half of Buddhist temples (58.6%) hold a revival meeting more than once every year. A large proportion of Protestant churches (68.2%) hold lay leadership training more than once a year, while only a minor proportion of Buddhist temples (27.6%) do so. The majority of Protestant churches (82.4%) and a moderate proportion of Buddhist temples (37.9%) hold family retreat programs for their members.

Throughout all regular religious activities, Protestant churches display higher

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participation rates than Buddhist temples. Almost all Protestant churches (95.3%) hold daily dawn prayer meetings and weekly scripture studies, while approximately half of Buddhist temples hold these two activities (44.8% and 51.7%, respectively). More than three quarters of Protestant churches on average hold all other weekly religious activities, such as Wednesday services, Friday night prayers, cell district meetings, and Sunday school, while less than one fourth of Buddhist temples on average hold the same weekly religious activities. Some Buddhist congregations surveyed do not even hold Sunday service every week. They meet biweekly or monthly (see Table 8-2).

The Sunday school participation rate is a good indicator for the continuation of the ethnic congregations in the future. The proportion of the Buddhist congregations that operate Sunday school is much lower (17.2%) than that of their Protestant counterparts (75.3%). This foreshadows the future of Buddhist congregations in the Korean immigrant community, although the numbers of Korean Buddhist temples have grown recently with the increase of the absolute number of first-generation Korean immigrants. Three-quarters of Protestant congregations run Sunday school for their child members, but it is not certain yet how many congregations established by first-generation members will survive when second-generation members grow to take over their parents' congregations. As the survey result indicates, Buddhist temples seem less likely to survive when later generations come to manage Korean temples in the U.S., because of the low rate of second-generation participation in their general religious activities.

It is interesting that with similar registered numbers to their Protestant counterparts, Buddhist temples much less actively participate in all types of religious activities. What

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then directs their less active participation? Buddhists' individualistic worshiping style, lower level of religiosity, weaker presence of religious identity, weaker conceptualization of the supernatural being, and weaker relation with the object of worshiping contribute to their lower rate of religious participation. Moreover, most Buddhist believers think they do not have to attend religious services regularly. Instead they feel they can attend services whenever they need to. On the contrary, almost all Protestants believe they must attend religious service at least once a week to refill their spirituality and share it with other members. As we have seen in Table 6-11 in Chapter Six, the Buddhist group also shows a stronger tendency toward individuality, while the Protestant group shows a stronger tendency of collectivity in both intergroup relationships in the congregation and worshiping style. Buddhist believers' stronger individualistic tendency and their irregular participation in religious services are in a sense related to their less active participation in religious activities. As will be seen in the next chapter, individual Buddhist believers' religiosity is also less strong than that of their Protestant counterparts. How then can we relate these tendencies that Buddhists maintain to their practical level of action -- their lower participation in religious activities?

As Weber argued, all these tendencies that Buddhists maintain may be associated with what they believe -- the immanence of divine power in their minds. Theoretically, the association between what they believe and how they behave seems plausible. Empirically, however, it is hard to prove the association between them. As Weber denoted earlier, the particular characteristics of "value rational action" that Buddhists maintain might be the key point in explaining their lower religious participation rate. Intermingling their faith

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with less organized indigenous religions, Buddhists have formulated their unique religious rituals and internal norms different from their Protestant counterparts. It is only a recent phenomenon that Buddhist temples hold collective services with other congregation members in the service hall. This is a major influence from Western religions introduced to Korea in the last century. Before the introduction of Christianity, Buddhist temples in Korea never held regular religious services on designated days and times. Religious service participation was thus entirely dependent on individual believers' intentions, degree of spirituality, and faith.

Buddhists' religious participation looks less strict if viewed from the Protestant viewpoint, but from the Buddhist viewpoint, Protestants might look too rigid and excessive. Compared to their Protestant counterparts, Buddhists less strongly emphasize fidelity toward what they worship, the Buddhahood. Contrary to their Protestant counterparts, who believe in the consistent supernatural power of their God (for instance, in the omnipotence and omnipresence of their God) Buddhists believe in the inconsistent, dual characteristics of the Supreme Being. For Buddhists, the Buddha is something that believers are able to achieve once they discipline themselves well and hard. For Buddhists, the Buddha therefore is either a transcendental supernatural being who has the same divine power of the Protestant God or an ordinary human being who shares the same humanity with themselves, with the potential of turning into a god someday in the future, once they discipline themselves well. The Buddha, as either their Supreme Being or a truly human being, thus can live either within themselves or outside themselves, depending on believers' degree of religious accomplishment.

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As long as Buddhists believe this dual characteristic of the Buddhahood, their degree of religiosity and religious service participation are all dependent on individual believers' self-regulated will. Buddhists thus argue that Buddhism is based on self-divine power, while Protestantism or Christianity in general is based on an other-divine power. The concept of the Supreme Being in Buddhism can be thus either transcendental or immanent, while in Protestantism it is always transcendental. Protestantism therefore tends to seek religious power only from an external omnipotent being, but Buddhism tends to seek it from both the believers themselves, who may become potential Buddhas in the future, or absolute Buddhas, who became transcendental or enlightened in the past. The behavior pattern of Buddhists therefore might be less standardized than that of Protestants, because Buddhists more likely maintain either-or schema in their mode of behavior, not the one-way schema that monotheistic religions claim. Buddhists' two-way mode of belief surely affects their religio-social behavior. Their two-way mode reduces the degree of pressure for religious obligation and consensus while Protestants' one-way mode increases the degree of pressure for religious obligation and consensus which in turn increase their religio-social activity participation rates.

Table 8-2 Comparison of Religious Activities Held by Churches and Temples (%)

Religious Activities		Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Revival (more than once a year)	Yes	17 (58.6%)	61 (71.8%)	78 (68.4%)
	No	12 (41.4%)	24 (28.2%)	36 (31.6%)
Lay leadership training (yearly)	Yes	8 (27.6%)	58 (68.2%)	66 (57.9%)
	No	21 (72.4%)	27 (31.8%)	48 (42.1%)
Family retreat (yearly)	Yes	11 (37.9%)	70 (82.4%)	81 (71.1%)
	No	18 (62.1%)	15 (17.6%)	33 (28.9%)

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Religious Activities		Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Wednesday service (weekly)	Yes	5 (17.2%)	70 (82.4%)	75 (65.8%)
	No	24 (82.8%)	15 (17.6%)	39 (34.2%)
Friday night prayer (weekly)	Yes	6 (20.7%)	49 (57.6%)	55 (48.2%)
	No	23 (79.3%)	36 (42.4%)	59 (51.8%)
Cell meeting (weekly)	Yes	6 (20.7%)	69 (81.2%)	75 (65.8%)
	No	23 (79.3%)	16 (18.8%)	39 (34.2%)
Bible/Scripture study (weekly)	Yes	15 (51.7%)	81 (95.3%)	96 (84.2%)
	No	14 (48.3%)	4 (4.7%)	18 (15.8%)
Sunday school for religious studies for children (weekly)	Yes	5 (17.2%)	64 (75.3%)	69 (60.5%)
	No	24 (82.8%)	21 (24.7%)	45 (39.5%)
Dawn prayer (everyday)	Yes	13 (44.8%)	81 (95.3%)	94 (82.5%)
	No	16 (55.2%)	4 (4.7%)	20 (17.5%)

Participation in Missionary Activities

In addition to the information about religious activity participation of churches and temples, I also collected information about each congregation's participation in missionary activities to see how much the two religious groups are concerned with the propagation of their religious beliefs and world. Surprisingly, the survey results show that the majority of Buddhist congregations (69%) never participate in any missionary activities, either domestic or abroad, while only a minority number of Protestant congregations (11.8%) fail to do so. The survey reveals that the majority of Protestant congregations (84.7%) financially support their missionaries' activities in the U.S. or abroad, while approximately one-third of Buddhist congregations (27.6%) do so. Few congregations of both religious groups (3.4% of temples and 3.5% of churches) directly dispatch their own missionaries to selected places either domestic or abroad (see Table 8-3). The survey results thus support

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the assertion that the Protestant group is more eager to spread their religion than their Buddhist counterparts. Their willingness to spread their religion is also positively related to their active participation in various religious activities.

Table 8-3 Congregations' Participation in Missionary Activities

Participation	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
None	20 (69.0%)	10 (11.8%)	30 (26.3%)
Financial support	8 (27.6%)	72 (84.7%)	80 (70.2%)
Dispatch missionary	1 (3.4%)	3 (3.5%)	4 (3.5%)
Total	29 (100%)	85 (100%)	114 (100%)

Social Service Activities of Churches and Temples

As the survey results reveal, the two religious groups display significantly different rates of religious activity participation. What then does the two religious groups' social service participation look like? Since the two religious groups' tenets differently affect the ways and degrees of religious participation, it would not difficult to surmise that the two religious groups' social service activity participation rates might be also different. Ann Swidler interprets Weber's argument in her foreword to Weber's *Sociology of Religion* that, "people pursue their interests. But among the weapons people use in their struggles are ideas. Weber's studies of such diverse matters as status-group conflict, types of legitimate domination, and legal codes show how ideas, created to serve group interests, come to define the very world within which interests can be formulated" (Weber 1993: x). Weber himself also argues on the first page of the book that, "religiously or magically motivated behavior is relatively rational behavior, especially in its earliest manifestations.

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It follows rules of experience, though it is not necessarily action in accordance with a means-end schema... Thus, religious or magical behavior or thinking must not be set apart from the range of everyday purposive conduct, particularly since even the ends of the religious and magical actions are predominantly economic" (Weber 1993: 1). Weber's argument here implies that not only an individual believer's religious ideas are inextricably related to his or her socioeconomic behavior, but also at the collective level, each religious community may maintain a unique way of fulfilling its ultimate goals guided by its religious beliefs. As long as the religious beliefs of Buddhists differ from those of Protestants, therefore, the behavior patterns of these two religious groups should differ.

As one of the indicators for measuring the two religious groups' behavior pattern difference at the collective level, I comparatively examined the degree to which the two groups participated in social service activities. To compare differences between the two religious groups' social service participation rate, the leaders of congregations were asked if they participated in any social service activities at congregational level. The eleven social services activities surveyed include professional counseling or social work, participation in social relief work, allowance of congregation assets for public use, tour services for senior members, bazaars, children's cultural events, lunch fellowships after Sunday service, picnics, athletic fairs, educational programs for adult members, and after-school classes for children of the members.

The survey results reveal that a similar proportion of the two religious groups (10.3% of Buddhists and 11.8% of Protestants) never participate in any social service activities. The majority of the two religious groups' congregations (75.8% of Buddhists and 56.5% of

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Protestants) participates in one or two social service activities out of eleven. Few Buddhist temples (13.8%) and a moderate number of Protestant churches (31.7%) participate in more than three social service activities. The survey shows that the social service activity participation rate of both religious groups is not as high as expected, largely because of their small size. The mean number of social service activity participation of both religious groups is only 1.96. As expected, however, by and large, the Protestant group shows a slightly higher rates of social service activity participation for their members and community than their Buddhist counterparts. The mean number of social service activity participation of Buddhist temples is 1.62, and that of the Protestant churches is 2.07. Since Protestant churches show a much higher religious activity participation rate than their Buddhist counterparts, Protestants are expected to participate in social service activities much more actively than Buddhists. It is a surprise, however, that the difference in the rate of social service activity participation between the two religious groups is less remarkable than that of their religious activity participation. This is largely due to some large Protestant churches' numerous (more than four) participation in social service activities, while none of Buddhist temples participate in more than four services (see Table 8-4).

Table 8-4 Number of Social Services Participated by Churches and Temples

Congreg.	0	1	2	3	over 4	Mean	Total
Buddhist	3 (10.3%)	9 (31.0%)	13 (44.8%)	4 (13.8%)		1.62	29 (99.9%)
Protestant	10 (11.8%)	23 (27.1%)	25 (29.4%)	15 (17.6%)	12 (14.1%)	2.07	85 (100%)
Total	13 (11.4%)	32 (28.1%)	38 (33.3%)	19 (16.7%)	12 (10.5%)	1.96	114 (100%)

As the summary statistics above show, there is no striking difference in social service

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activity participation between the two religious groups. The detailed information below (Table 8-5), however, shows how specifically the two religious groups' social service activity participation rate differs. The most striking difference in social service activity participation between the two religious groups is their participation in children's cultural events, such as running a Korean language school and holding children's cultural fairs. Although a large proportion of Buddhist leaders emphasizes the importance of maintaining Korean cultural traditions in the U.S., realistically, few Buddhist temples run Korean language schools and hold children's cultural fairs for their second-generation members, largely because few children of temple members practice their parents' religion.

As also will be seen in the next chapter, a large proportion of Buddhist Korean immigrants does not educate their children in Buddhist doctrines and tenets. Many of them believe that religion is entirely a matter of personal choice and that they should not force their children to practice any particular religion. They also think that allowing their children to keep their own religious preference is very much a Buddhist way of thinking. Largely due to their liberal tendency and the laissez-faire attitude of Buddhists, relatively few of their children attend religious services held in their parents' temple. As a result, few Buddhist temples are able to run Korean schools and children's cultural fairs in the U.S. In contrast, almost all Protestant immigrants want their children to practice the same religion. The survey shows that 24.1 percent of temples hold children's cultural events, while 63.5 percent of churches do so. This striking difference in holding children's cultural events between the two religious groups is thus a reflection of parents' attitude toward their children's religious preference and participation.

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The two religious groups show another striking difference in their participation in social relief work for the poor or needy. The survey results reveal that a majority of Protestant temples (61.2%) participate in social relief work, while a moderate number of Buddhist temples (37.9%) do so. It is an irony that fewer Buddhist temples participate in social relief work, while the survey of individual Buddhists reveals that they more strongly emphasize helping others who are in need than their Protestant counterparts. Two factors might explain this difference. First, although a higher proportion of congregations who operate Buddhist temples own their buildings, a large proportion of the temples are still paying their mortgages off, showing they are in a weak financial condition. Out of 26 Buddhist congregations that own their buildings, 10 congregations (38.5%) are currently paying off their mortgages. Second, more importantly, Protestants maintain a different organizational structure than Buddhists. Most Protestant congregations are affiliated with an interdenominational ethnic church council or regional church association, which is organized across denominational boundaries. For instance, the Council of Korean Churches of Greater New York is a regional and interdenominational ethnic Korean church association which participates in various programs to help Korean ethnic congregations' religious and social activities. It is operated by the financial support from individual congregations that do not necessarily share the same denominational roots. Many Protestant churches either directly engage in social relief works by sending money or food to the poor or to the social relief organizations, or they indirectly participate in social relief work by sending money to the regional church council. Buddhists, however, have not yet organized such interdenominational ethnic religious associations through which they

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expand their religio-social activities in their immigrant community.

More Buddhist temples than Protestant churches, however, participate in such social service activities as allowing the public to use congregation assets, providing tour service for senior members, conducting bazaar, and holding lunch fellowship after Sunday service. It is interesting that the proportion of Buddhist temples that is open for public use is twice as high as that of Protestant churches. Almost half of the Buddhist temples surveyed (44.8%) open their assets to the public, while only less than a quarter of Protestant churches (23.5%) do so. Also interesting is that although both social relief work and opening the congregation's properties to the public are considered a similar contributory activities to the communities in which the congregations are located, the participation rate of the two religious groups in these two activities are quite different. The survey results reveal that Protestants are less likely to share their collectively-possessed properties with others, while Buddhists are more likely to do so. Interestingly, however, Protestants are more likely to participate in social relief work, while Buddhists are less likely to do so. Most Protestant churches in the New York metropolitan area are open only few days in a week, for their religious services only. For the rest of the week, the churches remained locked. All of the Protestant churches' assets are used by their members for only few hours per week. This suggests there is no concept of the "public church" in the Korean immigrant community. On the contrary, the majority of Buddhist temples are always open for both members and non-members. Someone, usually a priest, always keeps the temple open on weekdays. The head priest of Chogyesa temple located in Woodside in Queens County, New York, says, "We actually perform twenty-four-hour-a-day service for our members,

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even though our temple office hours are designated." Ironically, however, sharing the temple property with the public does not seem to be enough to attract non-members. Despite their generous sharing of their temples, Korean Buddhist temples suffer from losing their members after their immigration to the U.S.

Out of the eleven social service activities listed above, athletic fairs, picnics, and lunch fellowships are important non-religious services that the immigrant congregations are more likely to emphasize, to maintain a higher solidarity among members. These fellowship services are thus the most important source for holding the members together, beside their religious service participation. Particularly for first-generation immigrants, who are more likely to suffer from loneliness and marginal status, the fellowship services of their ethnic congregations are attractive enough for them to participate in. Some members first become involved in their ethnic congregations through these fellowship activities and become devout believers later on. Among the eleven social service activities, these three activities might be the least religious-oriented activities, but they are the most important in their social function performed in the immigrant ethnic congregations. As lay members are more likely to enjoy the fraternal function of lay association meetings, most members of Korean congregations of both religious groups enjoy these fellowship services more than the serious religious services, and show the highest participation rate in these services among all social services.

According to the survey results, all Buddhist temples (100%) and almost all Protestant churches (95.3%) surveyed provide their members with a full lunch fellowship after Sunday service. The majority of congregations of both religious groups (82.7% of

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Buddhists and 87.1% of Protestants) provide their members with picnic more than once a year. A moderate number of congregations of both religious groups (34.5% of Buddhists and 43.5% of Protestants) hold more than one athletic fair every year. The survey results show no significant difference in providing these three fellowship services between the two religious groups. This finding thus supports the idea that fellowship is one of the most important non-religious social service activities that Korean ethnic congregations provide for their members, regardless of their religious and denominational affiliation.

Due to their small size and lack of funding, only few congregations of both religious groups are able to provide their members with educational programs and professional social work services. Only one out of twenty-nine Buddhist temples (3.4%) and six out of eighty-five Protestant churches (7.1%) provide their members with professional counseling and social work service by hiring experts. These seven congregations are relatively huge in their size. None of the Buddhist temples and nine of the Protestant churches (10.6%) provide their adult members with educational programs regularly, for instance, English conversation programs and job-skill training programs. Only a moderate proportion of congregations of both religious groups (20.7% of Buddhists and 31.7% of Protestants) run after-school and day-care center. This relatively low rate of after-school and day-care service of the congregations also reflects their small size and lack of funding. To run after-school and day-care centers, the congregations need skilled instructors and financial resources. Small congregations are never able to provide these educational services, due to the lack of these two resources.

Table 8-5 Social Service Activity Participation of Churches and Temples

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Social Service Activities		Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Hire expert for counseling or social work	Yes	1 (3.4%)	6 (7.1%)	7 (6.1%)
	No	28 (96.6%)	79 (92.9%)	107 (93.9%)
Engage in social relief work	Yes	11 (37.9%)	52 (61.2%)	63 (55.3%)
	No	18 (62.1%)	33 (38.8%)	51 (44.7%)
Open church/temple for public use	Yes	13 (44.8%)	20 (23.5%)	33 (28.9%)
	No	16 (55.2%)	65 (76.5%)	81 (71.1%)
Tour service for senior members	Yes	17 (58.6%)	45 (52.9%)	62 (54.4%)
	No	12 (41.4%)	40 (47.1%)	52 (45.6%)
Bazaar	Yes	10 (34.5%)	27 (31.7%)	37 (32.5%)
	No	19 (65.5%)	58 (68.3%)	77 (67.5%)
Children's cultural events (Korean school, Korean songs, drama, and literature fair)	Yes	7 (24.1%)	54 (63.5%)	61 (53.5%)
	No	22 (75.9%)	31 (36.5%)	53 (46.5%)
Lunch fellowship after Sunday service	Yes	29 (100%)	81 (95.3%)	110 (96.5%)
	No	0	4 (4.7%)	4 (3.5%)
Athletic fairs	Yes	10 (34.5%)	37 (43.5%)	47 (41.2%)
	No	19 (65.5%)	48 (56.5%)	67 (58.8%)
Picnics	Yes	24 (82.8%)	74 (87.1%)	98 (86.0%)
	No	5 (17.2%)	11 (12.9%)	16 (14.0%)
Educational programs for adult members	Yes	0	9 (10.6%)	9 (7.9%)
	No	29 (100%)	76 (89.4%)	105 (92.1%)
After-school and day-care programs	Yes	6 (20.7%)	27 (31.7%)	33 (28.9%)
	No	23 (79.3%)	58 (68.3%)	81 (71.1%)

Social Services Provided by the Religious Leaders

Beside their regular religious services (preaching, home visiting sermons and prayers, presiding over various weekly religious activities, and leading and organizing lay members' evangelical activities) what social (or less religious) services do the religious leaders of churches and temples provide their members and community with? Religious

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leaders of immigrant congregations encounter unique religio-social situations which they would never encounter if they served non-immigrant congregations and communities. By and large, immigrant congregations are less settled both religiously and economically, and more diverse in both their members' degree of religiosity and socio-economic status. Because of the diversity of members' religio-social characteristics and their psychological and economic insecurity in the host society, religious leaders of ethnic congregations must be equipped with various non-religious qualifications. Korean congregation members of both religious groups say, "To take care of immigrant congregations, pastors and priests are expected to be well-rounded persons." A hidden rule of congregation growth thus applies to the immigrant congregations: If a religious leader of an immigrant congregation is a well-round person, the congregation grows well.

Many Protestant pastors and Buddhist priests also say that immigrant ministry is one of the most difficult things to do in the world, because a large proportion of immigrant congregation members are still floating with unsettled minds in this foreign land, they are craving for help and social status in the congregation, with their deep and sudden social deprivation after immigration. The religious leaders of the immigrant congregations thus sometimes are not sure what ministerial focus they have to maintain. Congregation members of both religious groups not only require a better quality of religious services from their religious leaders, but also they demand more frequent help and services than they needed in their home country. Buddhist leaders, however, seem to encounter more difficulties in taking care of their congregations because, as we have seen, both the religious leaders and the congregation members are less likely to be assimilated to

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American society than their Protestant counterparts.

As an indirect indicator of religious leaders' dedication to congregation members' immigrant life and their ethnic community, individual religious leaders' participation in social service activities is comparatively examined. The social service activities that the religious leaders of the two religious groups participate in are categorized into six items: family counseling, individual counseling, job information services, interpretation services, pick-up services, and wedding and funeral services. The religious leaders were asked how many social service activities out of these six services they currently participate in.

The survey results reveal that out of six social service activities, both Buddhist and Protestant leaders perform four or five activities on average. There is, however, no big difference in the number of social service activities the leaders perform between the two religious groups. The mean number of Buddhist leaders' performances of social service activity is 4.34, while that of Protestant leaders' is 4.52. This indicates that Protestant leaders participate in slightly more social service activities than their Buddhist counterparts. The majority of leaders of both religious groups perform more than five activities out of six. In more detail, proportionally 13.8 percent of Buddhist leaders and 7.1 percent of Protestant leaders perform one or two social service activities; 31 percent of Buddhist leaders and 37.6 percent of Protestant leaders perform three or four activities, and 55.2 percent of Buddhist leaders and 55.3 percent of Protestant leaders perform five or six activities (see Table 8-6).

Table 8-6 Number of Religious Leader's Performance of Social Service Activities

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Congregation	1-2	3-4	5-6	Mean	Total
Buddhist	4 (13.8%)	9 (31.0%)	16 (55.2%)	4.34	29 (100%)
Protestant	6 (7.1%)	32 (37.6%)	47 (55.3%)	4.52	85 (100%)
Total	10 (8.8%)	41 (36.0%)	63 (55.2%)	4.47	114 (100%)

Table 8-7 summarizes specifically what kinds of social service activities that individual religious leaders perform for their congregation members and community. It shows that the majority of the leaders of both religious groups perform such social service activities as family counseling (96.6% of Buddhist leaders and 95.3% of Protestant leaders), individual counseling (96.6% of Buddhists and 87.1% of Protestants), and wedding and funeral services (100% of Buddhists and 92.9% of Protestants). A large number of the leaders of both religious groups perform pick-up services for their congregation members (72.4% of Buddhists and 68.2% of Protestants). About half of the leaders perform interpretation services (48.3% of Buddhists and 56.5% of Protestants) and job information services (44.8% of Buddhists and 48.3% of Protestants).

The social service activities in which most religious leaders participate are not exactly social nor fully religious. Their high rate of participation in counseling, wedding, and funeral services informs us that the life and death of human beings and personal and family problems are unique and the most important sphere that believers depend on religious power. Although many newcomers from Korea, especially new immigrant believers, look to their religious leaders for help with basic necessities for survival in their initial stage of immigration, Korean religious leaders' participation rate on job information and interpretation services for their newcomers is much lower than their participation in

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counseling, wedding, and funeral services.

The survey results also reveal that between the two religious groups there is no significant difference in the leaders' social service activity participation rate. Although the difference is slight, Buddhist leaders more actively participate in such social service activities as counseling, pick-up services, and wedding and funeral services, while Protestant leaders more actively participate in job information and interpretation services. This implies that -- although the organizational structure of Buddhist temples is weaker, Buddhists' religious activity participation rates are much lower, and ideas of Buddhist leaders on money-making behavior and success in society are less aggressive -- Buddhist leaders' actual participation rate in all social service activities is neither different nor weaker than those of Protestant leaders'. It reflects some particularities the immigrant congregations face in the host society. Immigrant congregation leaders' social service activity participation is a direct reflection of requests from congregation members. As a result of the first-generation immigration status of both religious groups, they make identical requests of congregation members, regardless of differences in their religious identity. The differences in religious beliefs of the two religious groups are not necessarily associated with differences in the leaders' social service activity participation rates in the case of the Korean immigrant congregation.

Table 8-7 Congregation Leader's Social Service Activity Participation

Leader's social service activities		Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Counseling for family problems	Yes	28 (96.6%)	81 (95.3%)	109 (95.6%)
	No	1 (3.4%)	4 (4.7%)	5 (4.4%)

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Leader's social service activities		Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Counseling for individual member's personal problems	Yes	28 (96.6%)	74 (87.1%)	102 (89.5%)
	No	1 (3.4%)	11 (12.9%)	12 (10.5%)
Providing job information for members	Yes	13 (44.8%)	39 (48.3%)	52 (45.6%)
	No	16 (55.2%)	46 (51.7%)	62 (54.4%)
Interpretation service for members	Yes	14 (48.3%)	48 (56.5%)	62 (54.4%)
	No	15 (51.7%)	37 (43.5%)	52 (45.6%)
Pick-up service for members	Yes	21 (72.4%)	58 (68.2%)	79 (69.3%)
	No	8 (27.6%)	27 (31.8%)	35 (30.7%)
Wedding and funeral services	Yes	29 (100%)	79 (92.9%)	108 (94.7%)
	No	0	6 (7.1%)	6 (5.3%)

Notes

1. Prostration is considered one of the most important rituals for Buddhist believers. During Sunday service, quite many attendees prostrate themselves either individually or collectively in front of the image of Buddha. They do this whenever they think they receive any kinds of divine grace and feel a high degree of religious spirituality. Whenever Buddhist leaders schedule certain periods for special prayer to celebrate religiously important days, like Buddha's birthday or mundane holidays like New Year's Day or *Chusok* (Korean Harvest Day), they set up a special plan of prostration through repetition -- for instance, believers should prostrate themselves 108 times or 3,000 times. According to the believers, the prostration ritual endows them with two religious meanings: one is total submission of self through which the believers train how to minimize themselves (their ego) in the universe and be congruent with the nature; and the other is keeping their religious faith toward Buddhahood, which they believe has an absolute power like God in Christianity.

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Chapter 9. Religious Profiling of Buddhists and Protestants

General Aspects of Religious Profiling of Buddhists and Protestants

In terms of salvation approach, Buddhists almost entirely depend on themselves while Protestant on God. Buddhists' emphasis on the importance of individual believers' role to achieve salvation differentiate them from their Protestant counterparts in many respects. Although both religious groups are considered to practice spiritual asceticism (inner-worldly type) for their salvation, their different emphasis on the way of achieving salvation may lead them to different ways of religious practice and socioeconomic behavior in their everyday life. To learn these differences I have investigated both groups' general social and religious profiles, worldviews, and degree of religiosity. The main purpose of this chapter is to uncover the similarities and differences between the two religious groups in religio-social profiles, worldviews, degree of religiosity.

The general profile of the two religious groups is divided into three parts, each of which deals with distinctive aspects of believers' beliefs and behavior: demographic aspects, religious aspects, and everyday life situations. Respondents' gender and educational differences are displayed whenever they are expected to influence on other profiles. Some other socioeconomic profiles and immigration-related profiles will be examined in the next four chapters, in which the cultural, economic, political, and social aspects of respondents' behavior and attitude will be investigated.

Beginning with respondents' demographic profiles, out of 50 Buddhist respondents, 23 are female and 27 are male, and out of 59 Protestant respondents 28 are female and 31

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are male. The average age of Buddhist respondents is 48.2, and that of Protestants is 44.5. Contrary to our expectation, Buddhists' average years of practicing their religion is shorter than Protestants. Buddhists' average year of practice is 20, while Protestants' average is 30.5. Buddhists' average years of stay in the U.S. (16.5 years), however, are slightly longer than Protestants (13.5 years). Buddhists' shorter length of practice is largely due to the way they account the length of their religious involvement. Buddhist respondents do not count the years they only attend temple services without comprehending Buddhist doctrines and voluntary commitment to religious practices, while Protestants count the length from the first time they began to attend church.

Parents' religious preferences are closely associated with respondents' current religion. Regardless of respondents' gender differences, however, mother's religious preference is more closely associated with respondents' current religion. The religious preferences of Protestants' parents are more significantly associated with their current religion than those of their Buddhist counterparts. This indicates that Protestants' religious inheritance rates are much higher than Buddhists'. The survey results show that approximately half of Buddhist respondents' fathers (48%) have a preference of Buddhism while a majority of Protestant respondents' fathers (64%) have a preference of Protestantism. As expected, Buddhist respondents' fathers also show higher rate of preference of Confucianism (32%) than Protestant respondents' fathers (7%). Mothers' religious preference, however, is much more closely associated with respondents' current religion. A majority of both Buddhist and Protestant respondents' mothers have a higher rates of same-religion preference than their fathers. The proportions of their mothers'

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same-religion preference of Buddhist and Protestant respondents are 66 percent and 69 percent, respectively. The survey results reveal that the majority of both Buddhist and Protestant immigrants inherit their religion from their parents. It also reveals that more Protestants than Buddhists inherit their religion from their parents. In terms of parents' role of religious inheritance, in the case of Korean immigrants, their mother's religious preference is more significantly associated with their current religious identity than their fathers'.

The survey results also show that more Buddhists (50%) than Protestants (17%) have conversion experiences. Among Buddhist respondents, who have had a conversion experience, more than half (56%) have converted from Protestantism, while a majority of Protestants (59%), who have had conversion experience, also have converted from Buddhism. Approximately 30 percent of the respondents of both religious groups who experienced conversion have converted from Catholicism. This indicates that the Protestant group is less likely to convert to other religions. This aspect of respondents' conversion experiences also implies that Buddhism and Protestantism form religious and cultural foundation for Koreans. This also means that although it may not be significant, the two religious groups maintain a substantial degree of mutual understanding, which might lessen a probability of religious conflict between the two groups.

As reasons for conversion, Buddhists are more likely to indicate such reasons as "family consensus" (33%), "favorable experiences with Buddhism" (33%), and "unfavorable experiences with their old religion" (29%), while Protestants are more likely to indicate that their "former religion did not have a concrete salvation scheme" (40%).

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By and large, more people convert to Protestantism because they wish to achieve a more tangible salvation scheme in their religion.

Buddhists might well encounter with more opportunities to convert to Protestantism after immigration, because it is more difficult for them to find their ethnic temples in the United States. Unless they drop their habit of religious practice after immigration, they will search for available religious organizations. Since Protestantism in the Korean community is powerful enough to entice fellow ethnic immigrants, many Buddhist immigrants begin to affiliate with their ethnic Protestant churches. As we have seen in Chapter Five, with a close-knit networking system, Protestant churches do not allow Buddhist newcomers or the other newcomers without religious affiliations to become involved in other religious organizations. Quite a few Buddhists inadvertently become involved in Protestant churches shortly after immigration. One of Buddhist respondents recalled the situation:

> If I did not immigrate to the U.S., I would never have switched to Protestantism. I felt lonesome and isolated after immigration. I sometimes felt myself deprived of many valuable habits and ideas, even though I practiced my religion at home by myself even after immigration. Most fellow Korean immigrants went to Protestant churches. I was mentally forced to participate in Protestant church activities because of the pressure from fellow ethnic immigrants. Although I was never satisfied with Korean Protestant church activities, I felt that I was somewhat relieved by participating in the church service because I met people I belonged to and felt that I was not an outsider any longer. Once I learned that some Buddhist priests came to New York and built a Korean ethnic Buddhist temple in the city, I began to go to the temple immediately.[1]

Table 9-1 Demographic Aspects of Religious Profile of Buddhists and Protestants

	Buddhist		Protestant		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female

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Age (Mean)	50	47	44	45	47	46
Years of Practice (Mean)	19	21	30	31	25	26
Years of stay (Mean)	18	15	14	13	16	14
Father's religious preference						
Buddhism	24 (48%)		9 (15%)		33 (30%)	
Protestantism	1 (2%)		38 (64%)		39 (36%)	
Catholic	3 (6%)		0		3 (3%)	
Confucianism	16 (32%)		4 (7%)		20 (18%)	
None	6 (12%)		8 (14%)		14 (13%)	
Mother's religious preference						
Buddhism	33 (66%)		11 (19%)		44 (40%)	
Protestantism	6 (12%)		41 (69%)		47 (44%)	
Catholic	2 (4%)		0		2 (2%)	
Confucianism	5 (10%)		2 (3%)		7 (6%)	
None	4 (8%)		5 (9%)		9 (8%)	
Conversion experience throughout life						
From Buddhism to Protestantism			6 (10%)		6 (6%)	
From Protestantism to Buddhism	14 (28%)				14 (13%)	
From Catholic to Buddhism	7 (14%)				7 (6%)	
From Catholic to Protestantism			3 (5%)		3 (3%)	
From other religion to current rel.	4 (8%)		1 (2%)		5 (5%)	
Never converted	25 (50%)		49 (83%)		74 (68%)	
Reason for conversion						
Family consensus	8 (33%)		2 (20%)		10 (29%)	
Favorable experience with new	8 (33%)		3 (30%)		11 (32%)	
Unfavorable experience with old	7 (29%)		1 (10%)		8 (24%)	
No concrete salvation scheme	1 (4%)		4 (40%)		5 (15%)	

Aspects of Religious Practice

Since each religious group maintains a unique approach to its religious salvation -- one by self-defined disciplinary rules, and the other by the degree of faith in their God -- each group's aspects of religious practice and application are assumed to be different

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from one another. For instance, individual believers' reason for professing their religion, motivation for believing in their current religion, changing aspects of life after acceptance of the religious tenets, the religious and moral imperatives they always keep in mind, and the direction they want their church or temple takes as a religious institution are all assumed to be uniquely associated with each religious group's schemes for acquiring salvation. All these items were asked to the individual practitioners, and the answers are summarized in Table 9-2. As the summary shows, the two religious groups maintain quite different aspects of religious beliefs and practices throughout all these items.

First of all, the two religious groups practice their religions for quite different reasons. The majority of Buddhists (64%) reply that they profess religion because it helps their personal growth, while the majority of Protestants (68%) profess their religion because it is their obligation as individual believers. For Protestants, faith in their God is the most important linkage between themselves and God. In the contrast, for Buddhists, not faith in Buddha, but self-development based on the model of the Buddha-image and Buddha-hood is the most important impetus for their religious practices. A few Buddhists also reply that one of their most important reasons for professing religion is peace of mind (18%) and the well-being of self and family members (12%). On the other hand, a few Protestants reply that the most important reason for professing religion is preparing for the unknown future (12%) and for peace of mind (10%). Interestingly, while the majority of Buddhists indicate self-development as the major reason for professing religion, only few Protestants (7%) do so. While the majority of Protestants indicate religious obligation as the major reason for professing religion, only one out of fifty Buddhists (2%) replies

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so. The reasons for professing their religion clearly indicate the fact that Buddhists are very much interior-oriented in terms of their direction of faith, while Protestants are exterior-oriented.

The two religious groups also show a quite different motivation for professing religion. Interestingly, Buddhists' motivation for professing religion is more dispersed than Protestants'. According to the survey, a moderate number of Buddhists (22%) began to profess Buddhism because they were attracted by Buddhism's self-disciplinary religious practice. A similar number of Buddhist respondents (20%) began to profess Buddhism because it was inherited from their parents. Other Buddhist respondents indicate such motivations as "impressed by sermons of leaders" (14%), "encountered with difficulties of life" (14%), and "search for truth" (12%). The largest proportion of Protestants (37%), however, began to profess their religion because it was inherited from their parents. The second largest group of Protestants (22%) were motivated to profess their religion because they experienced some spiritual power in their religion. A few Protestants (15%), like their Buddhist counterparts, were motivated to profess their religion by encountering some difficulties in life. What the two religious groups have in common in their motivation to profess religion is "inheritance from parents" and "encountering difficulties in life." Other factors have little commonality between the two religious groups. This implies that for both Buddhists and Protestants, parents' influence is the most important factor that motivates them to profess religion. The supplicational motivation, which is derived from believers' difficult life situation, becomes the second-most important factor that motivates them to profess religion. This also implies that

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substantial number of both religious groups are motivated to profess their religions for supplicational reasons.

According to the majority of respondents of both religious groups, after they accept their religious beliefs, most of them experience some sorts of change in their psychic condition or their attitudes toward other people and society. The survey results show that all Buddhist respondents and the majority of Protestant respondents (90%) have experienced some changes in their life. The majority of Buddhists indicate such positive experiences as "better mind control" (32%), "getting better wisdom for solving problems" (30%), and "living a happier, healthier, and more joyous life" (32%). Different from Buddhists' aspects of change, Protestants are more likely to indicate such experiences as "living a happier, healthier, and joyous life" (24%), "understanding others better" (20%), and "paying gratitude to God all the time" (20%). As the survey results show, these changing aspects, after admitting religious beliefs, vary along the line of respondents' religion. But there are two things the two religious groups have in common. They are "having better wisdom for solving problems" and "having a happier, healthier, and more joyous life" than before they accepted their religious beliefs. It also implies that for both religious groups, professing religion is positively related to their mental and physical health, especially after they immigrated to the United States, where they encountered harsher and more unfavorable social conditions in their daily life.

The way respondents approach salvation heavily influence their characteristics of beliefs and practices because it determines their way of thinking and direction toward the divine power. Believers' salvation approach therefore becomes the key point to explain

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the differential aspect of their belief and behavior. To apprehend the two religious groups' characteristic differences in salvation approaches, both the way respondents hold onto their self-defined salvation experience and the way they perceive salvation are surveyed. Since most respondents of both religious groups are drawn from relatively devout believers, their self-identified salvation experience rate is very high. According to the survey results, almost all Protestants (97%) and the majority of Buddhists (66%) are convinced that they are saved in their religions. A major reason why Buddhist respondents have such lower rate of self-identified salvation experience than Protestants is due to their different perception of salvation. Most Buddhist respondents have no clear perception of personal salvation or the concept of being "saved in religion." They sustain a very subjective understanding of the mental state of salvation as well. Most importantly, for Buddhists, salvation is not only very hard to achieve during their lifetime, but also intrinsically a matter of individual achievement. Most Buddhists identify salvation with a mentally enlightened state -- total freedom or nirvana, independent from any influence of supernatural power. This is the reason why quite many Buddhist respondents (20%) reply that they do not know whether they are saved or not in their religion. Quite a few Buddhist respondents (14%) also reply that they are not saved in their religion, or there is no such thing in their religion. On the other hand, only one male Protestant respondent says that he is neither saved nor certain about salvation.

The mental state of salvation that believers of the two religious groups perceive also differs. According to the survey results, Buddhists are more likely to perceive the state of salvation as mental freedom they enjoy within their belief, while Protestants are more

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likely to perceive that as their God's help and guidance. The largest proportion of Buddhists (48%) reply that the mental state of salvation can be identified with a "feeling of being born again" or "feeling of total freedom," while the largest proportion of Protestants (68%) identifies that with their "God always be with them." The second largest proportion of Buddhists (28%) identifies the state of salvation with the state of "controlling one's own mind," while the second largest proportion of Protestants (31%) identifies that with "feeling of being born again" or "total freedom in their belief." None of Protestants expresses the "ability to controlling one's own mind" as their mental state of salvation. A few Buddhists (12%) and only one Protestant identify their mental state of salvation with a "feeling of oneness with all other people and nature" (see Table 9-2).

It is interesting to see that although the path to salvation between the two religious groups is very different, the majority of respondents of the two religious groups identify their mental state of salvation with a "feeling that the Buddha or the God will always be with them" (12% of Buddhists and 68% of Protestants) and a "feeling of being born again or total freedom" (Buddhists: 48% and Protestants: 31%). This implies that although the two religious groups take two different paths for salvation, individual believers' subjective feeling or state of salvation is more or less the same. This also supports that the effect of religious belief is positively related to believers' mental health, because the majority of respondents of the two religious groups reply that not only they live with a higher degree of mental freedom, but also they live with a feeling of happiness or joyousness.

The religious ethical codes and imperatives that believers keep in mind also vary along

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the line of faith. By and large, Buddhists emphasize disciplining their inner self while Protestants emphasize the divine power's manipulation of their minds. The survey results show that as religious moral imperatives, Buddhists are more likely to point out "disciplining individual believers' mind" (44%) and "maintaining an appropriate relationship with other people, following the cause-and-effect principle" (40%). Protestants, however, are more likely to stress "obeying the absolute God" (47%) and "forgiveness and unconditional offerings" (31%). Only 14 percent of Buddhist respondents point out "forgiveness and unconditional offerings," and only one Buddhist (2%) indicates "paying obedience to Buddha," as their religious imperatives. Reflecting the conversion experiences of Protestant respondents and the normative pressure of Korean society, which stresses the importance of the karma principle, quite many Protestants (15%) indicate the cause-and-effect principle as the religious imperative they keep in mind all the time. The religious imperatives the two religious groups emphasize thus demarcate the two religious groups' approach to their own religious salvation. For instance, Buddhists stress the importance of individual believers' minds or the inner-orientation; while Protestants emphasize the importance of the exterior-orientation of individual believers' minds, guided by their absolute God.

The contents of sermons repeatedly emphasized by their religious leaders have also a close association with individual members' emphases of religious imperatives because, as we have seen, a large proportion of congregation members acquires doctrinal knowledge through their leaders' sermons. Buddhists' emphasis on inner-orientation is greatly associated with their stress on "mind-only" tenet, while Protestants' emphasis on

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exterior-orientation is associated with their stress on God's commandments. The survey results of both religious groups show that the majority of Buddhist leaders (80%) emphasize the "mind-only" tenet, which aims at releasing all the materialism, self-delusions, and false idols of life and maintaining the clear state of mind. According to the survey results, Buddhist leaders also moderately emphasize "religious offerings and caring for others" (8%) and "individual believers' prayer, meditation, and study" (12%). On the contrary, the majority of Protestant leaders repeatedly emphasize either "proselytization" (34%) or "conviction of salvation" (27%). Different from their Buddhist counterparts, Protestants also reply that, their leaders emphasize such themes as "repentance" and "obedience" quite often. The third largest proportion of Protestant respondents (14%) replies that their leaders emphasize "religious offerings and caring for others."

In regard to the direction of their religious organizations, more Protestants (54%) than Buddhists (36%) want them to focus on religious activities that augment individual believers' spirituality. Interestingly, a similar proportion of both religious groups (18% of Buddhists and 20% of Protestants) want their churches and temples to focus on community participation, rather than individual spirituality. About half of Buddhists and a quarter of Protestants want their churches and temples to focus on both individual spirituality and community participation. Due to the different approaches to their salvation, it seems that Buddhists might be more likely to emphasize the importance of individual spirituality than their Protestant counterparts. Surprisingly, however, the survey results show that more Protestant respondents than Buddhists want their churches

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to focus on enhancing individual spirituality, rather than focus on reinforcing community participation (see Table 9-2). This implies that the immigrant congregation members of both religious groups are eager to obtain more individualistically-oriented spirituality through their religious organizations.

Table 9-2 Profiles of Religious Practice of Buddhists and Protestants

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Reason for professing religion			
Peace of mind	9 (18%)	6 (10%)	15 (14%)
Growth of self	32 (64%)	4 (7%)	36 (33%)
Well-being of family and self	6 (12%)		6 (6%)
Preparation for an unknown future	2 (4%)	7 (12%)	9 (8%)
Faith in god or Buddha (obligation)	1 (2%)	40 (68%)	41 (38%)
Right (moral) livelihood		2 (3%)	2 (2%)
Motivation for believing current religion			
Impressed by sermons of leaders	7 (14%)	1 (2%)	8 (7%)
Inherited from parents	10 (20%)	22 (37%)	32 (29%)
Realized usefulness for daily life	3 (6%)	6 (10%)	9 (8%)
Encountered difficulties of life	7 (14%)	9 (15%)	16 (15%)
Experienced spiritual power	4 (8%)	13 (22%)	17 (16%)
Search for truth	6 (12%)	3 (5%)	9 (8%)
Self-achievement of salvation	11 (22%)	1 (2%)	12 (11%)
Family consensus	2 (4%)	2 (3%)	4 (4%)
Impressed by good deed of believers		2 (3%)	2 (2%)
Changing aspects of life after professing current religion			
Better mind control	16 (32%)	7 (12%)	23 (21%)
Better wisdom for solving problems	15 (30%)	8 (14%)	23 (21%)
Understand others better	3 (6%)	12 (20%)	15 (14%)
Happier, healthier, joyous	16 (32%)	14 (24%)	30 (28%)
Pay gratitude to God all the time		12 (20%)	12 (11%)
No significant change at all		6 (10%)	6 (6%)
Feel saved in your religion			
Yes	33 (66%)	57 (97%)	90 (83%)
No	7 (14%)	1 (2%)	8 (7%)
DK	10 (20%)	1 (2%)	11 (10%)

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	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Mental state of salvation			
Having an ability to control self well	14 (28%)		14 (13%)
Buddha/God always be with me	6 (12%)	40 (68%)	46 (42%)
Feeling of being born again	24 (48%)	18 (31%)	42 (39%)
Feeling of oneness with all others	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	7 (6%)
Religious imperatives in your mind always			
Forgiveness, giving, offering	7 (14%)	18 (31%)	25 (23%)
Karma -- cause and effect of life	20 (40%)	9 (15%)	29 (27%)
Watch (discipline) self's mind	22 (44%)	4 (7%)	26 (24%)
Obey and observe Buddha/God	1 (2%)	28 (47%)	29 (28%)
Content of sermon emphasized repeatedly			
Evangelization or proselytization		20 (34%)	20 (18%)
Release adhesion of life-mind only	40 (80%)		40 (37%)
Offering and caring	4 (8%)	8 (14%)	12 (11%)
Pray, meditation, and study	6 (12%)	4 (7%)	10 (9%)
Repentance		5 (8%)	5 (5%)
Obedience		6 (10%)	6 (6%)
Conviction of salvation		16 (27%)	16 (15%)
Direction of church or temple			
Focus on individual spirituality	18 (36%)	32 (54%)	50 (46%)
Focus on community participation	9 (18%)	12 (20%)	21 (19%)
Both individual and community	23 (46%)	15 (25%)	38 (35%)

Aspects of Religious Application to Their Everyday Life

The two religious groups by and large maintain a different aspects of religious applications to their daily life. For instance, in such areas of everyday life as "religious unity among family members," "ways of paying obeisance to ancestors," and "food restrictions," the two religious groups display a striking difference. The two religious groups, however, show no significant differences in such aspects of day-to-day life as

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"self-measured feeling of happiness and luckiness," "observing ascetic lifestyle," "application of their religious instruction to their daily life," and "prosecution experiences in the U.S." The results of the survey concerning respondents' day-to-day life directly reflect similarities and differences of beliefs and behavior that the two religious groups maintain.

By and large, generally speaking, Buddhists are more likely to conceal their religious identity and at the same time more likely to have open minds when they meet people of other religions. Buddhists do not even urge their family members to practice the same religion as themselves. In this respect, Buddhists maintain much more liberal ideas in terms of religious unity among their family members and friends. They, therefore, believe that religion is such a uniquely individualistic matter that no one should urge or force others to believe in a certain religion. In contrast, Protestants maintain the opposite idea about their religious identity and religious unity among family members and friends. Since Protestants are exposed to the idea of God's initiation of salvation and their personal experience of it, they are more likely to persuade non-believers or people of other faiths to adopt their faith. The closer their relationship, the stronger their wish to tell the Gospel they experienced. Protestants thus think that proselytization is God's solemn order. Protestants also think that contributing themselves to expanding God's world is one of the most important religious obligations. Regardless of their degree of devoutness, the majority of Protestants adopt this idea through religious education in their church, and they also effectively manage newly enrolled members with the close-knit system of church organization. Expansion of the Protestant church thus becomes an invincible fact,

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while expansion of Buddhist temple is largely dependent on people's voluntary interest and enrollment. The Protestant group's maintenance of stronger unity with their members looks sometimes aggressive to the other religious groups, especially for Buddhists who try to defend their faith in this foreign cultural soil.

According to the survey results, almost all Protestant respondents (98%) reply that all family members in their household believe in the same religion, while only minor number of Buddhist respondents (28%) do so. The majority of Protestants (88%) also reply that all family members go to the same church while only few Buddhists (16%) do so. Protestant respondents' high rate of shared religion and same church participation does not automatically mean that they maintain a stronger family unity than Buddhists. For the religion practitioners, however, having the same faith may be one of many necessary conditions to maintain strong family unity.

Another factor that is related to family unity is the way the two religious groups pay obeisance to their deceased ancestors. Paying obeisance to their deceased ancestors, better known as "ancestor worship" (*chesa* in Korean), is truly a family festivity for the practitioners of that ritual, which strictly requires mandatory participation from all family members. The family festivity of ancestor worship in South Korea is rapidly disappearing today, especially in large urban centers after the introduction of Christianity and other western cultures, which have coincided with industrialization and urbanization. All of these three movements in Korea break down the traditional extended-family system and restored the nuclear-family system, which is much likely to fit into the modern industrialized cities, in which an individual family member's socioeconomic mobility

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becomes critical for their survival. As industrialization and urbanization arrive simultaneously, South Korean society is still in a turmoil of cultural conflicts between the new urban and industrialized areas and the old rural areas. As we have seen in Chapter Three, Protestantism is dominant in urban and industrialized areas and Buddhism still prevails in rural areas in Korea. With this geographical split in Korean society, it is natural that the rural areas still preserve ancestor worship intact, while urban areas adapt new ways of ancestor worship. Ancestor worship has been so deeply interwoven with Korean indigenous cultures that most Koreans, except some hard-liner Protestant Christians, still unconsciously practice the ritual. Confucianism strongly backed up this aboriginal Korean tradition with its socio-political ideology, e.g., fidelity, patriotism, and filial piety. This is one of few important reasons why Buddhists still maintain old-style ancestor worship more intactly, compared to their Protestant counterparts.

As the survey results show, the majority of both religious groups still observe the ancestor worship ritual even after immigration. In general, more Buddhist respondents (88%), however, observe the memorial service for deceased ancestors than their Protestant counterparts (71%). Interestingly, half of Buddhist respondents surveyed (50%) still observe the traditional way of the ancestor-worship ritual intact at home, and still a large proportion (38%) observes a modified style of memorial service in their temples, which is prepared by temple priests. Contrary to their Buddhist counterparts, only a few Protestants (7%) observe the traditional way of ancestor worship. All these Protestant observers, however, do not practice the ancestor-worship rituals by themselves, but they indirectly participate in the ritual provided by their siblings or relatives. Most

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Protestant ancestor-worship observers participate in the ritual involuntarily under the pressure of family obligation. This is a direct reflection of first-generation Korean immigrants' strong emphasis on filial piety. The majority Protestants (64%), therefore, observe a Christian way of ancestor worship, which eliminates prostrations and simplifies the ritual procedures.

The traditional way of ancestor worship is complicated and hard to observe. Following are the general regulations of the traditional-style ancestor worshiping ritual. First of all, only male family members are able to participate in the ritual, and all female members only perform a secondary role by providing food and clothes for the ritual. Second, only the first son of the family is entitled to be an official successor of the ritual right and obligation. This is a symbol of Confucian patrimonialism. Third, there are very strict regulations of providing food and clothes. Only certain food and clothes certified by their traditional regulations are used, and the placement of food and the colors and types of clothes are strictly regulated and varied case by case. Fourth, the time of service is also strictly regulated and observed. The service is held only between midnight and two o'clock early in the morning. Fifth, only the oldest member of the legitimized linage family is able to conduct the ritual.

These general regulations have radically been altered by Protestants, syncretizing the Christian way of worshiping God with the Confucian style of ancestor worship. First of all, they renamed the ritual in Christian way -- "memorial worship service for deceased ancestors" (*Chudoyebae* in Korean). The original name of the ritual was "*chesa*" in Korean, which connotes a sacrificial service for deceased ancestors. In its meaning, it is

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similar to the sacrificial services appearing in the Old Testament of the Christian Bible. Second, instead of male-only participation rule, in the Christian style of service, all family members observe the service over various festive food. Third, all the restrictive regulations of food and clothes are not observed, but all available foods and clean and ordinary clothes are used for the service. Fourth, the time restriction has also been changed. Protestants hold the service whenever all family members are able to get together. Fifth, instead of prostrating themselves to the images and souls of deceased ancestors, Protestants pray for them and sing Christian hymns. For Protestants, ancestor-worship ritual turns to be a festive family occasion, in which all family members meet and collectively celebrate the memory of the dead ancestors. In this respect, ancestor-worship ritual has not changed much in its core function, but in its features. It thus still gives family members a feeling of unity and belongingness, which bring up a strong surname identity to them. As the survey results show, however, more Protestant immigrants (29%) than Buddhists (12%) reply that they have never celebrated ancestor-worship service after immigration. This indicates that although Protestants' higher same-religion practice rate contributes to their high level of family unity, their lower rate of observation of this festive family occasion may offset their high level of family unity.

In relation to everyday diet, the majority of both religious groups (50% of Buddhists and 71% of Protestants) do not keep any particular food restrictions for religious reason. But half of Buddhist respondents are either strict vegetarians (12%) or inclined to be vegetarian (38%), while only one Protestant respondent (1.7%) is inclined to keep a vegetarian diet everyday. Quite a large proportion of Protestant respondents (27%) keep

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some food restrictions designated in the Bible. They are not vegetarian, but do not eat some kinds of meats, such as pork and eel, which were not considered a legitimate food under Biblical food regulations.

Contrary to expectation, more Buddhists than Protestants smoke and drink. Only 2 percent of Protestant respondents drink; 8 percent drink and smoke; and the rest (90%) neither smoke nor drink. On the contrary, a large proportion of Buddhists (38%) either drink or smoke.

More Protestants (68%) than Buddhists (52%) reply that they lead an ascetic lifestyle. There are no striking difference between male and female believers on this particular question. But the survey results show that male respondents of both religious groups are more likely to maintain an ascetic lifestyle than their female counterparts in both religious groups (see Table 9-3).

Regarding respondents' subjective measure of happiness and luckiness in their everyday life, the majority of both religious groups think that they are happier and more fortunate than people they know. However, more Buddhists (92%) than Protestants (78%) perceive that they are happier than people they know. In general, the majority of both Buddhists and Protestants also think that they are more fortunate than people they know. As the survey results show, however, more Buddhists (70%) than Protestants (61%) also think that they are more fortunate than people they know. Interestingly, a large proportion of Protestants (34%), however, think that they are less fortunate than people they know, while fewer Buddhists (16%) do so. A few Buddhists (14%) and Protestants (5%) do not answer for sure whether they are more fortunate than people they know.

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Reflecting the self-measured degree of happiness and luckiness of the two religious groups, the majority of respondents reply that they are either very satisfied or generally satisfied, considering all the situations they encounter in the host society. Quite a large proportion of both religious groups (42% of Buddhists and 49% of Protestants) think they are very satisfied living in the U.S. Another large proportion of both religious groups (46% of Buddhists and 27% of Protestants) reply that they are generally satisfied living in the U.S. Overall, the majority of both religious groups (88% of Buddhists and 76% of Protestants) think they are satisfied with their life in the U.S. On the other hand, quite a few respondents of both religious groups (12% of Buddhists and 24% of Protestants) think they are "generally not satisfied" or "not satisfied at all." It is interesting that more Protestants (19%) think that they are not satisfied at all living in the U.S. than Buddhists (6%). Buddhists are mostly satisfied with their life in the U.S., while Protestants are by and large polarized into two groups -- either "very satisfied" or "not satisfied." Although quite a large proportion of Protestant respondents reply that they are very satisfied, approximately one-fifth of them also reply that they are not satisfied living in the U.S.

Since both religious groups hold their religious activities with their fellow Korean immigrants only, they are not only physically isolated from American society, but also sometimes exposed to an antagonistic relationship with the host society. Their physical isolation sometimes subjects them to a high degree of hatred from dominant racial or religious groups. Contrary to expectation, however, the survey results show that both religious groups rarely encounter any hate-motivated acts from the host society or other racial or religious groups. It reveals that both groups have experienced only few cases of

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hate-motivated acts. Between the two religious groups, Buddhists have experienced a slightly higher rate of hatred from other racial or religious groups in the U.S. (10%) than their Protestant counterparts (3%). Out of five cases of hate-motivated acts that Buddhists experienced, however, two cases were done by Korean Protestants. This clearly indicates that there is some degree of unfavorable feeling between the two religious groups in the Korean community. But no overt hate-motivated acts against other religious groups has been found yet in the community (see Table 9-3).

Table 9-3 Aspects of Religious Application to Everyday Life

	Buddhist Male Female	Protestant Male Female	Total Male Female
All family members believe in the same religion Yes	14 (28%)	58 (98%)	72 (66%)
No	36 (72%)	1 (2%)	37 (34%)
All family members go to same church or temple Yes	8 (16%)	52 (88%)	60 (61%)
No	42 (84%)	7 (12%)	49 (39%)
Ways of paying obeisance to ancestors			
Traditional Korean way	25 (50%)	4 (7%)	29 (27%)
Christian way of memorial service		38 (64%)	38 (35%)
Collective service at church/temple	19 (38%)		19 (17%)
Never paying obeisance to ancestor	6 (12%)	17 (29%)	23 (21%)
Food tabu for religious reason			
Strictly vegetarian	6 (12%)		6 (6%)
More inclined to be vegetarian	19 (38%)	1 (2%)	20 (18%)
No restriction except few designated		16 (27%)	16 (15%)
No restriction at all	25 (50%)	42 (71%)	67 (61%)
Smoking and drinking			
Smoking only	3 (6%)		3 (3%)
Drinking only	7 (14%)	1 (2%)	8 (7%)
Both smoking and drinking	9 (18%)	5 (8%)	14 (13%)
Neither smoking nor drinking	31 (62%)	53 (90%)	84 (77%)

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	Buddhist Male Female	Protestant Male Female	Total Male Female
Living an ascetic life			
Yes	15 (52%) 11	22 (68%) 18	37 (61%) 29
No	7 (32%) 9	6 (24%) 8	13 (28%) 17
Try	4 (16%) 4	3 (8%) 2	7 (12%) 6
Happier than people you know			
Yes	46 (92%)	46 (78%)	92 (84%)
No	1 (2%)	10 (17%)	11 (10%)
DK	3 (6%)	3 (5%)	6 (6%)
More fortunate than the people you know			
Yes	35 (70%)	36 (61%)	71 (65%)
No	8 (16%)	20 (34%)	28 (26%)
DK	7 (14%)	3 (5%)	10 (9%)
Life satisfaction in the U.S.			
Very satisfied	21 (42%)	29 (49%)	50 (46%)
Generally satisfied	23 (46%)	16 (27%)	39 (36%)
Generally not satisfied	3 (6%)	3 (5%)	6 (5%)
Not satisfied at all	3 (6%)	11 (19%)	14 (13%)
Apply religious instructions to daily life			
Yes	50 (100%)	57 (97%)	107 (98%)
No		2 (3%)	2 (2%)
Examples of application of religious instruction to everyday life			
Mind control - check & balance	13 (26%)	14 (24%)	27 (25%)
Caring for people in need	30 (60%)	24 (41%)	54 (50%)
Try my best for a better life	7 (14%)	2 (3%)	9 (8%)
Having gratitude all the time		15 (25%)	15 (14%)
Role model for other people		4 (7%)	4 (4%)
Experience of persecution or hatred in U.S. Yes	5 (10%)	2 (3%)	7 (6%)
No	45 (90%)	57 (97%)	102 (94%)

Notes

1. From interview with Ms. M. Cho on September 23, 1998.

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Chapter 10. Religious Worldview and Religiosity of Buddhists and Protestants

A Theoretical Contrast of Belief and Behavior between the Two Religious Groups

As reviewed in the previous chapter, the religious profiles of the Buddhist and Protestant immigrants reveal that Buddhists by and large hold less standardized and more individualistic tendency toward the application of religious beliefs to their daily life than Protestants. It is, however, not easy to uncover the causal factors that inspire Buddhists' stronger individualistic tendency and lower level of standardization in their application of religious beliefs to their daily life. As Weber asserted, believers' worldview and religiosity are directly influenced by their stated religious beliefs. Each religious group's faith in a particular worldview and degree of religiosity is closely associated with what they believe in and how they behave. The salient characteristics of religious belief of each religious group therefore reflect the worldview and degree of religiosity of believers of each group. Theoretically, Buddhists' less standardized and more individualistic application of religious beliefs to their daily lives is possibly correlated with both Buddhist believers' stronger shamanistic and polytheistic propensities and their belief in immanency of divine character in their mind, as opposed to Protestants' stronger monotheistic tendency and belief in the exterior existence of divine character, which is always a transcendental supernatural being to them.

As the survey results show in the previous chapter, Buddhists put more stress on the importance of "mind-only" tenet and its application to their everyday activities. Buddhists also more emphasize individual commitment to mental self-discipline than Protestants. For

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Buddhists, individually practiced meditation, prostration, and scripture recitation are considered the most valued religious tools through which they maintain their spirituality and mental energy ("religious fervor" in Christian sense). Since Buddhists emphasize disciplining their minds through these religious tools, they have a more individualistic approach to the religious rituals that are assumed to contribute to their salvation. Mental tranquility, calmness, and self-control acquired through meditation and chanting are thus most highly valued by Buddhists.

Their emphasis on mental self-discipline, however, is more likely apt to lead themselves to inconsistent or subjective applications of their religious tenets to their everyday activities, since they are guided by less standardized, authoritative religious guidelines and a less collective consensus on their religious doctrines and tenets. Buddhists' tendency toward individual commitment to a self-disciplined "mind-only" practice in turn leads them more likely to reject the strict monotheistic idea, which is more standardized, invariable, collective, and consentient. As we have seen in the previous chapter, it is true that Buddhists are more likely to preserve animistic, shamanistic, and polytheistic ideas than Protestants. Theoretically, therefore, Buddhists are expected to be more self-determinative when they decide everyday matters, independent from their religious doctrines and imperatives. They thus are more likely to feel less dependent on their religious obligations and tenets than Protestants. Their higher self-determinative tendency in due course is closely associated with their relatively low degree of religiosity and more diverse worldviews, compared to Protestants.

Many Buddhists' final religious goal is to achieve a total freedom, or nirvana, which

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means a complete mental emancipation from the karma circle -- the burdens, chores, obligation, relations, and expenses an individual human being encounters in everyday life. Compared Protestants, Buddhists tend to use their religious doctrine and other religious practices as mere tools to achieve the idealistically-defined mental state -- nirvana -- while they live in this world. If they ever achieve the nirvana state, they will abandon their religious beliefs, obligations, practices, etc. Almost all Buddhists interviewed insist that participating in religious services every Sunday is not necessary as long as they keep the Buddha's instruction in their mind. From the Protestant viewpoint, Buddhists might look like arbitrary or individualistic idea holders. Buddhists thus look much more like subjective believers to Protestants. Buddhists' way of religious practice as a whole looks much less standardized and less consistent to Protestants. Reflecting this erratic and subjective tendency, Buddhists observe much less standardized religious services and practice rituals based on their own necessities, not based on the obligation the whole congregation members collectively observe. In this sense, Buddhists are more individualistic, relativistic, subjective, and liberal than Protestants.

As we have seen in Chapter Six, Protestants, however, observe their service much more regularly and collectively under the guidance of a standardized form of regulations. Protestants believe that from their religious rules to their everyday behavior, all are commended and instructed by their God. All they have to do is to follow the rules their God has set for them. Protestants thus have little room to interpret their religious tenets and ritual forms arbitrarily or individualistically. It has therefore conventionally been perceived that Buddhism is a religion based on individual believers' own divine power, while

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Christianity is based on other's. Buddhism is characterized as self-reliant religion while Christianity as other-reliant.

Buddhists do not believe that there is only one Buddha who has achieved total enlightenment in history in this universe, but they rather believe that there are many buddhas and bodhisattvas who achieved full enlightenment and perfect freedom during their lifetime. All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas thus are recognized and worshiped in accordance with their particular ways of accomplishing Buddhahood. Although Buddhists recognize that Gauthama Sittarta (Sukyamuni) is an outstanding religious leader who accomplished a true enlightenment, they do believe that he is just one of many Buddhas who have come and gone in this world, where the karma circle always determines people's fates. For Buddhists, Sukyamuni is thus one of many true Buddhists who has transcended this world's cruel karma circle. The term Buddha therefore connotes an outstanding religious achiever who bears the meaning of being a symbolic god for Buddhists. According to Buddhist doctrine, there is no such literal concept of a transcendental or supernatural god in Buddhism, but only a symbolic one. Buddhists also emphasize that the Sukyamuni Buddha commanded his followers not to worship himself, nor what he accomplished.

In reality, however, Buddhists believe in both Sukyamuni Buddha and what he achieved as their true objects of worship that have both transcendental and supernatural characters. Buddhists thus believe in Sukyamuni Buddha as their transcendental god and his achievement as an ideal model for their religious practice. They venerate not only Buddhas who achieved total emancipation from the karma circle, but also some famous

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Bodhisattvas who had enough power to achieve total emancipation and nirvana, but stayed with ordinary believers to help emancipate them from the karma circle. Buddhists also believe there are many great boddhisattvas who once lived in this world as great as the Buddhas. These great Bodhisattvas' sculptures, portraits, and works are all worshiped by Buddhists in their religious service. In the Christian worldview, Buddhists' way of worshiping many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, needless to say, is a polytheistic, blasphemous worshiping.

Buddhists also believe that any persons, animals, and things existing in this world have at least some kind of relationship with individual believers, so that they believe all others (both human and material beings) can be usefully interrelated with each other to help themselves become self-achieved Buddhas. Expanding this idea, they believe that anything that exists in this world can be a Buddha (in this case a "symbolic" Buddha, which becomes a religious instructor who helps Buddhist believers achieve Buddhahood or a higher state of spirituality) for their own religious redemption or salvation. Buddhists' perception of religious salvation is thus entirely different from what their Protestant counterparts perceive. First, Buddhists do not believe that a supernatural being chooses individual believers and saves them in accordance with the believers' level of belief and degree of faith. Buddhists rather believe that, not a supernatural being, but individual believers have full responsibility for achieving religious redemption or salvation. Individual Buddhists thus should devote their entire personal effort to maintain the highest state of spirituality to achieve salvation during their lifetime.

If it is true for Buddhists that religious salvation is entirely dependent on an individual

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believer's effort, salvation for them is an extremely difficult life-long process that few Buddhists can possibly achieve it during their lifetime. This difficulty of achieving salvation therefore is another reason that relatively fewer Buddhists continue to practice Buddhism today in the Korean community, in which most core characteristics of modernity are alive -- such as impersonality, dehumanization, high-tech domination, rapid secularization, materialism, individualism, and tolerance of deviance. Many Buddhists do not realize how difficult it is for them to achieve salvation within their lifetime, especially for the people who live in a busy industrialized urban area. The difficulty of achieving salvation makes Buddhists less likely emphasize such concepts as "chosen," "redemption," "salvation," and "calling" in their religious world. Rather, they emphasize the self-achievement of Buddhahood while they live in this world.

As shown in Chapter Six, the emphasis on individual self-achievement for their religious salvation means that worldly success is more dependent on their own personal efforts than the blessing from Buddha. Salvation for Protestants, however, is rather a one-time "big bang" in their lifetime. Individual Protestants thus believe that he or she is saved as long as he or she admits God's choice of him- or herself. Different from their Buddhist counterparts, Protestants therefore are more likely to believe that their worldly success depends on the blessing from God, although they believe that worldly success is conditionally given to them.

Individual believers' relationship with their object of worship is therefore completely different between these two religious groups. Protestants do their best to get conviction of their God's choice, while Buddhists, to achieve their own Buddhahood, following the

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symbolic Buddha's footsteps. For Buddhists, commitment to ascetic lifestyle is entirely dependent on individual believers' choice and decision, whereas for Protestants, it is entirely dependent on God's will. In some sense, Buddhists and Protestants take different paths for the same goal. As long as Buddhists keep this way of asceticism to achieve their religious salvation, different from Weber's assertion, the result of socioeconomic participation in their everyday life should not be so distinctive nor different from that of their Protestant counterparts, because Buddhists probably show a higher degree of self-reliant achievement. As we will see in the next chapter, the family income and educational level of Buddhist immigrants are higher than those of Protestants (see Table 11-1 and Table 11-6).

Although many Buddhists identify salvation with enlightenment or nirvana in their own language, a few Buddhists still have a vague concept of salvation. Since Buddhist-style salvation is fully dependent on individual believers' choice and decision, not dependent on the will of Buddha, their definition of salvation also varies more than that of their Protestant counterparts. This also implies that as the meaning of salvation is not standardized for Buddhist believers, Buddhists are more likely to understand certain religious concepts in their individualistic or subjective conceptual scheme, mainly because many religious concepts in Buddhism are not lineally nor logically delivered under an unified theological system like Christianity. Individual differences in their interpretation and understanding of their religious doctrine and concept are, therefore, apt to lead them to maintain more varied religious worldviews and a lower degree of religiosity among Buddhist believers than Protestants.

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Buddhists' more varied worldviews and lower degree of religiosity are also associated with their unique concept of human being and the importance of self. Compared to Protestants, Buddhists stress the importance of individual believers and believe that the individual believer is the core and base of the beginning of the universe. Individual believers are nothing in Christianity, however, are nothing until their God chooses them. Once Protestant believers feel that they are selected by their God, they become an important individual in the context of their religion. Different from Protestantism, Buddhism begins with the importance and greatness of individual believers and ends up with the nothingness of individual believers.

Buddhists thus believe that they originally have a perfect divinity in themselves, but the divine character in themselves is hidden or diluted by their worldly counter-characters, which also coexist in themselves, such as desire, anger, and resentment. Religious practice for Buddhists thus should be a process of disentangling these worldly counter-characters in their mind and to restore the perfect human condition that can possibly be achieved in emancipation from the cruel karma circle in this mundane world. For most Buddhists, achieving a real salvation is thus not only difficult but also distant from their everyday life, which inevitably involves the three worldly counter-characters of human being. Buddhists thus more emphasize their individual religious practices themselves and the process of salvation effort than achievement of salvation, in part because realistically achieving Buddhist-style salvation is impossible for almost all Buddhists in their lifetime.

For many Buddhists, living an ascetic life is just one way of the Buddhist lifestyle, not for achieving salvation. As the survey result shows, a large proportion of Buddhists

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surveyed reply that they try to live an ascetic life after immigration to the United States. They choose an ascetic life, not because they deny or reject their current lifestyle in this world, but because they use their ascetic lifestyle to create more productivity and efficiency in their daily life in their new home society. In other words, Buddhist immigrants are also eager for success in this world. Their higher level of family income and educational level supports this finding, as the details will be shown in the next chapter.

Like their Protestant counterparts, all Buddhists interviewed also actively participate in their everyday socioeconomic activities. Any element of "world-rejecting asceticism" is not found among Buddhist immigrants, nor a sense of "world-denying" attitudes. Regardless of their gender difference, the majority of both religious groups (82% of Buddhists and 92% of Protestants) view that the world is full of valuable things to challenge (see Table 10-1). A few factors might contribute to both religious groups' high rate of "inner-worldly" ascetic worldview. First, the society from which they emigrated is now almost fully industrialized, so that most of Buddhist immigrants have already been exposed to a mass-production and mass-consumption based economic lifestyle. Second, as shown in the second chapter, Buddhism in Korea has long been under the influence of Confucianism, which strongly promotes "inner-worldly" ascetic ideas, such as elitism, reputation, honor, and success. This might be the main reason why Weber differentiates the Buddhism observed in Tibet, China, and Japan from the authentic ancient Buddhism, which is widespread in the southern part of Asia (Weber 1993: 266). Third, most importantly, the selectiveness of the immigration process dilutes the difference in economic achievement between the two religious groups. As will be seen in the next

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chapter, a larger proportion of Buddhist immigrants than Protestants are drawn from the major metropolitan areas in South Korea, where a modern capitalist lifestyle is fully developed now. In addition to these three factors, most of the respondents from both religious groups are highly educated in modern Western-style educational institutions in their homeland.

Although Buddhism in Korea has launched a major effort to keep up with the pace of modernization under the modern capitalist economic system, it still maintains more elements of traditional Korean folklore and indigenous religious ideas than Protestantism in many respects. Nevertheless, as Weber affirmed earlier, regardless of its type, practicing religion in this post-modern immigrant city is still a rational action, as long as the believers acquire some kind of values for their daily life out of their religious practice. In Weber's own words, "At the opposite extreme from systems of religious ethics preoccupied with the control of economic affairs within the world stands the ultimate ethic of world-rejection, *the mystical illuminative concentration of authentic ancient Buddhism (naturally not the completely altered manifestations Buddhism assumed in Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese popular religions). Even this most world-rejecting ethic is 'rational,' in the sense that it produces a constantly alert control of all natural instinctive drives, though for purposes entirely different from those of inner-worldly asceticism.*" (Weber 1993: 266) [Italics are added]

Although the two religious groups practice principally different religious beliefs and rituals, the function of their practice has in common -- a rational application of their religious ethics to their daily socioeconomic life. In this sense, as Weber differentiated it

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from the ancient Buddhism, Korean Buddhism, which is generally known as Mahayana (or Greater Vehicle), is not a religion that practices world-rejecting asceticism, which is found in ancient Buddhism and other "contemplative mysticisms" prevailing in Asia. This is the reason why the two religious groups maintain more or less the same socioeconomic condition, even though believers of each religion hold different worldviews and different degrees of religiosity.

As long as the two religious groups practice similar types of inner-worldly asceticism, the differential aspects of the religious practices, if any, may not be due to the difference in types of asceticism itself, but due to the difference in the direction of salvation and view toward the world. For instance, for Buddhists, individual believers' initiation and effort for their personal salvation or enlightenment is the most important factor in their religious practices, while for Protestants, God's decision to choose theme as truly saved Christians is the most important one. These basic differences in their religious emphases make each religious group distinctive characteristically and is presumed to affect their differences in beliefs and behavior. The survey results presented below detail how their religious beliefs and ethics are linked with their worldviews and degree of religiosity, which are directly associated with their socioeconomic behavior in their everyday life.

Religious Worldviews of the Two Religious Groups

The two religious groups have some commonalities and differences in their worldviews. By and large, contrary to our expectation, Buddhists maintain a more inclusive and present-oriented type of worldview, which is more realistic and practical, while their

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Protestant counterparts maintain a more exclusive (or closed) and future-oriented type of worldview, which is more idealistic and utopian. Few Buddhists surveyed show world-rejecting viewpoints toward the world, but almost the same number of Protestant respondents also show the same viewpoint. By and large, there is no significant differences in their general worldview toward society between the two religious groups. Such general worldviews as "view to the society," "fate of believers," and "life after death" are almost identically perceived by the two religious groups. The two groups, however, maintain a clear-cut differences in some detailed worldviews, such as "view to the essence of their own religion," "acceptance of the values of other religions," "superstitions," "sign of blessing," "views of the importance of the after-life," "view of the degree of corruption of the world," "view of their children choosing spouses who profess other religions," "friendship with people who profess other religions," "view of Buddha and Jesus," and "view of the sacred object to which they pray."

The different tendencies in these detailed worldviews of the two religious groups seem to be untangled by the two religious groups' adherence to the different approaches to salvation and the different concept and usage of divinity. Buddhists' emphasis on the importance of individual intention of salvation and Protestants' emphasis on the importance of God's choice for selecting believers for salvation also directly reflect their worldview differences. Buddhists' emphasis on divine power existing in the individual believer's mind is also more likely to lead Buddhists to a seemingly arbitrary, individualistic, and subjective viewpoint toward the world. These characteristics of Buddhists, however, have nothing to do with world-accepting or world-rejecting attitudes.

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Rather these viewpoints seem to be more closely related with the degree of practicality in their everyday behavior and the openness of the believers' mind toward situations they encounter in this world. Theoretically, since Buddhists have no barrier between themselves and the divine power (or Buddha), they maintain a much freer way of thinking and behavior in their application of religious ideas to their daily life. On the other hand, Protestants' emphasis on God's initiation and God's existence exterior to their mind seem to be more closely associated with their emphasis on a strong in-group orientation and the value of the afterlife, which is given to them as a more meaningful linkage between individual believers and the supernatural being they believe in. Protestants thus are more likely to follow the commandments of their God than Buddhists are to follow the suggestions or commandments of the Buddha, who is always in their mind, and who is only symbolically considered as a supernatural power holder. For Buddhists, Buddha is not only a god in the Christian sense but also at the same time the individual Buddhist himself or herself, who can be identified with the symbolic Buddha, who contains a much stronger sense of a humanistic supreme being. Buddhists thus strongly believe that they could be a Buddha by sincerely practicing their religious rituals and imperatives.

Some aspects of differences in the worldviews of the two religious groups thus are apparent, and these differences in their worldviews are assumed to cause the different ways they apply their religious worldviews to their daily actions. It is not easy to relate the two religious groups' different approaches to salvation with their divergent worldviews. Some important worldviews, e.g., "views of the importance of this and the afterlife" and "view of human beings," however, seemingly demarcate not only the distinct foundations of the two

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religions, but also their uniqueness of beliefs and behavior.

Commonalities of Worldview between the Two Religious Groups

Neither Buddhists nor Protestants exhibit any signs of world-rejecting asceticism, although they maintain some differing approaches to achieve salvation. This general characteristic of the two religious groups foreshadows that they share quite a lot of commonalities in their religious worldviews. According to the survey results, the majority of both the Buddhist (82%) and Protestant respondents (92%) feel the world is full of valuable things to challenge them. Although few, more Buddhists (10%) than Protestants (5%) show a negative view toward the world. These negative viewers are also more likely to maintain a world-rejecting view -- that the world is so full of valueless and unjust events that it should be discarded. A few respondents of both religious groups (8% of Buddhists and 3% of Protestants) refuse to answer the question about their view of the world.

Although the gap between the two groups is not so large, it is true that more Buddhists than Protestants maintain world-rejecting view. Not all Protestant respondents, however, display the world-accepting view either. This implies that the negativity that the religious groups maintain toward society does not seem to be derived from their religious worldview, but from the social conditions that the individual believers currently encounter. It is true that reflecting their religious worldviews, which emphasize the emptiness and meaninglessness of life in this world, Buddhists are more likely inclined to view society and the world in a dubious way. But the majority of Buddhists interviewed do not display any world-rejecting views, but rather hold a strong sense of engagement. As long as the

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majority of Buddhists maintain world-accepting religious worldviews, their worldviews play a positive role that makes them actively participate in worldly events. In this sense, their religious practice itself actually helps them achieve their worldly success, not hampering them. Responding to people's misperception of the Buddhist worldview, a Buddhist respondent states:

> People who believe other than Buddhism or people who do not know about the Buddhist doctrine might say that Buddhists are all somewhat pessimistic or nihilistic, because Buddhists like to maintain a seclusive attitude toward the world. For instance, people judge that Buddhists prefer to be seclusive because we build our temples deep in the mountains. That is a true misperception of both Buddhism and Buddhists. People do not know what Buddhist believers do in the temple. Most Buddhists voluntarily commit to a hard ascetic-style self-discipline there. At a glance, it looks like retreatism. But the unknown fact is what Buddhists really get out of their voluntary retreat. Quite many senior Buddhist believers just pray, wishing their dreams to come true like any other religious groups do in their place of worship. But many Buddhists restore their mental energy during the services and retreats in the temple. I think that shaving heads, wearing robes, and meditating in front of the white wall, emptying mind, is neither an easy nor pessimistic move. These religious engagements are rather a real beginning of engaging in real life in this world with the emptied, bare human mind. In my opinion, the Buddhist way of discipline of how to retreat the self from the world is not only a very beginning of the real effective way of engaging in the wild world, but also a very active move for participation in the world. It is an active way of preparing for real life in society, not a move of rejecting the world. Can the so-called retreated people on the street cut their hair and meditate in the hope of acquiring the truth of life? I personally practice Buddhism to apply what I believe is true to my real life situation. This way I make my life productive.[1]

Another commonality the two religious groups share is their view of individual believers' fates. According to the survey results, the majority of respondents of both religious groups think that not only themselves, but also people in the world are just following their own fate already predetermined. Surprisingly, more Buddhists (76%) than Protestants (68%) believe that people's fates are already determined before they are born to this world. This is mainly because Buddhists believe in the two important Buddhist

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religious tenets -- karma circle and reincarnation chain (which have been continuing to the present and will be continuing forever) -- more strongly than their Protestant counterparts believe in predestination. This is one of the main reasons why Buddhists put more stress on their present life than on their past or future life. They rather strongly believe in the law of karma circle, which dictates that their future life may become better if they do their best in their present life. As the survey results show, almost all Buddhist respondents believe that their present life in this world is more important than life after death (96%), while only a minority of Protestant respondents (25%) do so (see Table 10-1). Surprisingly, a majority of Protestant respondents (54%) reply that life after death is more important than the life before death, while only a few Buddhist counterparts (6%) do so.

Interestingly, regardless of their different viewpoints on the importance of this and the after-life, the two religious groups display no significant difference in their belief in predetermination of their fates. The survey results also show that more female respondents than male of both religious groups (83% of female respondents of both groups) believe in predetermination. Although about three-quarters of the respondents of both religious groups believe that everyone in the world only follows his or her given fate, almost all of the respondents of both religious groups (96% of Buddhists and 93% of Protestants) believe that their fate is to be changed during his or her life in accordance with personal efforts (or good deeds) or by the blessing of their gods. None of Buddhists and two Protestants (3%) reply that their fate is never to be changed during their lifetime, and only minor respondents of the two religious groups (4% of Buddhists and 3% of Protestants) reply that they do not know for sure whether their fate may be changed during their

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lifetime.

Another religious worldview the two religious groups share is their view of life after death. The majority of the respondents of the two religious groups (92%) believe that there is a life after death. Only a minority of believers, who are considered less devout, do not believe in life after death. It is natural that both religious groups believe in an afterlife, as long as Buddhists believe in the karma circle and reincarnation, and Protestants believe that their life will be judged by their God when they die. The differences the two religious groups maintain are their emphasis on life before and after death. Buddhists put more stress on the life before death, Protestants on the life after death. Reflecting their view to the importance of this life and the afterlife, the majority of Protestant respondents believe that the afterlife is more important (49%), or the afterlife is as equally important as this life (25%), while the majority of Buddhist respondents (96%) believe that this life is more important. Contrary to expectations, according to the survey results, it is clear that Buddhists maintain a stronger sense of this-world orientation than do Protestants. Buddhists' stronger emphasis on this life is closely related to their belief in reincarnation after death, which always stresses the importance of the causal aspect of their present life, while Protestants' stronger emphasis on afterlife is closely related to their belief in a heavenly life, which constitutes the ultimate goal of their religious practice. This is the major reason why I argue that Buddhists can be more realistic and practical in terms of their application of religious beliefs to their everyday life situation, while their Protestant counterparts are more likely to be oriented toward an idealistic or utopian way of applying their religious beliefs to their everyday life situation. If this is true, it overshadows the

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differences in the two religious groups' socioeconomic mobility and achievement after immigration.

Table 10-1 Commonalities of Worldview between the Two Religious Groups

Worldviews	Buddhist Male	Buddhist Female	Protestant Male	Protestant Female	Total Male	Total Female
View to the world						
The world is full of valuable things to challenge	41 (82%)		54 (92%)		95 (87%)	
The world is full of valuelessness and injustice that should be discarded	5 (10%)		3 (5%)		8 (7%)	
DK	4 (8%)		2 (3%)		6 (6%)	
Everyone follows the fate predestined						
Yes	16 (76%)	20	16 (68%)	24	32 (70%)	44
No	8 (22%)	3	14 (32%)	5	22 (28%)	8
DK	2 (6%)	1			2 (3%)	1
Everyone's fate is able to change in his or her life in accordance with personal efforts and Buddha's or God's blessing						
Yes	48 (96%)		55 (93%)		103 (95%)	
No			2 (3%)		2 (2%)	
DK	2 (4%)		2 (3%)		4 (4%)	
Life after death						
Yes	46 (92%)		54 (92%)		100 (92%)	
No	1 (2%)		4 (7%)		5 (5%)	
DK	3 (6%)		1 (2%)		4 (4%)	

Distinctiveness of Worldview between the Two Religious Groups

Out of the seventeen items in my questionnaire related to the respondents' worldview, only three -- "view of the world," "view of individual believers' fate," and "view of life after death" -- are shared by the two religious groups. The two religious groups respond quite differently on the rest of the questionnaire.

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The two religious groups described the essence of their own religions in their own words. A large proportion of Buddhists see it as a "mind-only practice" (52%) and "a practice for right livelihood" (24%), while the majority of Protestants see it as "total redemption by God" (61%) and "a practice of love and mercy" (32%). A moderate number of Buddhists (14%) see it as "the right way of comprehending and obeying the karma circle." Only a few Protestant respondents (7%) see it as "right livelihood or life." These survey results suggest that Buddhists are more inclined to see their religion not only in practical and realistic terms, but also as a system of practice, not as a system of beliefs, with which more Protestants are inclined to identify. The majority of Buddhists emphasize that the effective control and management of their minds in everyday life is the most important reason to practice their religion. Buddhists thus believe that "mind-only" tenet is the most important essence of their religion. Losing self-control is considered as the most disgraceful acts for Buddhists. The Protestant group, however, stresses establishing a right relationship with their God and receiving the sign of God's grace in everyday life. This is the main reason why the majority of Protestants emphasize the importance of God's blessing and the power of the supernatural being.

Reflecting the two religious groups' different viewpoint on the essence of their religions, a majority of Protestants (54%) believe that God's blessing is more important than the individual believer's effort for their success of life, while only a few Buddhists (6%) believe so. The majority of Buddhists (66%) believe that both Buddha's blessing and individual efforts are equally important for their worldly success. This suggests that Buddhists are more likely to maintain a practical and realistic style of religious practice

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than their Protestant counterparts. A moderate proportion of both Buddhists (28%) and Protestants (20%) believe that individual effort is more important for their worldly success. With their religious leaders, a large proportion of Protestants believe that God's blessing is more important for their worldly success than their individual effort. This also suggests that the Protestant group's degree of dependency on a supernatural being is much higher than their Buddhist counterparts. Protestants' higher degree of God-dependency is also closely associated with their higher degree of collective tendency and standardization of behavior than their Buddhist counterparts.

Another important indicator that measures the degree of God-dependency and standardization of behavior is the object toward which believers pray for their wishes. The survey result shows that all Protestants (100%) unanimously reply that they pray to their God, whereas only a minority of Buddhists (36%) prey to Buddha. The rest of Buddhist respondents reply that they either pray to themselves (in their religious term "self-achieved future Buddha") or to other Bodhisattvas. It is thus apparent for many Buddhists that the object of their belief and faith is not any supernatural being; the object can be themselves or anyone else, as long as they maintain Buddhahood. It is obvious for Buddhists, therefore, that their object of worship is not just one but can be more than one. This is the reason why Buddhists are more likely to be oriented to polytheistic ideas than Protestants.

Believers' views of the Sukyamuni Buddha and Jesus reveal the difference between the two religious groups in the degree of standardization of believers' mind toward the object of their worship. Surprisingly, most of Buddhist respondents (84%) believe that the Sukyamuni Buddha, who is worshiped as the major symbolic figure who achieved real

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Buddhahood, is not considered as an absolute supernatural being; but only a few Buddhist respondents (16%) believe so. Interestingly, almost all Buddhists (98%) also believe that Jesus is not a supernatural being either, while almost all Protestants (93%) believe that Jesus is absolutely a supernatural being. This survey results suggest that Buddhists maintain a much less standardized view toward the object of worship. This result foreshadows that Buddhists maintain much less standardized and more individualistically-oriented behavior patterns in their daily life than Protestants.

To see each religious group's degree of inclusiveness of other religious groups, I asked a group of questions related to the respondents' view of other religions circumventively, e.g., whether they are willing to accept values of other religions, whether they accept their children's marriage partners who have different religions, and whether they have friends who profess other religions. The two religious groups display a very different viewpoint to all of these questions. Buddhists maintain a more inclusive view toward other religious groups and even superstitions, whereas Protestants maintain more exclusive views toward them.

The majority of Buddhists (96%) reply they willingly accept the values of other religions if they are beneficial to their life, while fewer than half of Protestants (44%) do so. In relation to the idea of superstition, more than half of Buddhists reply that they either accept them without doubt (18%) or accept them selectively (34%), while only a few Protestants (17%) reply that they accept them selectively. In regard to the religion of their children's spouses, only a few Buddhists (14%) reply that they oppose an interfaith marriage, while the majority of Protestants (86%) do so. All Buddhist respondents (100%)

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also reply they have friends who profess other religions, but fewer than half of Protestants (41%) do so.

Considering all these results, it is clear that Buddhists maintain more open and inclusive views toward other religions, while Protestants maintain more closed and exclusive views. Buddhists' open and inclusive view is assumed to be associated with their beliefs in the interiorness of divine power and polytheistic religious ideas, while Protestants' closed and exclusive view is more likely to be associated with their belief in the exteriorness of divine power and monotheistic religious ideas. This seems to confirm a theoretical assumption that polytheism is more positively associated with openness or inclusiveness of believers' view toward other religions, while monotheism is more negatively associated with them. This assumption is supported by the fact that the societies in which monotheism prevails experience more aggressive interfaith conflicts, while the societies in which polytheism prevails experience less severe interfaith conflicts. Middle Eastern societies are typical examples of the former case, while East Asian societies are typical examples of the latter.

Another group of worldviews where the two religious groups show striking difference is their "view of the worldly success of believers," "view of the moral soundness of U.S. society and the world," and "view of the nature of human beings." According to the survey, half of Buddhists (50%) and slightly more than half of Protestants (56%) see the worldly success of a person as a sign of blessing from their God or Buddha. Among the rest of the respondents, a large proportion of Protestants (44%) and a moderate proportion of Buddhists (26%) believe that the worldly success of a person is not a sign of blessing from their God or Buddha. Approximately a quarter of Buddhists (24%) avoid answering this

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question. Compared to their religious leaders' viewpoint of this particular question, a much lower proportion of the respondents of both religious groups appear to believe that worldly success of a person is a sign of God's or Buddha's blessing. It is interesting to see that a much lower proportion of lay respondents than religious leaders of both religious groups reply that worldly success of a person is a sign of God's or Buddha's blessing. According to the survey of religious leaders, the majority of leaders of both religious groups (89.2% of Buddhists and 97.5% of Protestants) believe that worldly success of a lay person is a sign of God's or Buddha's blessing (see Table 7-4 in Chapter 7). Interestingly, the survey shows that a higher proportion of women respondents than men believe that worldly success of a person is a sign of God's or Buddha's blessing (see Table 10-2).

Surprisingly, more Protestants (75%) than Buddhists (38%) believe that the society in which they live is morally corrupt. Quite a large proportion of Buddhists (30%) avoid giving a yes-or-no answer, but reply they simply do not know, while only a few Protestants (5%) do so. Protestants' critical view of social morality is probably due to their higher degree of doctrinal standardization and collective tendency than Buddhists. Protestants maintain a strong sense of measuring society based on the criterion given by their religious imperatives or commandments. Although Buddhists hold standardized religious doctrines and moral imperatives, they strongly maintain the belief that moral values should be measured by individual believers' judgment, because Buddhists believe that the key motivation for their salvation is placed on individual believers themselves, not the object they worship -- the Buddhahood. Interestingly, as in the case of the view of worldly success of individual believers, more women (70% of female respondents) than men (46%

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of male respondents) view that the society they live in is morally corrupt.

The two religious groups' viewpoint of human being is also strikingly different. By and large, Buddhists perceive an individual human being as a part of nature and as subjective being who is responsible for initiating its own religious beliefs, whereas Protestants perceive an individual human being as a creature of God, and thus as an object of God's creation who should follow all of God's instructions and commandments. Buddhists therefore tend to see themselves as subjective beings who constantly modify their religious ideas and activities, while Protestants see themselves as objective beings who constantly fulfill the tasks given by god. As the Bible and Christian doctrine repeatedly emphasize, to Protestants, the individual human being is considered an off-spring of God who carries a "commission from god" (Weber 1993: 55).

In Buddhism, however, not only the possessions of individual human being, but also human beings themselves are considered an infinitesimal dust consisting of four basic elements -- soil, water, fire, and air. Under their karma law, however, being born as a human being is considered the biggest blessing in Buddhism. For instance, according to a generally known Buddhist idea, only beings that sincerely follow the karma law can be reincarnated into human beings. In this sense, living as a human being is considered the biggest praising. It is also generally known in Buddhism that being reincarnated into a human being is a sign of the biggest blessing (*ghapi* in Korean) a Buddhist can have in this world. Reflecting these two polarized ideas on human beings between the two religious groups, only a minority of Buddhist respondents (36%) view that a human being is the most important prime-being in universe, while almost all Protestant respondents (95%) do

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so. The rest of the respondents of both religious groups view that a human being is only a part of nature. It is a surprise that the majority of Buddhists view human beings as a mere part of nature, although they consider being born as a human is the biggest blessing in their religion. It may imply that Buddhists are more likely to view the world and its basic elements in an indiscriminate way. Ironically, however, Buddhists still maintain a severe gender-discriminated method of giving a religious name after Buddhist-style baptism. For instance, female Buddhists should pick names which contain three syllabus while male Buddhists should pick names with sound only two syllabus. This rule is strictly observed by Buddhists in the Korean community and used as a method of gender differentiation.

Lastly, respondents' view of the image of God is asked only to Protestant respondents because no Buddhists believe that human beings are created by God. A moderate proportion of Protestants (34%) believe that their God has the image of a father (or male head of family), while about half (46%) believe that their God is revealed in unknown images such as light and air. A moderate number of Protestants (19%), mostly women, view that God has the image of a human being, but without any gender specificity. More male respondents view the image of God as close to male image, while more female respondents view the image of God as close to a non-male image (see Table 10-2).

Table 10-2 Distinctiveness of Worldview between the Two Religious Groups

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Table 10-2 Distinctiveness of Worldview between the Two Groups

Worldviews	Buddhist Male	Buddhist Female	Protestant Male	Protestant Female	Total Male	Total Female
Essence of religion in your own words						
Love and mercy	2 (4%)		19 (32%)		21 (19%)	
Mind only	26 (52%)				26 (24%)	
Right livelihood or life	12 (24%)		4 (7%)		16 (15%)	
Obeying the karma circle	7 (14%)				7 (6%)	
Total redemption by Buddha or God	3 (6%)		36 (61%)		39 (36%)	
Between Buddha's/God's blessing and personal effort for success in life, which seems more important?						
Individual effort	14 (28%)		12 (20%)		26 (24%)	
Buddha's or God's blessing	3 (6%)		32 (54%)		35 (32%)	
Equally important	33 (66%)		15 (25%)		48 (44%)	
Between this and afterlife, which do you think is more important?						
This life	48 (96%)		15 (25%)		63 (58%)	
Afterlife			29 (49%)		29 (27%)	
Equally important	2 (4%)		15 (25%)		17 (16%)	
Toward whom do you pray						
Buddha or God	19 (36%)		59 (100%)		78 (72%)	
Self (self-achieved Buddhahood)	24 (48%)				24 (22%)	
Other (*e.g.* bodhisattvas)	6 (12%)				6 (6%)	
Buddha is an absolute supernatural being						
Yes	8 (16%)				8 (7%)	
No	42 (84%)		54 (92%)		96 (88%)	
DK			5 (8%)		5 (5%)	
Jesus is an absolute supernatural being						
Yes	1 (2%)		55 (93%)		56 (51%)	
No	49 (98%)		2 (3%)		51 (47%)	
DK			2 (3%)		2 (2%)	
Willing to accept value of other religions						
Yes	48 (96%)		26 (44%)		74 (68%)	
No	2 (4%)		33 (56%)		35 (32%)	

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Worldviews	Buddhist Male	Buddhist Female	Protestant Male	Protestant Female	Total Male	Total Female
Reaction to superstitions						
Meaningless and never accept	24 (48%)		49 (83%)		73 (67%)	
Accept selectively	17 (34%)		10 (17%)		27 (25%)	
Accept without doubt	9 (18%)				9 (8%)	
If children choose spouse who practices different religion						
Oppose	7 (14%)		51 (86%)		58 (53%)	
Accept without any opposition	22 (44%)		4 (7%)		26 (24%)	
Let children decide	21 (42%)		4 (7%)		25 (23%)	
Have friends who profess other religions						
Yes	50 (100%)		24 (41%)		74 (68%)	
No			35 (59%)		35 (32%)	
Economic success of a person is sign of Buddha's or God's blessing						
Yes	5	(50%) 20	12	(56%) 21	17	(53%) 41
No	11	(26%) 2	18	(44%) 8	29	(36%) 10
DK	10	(24%) 2			10	(11%) 2
World is morally corrupt						
Yes	8	(38%) 11	18	(75%) 26	26	(58%) 37
No	12	(32%) 4	10	(20%) 2	22	(26%) 6
DK	6	(30%) 9	2	(5%) 1	8	(31%) 10
View of human being						
Humans are the prime beings	18 (36%)		56 (95%)		74 (68%)	
Humans are just a part of nature	32 (64%)		3 (5%)		35 (32%)	
Religious group you feel closest to						
Buddhist	48 (96%)				48 (44%)	
Catholic	1 (2%)		3 (5%)		4 (4%)	
Protestant			54 (92%)		54 (49%)	
Other	1 (2%)		2 (3%)		3 (3%)	
Image of God*						
Father image			12	(34%) 8	20 (34%)	
Human without gender identity			1	(19%) 10	11 (19%)	
Being without physical appearance			17	(46%) 10	27 (46%)	

* Only Protestant respondents were asked this question.

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The Religiosity of Buddhists and Protestants

Since the respondents are drawn from devout practitioners of both religious groups, the degree of their religiosity is expected to be generally high. The two religious groups, nevertheless, display commonality and distinctiveness in their degree of religiosity, which is measured by such religious activities and thoughts as "view of contents of the scriptures," "regular offerings," "regular scripture studies," "individual believer's self-defined degree of importance of having their own religion," and "spiritual experience," "belief in miracles," "degree of dependence on religious belief or scientific knowledge," "preference of religious or national identity," "experience of proselytization practices," and "attitude toward regular and extra religious service participation."

Commonalities in Religiosity between Buddhists and Protestants

Although the two religious groups maintain different worldviews and salvation approaches, they share some common ground in half of activities and thoughts listed above. By and large, the degree of religiosity based on individual practitioners' individually-grounded activities and thoughts -- orientation toward scripture, function of offering, and experience of spirituality -- shows a high level of commonality between the two religious groups. On the other hand, the degree of religiosity based on collectively-grounded activities and thoughts -- religious identification, emphasis on expansion of their religion, and participation in collectively-held religious services -- varies along the line of faith. Although they differ in their religious beliefs and practice, the two religious groups

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share some common ground in relation to the explicit functions and power their religious tenets bestow on them. In this sense, the two religious groups present the possibility for mutual understanding, based on their common ground in religiosity and worldviews. This might be one reason why there are quite a few cases of conversion between the two religious groups and why there is no severe conflict between them.

The first common ground of the two religious groups is their belief and faith in the truthfulness of their religious scriptures. According to the survey, approximately nine out of ten respondents of both religious groups (88% of Buddhists and 93% of Protestants) believe that the contents of their religious scriptures are absolutely true, and three quarters (78% of Buddhists and 73% of Protestants) also study the contents of their religious scripture regularly. Nevertheless, although most respondents are drawn from devout believers, few Buddhists (6%) and Protestants (5%) believe that their religious scripture is not absolutely true. A few Buddhists (6%) and Protestants (2%) also deny answering to this question.

An equal proportion of respondents of both religious groups (80% of both Buddhists and Protestants) also reply that whenever they have to make an important decision, they always refer to their religious instruction. It is interesting that the two religious groups display a very similar proportion on these particular themes that measure their religiosity. The two religious groups' presentation of a high degree of trust in their religious scripture foretells the possibility of maintaining fundamentalistic ideas among the two religious groups. This means that the contents of religious script become a measuring rod for both religious groups. They thus refer to their religious scripture whenever they encounter a

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degree of doubt caused by any kind of worldly matter. It is, however, a surprise that quite a good portion of respondents of both religious groups (20%) do not refer to their religious instruction to decide their worldly matters. This implies that a so-called secularized lifestyle is quite prevalent even among devout believers of both religious groups.

Another aspect of religiosity the two religious groups share is their belief and practice of offerings. Since most respondents are devout believers, their regular offering rate is quite high. According to the survey results, nine out of ten respondents of both religious groups pay offerings regularly to their churches and temples. Interestingly, quite a few respondents of both religious groups (28% of Buddhists and 37% of Protestants) experience changes in their mental state in accordance with the amount of offerings they make to their churches or temples. This suggests that quite large proportion of believers of both faiths believe that the amount of their material offering is proportionate to their level of religiosity. It is true that the more they offer to their churches and temples, they usually get more attention from their church or temple authority and become important figures in their church or temple community. They are thus inclined to pay more offerings to their churches or temples when they feel a higher spirituality and have a strong wish that they want to fulfill. Their offering thus is intrinsically related to the basic source of their religiosity but it turns out to become a unique symbolic representation of their social position in their church and temple. In this sense, the two religious groups show no difference in offerings as indicators of their degree of religiosity, but they display a close similarity instead.

In addition to their regular offerings, such as tithes, many respondents of both religious

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groups pay some extra offerings and sometimes pay more than they can afford to. This is the major reason why more than five hundred Korean Protestants churches in the New York metropolitan area are able to sustain themselves. Quite many Korean churches in the New York metropolitan area have budgets over a million dollars. As we have seen in Chapter Six, each church has more than one full-time pastor, who receive full financial support for living. Buddhists show no difference. Although many Korean Buddhist immigrants do not go to their temples regularly, the Korean temples in the New York metropolitan area usually send out invitations by mail to registered members whenever important Buddhist holidays approach. Many Buddhists make offerings to their temples on these holidays, although they do not attend Sunday services regularly. Another example of Buddhists' extra offerings is that as one of their important rituals, many Buddhists buy lotus flower lamps in May near the Sukyamuni Buddha's birthday and hang it on the ceiling of their temple with their important supplications. The price of the lamp is decided by the temple authority, and no one argues about the amount they have to pay to get the lamps. One sincere Buddhist I interviewed confessed that the amount of offering money collected through selling lotus flower lamps is good enough to cover the annual budget that a Korean temple needs.

Spiritual experience is another measurable indicator of religiosity that the two religious group share in common. The spiritual experience of the respondents includes "speaking in tongues (glossolalia)," "unusual psychological states felt during deep meditation or prayer," "prophesies appearing in their dreams," and "sudden cures of chronic illness." According to the survey results, the majority of the respondents of both religious groups

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(88% of Buddhists and 86% of Protestants) have had spiritual experiences since they began to profess their religions. Interestingly, almost equal proportion of both religious groups have the experience. A high proportion of spiritual experience among the respondents suggests that religion is quite strongly associated with believers' mental state in many respects. Only a few respondents, who never concentrated their minds to solve problems with the help of their religious practice, reply that they have never had any spiritual experience throughout their lives. It implies thus that religion makes believers concentrate on problem-solving, which in turn triggers spiritual experiences. The important prerequisite conditions for spiritual experience thus are individual believers' concern with certain subjects and their mental concentration on these subjects. All respondents of both religious groups who have experienced religious spirituality have a unique story about their experiences. In their patterns of experience, the two religious groups show no differences at all. The simplified pattern of both religious groups' experience is that their supplications eventually come true if they pray hard.

The respondents include two sisters who profess different religions. Interestingly, the younger sister, who is in her late 40s, has been deeply involved in Buddhism since she was a high school student, while the older sister, in her early 50s, has become a devout Protestant since she came to the U.S. in 1983. The cases of the two sisters' experiences reveal a good example that how believers encounter such religious spirituality in their lives. The cases of the sisters' spiritual experiences are informative because the sisters were raised in the same social environment and family background in the early period of their lives. For different reasons they became believers of two different religions. Their spiritual

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experiences, however, are quite identical, although they uphold different faiths. The Buddhist sister confesses one of many spiritual experiences she had throughout her life:

> When I was in my high teens, my father went bankrupt. I could not continue my studies at college. I was deeply disappointed, for the sudden deprivation of my study opportunity. I barely finished a degree at a two-years college by supporting myself financially. I had a strong wish to become a scholar. But I had to plunge into the job market for survival. I became an elementary school teacher. In the meantime I have never set myself apart from Buddhist practices, which I got into through extracurricular activities at my high school. Although I had a strong wish to pursue academic work while working at the school, it is realistically impossible for me to do it at the same time. To fill the gap between my life aspirations and reality, I studied Buddhist scripture. It was very difficult for me, because it is written all in Chinese characters. I studied the scripture all by myself. Whenever I studied scripture, I began with meditation and prayer. My major subject of prayer was to understand the scripture as thoroughly as possible and to become a sincere Buddhist. As you might realize, Korean Buddhism is extremely difficult to understand in many respects, especially for women believers who are less likely to be given educational opportunities. Korean Buddhism is mainly learned through conversations with the master priest of a temple. The learning process through conversation was not systematic nor a step-by-step progress. It rather sounds like very dialectical.
>
> Female Buddhists usually encounter much more difficulties, because gender-biased ideas prevail in Buddhism. Also, women Buddhists rarely become pupils of the master priest of a temple, who maintains strong patriarchal ways of thinking. In these circumstances, learning Buddhist doctrine and Buddhist scripture is almost unthinkable, especially for women. I nevertheless tried it. It was difficult, as imagined. At a certain point, however, when I deeply concentrated on my prayer, I suddenly realized that many religious questions that I had previously were suddenly solved. With delight, I kept praying whenever I began to study Buddhist scripture. From that time on, I realized that many statements and sentences in the scripture that I once felt difficult looked and sounded decipherable. I felt that something has changed in my mind since then, and I have never stopped meditating before studying the scripture or other non-religious writings. The speed of my acquiring material and the amount of study I've done have exceeded what I have expected. I think it mainly is a positive effect of my prayer and meditation, which mostly consist of concentrating my mind to the point I am aiming for.[2]

Her Christian sister experienced almost the same degree of religious spirituality in her own religion. Since her teens, she suffered from a chronic illness with an unknown cause and name. She has lived very unusual life as a Korean woman because of her chronic

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illness. She married in her early 20s and bore a son. Because of the illness, however, she was forced to become divorced and has been living with her son since then. With her brother's help she moved to Greece and stayed more than ten years. With her younger Buddhist sisters' help, she immigrated to the United States again in 1983. Until then, she did not profess any religion at all. She obtained the ordinary jobs that most first-generation Korean women immigrants have, such as convenient store cashier, waitress, and seamstress. A few years later, she finally became a post office clerk and worked at an office for one year. The illness returned to her life exactly one year later, when she began to work for the post office. This time, she underwent a major surgery, in which a part of her organ had to be removed. In the hospital she met a few Korean Christian evangelists, who gave her a Bible and asked her to believe in God. She experienced a sudden spiritual transformation during recuperation after the surgery. In her own words:

> After the major surgery, my life was barely supported by many life-supporting devices. Since I had undergone two major surgeries, I was very enfeebled, and what made me weaker was the doctors' comments. They did not give me either positive comments nor negative ones. I could do nothing but lay down on the bed for several days after the operations. Sometimes the Korean evangelists dropped by the ward I used. They left a Korean Bible in the ward with a piece of advice -- "cling to the powerful God." Frankly, before I had the operations, I had some religious questions in my mind. For instance, why I had to live with these physical and mental sufferings. To try to forget the pain in the aftermaths of the operations, I thought I should concentrate on something. Because I could not move my body, all I could do was either stare at the sky through the window or read books. I had many chances to read Bible before the operations, but every time I read the Bible I never was able to keep my mind on it. While I read a few phrases in the hospital, I barely concentrate on the reading because of the pain. A few days after I began to read the Bible, I felt that the more I read it, the more I was absorbed by the word-for-word meanings of every sentence. From that time on, reading the Bible greatly helped me forget physical pain. When I read certain verses in the chapter The Revelation to John, I suddenly began to discern that *the words were especially given to me by God.* So I just realized that I suddenly was absorbed by the meanings of the words in the Bible, *beholding that all the words in*

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> *the Bible were specially written for me*. The words in the Bible made me realize why I had such a bad chronic illness throughout my life, and why God made me so sick and healed me from the illness. I suddenly felt that I became a new person once I accepted the plan that God had designed for me. I regretted I did not believe in God earlier in my life. Once I realized that all the stories in the Bible were inextricably related to my life, I became an entirely new person. I began to admit I was a daughter of God, and God was real father of all human beings. I also realized that worshiping God with my whole faith is my most important obligation as a human being. I fully repented past misdeeds. I realized that before I believed in God, I lived desperately and harshly in the wilderness, but now, after accepting God's design, I live in hope, love, happiness, and eagerness. My life after accepting the design of God could be analogous as what the Cross meant to the Christians. It once was a symbol of hatred and evil, but it now became a symbol of love, hope, and triumph. The words of God saved me and granted me a new life.[3] [Italics are added]

Nine out of ten respondents of both religious groups interviewed have experienced more or less the similar spiritual experiences in their own religion. The type of religion they profess does not seem to affect the degree and frequency of their experience of spirituality, but individual believers' concentration of their mind on a particular matters does. One basic difference in the pattern of experiences between the two religious groups is that Buddhists usually do not depend on any external agencies, such as the Scripture, the Cross, and image of God or Buddha, but rely on their own mental power to reach to a high state of spirituality. On the other hand, Protestants rely on these external agencies to reach to such a high state of spirituality.

The last common degree of religiosity the two religious groups share is their sense of importance of having their current religion for their life. Most respondents of both religious groups (88% of Buddhists and 92% of Protestants) reply that having their religion is very important for their life, while only a few of them (10 % of Buddhists and 8% of Protestants) reply that it is moderately important for their life. One Buddhist respondent

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replies that having religion is not so important (see Table 10-3).

As all the commonalities in the degree of religiosity show, for the respondents of both religious groups, their religious beliefs and practices become not only an important part of their immigration life, but also a symbol of mental strength on which both religious groups rely to pursue better lives after immigration to the United States. All the survey results listed below suggest that the religions Korean immigrants practice after immigration help them maintain mental equilibrium for more efficiency in their everyday life in their new society.

Table 10-3 Commonalities in Religiosity between Buddhists and Protestants

Indicators of religiosity	Buddhist		Protestant		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Contents of scripture is absolutely true						
Yes	44 (88%)		55 (93%)		99 (91%)	
No	3 (6%)		3 (5%)		6 (6%)	
DK	3 (6%)		1 (2%)		4 (4%)	
Study scripture regularly						
Yes	39 (78%)		43 (73%)		82 (75%)	
No	11 (22%)		16 (27%)		27 (25%)	
Refer to religious instruction whenever an important decision is made						
Yes	40 (80%)		47 (80%)		87 (80%)	
No	10 (20%)		12 (20%)		22 (20%)	
Offering regularly						
Yes	45 (90%)		54 (92%)		99 (91%)	
No	5 (10%)		5 (8%)		10 (9%)	
Change of mental state in accordance with the amount of offering						
Yes	14 (28%)		22 (37%)		36 (33%)	
No	35 (70%)		37 (63%)		72 (66%)	
NA	1 (2%)				1 (1%)	

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Indicators of religiosity	Buddhist Male	Buddhist Female	Protestant Male	Protestant Female	Total Male	Total Female
Ever have a spiritual experience						
Yes	44 (88%)		51 (86%)		95 (87%)	
No	6 (12%)		8 (14%)		14 (13%)	
Importance of having your current religion for your life						
Very important	44 (88%)		54 (92%)		98 (90%)	
Moderately important	5 (10%)		5 (8%)		10 (9%)	
Not so important	1 (2%)				1 (1%)	

Distinctiveness in Religiosity between Buddhists and Protestants

It is hard to measure which belief is more religious, and what is truly religious. Measuring the religiosity of an individual believer is intrinsically a relative matter. For instance, as an indicator for measuring religiosity, participating in religious services regularly can be a good indicator for Protestants, but it is not a good indicator for Buddhists. Different from their Protestant counterparts, the majority of Buddhists believe that committing to individually-oriented praying activities, such as prostration and meditation, independent from their regular religious services held in their temple, is considered high religiosity. There are of course individual differences in the way of perceiving the degree of religiosity as well. An indirect way of measuring religiosity using alternative indicators is sometimes much more effective. Measuring religiosity, either using direct indicators or indirect indicators, therefore should appropriately examine to what degree believers think of everyday matters in a uniquely religious way. Their depth of religious way of thinking might be a good alternative way of measuring their religiosity.

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The distinctiveness of the depth of religiosity of the two religious groups therefore is largely examined by using such indirect indicators as "view of miracles," "degree of belief in scientific knowledge," "emphasis on religious and national identity," "participation in regular and irregular services," and "practice of proselytization."

Although most respondents of both religious groups reply that they have spiritual experiences throughout their life, the two religious groups' view of miracles is quite different. Their view of miracles can be a good indicator that informs not only their degree of religiousness, but also their justification of the magical happenings in their religious theodicy. According to the survey results, almost all Protestant respondents (98%) believe that miracles can happen, while a majority of Buddhist respondents (84%) also believe so. This suggests that the majority of both religious groups believe that some unusual or inexplicable things, which are influenced by their religious power, can happen anytime in their life. Quite a few Buddhist respondents (14%), however, believe that these magical or unusual things never happen. The differences in their proportion of belief in miracles may be due to the differences in their degree of belief in the power of the object they worship.

As we have seen through other variables, the Protestant group is more likely to depend on the religious power of a supernatural being, while their Buddhist counterparts are more likely to depend on individual believers' minds by identifying it with the potential power of a would-be supernatural being. The two religious groups' views of miracles directly reflect these differences in identifying the sources of religious power. The differences the two religious groups maintain disclose that the goals of the two religious groups' religious practices have the same destination, salvation in this world, but their paths to this final

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destination are fundamentally different. Buddhists are more likely to use a realistic and humane way to achieve their final religious goal, while Protestants are more likely to lean on the religious power of a supernatural being to achieve it. The majority of Buddhists thus believe that as shown in the case of the Buddhist sister's spiritual experience, miracles can happen once individual Buddhists sincerely practice their rituals, concentrating their minds on the specific issues they wish to focus on. On the other hand, as shown in the case of the Protestant sister's experience, the majority of Protestants are apt to believe that miracles are happening all the time in their everyday lives, but believers are not aware of it, because of their lack of faith in the power of God. For Protestants, a miracle is just another way God expresses His grace toward believers who maintain sincere faith. For Protestants, therefore, a miracle is virtually everywhere, once they believe in the existence of God and the prevalence of God's grace.

To measure the respondents' religiosity in a different aspect, their degree of belief in scientific knowledge is examined in comparison with their beliefs in religious principles. The respondents are asked that between religious beliefs and scientific knowledge, which they rely on more for their everyday life. According to the survey results, a majority of Protestants (83%) reply that they rely on religious beliefs for everyday matters, while slightly more than half of Buddhists (58%) do so. Quite a large proportion of Buddhist respondents (30%) rely on religious beliefs and scientific knowledge equally. When they were interviewed, quite many Buddhists assert that Buddhism is very much scientific not only because it originally began with critical viewpoint on both social and natural phenomena but also because it deals with more practical matters and aspects of believers'

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life compared with other religions.

The respondents also are asked that between their religious identity and national identity, which they emphasize more, when they present themselves to others in their everyday life. The survey results show that more Protestants (75%) than Buddhists (42%) are more likely to rely on religious identity than national identity. A few Buddhists (18%) equally rely on both their religious identity and national identity, while only a few Protestants (7%) do so. Protestants therefore are considered to have higher religiosity, maintaining a higher mindfulness on their religious identity in their everyday life.

Regarding their weekday religious service participation, the survey reveals that a large proportion of both religious groups (62% of Buddhists and 88% of Protestants) participate in some kind of religious activity during weekdays. Protestants, however, show much higher participation rates than Buddhists. Buddhists' weekday religious activity participation rate is higher than expected because devout believers were contacted. The category of weekday religious activities includes mid-week (Wednesday) evening service, Friday evening prayer meetings, daily dawn prayer meetings, and any scripture studies held during week days. Surprisingly, the majority of respondents of both religious groups participate in at least one weekday religious service activity, in addition to the regular Sunday service.

Reflecting the high degree of devoutness of the respondents, a large proportion of respondents of both religious groups (54% of Buddhists and 87% of Protestants) have practiced proselytization. Interestingly, however, the proportion of the respondents who perform proselytization (e.g., to more than 10 people) is significantly different between the

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two groups. Many Protestants (31%) have performed proselytization, while only a few Buddhists (8%) do so. Approximately half of Buddhists (46%) reply that they have never practiced proselytization, while only a few Protestants (14%) do so. The survey results of the respondents' practice of proselytization also reveal that Protestants maintain a higher level of religiosity than Buddhists.

The two religious groups show a striking difference in their sense of obligation to attend Sunday services as well. To see the difference in their sense of obligation to attend regular religious services, the respondents are asked whether they have to attend Sunday service every week. Surprisingly, almost all Protestants (97%) believe that they do, while only a few Buddhists (12%) do so. Most Protestants believe that attending Sunday service is their obligation as believer whereas most Buddhists believe that it is not their obligation, but rather a choice of the individual believer. As we have seen, Buddhists profess their religion mainly to achieve personal growth and mental freedom from the suffering and tribulation of everyday life. Buddhists believe that the restrictions and confinements of their daily life should be eliminated for their ultimate goal of religious practice. Participating in Sunday service thus for Buddhists should not be considered a restriction. For Buddhists, going to the temple on Sunday truly depends on individual believers' personal situations. In addition to their belief in mental freedom, many Buddhists believe they are not obliged to participate in Sunday service every week, as long as the image of Buddha (or the idea of divinity) is in their mind. A devout Buddhist states:

> There are a lot of regulations that Buddhists have to observe. But they are not designed to restrict our behavior and way of thinking, but to set us free from all kinds of restrictions. Participating in the main service every Sunday also should not be a

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> restriction of believers' life. Buddhism originally did not have any regular religious services. Attending Sunday services is a tradition of Western Christian culture. For Buddhists, Sunday service is rather a matter of an individual believer's need to regain new spiritual energy. It could be any day, not particularly Sunday. It is thus not obligated for all Buddhists equally to participate in the Sunday service every week, although it is greatly recommended to participate in all religious services held in the temple. Our Greater Vehicle Buddhism (Mahayana Buddhism) is also apt to praise the choice of individual believers' deeds in accordance with the situation they encounter. Believers can use their own judgment in solving problems if it is appropriate and the best alternative. Some people might think it is arbitrary or lacking in standard of regulation. Buddhism, however, pursues the best choice in accordance with the situation given. We do not blindly follow often unrealistic religious rules or imperatives. Different from other religions, Buddhism begins with criticism first. Criticism and speculation are the two major starting points any new Buddhists have when they begin to practice Buddhism. We don't believe that orders go one way from Buddha or one way from believers. Different from many non-Buddhists' imaginations, Buddhism is very practical.[4]

Protestants' rationale of mandatory attendance of Sunday service is, on the other hand, supported by their strictly standardized church orders and group pressure from church members. First of all, Protestants believe that attending Sunday service is one of the most important commandments from their God. They are repeatedly urged by their religious leaders that participating Sunday service is one of the many non-negotiable regulations that Protestants have to keep. From the beginning of their church enrollment, Protestants become conscious of their obligation to participate in Sunday service every week. Protestants frequently make regular participation a precondition for receiving God's blessing and fortune. They sometimes treat frequent absentees as deviant believers. Different from Buddhists, frequent absentees are excluded from holding any lay leadership positions in the church. Protestants form a strong sense of obligation to participate in Sunday service every single week, which now is accepted as a religious ideology for Protestants. One of Protestant respondents states about the rationale of mandatory

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participation in Sunday service:

> I personally believe that attending Sunday service every week is critically important for Protestants, as well as believers of any other religion. It is not just God's commandment we believers are obliged to follow, but it also is a matter of attitude and mindfulness concerning our religious practice in general. I thus believe that not only Christians, but also believers of other religions, have to attend the service at least once a week. No matter how solemnly I live in this world, I feel that some kind of sinful or disdainful ideas penetrate my mind everyday. We believers have to wash out these disgraceful ideas from our mind, to keep it clean, and to maintain the most graceful state of mind all the time, as we take a shower everyday to keep our body clean. If time allows, I would like to participate in religious services as many times as possible during the week. In my experience, once I felt I had received God's grace, I could not wait until Sunday to return my gratefulness to God. I feel like worshiping God anytime and anywhere. Let alone, the Sunday service![5]

Reflecting these differences in attitude on Sunday service participation between the two religious groups, as we have seen in Chapter Six, only a minority of Buddhists (33%) regularly attend Sunday service, while a majority of Protestants (75%) do so (see Table 6-6 in Chapter 6).

Table 10-4 Distinctiveness in Religiosity between Buddhists and Protestants

Indicators of religiosity	Buddhist		Protestant		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Believe that miracle can happen						
Yes	42 (84%)		58 (98%)		100 (92%)	
No	7 (14%)				7 (6%)	
DK	1 (2%)		1 (2%)		2 (2%)	
Between religious belief and scientific knowledge, which is more relied on						
Religious beliefs	13 (58%)	16	22 (83%)	27	35 (72%)	43
Scientific knowledge	5 (12%)	1	5 (12%)	2	10 (12%)	3
Equally	8 (30%)	7	3 (5%)		11 (17%)	7

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Indicators of religiosity	Buddhist Male Female	Protestant Male Female	Total Male Female
Between Buddhist or Protestant identity and Korean national identity, which is more emphasized			
Buddhist or Protestant identity	21 (42%)	44 (75%)	65 (60%)
Korean national identity	20 (40%)	11 (19%)	31 (28%)
Equally identified	9 (18%)	4 (7%)	13 (12%)
Participate in religious activities during weekdays			
Yes	31 (62%)	52 (88%)	83 (76%)
No	19 (38%)	7 (12%)	26 (24%)
Proselytization experience			
More than 10 people	4 (8%)	18 (31%)	22 (20%)
Few (1 or 2) people	23 (46%)	33 (56%)	56 (51%)
Never	23 (46%)	8 (14%)	31 (28%)
Have to attend Sunday service every week			
Yes	6 (12%)	57 (97%)	63 (58%)
No	44 (88%)	2 (3%)	46 (42%)

Notes

1. From interview with Mr. I. W. Cho on August 21, 1997.

2. From interview with Ms. K. S. Choi on August 11, 1997.

3. From interview with Ms. S. H. Choi on February 5, 1998.

4. From interview with Mr. J. S. Kwak on August 23, 1997.

5. From interview with Mr. Y. B. Kim on March 21, 1998.

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Chapter 11. Economic Aspects of Life of Buddhists and Protestants

Introduction: Weber's Theory Reconsidered

How is religious belief related to the believer's economic aspects of life? Is particularity of religious beliefs and practices of a religious group associated with the increase or decrease of believer's economic productivity? More specifically, as Weber once argued, is particularity of the salvation effort or approach of certain religious groups interrelated with the expectations and levels of economic achievement of the believers? Does a society or a community in which all members professes a particular religion, for instance, Buddhism, Catholicism, or Protestantism, show unique characteristics in economic gains, compared to other religious communities or societies?

According to Weber's theoretical speculation, the types of approach to salvation that a religious group maintains, e.g., "inner-worldly asceticism" or "other-worldly asceticism," are closely associated with the believer's socioeconomic behavior. Weber argues that there are fundamental differences in the relationship of religious beliefs with believers' economic behavior between occidental religion, represented by the Christianity, especially Protestantism, and oriental religions, represented by such religions as Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism. Weber argues:

> Only ascetic Protestantism completely eliminated magic and the supernatural quest for salvation, of which the highest form was intellectualist, contemplative illumination. It alone created the religious motivations for seeking salvation primarily through immersion on one's worldly vocation (Beruf). This Protestant stress upon the methodically rationalized fulfillment of one's vocational responsibility was diametrically opposite to Hinduism's strongly traditionalistic concept of vocations. For the various popular religions of Asia, in contrast to ascetic Protestantism, the

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> world remained a great enchanted garden, in which the practical way to orient oneself, or to find security in this world or the next, was to revere or coerce the spirits and seek salvation through ritualistic, idolatrous, or sacramental procedures. No path led from the magical religiosity of the non-intellectual classes of Asia to a rational, methodical control of life. Nor did any path lead to that methodical control from the world accommodation of Confucianism, from the world-rejection of Buddhism, from the world-conquest of Islam, or from the messianic expectations and economic pariah law of Judaism. (Weber 1993: 269-270)

Weber theorizes the major reasons why Asian religions are less likely to contribute to believers' economic achievement through their vocational activities in their daily life, and why all Asian religions in the long run are less affirmatively associated with the development of the modern capitalistic economic system, by pointing out that most Asian religions observe "world-rejection," "world-conquest," or "messianic-expectation" style of salvation. According to him, Protestants' religious commitment to their personal salvation is closely associated with their social and economic participation in everyday life. For Protestants, religion becomes an important part of the socioeconomic sphere of life, which before modernization traditionally considered a truly secular one, and which earlier Christians consciously tried to avoid associating with their religious beliefs. Protestants began to not separate uniquely economic sphere of life from their religion. According to Weber, their religion eventually helps them promote economic well-being in this world, although Protestants' identification of the economic sphere of life with their religious one has expedited so-called secularization in Western civilization. Protestants look for their salvation in and through their everyday life, because it is considered an important part of their religious commitment. In other words, Protestants break down the demarcation between the uniquely sacred and the secular sphere of their everyday life.

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According to Weber, Protestants also observe the religious belief that their fate and vocation are given by their god. It is crucially important for Protestants to accept the religious idea that their salvation is achieved within their fate through their daily vocational engagement. Protestants therefore believe that they cannot but accept the idea that their vocation is a God-given "calling" for their life, and so they work hard to accomplish their assigned calling with better efficiency and productivity. Doing their best with their God-given religious calling, they believe that accomplishing their calling with the best result (productivity and quality) is one way they can show faithfulness toward their God. Once a Protestant becomes a successful worker, he or she might receive the sign of God's blessing by receiving recognition, praise, and better economic rewards. This Protestant idea of salvation, which is a typical type of inner-worldly asceticism, becomes an important religious ideology in the West, which urges Protestants to work hard in their vocation. This in turn functions as a major impetus for the development of the modern capitalist economic system in the West. According to Weber, this Protestant style of reasoning on the relationship between religious beliefs and believers' socioeconomic behavior is hardly found in Asian religions. Weber connotes that differences in this cultural basis culminated in the way that different forms of religious salvation practiced by Western society and non-Western society result in differences in socioeconomic outcome, with different levels of efficiency and productivity. Weber states:

> [S]alvation may be regarded as a completely free, inexplicable gift of grace from a god absolutely unsearchable as to his decisions, who is necessarily unchanging because of his omniscience, and utterly beyond the influence of any human behavior. This is the grace of predestination. This conception unconditionally presupposes a transcendental god, and is therefore lacking in all ancient Asiatic religions... [I]n no other religion

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> was the pride of the predestined aristocracy of salvation so closely associated with the man of a vocation and with the idea that success in rationalized activity demonstrates god's blessing as in Puritanism (and hence in no other religion was the influence of ascetic motivation upon the attitude toward economic activity so strong). Religious virtuosi also believed in predestined grace, which alone rendered tolerable the thought of the everlasting "double decree." But as this doctrine continued to flow into the routine of everyday living and into the religion of the masses, its dour bleakness became more and more intolerable. Finally, all that remained of it in occidental ascetic Protestantism was a vestige, a *caput mortuum*: the contribution which this doctrine of grace made to the rationalized capitalistic temperament, the idea of the methodical demonstration of vocation in one's economic behavior. (Weber 1993: 201, 205)

Weber's argument deals with a complicated sociological inquiry, which is hard to prove by using empirical data. Influenced by Weber's study, however, many sociologists such as Lenski (1961), Eisenstadt (1968), Bellah (1970), Johnstone (1975), Bonacich and Modell (1980), Woodrum (1985), Williams (1988), Wuthnow (1992), Bankston III and Zhou (1995), and Warner (1998, 1993) have been concerned about the relationship between religious beliefs and socioeconomic behavior within Weber's explanation paradigm. Among these sociologists, only a few (Lenski, Woodrum, Bankston III and Zhou, Warner, and Bonacich and Modell) have worked with tangible data on the subject in question. Interestingly, their general conclusion is also identical with Weber's: types of salvation (or religious ethics) are closely associated with almost all aspects of believers' everyday life.

What these sociologists lack, however, is any systematic comparison between Protestants and those who profess non-occidental religions concerning the relationship between religious ethics and socioeconomic behavior. Bellah and Woodrum disclose that although the most popular Japanese religion is Buddhism, its religious ethic is quite similar to Western Protestantism in terms of the interrelationship between religious beliefs and socioeconomic achievement. Arguing that the religio-cultural values of Japanese society

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contribute to modernization in Japan, Bellah identifies the role of Japanese Buddhism with that of Christianity in the West. Bellah states, "The transcendent, critical, religious element in the kind of Buddhism that Shinran was speaking for, relative to the affirmation of the social system in Confucianism, is somewhat comparable to the transcendent reference of Christianity relative to the socialist belief that makes the social system absolute" (Beliah 1990: 142). Woodrum also argues that Japanese Buddhism in the Japanese cultural environment "encouraged inner-worldly asceticism, fostered a religious calling to work, legitimated entrepreneurship, and reinforced ethical obligations to work in family firms" (Woodrum 1985: 193). While researching Japanese-American immigrants, Woodrum concludes that, "several indicators of traditional religious involvement have independent effects on self-employment and income attainment. Religious variables predict economic achievement more constantly than family background or education" (Woodrum 1985: 191). Woodrum did not compare the Japanese religious immigrant group with any other religious groups in the United States. His research did not concentrate on Japanese Buddhist immigrants only, but included all religious groups in Japanese community in the United States. His study was not exactly about the relationship between Buddhist ethics and economic behavior or attitudes, but the relationship between their religiosity and economic behavior and attitude. His conclusion is: whether a Western-type of salvation religion is involved or not, "religious ethics can influence economic behavior" (Woodrum 1985: 202).

He also discovers an interesting finding about the impact of religion on Japanese immigrants' socioeconomic life in the United States. According to him, "the premiums of

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ethical substantive rationality for economic achievement are maximized when an individual's convictions and conduct are reinforced by a social group. Therefore, their dedication to economic achievement was reinforced by moral obligations to concentric social circles." (Woodrum 1985: 201) His finding implies that immigrant religious groups or other racial and ethnic minority groups, which maintain strong social bonds and dense social interactions with their in-group members, tend to maintain an emphasis on economic achievement that becomes a direct measure of success within their groups. The strong group pressure that the immigrant religious groups or minority groups sense in their community circle promotes their drive to success. According to Alejandro Portes (1995), this strong in-group pressure that immigrant minority groups hold after immigration, regardless of their religious affiliation, becomes valuable "social capital" which promotes their economic achievement. For first generation immigrants, therefore, according to these studies, the types of religion they profess are relatively less important than the frequency and density of their participation in their in-group meetings and activities held in their community circle. For instance, all kinds of ethnic voluntary associations, ethnic business promotion associations, ethnic religious organizations, and ethnic umbrella organization can be examples of such a "concentric social circle" through which members meet with fellow immigrants frequently and densely, at the same time promoting their own "social capital" in the host society.

Woodrum's study is meaningful in terms of understanding the role of religious beliefs in the immigrants' socioeconomic behavior, because it shows that the situation the immigrants encounter in the host society makes the types of religious salvation that each

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religious groups pursues less important than their frequency and degree of density of participation in their own religious community activities. It is true that first-generation immigrants maintain strong solidarity and a sense of economic achievement as their self-made obligation after immigration. This particular mind set first-generation immigrants maintain can be called "immigration ethos," which is different from other normative or religious ethics. While immigration ethos is commonly found among all first-generation immigrants, religious ethics are found only among believers. For first-generation immigrant believers, their immigration ethos is constantly reinforced by their religious ethics after immigration. This might be the reason why, as Woodrum found out in his research, religion is constantly related to immigrants' economic achievement after immigration. Because of its emphasis on importance of economic survival in the host society, immigration ethos probably supersedes religious ethics and the differences in types of religious salvation.

Holding onto this immigration ethos, the first-generation immigration situation therefore overrides the differences in types of religion, which teach believers different types of paths to salvation. It is how frequently religious group members meet with each other, and how deeply they interact with each other are the most important factors that determine immigrants' socioeconomic success in the host society. In this respect, in the immigrant community, different from what Weber argued, the types of religious beliefs and the ways of salvation are less critically associated with the believers' economic achievement than their degree of involvement in the religious community after immigration. As will be seen, my survey also supports the idea that first-generation

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immigrants more actively participate in religious activities after immigration, regardless of the type of religion they believe in. According to the survey result, the majority of both religious groups (84% of Buddhists and 81% of Protestants) become more devout and more actively participate in religious activities after immigration. No gender difference is traced on this survey result. A substantial number of both religious groups (36% of Buddhists and 39% of Protestants) confesses that they become more religiously active because of hardships and loneliness (see Table 12-1 in Chapter 12). Interestingly, the two religious groups do not show any differences in their degree of religious participation and the reasons for participation.

Bankston III and Zhou's study conducted with Vietnamese-American youngsters also support this assertion, although their study is not exactly concerned with respondents' economic achievement. Bankston III and Zhou (1995: 523) reveal that Vietnamese youngsters' ethnic religious participation "consistently makes a significant contribution to ethnic identification, which in turn, facilitates positive adaptation of immigrant adolescents to American society by increasing the probability that adolescents will do well in school, set their sights on future education, and avoid some of the dangers that confront contemporary young people." Another research conducted by Bonacich and Modell with second-generation Japanese-Americans also draw a similar conclusion. Contrary to our expectation, Bonacich and Modell (1980: 237) conclude that regardless of the religious identification of the respondents, their frequent social contact, which can be measured by the frequency of religious service attendance, is much more positively related to their rate of small-business engagement than the types of religion they practice. In their own words,

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"those who most often attended religious services would have a chance to reinforce the social tie that was expressed by religious affiliation. Our data show that this is true, but only marginally. Among Buddhists, being part of the small-business economy was connected with religious attendance in the anticipated direction. For Christians, there was no correlation between small business and attendance at services, but a strong relationship with occupational type emerged. Their degree of attendance was closely related to the status of the occupational type: the higher the status, the higher the attendance" (Bonacich and Modell 1980: 235-236).

According to Weber's theoretical contemplation, the types of religious beliefs and salvation efforts are more critically associated with the socioeconomic achievement of believers. Even in an immigration situation, Buddhists, therefore, should show mediocrity in their economic achievement, due to their world-rejecting inactive tendency. According to this theory, this is mainly due to Buddhists' belief that divinity exists in their mind and their lacking in the so-called engaged style of religious salvation effort, in association with the concept of divinely-ordained predestination. As we have seen in the previous chapter, however, Buddhists have both some similarities and differences with their Protestant counterparts in their worldview, religiosity, and general profiles of their religious belief. As long as they have some similarity in their religious beliefs and their applications to their everyday activities, the two religious groups' socioeconomic behavior might not show any striking differences; for instance, Buddhist immigrants suffer from a low level of economic achievement, while Protestant immigrants enjoy a high level of economic achievement after immigration. The survey results, however, show that their first-generation immigrant

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status preempts the influence of religious variables on their everyday behavior. Therefore, their immigration status, which inspires them to maintain a relatively high level of religiosity and frequent religious participation, is more likely to be associated with their economic achievement after immigration than their type of religious belief and salvation efforts.

As many ethnic, racial, and religious minority groups do, first-generation Korean immigrants maintain a high level of in-group oriented social bonds after immigration. The church and temple members add one more opportunity to maintain a high level of social bonding because their church and temple play the role of religio-ethnic sub-group within their ethnic immigrant community. Their frequent participation in religious activities helps form the "concentric social circle" in their community, and their religious beliefs and practices congruently support their immigration ethos, promoting their strenuous work ethic and frugality, which in turn foster the socioeconomic productivity of the immigrant believers. First-generation immigrants' religious participation, therefore, not only helps them accumulate social capital, but also indirectly assists them to improve their economic achievement in the host society. Based on the case of Korean immigrant believers, we can draw a tentative conclusion in relation to immigration status and religious participation: For first-generation immigrant believers, regardless of the types of religion they believe in, their religious participation promotes their economic achievement. This is not only because their religious participation makes them involved in the "concentric social circle" in their community, but also because their religious beliefs support their immigration ethos. Immigration ethos is reinforced by their religious beliefs as long as their religion supports

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their eagerness for achieving economic betterment in this society. This theoretical speculation overshadows the possible differences in economic and social behavior patterns of the two religious groups after immigration.

Concerning the Weberian theoretical perspective, Johnstone (1996: 200) addresses his argument on the issue of the relationship between religion and economy: "Although religion has some impact on the economy, it is likely to be indirect and to be effective only as a supportive, reinforcing ingredient in concert with others in a complex causal chain." As Johnstone argues, economic achievement of a society on collective (macro) level is not a matter of monolineal causal links to certain traits of religious belief (which Weber theoretically connoted), but a matter of multilineal (or sometimes dialectical) causal links with various other socio-cultural variables. It is, therefore, difficult to argue how much of a society's economic development is caused by the characteristics of the religion the members of the society believe in. Only theoretical contemplation could possibly make a link between the two variables, as Weber did in his theoretical argument. Economic development of a society is a result of a complex interrelations among such variables as a normative value system, including its religious ethics, knowledge, technology, education, health, availability of natural resources, availability of laborers, job skill, free competition over acquiring scarce resources, people's attitude toward entrepreneurialism, efficiency of distribution of goods, consumption pattern, trustfulness or credibility among the members of society, existence of market for reinvestment of capital, governmental regulations on business activities, the degree of people's desire for better economic well-being, and so on.

Economic achievement of a person on individual (micro) level is also closely associated

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with mental stability, earnest lifestyle, honest or trustfulness, physical and mental health, degree of expertise on work, solidarity among family members and social groups, social networking, financial support from the previous generation, spending and saving habit, personal work ethic, diligence, desire or anticipation for better economic well-being, fortune, and so forth.

Johnstone's argument also implies that religions of the immigrant believers may be associated with their economic aspects of life, but with limitations. However, since first-generation immigrants' social boundaries are limited and confined to their own ethnic community after immigration, the influence of their religion on their economic aspects of life can never be underestimated. As we have seen in the previous chapters (especially, in the Introduction, Chapter Seven and Chapter Ten), for first-generation immigrants, religious practice is one of the most critical cultural inheritances for their psychological well-being after immigration. Religious practice is therefore more likely to be emphasized by first-generation immigrants, because it becomes not only a good mental stronghold for their everyday life, but a justification mechanism for the socioeconomic situation they encounter after immigration. As long as religion plays these important roles for adjustment to their new life in the host society, it affects immigrants' socioeconomic aspects of life directly and/or indirectly. As the survey results show below, immigrant believers of both religious groups appear to be economically better-off than the general Korean immigrant populations in the United States. Interestingly, although the difference in socioeconomic profiles between the two religious groups is not so large, Buddhists show higher economic achievement than Protestants. The differences in economic achievement between the two

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religious groups might be caused not by the characteristic difference in religious doctrines and salvation style, but by Buddhists' emphasis on individualistic tendencies and their higher proportion of urban and professional occupational backgrounds before immigration, which make them more freely venture into business world in the United States after immigration.

Socioeconomic Profiling of the Two Religious Groups

Income, Savings Rate, and Expenditure

As indicators of first-generation Korean immigrants' socioeconomic adjustment after immigration to the United States, such socioeconomic variables as family income, personal income, savings rate, working hours, self-identified social class, occupation type, business type, and the classification of work are comparatively examined.

Contrary to Weber's theoretical contemplation, the survey results display that Buddhist respondents show a higher level of socioeconomic achievement throughout these variables than Protestants. Although many were hesitant to reveal their income, the majority of respondents of both religious groups (90% of Buddhists and 93% of Protestants) disclosed their family income. The average annual family income of Buddhists is $103,822, while that of Protestants is $64,309 (see Table 11-1). Quite a few respondents of both groups (46% of Buddhists and 54% of Protestants) revealed their personal income. The survey results also show that the average annual personal income of Buddhists ($53,130) is quite higher than that of Protestants ($44,016). The results reveal that Buddhist respondents show higher levels of both family and personal income than Protestants throughout all

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categories of workers, and the overall income level of the respondents of both religious groups is much higher than that appeared on the 1990 census (see Table 11-1). As we have seen in Chapter Two, according to the 1990 Census data, the average family and personal incomes of foreign-born Korean immigrants were $46,307 and $10,473, respectively.

The large gap of income differences between the census data and my survey is largely due to the underreporting of income and biased sample selection. According to the survey, the largest group in the respondents' work classifications is the self-employed (42% of Buddhists and 37% of Protestants). The average family and personal incomes of self-employed Buddhists are $81,600 and $59,429, respectively, while those of self-employed Protestants are $72,955 and $65,000, respectively (see Table 11-1). Surprisingly, throughout all categories of workers, both family and personal incomes of our respondents are consistently higher than those appearing on the census data. As Min and other immigration scholars pointed out (Min 1995: 211), this suggests the possibility that self-employed workers tend to underreport their income. Another reason for the large income differences between the census data and my survey is that only the respondents who earn relatively higher income tend to report their income. As Table 11-1 shows, although over 90 percent of the respondents of both religious groups reported their family income, and approximately 50 percent of them reported their personal income, some respondents who do not earn low family and personal incomes would not report their incomes, because they felt ashamed to be acknowledged as so-called "unsuccessful immigrants." This might be one of the major reasons why both family and personal incomes of the respondents are much higher than those appearing on the census data.

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Table 11-1 Incomes and Class of Work by Religion

Religion	Class of Work (Number of Respondents)	Family Income ($)	Personal Income ($)
Buddhist	Private wage and salary workers (N=8,8)	59,375	36,250
	Local government workers (N=1,0)	150,000	
	Federal government workers (N=1,1)	100,000	100,000
	Self-employed workers (N=20,14)	81,600	59,428
	Unpaid family workers (N=7,0)	178,571	
	Other (N=8,0)	133,125	
	Total (N=45,23)	103,822	53,130
Protestant	Private wage and salary workers (N=18,11)	51,611	30,500
	Local government workers (N=2,2)	122,500	30,000
	Federal government workers (N=2,2)	95,000	35,000
	Self-employed workers (N=22,14)	72,955	65,000
	Unpaid family workers (N=4,0)	67,500	
	Other (N=7,3)	42,571	11,000
	Total (N=55,32)	64,309	44,015

As we theorized, it is also hard to rule out that the respondents' high level of religious activity participation may be related to their high income level. The majority of our respondents are drawn from devout believers, who observe their religious tenets sincerely. Regardless of the types of religion they practice, devout believers of both religions tend to maintain an ascetic lifestyle, work ethic, honesty, frugality, trustfulness, faithfulness, and future-orientation. These general tendencies of devout believers may possibly lead them to achieve a higher socioeconomic success rate, especially in their immigration setting. Once their immigration ethos is reinforced by and incorporated with their religious beliefs after immigration, it may substantially increase the probability of a relatively higher level of economic achievement. Still another critical reason for income differences between our respondents and the general Korean immigrant population is due to the sample selection problem. Since the sample selection method used for this research is snowball sampling,

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only those respondents, who achieve relatively high socioeconomic success, are likely to accept interviews. This surely affects the higher income level of the respondents of both religious groups.

Family and personal incomes can be a barometer of the two religious groups' socioeconomic achievement after immigration, but they cannot directly represent the two groups' characteristics and attitudes of socially- and economically-oriented behavior, which are considered more crucial to discern the relationship with their religious beliefs. For this reason, despite using the snowball sampling method, which surely caused a bias of representation of the two religious immigrant groups, many interesting socioeconomic factors that are seemingly interrelated to both their socioeconomic attitudes and behavior and religious tenets are comparatively examined. Respondents' family savings rate out of total income, daily working hours, self-identified social class background, and occupational types (business types for the self-employed) are compared along with their religious identifications. As Table 11-2 shows, Buddhist respondents maintain substantially better socioeconomic profiles throughout all these items before and after immigration. This is in part because more Buddhists are drawn from urban middle class stratum, and in part because, as we have seen, they maintain a more individualistic tendency that provides them with more flexible socioeconomic ventures after immigration. The survey results therefore support the idea that for immigrant religious groups, their previous socioeconomic background, rather than the particularities of their religious beliefs, are more critically associated with their socioeconomic achievement after immigration. The effect of their immigration ethos overrides that of their religious tenets in

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the case of Buddhist and Protestant Korean immigrants.

According to the survey results, all respondents' average family savings rate out of their total family income is 13.35%. Their average family savings rate is quite high, although it is much lower than the average family savings rate of the Korean population in Korea (25.1%).[1] Interestingly, Buddhists' average family savings rate (15.1%) is a little higher than that of their Protestant counterparts (12%). Buddhists' higher savings rate is possibly due to their higher income level. But it is also hard to rule out the possibility that Buddhists' higher savings rate is from their stronger tendency toward frugality and future-orientation than Protestants. The family savings rates of the two religious groups suggest that contrary to Weber's speculation, Buddhists maintain more frugality and future-orientation than Protestants. The income and savings rates of the two religious groups reveal that Buddhists maintain a higher economic achievement than Protestants after immigration. The results therefore indicate that despite the problem of underreporting of income, the two religious groups are better off economically than the general first-generation Korean population, and the Buddhist group is better off economically after immigration than its Protestant counterpart.

The average daily working hours of all respondents exceed the normal nine-to-five work schedules. The survey results show that Buddhists work longer than Protestants before and after immigration. Buddhists' average daily working hours are 11.8, while their Protestant counterparts' are 10.6. Since a large proportion of both Buddhist and Protestant respondents engage in self-employed businesses, most of which are open six or seven days a week, a majority of respondents work more than sixty hours per week. Their working

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hours are almost twice as much as the normal full-time workload in the United States. It is also interesting that before their immigration, both religious groups worked fewer hours than they did after immigration. The survey reveals that Buddhists worked 8.5 hours daily on average, while Protestants worked 8.4 hours before immigration. According to the survey results, Buddhists work longer hours than Protestants before and after immigration. This result is exactly contradictory to Weber's argument, which suggests that Buddhists should have lower incomes and fewer working hours. The survey results also show that a larger proportion of Buddhist respondents (83%) than Protestants (70%) also reply that they work harder after immigration. A few Buddhist respondents (18%) reply that they either work less or equally after immigration, while a moderate number of Protestant respondents (30%) do so. These survey results indicating respondents' working habits suggest that Buddhists consistently show better economic well-being and a higher level of "Puritan" work ethic than Protestants.

The expenditure items are another variable that is assumed to be closely associated with the two religious groups' religious beliefs and socioeconomic achievement after immigration. Although the contents of expenditure of the two religious groups directly reflect their income level, they become a good indicator of the two groups' spending habits and the shaping of their family economy, which are critically related to their economic well-being in the long run. The survey results show that although both religious groups spend the largest portion of their income for housing, more Protestants (81%) than Buddhists (50%) spend a larger amount of money for housing in their family finances. It is interesting to learn that with similar marital status, length of stay, and household size,

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Buddhists spend more money for education for family members, including respondents themselves, than Protestants. Quite a large proportion of Buddhist respondents (36%) spend the largest portion of their income for education, while only a few Protestant counterparts (12%) do so. More Buddhists (10%) than Protestants (none) spend the largest portion of their income for either recreation or reinvestment. Reflecting their relatively high level of income, only a few respondents of both religious groups (4% of Buddhists and 5% of Protestants) spend the largest proportion of their income for food. By and large, Buddhist respondents are more likely to spend for rewarding items which promote their better economic achievement in the long run, such as education, recreation, and reinvestment. This result also overshadows Weber's theoretical argument.

Table 11-2 Income, Savings Rate, Working Hours, Expenditure, Marital Status, Household Size, and Length of Stay

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Annual family income (mean)	$103,822 (N=45)	$64,309 (N=55)	$82,090 (N=100)
Annual personal income (mean)	$53,130 (N=23)	$44,016 (N=32)	$47,827 (N=55)
Annual family saving rate (mean %)	15.1 (N=45)	12.0 (N=56)	13.35 (N=101)
Working hours per day in Korea (mean)	8.5	8.4	8.4
Working hour per day after immigration	11.8	10.6	11.1
Working harder and longer after immigration			
Yes	38 (83%)	38 (70%)	76 (76%)
No	3 (7%)	15 (28%)	18 (18%)
No difference	5 (11%)	1 (2%)	6 (6%)

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	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Largest expense out of income			
Food	2 (4%)	3 (5%)	5 (5%)
Housing, including rent	25 (50%)	48 (81%)	73 (67%)
Education	18 (36%)	7 (12%)	25 (23%)
Transportation		1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Other - recreation and investment	5 (10%)		5 (5%)
Marital status of respondent			
Married	40 (80%)	48 (81%)	88 (81%)
Never married	5 (10%)	8 (14%)	13 (12%)
Divorced	2 (4%)	2 (3%)	4 (4%)
Separated	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	4 (4%)
Household size (mean)	3.68	3.64	3.66
Length of stay in the U.S. (mean years)	17	14	15

Self-Identified Social Class before and after Immigration

Although the respondents' self-identified social class before and after immigration is not directly related to either their economic achievement or religious beliefs, it is useful to examine how the two religious groups are aware of their class background, because their awareness of class background provides implications for their work-related attitudes and tendencies which make it possible to measure their socioeconomic achievement. Their social class identification also provides information about how many people of each religious group are drawn from certain social class strata in their home country and how their class identification has changed after immigration. This information also gives us an important idea of how the two religious groups perceive their class consciousness and how their religious beliefs justify their class situation. The survey results reveal that by and large, a large proportion of Buddhist respondents (66%) identify themselves as middle-

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class after immigration while slightly less than half of Protestant respondents (46%) do so. Even before they immigrate to the United States, approximately the same proportion of Buddhists (60%) and Protestants (46%) identify themselves as middle-class. Approximately the same proportion of both religious groups (12% of Buddhists and 10% of Protestants) identify themselves as lower-middle-class before immigration. However, the proportion of the lower-middle-class of both religious groups increases after immigration (22% of Buddhists and 29% of Protestants). This suggests that more Protestants identify themselves as lower-middle-class after immigration. More Protestants (8%) than Buddhists (none of our respondents) identify themselves as lower-class after immigration. The proportion of lower-class Protestants also increases (from 3% to 8%). Interestingly, none of Buddhist respondents identify themselves as lower-class either before and after immigration. Instead, all Buddhist respondents position themselves between the lower-middle and upper-middle classes. This indicates that proportionally more Buddhists than Protestants keep their middle-class values and identity before and after immigration.

The proportion of the upper-middle-class of both religious groups shrinks after immigration. Quite a large proportion of both religious groups (28% of Buddhists and 37% of Protestants) identify themselves as upper-middle-class before immigration, but the proportions of Buddhists and Protestants who identify themselves as upper-middle-class drop to 8 percent and 15 percent, respectively, after immigration. Interestingly, the proportion of Buddhists who identify themselves as upper-class increases from zero to 4 percent, while that of Protestants decreases from 3 to 2 percent. Their self-identified class

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background thus suggests that both religious groups experience moderate levels of downgrading in social class after immigration. Interestingly, it also suggests that more Protestants than Buddhists experience a severe downgrade in class identification after immigration. Interestingly, however, none of Buddhist respondents consider themselves as either lower-class or upper-class before immigration. Contrary to our expectation, more Buddhists than Protestants think that they move up the social class ladder after immigration. This result might overshadow the influence of their religious background on their economic achievement after immigration. In other words, if Buddhists' better economic adjustment is mainly due to their higher social class background before immigration, the effect of religions on the two religious groups' socioeconomic achievement after immigration would be minimized or be none at all. The shift of class background of the two religious groups before and after immigration at least suggests that the two religious groups show no significant difference in their self-identified social class after immigration (see Table 11-3).

Table 11-3 Self-Identified Social Class before and after Immigration

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Self-identified social class before immigration			
Lower		2 (3%)	2 (2%)
Lower middle	6 (12%)	6 (10%)	12 (11%)
Middle	30 (60%)	27 (46%)	57 (52%)
Upper middle	14 (28%)	22 (37%)	36 (33%)
Upper		2 (3%)	2 (2%)

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	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Self-identified social class in the U.S.			
Lower		5 (8%)	5 (5%)
Lower middle	11 (22%)	17 (29%)	28 (26%)
Middle	33 (66%)	27 (46%)	60 (55%)
Upper middle	4 (8%)	9 (15%)	13 (12%)
Upper	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	3 (3%)

Occupation, Business Type, and Classification of Work

Another group of variables closely associated with the two religious groups' socioeconomic condition after immigration is occupational type, business type, and classification of worker. The two religious groups' occupational types before and after immigration are remarkably similar in proportion except "managerial and professional" and "homemaker" category. By and large, before immigration, a large proportion of both religious groups were concentrated in relatively highly prestigious occupations, such as "managerial and professional" (30% of Buddhists and 7% of Protestants) and "technical, sales, and administrative" (30% of Buddhists and 39% of Protestants). Few of them held relatively low prestige occupations, such as "service" (2% of both religious groups), "precision production, craft, and repair" (4% of Buddhists and 3% of Protestants), and "operator, fabricator, and laborer" (none of Buddhists and 2% of Protestants). Another large proportion of both religious groups used to have the "other" occupational category (26% of Buddhists and 29% of Protestants), which represents "student or unemployed" and "homemaker" (8% of Buddhists and 19% of Protestants). The survey results reveal that, although they are somewhat polarized in their occupational patterns, a majority of the

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respondents of both religious groups used to have so-called middle-class or upper-middle-class-type occupations before immigration. Interestingly, it also reveals that Buddhists used to have a higher concentration rate in highly prestigious occupations before immigration than Protestants.

Considering that the immigrants who used to have managerial and professional occupations maintain a relatively higher educational level and earnings, it explains why Buddhists show a higher income level than Protestants after immigration. Buddhists' maintenance of higher socioeconomic status in the United States is also related to the socioeconomic factor that among the Buddhist population in Korea, the educated and the professionals or managerial are more likely to immigrate to the United States. This is the most important factor that overshadows the influence of their religious beliefs on their socioeconomic achievement after their immigration.

After immigration, however, the total proportion of "managerial and professional" categories and the "other" category of both religious groups decreases (from 17% to 16% and from 28% to 7%, respectively) and that of "technical, sales, and administrative" increases drastically (from 35% to 46%). Interestingly, however, Buddhists' concentration rate in the "managerial and professional" category shrinks drastically from 30 percent to 18 percent, while Protestants' rate in these occupational categories increases from 7 percent to 14 percent. The survey results thus show that after immigration, the two religious groups maintain a similar proportion of the so-called middle-class and upper-middle-class types of occupations. And more Buddhists (20%) than Protestants (8%) stay home as homemaker after immigration. This indirectly reflect the fact that more Protestant wives plunged into

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the job market after immigration, while more Buddhist wives stay home without becoming involved with their family businesses or having an independent job after immigration, largely due to the higher income of their household head. None of the Buddhists have "operator, fabricator, and laborer" occupational category, while a few Protestants (15%) have the same occupational category after immigration. This suggests that both religious groups' proportion of holding less prestigious jobs increases while that of more prestigious jobs decreases. Buddhists, by and large, occupy a few more prestigious occupational categories than Protestants before and after immigration.

Buddhists' higher rates of concentration in upper-middle and middle-class type occupational categories are linked to selectiveness of immigration process. As we have seen, Korean immigration to the United States is by and large a urban phenomenon. Traditionally more Protestant populations are concentrated in urban areas in Korea. Protestants who have an urban middle-class background are more likely to emigrate to the United States when they have the opportunities to do so. More educated and more westernized Buddhists tend to live in urban areas in Korea. As long as more immigrants are drawn from urban areas, it is therefore apparent that more urban-middle class Buddhists are drawn. This is the major reason why a significantly larger proportion of Buddhists than Protestants are drawn from urban areas.

Occupational categories of both religious groups therefore directly reflect the social characteristics they maintained before immigration. It is also evident that the influence of their religious beliefs is quite minimized under the influence of their urban middle-class background. As long as the two religious groups share the similar urban middle-class

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background, they may also maintain similar level of socioeconomic achievement in the host society. If the two religious groups show quite different levels of socioeconomic achievement in the host society, despite their similar social class and urban background, the religious beliefs and tenets that are differently emphasized in relation to their socioeconomic behavior should receive more attention. Our survey results, however, consistently reveal that Buddhists show not only a higher level of socioeconomic achievement in the host society, but also a higher urban middle-class-type occupation concentration rate before immigration. This proves that premigrational socioeconomic background overshadows the influence of religious factors on socioeconomic adjustment of these religious groups.

Table 11-4 Occupational Types of Buddhists and Protestants

Occupational types	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Before immigration			
Managerial and professional	15 (30%)	4 (7%)	19 (17%)
Technical, sales, and administrative	15 (30%)	23 (39%)	38 (35%)
Service	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	2 (2%)
Prec. production, craft, and repair	2 (4%)	2 (3%)	4 (4%)
Operator, fabricator, and laborer		1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Homemaker	4 (8%)	11 (19%)	15 (14%)
Other	13 (26%)	17 (29%)	30 (28%)
After immigration			
Managerial and professional	9 (18%)	8 (14%)	17 (16%)
Technical, sales, and administrative	23 (46%)	27 (46%)	50 (46%)
Service	2 (4%)	5 (8%)	7 (6%)
Prec. production, craft, and repair	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	3 (3%)
Operator, fabricator, and laborer		9 (15%)	9 (8%)
Homemaker	10 (20%)	5 (8%)	15 (14%)
Other	4 (8%)	4 (7%)	8 (7%)

The business type of the respondents is another way of looking at their socioeconomic

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achievement and adjustment. Out of fifty Buddhist respondents, thirty-seven people (74%) revealed business types that they run by themselves or engage in as employees, while out of fifty-nine Protestant respondents, thirty-four people (58%) did so. The summary of their business type reveals that the middleman type of businesses, such as dry cleaners and retail shops, are the most popular business for both religious groups (see Table 11-5). According to the survey results, by and large, more Buddhists run retail businesses, while more Protestants run dry cleaners. Grocery and deli stores may be underrepresented, but general businesses that Koreans have operated has been changing since the early period of Korean immigration. The wig business was the most popular in the 1970s and the early 1980s among first-generation Koreans, while the green grocery business was the most popular in the 1980s and the early 1990s. Today various retail ventures, such as clothing, variety, jewelry, gift, stationery, liquor, fish market, hardware, delicatessen, nail salon, and beauty supply establishments are popular business types for first-generation Koreans. Especially for women business operators, nail salons have become the most popular business since early 1990s in the New York metropolitan areas. Nail salons by now have become truly a Korean women's business in New York City. Computer and information services are other business areas that many Koreans have entered. High technology businesses are dominated by U.S.-educated Koreans. After graduation from American educational institutions, many people open their own businesses, selling their goods mostly to Korean fellows. Korea's bad economic situation in the late 1990s encourages more professional-trained people to stay and open their own business in the U.S. As our survey results show on Table 11-5, some business firms that sell their services and goods to Korean customers, such as

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doctor's offices, insurance agents, accounting and law firms, real estate companies, oriental medicine shops, banks, and private educational institutions, have rapidly grown since the late 1980s, when the Korean community in the New York and New Jersey metropolitan area expanded substantially. This suggests a possibility that the Korean community in the metropolitan area becomes an self-sufficient "enclave" economy in the larger U.S. society. But this issue entails so many other concerns, such as ethnicity of suppliers, the major beneficiary of the economic system, relations with the larger economic system in the larger society, and the duration of that economic system. This issue therefore waits for further in-depth studies.

The business types the two religious groups engage in, according to the survey results, do not show any particularity from the other general Korean immigrant population nor striking differences between the two religious groups. If we examine some contrasting features revealed by our survey, a few Buddhists run such religiously-sensitive businesses as liquor stores, fortune tellers, and naturopathic oriental medicine shops while no Protestant respondents do so. Of course, many Protestant churchgoers run liquor store, but they are not traced by our survey. This is mainly because our respondents were selected among devout believers. Fortune tellers are found in the Buddhist community only. Many Buddhists, most non-Christians, and even Christian Koreans still visit fortune tellers when they have to decide an important matter in their life, for instance, selecting a spouse and business and choosing the date for moving, weddings, and business openings. More Buddhists tend to open and use oriental medicine, although most Protestants do not show any particular preference about using oriental or occidental medical technology. The two

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religious groups do not show any preferences in other business categories except liquor store and fortune teller.

Buddhists traditionally avoid any businesses related with killing living creatures and disturbing mental tranquility. They therefore try to avoid running butcher shops, fish markets, and liquor stores. After immigration, however, some Buddhists do run these businesses, even though they are aware of that they are against their own religious tradition. They run these businesses for survival after immigration, but this becomes an important implication that Buddhists are more likely to interpret their religious doctrine subjectively and maintain individualistic tendencies. Two interviews below reveal the contrasting views that a Buddhist and a Protestant hold on opening a religiously sensitive business after immigration.

One Buddhist who runs a liquor store confesses that she runs the store because it is more lucrative and convenient, although she is not so satisfied with running the store. She states:

> The term "job satisfaction" is not applicable to most first-generation immigrants in this country, especially to those who run their own businesses like me. I do not enjoy running this business, but I am just doing it because I have to do something for survival. I do not drink one drop of any alcoholic beverage, and I am also aware that it is not a Buddhist tradition at all. Religion, however, is meaningless if I perish in this foreign country. I would have run other business if we can, but I found it is convenient to run this business in terms of time management and space usage. This is another reason I am running this business, although I am not so satisfied with my business.[2]

The Protestant interviewee once had a good opportunity to run a liquor store, but she eventually gave up running the store for some religious reasons. She states:

> One of my close relatives runs a liquor store in Buffalo, upstate New York. She said her family income was quite stabilized, and she decided to run the store because she

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> could do various household chores at the same time she cared for her business. Although I have never thought of running liquor store, it sounds quite attractive to me, especially because I have to take care of two daughters who are in elementary school all by myself now. My husband stubbornly resists coming to this country, although he has permission for immigration. He is a very conservative Protestant. A few months after I came to New York City, my relative in Buffalo introduced me to a good liquor store on sale in Buffalo area. Although I was not so satisfied with running the business for religious reasons, I was eager to take the opportunity, since I desperately needed more money to prepare for settling into a new life. I discussed this matter with my husband. His answer was very definite. He said, 'I would rather become a beggar than become a liquor store owner. This is one of the last jobs our God permits us to engage in this world.' We have never discussed this matter again since then.[3]

In part reflecting Buddhists' individualistic and liberal attitudes toward religiously sensitive businesses and work, among our respondents, more Buddhists run their own businesses after immigration. According to the survey results, proportionally more Buddhists (42%) than Protestants (37%) become self-employed workers, while more Protestants (34%) than Buddhists (20%) become private wage and salary workers. Reflecting their higher self-employment rates, more Buddhists (14%) than Protestants (7%) identify themselves as unpaid family workers. Reflecting their first-generation immigration status, the two religious groups show low rates of local and federal government workers (4% of Buddhists and 6% of Protestants) (see Table 11-5).

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Table 11-5 Business Types and Classifications of Workers of Buddhists and Protestants

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Business Type (Employed only, No. of Buddhists=37; No. of Protestants=34)			
Grocery store	3		3
Deli and restaurant	1	2	3
Dry cleaner	2	9	11
Nail salon	1	2	3
Garment factory	1		1
Manufacturing	2	1	3
Retailer -- Sales	7	3	10
Accounting firm	1	1	2
Liquor Store	3		3
Technical service and sale	2	2	2
Wholesale	1	1	2
Fortuneteller	1		1
Law firm	1		1
Martial arts school	1		1
Doctor's office	2	2	4
Beauty Supply	1	3	4
Computer	1		1
Real estate	1		1
Oriental medicine	2		2
Import and export	2		2
Private educational institute		1	1
Jewelry		2	2
Thrift shop		1	1
Wig		2	2
Bakery		1	1
Insurance agent		1	1
Fish market		1	1
Bank	1	1	2
Class of worker			
Private wage and salary workers	10 (20%)	20 (34%)	30 (28%)
Local government workers	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	3 (3%)
Federal government workers	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	3 (3%)
Self-employed workers	21 (42%)	22 (37%)	43 (39%)
Unpaid family workers	7 (14%)	4 (7%)	11 (10%)
Other	10 (20%)	9 (15%)	19 (17%)

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Social Characteristics of Buddhists and Protestants

We have examined the economic achievement of the two religious immigrant groups. Contrary to Weber's theoretical speculation, our survey results show that the Buddhist group maintains a higher level of economic achievement in the host society. Buddhists' higher level of economic achievement is in part due to the selective filtering process of immigration (proportionally more Buddhists are drawn from the urban middle-class), and in part due to their liberal and individualistic attitudes toward their livelihood in general and toward engaging in socioeconomic activities in particular. Buddhists' more liberal and individualistic tendencies are expected to be supported by their religious beliefs, which are more likely to be focused on an individualistic approach to religious salvation in this world and its practical application to the daily economic matters they encounter after immigration. As we have seen, however, economic well-being of first-generation immigrants, regardless of the religious beliefs they practice, is complexly related to other cultural and social characteristics they may hold onto even after immigration. It is therefore meaningful to examine these socio-cultural factors that are seemingly related to the two religious immigrant groups' economic well-being after immigration. For this reason, such socio-cultural variables as household size, educational level, marital status, length of stay, personal credos, reasons for engaging in business, and personal perception of their religious beliefs on their economic life are comparatively examined. Examination of these variables is expected to provide a better understanding of how the two religious groups differ in their economic achievement after immigration and how the two religious groups' religious beliefs are associated with their different socio-cultural characteristics. If we draw

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a general conclusion about the influence of these socio-cultural factors on their daily life first, the two religious groups show a remarkable similarity, except for their emphasis on their personal credos and the perception of their religious beliefs' influence on their socioeconomic activities.

It is important to understand respondents' personal credos and the way of perceiving religious influence on their economic sphere of life, because these two factors are considered to be most closely associated with their religious beliefs, and because they are more influential in determining the critical matters in their everyday life. For believers, the effects of these two variables are similar to their language, in terms of how they unconsciously follow predisposed rules. For believers, therefore, their religious tenets and imperatives unconsciously affect their way of thinking and their decision making in their daily life. This is largely because, as our survey reveals, the believers' personal credos are critically influenced by their religious beliefs, and they also perceive that their economic life is influenced by their religious beliefs. A good example is the case of the Protestant interviewee who gave up running a liquor store for religious reasons. This indirectly suggests that for the immigrant believers, their religious beliefs and practices become an important part of life after immigration.

According to the survey results, Buddhists and Protestants alike emphasize such ethical values as hard work, honesty, frugality, future orientation, use of scientific reasoning, and religious wisdom. It is a surprise that Buddhists emphasize hard work and honesty more than Protestants, while Protestants emphasize religious wisdom more than their Buddhist counterparts. As Table 11-5 shows, the majority of Protestants (69%) believe that

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following religious wisdom is the most important personal credo while only a moderate number of Buddhists (24%) do so. Interestingly, although Korean Buddhism strongly emphasizes emptiness, the truncation of worldly desires and aspirations, and the meaningless of worldly success, quite a large proportion of Buddhists (26%) believe that hard work is still their most important article of faith. Surprisingly, relatively fewer Protestants (12%) believe that hard work is their most important article of faith, although the work ethic is more strongly emphasized by their general religious tenets than by Buddhists. According to Weber's theoretical speculation, Protestants, especially Presbyterians (from which a large proportion of our respondents are drawn) strongly emphasize the importance of hard work in relation to their important religious concepts such as calling and predestination, as these religious beliefs are culminated in the sign of God's blessing in believers' everyday life. It is not certain, however, why fewer Protestants keep hard work as their most important article of faith. One possible reason might be that the Protestant respondents selected for this study are too devout to place their economic matters at the core of their personal credo. Or the Protestant respondents might think that if they follow their religious tenets faithfully and look for wisdom in their religious beliefs, all the other important life concerns, including economic matters, might be accomplished with the guidance of their God. For Protestants, religious wisdom is so important that all the other life concerns may be overridden by it even though they acknowledge that non-religious aspects of life are equally important for their daily life. If that is the case, it suggests that Protestants are much more supplicational, transcendental, dependent on supernatural power, and impractical on their everyday concerns than Buddhists.

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Then how do religious beliefs affect the economic life of the two religious groups in their everyday life? At a glance, religious beliefs and economic activities are not seemingly interrelated with each other. Since it is believed that the core beliefs of most religions in this world set up religiously-oriented moral regulations that check individual believer's unnecessary effort to promote economic productivity in his or her daily life, religious beliefs do not seem to have any effect on believers' economic achievement. Surprisingly, however, the survey results reveal that believers of both religions agree that their religious beliefs directly or indirectly affect their daily economic lives. All respondents, both Buddhists and Protestants, believe that their religion affects their daily economic lives somewhat importantly, but proportionally more Buddhists than Protestants believe so (see Table 11-6).

According to the survey results, by and large, the majority of Buddhists believe that their religion helps them maintain a steadfast mental condition and restore their mental energy, which in turn helps them have better concentration on their daily work for better productivity, while the majority of Protestants believe that their religion helps them actualize their religiously-sanctioned regulations, such as avoiding waste and maintaining an ascetic lifestyle for their better economic well-being. Surprisingly, a majority of Buddhists (60%) believe that their religion helps them increase productivity in their daily economic activities, by allowing them to have new mental energy that helps them concentrate on their daily economic activities. Another quite large proportion of Buddhist respondents (40%) believe that their religion is positively related to their daily economic productivity, because it helps them with keeping mental consistency and tranquility.

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However, only a few Protestant respondents believe that their religion helps them have new mental energy and mental tranquility. Most Protestants believe that their religion helps their daily economic life by giving them either the idea of avoiding waste (46%) or a sincere lifestyle for God's grace (44%), which leads them to work hard for better productivity in their daily life (see Table 11-6). This result implies that for Protestants, their religion bestows on them a coercive power that leads them to a certain direction which their religion designates for their life. On the other hand, Buddhists not only much more freely and independently (or individually) practice their religion, but also use their religious practice to concentrate their minds and concerns not only on their economic activities, but also on other aspects of life that require attention. It might be therefore controversial when we come to consider which religious way is more beneficial and effective for believers' better economic life. It truly depends on which way individual believers prefer to follow. But interestingly, as our survey results show, Buddhists more strongly agree that their religious beliefs help them have more economic productivity in their daily life. They in fact show higher family and personal income level than Protestants.

Table 11-6 Personal credo and Religious Influence on Economic Aspects of Life

Personal credo and religious influence	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Personal credo			
Hard work	13 (26%)	7 (12%)	20 (18%)
Honesty is the best policy	18 (36%)	6 (10%)	24 (22%)
Thrifty and frugality	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	3 (3%)
Preparation for future	3 (6%)	3 (5%)	6 (5%)
Use of scientific knowledge	1 (2%)		1 (1%)
Look for wisdom in religious belief	12 (24%)	41 (69%)	53 (49%)
Other	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	2 (2%)

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Is religion any help for economic life?			
Mental consistency and tranquility	20 (40%)	3 (5%)	23 (21%)
Imparts new energy	30 (60%)	3 (5%)	33 (30%)
Helps avoid waste		27 (46%)	27 (25%)
Creates a sincere life for God's grace		26 (44%)	26 (24%)

This finding is contradictory to Weber's theoretical argument. According to Weber, occidental religious beliefs, which maintain more standardized religious moral imperatives oriented to the glory of God, are much more effective for believers' daily economic life, because occidental religious beliefs help promote believers' inner-worldly asceticism in their daily life for the glory of their God. The results of our survey, which is conducted in one of the world's most capitalistic cities in the world, however, seemingly overshadows the applicability of Weber's theory to the current life situations of the two immigrant religious groups. An individual believer's productivity or economic efficiency in their daily life seems more likely to depend on how much believers utilize the usefulness and practicality of their religious ideas in their daily life. In this respect, as our survey shows on Table 11-5, Buddhists obtain more usefulness and practicality for higher economic efficiency from their religion than Protestants, because Buddhists more efficiently focus their minds on their economic aspects of life in their everyday situation through their religion's powerful mechanism of mind concentration. Protestants are, on the other hand, more prone to depend on the power of God for economic efficiency in their daily life. Religiously speaking, this sounds much more supplicational and superstitious to those who do not believe in God.

Johnstone (1996) also points out that many Weber critics argue that not the Protestant

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doctrines and theodicy -- but Protestants' readiness to break traditional religious ideas, such as a standardized collective way of thinking, based on monastic rules and the standardized religious orientation of individual believers toward their God -- played a more important role in changing Western society to a modern capitalistic one, which was impossible without individual people's independent contribution to the development of the modern capitalist economic system. Johnstone says:

> Personality factors might also be suggested. Perhaps the very persons who were most energetic and independent, who were most willing to take business risks, were those most attracted by Calvinism as a theological system because of its stress on individualism and effort. That is, perhaps at least some people choose a religion because it meshes with their own value system and commitments. As such, it would be incorrect to suggest that religion produced particular economic attitudes, for example. (Johnstone 1996: 198)

As we have seen previous chapters, Buddhists are more likely to emphasize the importance of individual effort for salvation and worldly success and realistic practicality in their daily life. With their independent and individualistic tendencies and their practical application of religious beliefs to their daily life, Buddhists might be more willingly to accept new ideas for better economic achievement in their newly immigrated society, liberating themselves from the habitualized traditional cultural ideas that bind them to their own cultural boundaries. As the case of the Buddhist liquor store owner shows, Buddhists are more likely to break their religiously-defined regulations because they are more individually related to their religious ideas and imperatives. Buddhists' individualistic tendency is more pronounced in the United States, because monastic-style Buddhist temples have not been established in the Korean community, and Buddhists encounter diverse new cultural ideas after immigration. On the other hand, their Protestant

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counterparts' organizations and networks have been much more established, although they are operated as independent congregations. Protestants also share similar religious basis with the host society. Buddhist immigrants thus feel much less religious coercion after immigration than their Protestant counterparts. Buddhists nevertheless still practice their religion because it helps them keep their own selfhood in this multi-cultural immigrant city. Buddhists' more individualistic religious commitment after immigration more effectively meshes with their religious anticipation for a better economic life in their new home. Their religion not only becomes a mental support system for a better economic life, but also promotes their immigration ethos with their anticipation for better economic well-being. Buddhists are more likely consider their religion a mental mechanism through which they consolidate their mental energy to promote their daily productivity. With the belief in the immanency of divine power in their mind, Buddhists' individualistic tendencies in religious practice helps them save their mental energy for daily productivity, because Buddhists are more individualistically mobilized to utilize their inner energy with the help of their religion.

Protestants share a similar pattern of relationship between their religious practice and daily productivity, except for their collective tendency and more standardized theological regulations. Protestants' collective tendency tends to bestow on them a generalized religious coercion that might possibly check individual believers' freer engagement in socioeconomic activities in their new home, as the case of interviewee who eventually gave up running liquor store for religious reason. Protestants' more standardized theological regulations also support social constraints that undermine their independent and active

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economic engagement. The survey results show that Buddhists maintain a considerably low level of collective pressure and standardized theological regulations and a high level of individuality and independence in relation to the application of religious tenets to their daily life. An individual believer's independent commitment to any seemingly efficient economic activities and their readiness to freely interpret the strict religious regulations would be one of the most important impetuses for their personal economic achievement under any economic system.

Other socioeconomic variables that are assumed to be critically associated with both the particularity of religious beliefs and economic achievement are also more favorable to Buddhists' economic well-being. For instance, educational level, which is significantly related to both the two religious groups' particularity of religious beliefs and economic achievement, is also suggestive of why Buddhists maintain a higher level of economic achievement after immigration. The survey results disclose that the majority of Buddhist respondents (70%) graduated from a four-year college, while less than half of the Protestant respondents (47%) did so. Buddhists' higher educational level is largely due to the selective process of immigration. Buddhists' better premigration backgrounds in turn are positively interrelated to their higher level of economic achievement after immigration. Since the Confucian era, Korean society has emphasized the importance of education as a major means for upward social mobility. The two religious groups do not show any differences in their degree of emphasis on the importance of education, nor do the two religious groups' religious beliefs have any special association with the level of educational achievement of believers. The emphasis on education is one of the important

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cultural foundations of Korean society, independent from the influence of religious beliefs. The religious doctrines of the two religions also strongly support believers' higher educational achievements. The two religious groups' unbiased emphasis on education means that compared to Protestants, proportionally more highly-educated Buddhists emigrate to the United States because of selectiveness of immigration.

The educational level of both religious groups is much higher than the average first-generation Korean immigrants and other first-generation Asian immigrant groups. According to the 1990 census, approximately one-third of the foreign-born Korean adult population (33%) and two-fifths of the overall foreign-born Asian adult population (40.7%) have four-year college education. The Buddhist respondents' educational level is more than twice as high as that of the foreign-born Korean adult population. Protestant respondents still show a much higher educational level than the all foreign-born Korean and Asian populations.

Interestingly, the parents' educational level of both religious groups is strikingly lower than the respondents themselves. The educational level of their mothers is much lower than that of their fathers. By and large, Protestant parents have a slightly higher level of education and a higher proportion of college graduates than their Buddhist counterparts (22% of Buddhist and 27% of Protestant fathers graduated four-year colleges, while 4% of Buddhist and 8% of Protestant mothers did so). This indicates that a large proportion of both religious groups have experienced quite a high level of upward social mobility from their parents' generation in terms of their educational achievement. The majority of the respondents' mothers received a much lower level of education than their fathers (96% of

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Buddhist and 90% of Protestant mothers have lower than high school education, while 76% of Buddhist and 58% of Protestant fathers do so). This means that there was a strong gender bias in education in their parents' generation.

Table 11-7 Educational Attainment of Respondents and Their Parents

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Educational level of respondent			
Elementary school	1 (2%)		1 (1%)
Junior high school		1 (2%)	1 (1%)
High school	6 (12%)	15 (25%)	21 (19%)
Two-year college	8 (16%)	15 (25%)	23 (21%)
Four-year college	26 (52%)	16 (27%)	42 (39%)
Graduate school	9 (18%)	12 (20%)	21 (19%)
Father's educational level			
Elementary school	13 (26%)	16 (27%)	29 (27%)
Junior high school	4 (8%)	8 (14%)	12 (11%)
High school	21 (42%)	10 (17%)	31 (28%)
Two-year college	1 (2%)	9 (15%)	10 (9%)
Four-year college	11 (22%)	12 (20%)	23 (21%)
Graduate school		4 (7%)	4 (4%)
Mother's educational level			
Elementary school	26 (52%)	27 (46%)	53 (49%)
Junior high school	4 (8%)	5 (8%)	9 (8%)
High school	18 (36%)	21 (36%)	39 (36%)
Two-year college		1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Four-year college	2 (4%)	5 (8%)	7 (6%)

The primary source of social agents, through which individual believers get their first jobs after immigration, informs the general aspects of their social networking, which forms a critical element of their social capital for their socioeconomic well-being. To see the two religious groups' difference in general aspect of social networking in relation to their employment in the labor market, the respondents were asked what kinds of social agents

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they contacted to get their first job after immigration. Another major reason for asking this question was to see how their religious organizations help them incorporate themselves into the host society. The survey results show that different from previous studies (Yoon 1995; Kwon 1997), both religious groups' ethnic congregations do not play significant roles in incorporating new members into the host society. Only a few Protestants (7%) get their first job in the U.S. through the help of church members or leaders, and none of Buddhists do so. The largest proportion of Protestant respondents (42%) get their first jobs through friends and relatives, and the second largest proportion (29%) through ethnic newspapers. Buddhist respondents follow more or less the same pattern. The largest proportion of Buddhist respondents get their job information through either friends or relatives (26%) or other sources, such as professional magazines and English newspapers (26%). The second largest proportion of Buddhist respondents (20%) get their first jobs through the U.S. immigration institutions (which means that they are occupational immigrants). Only a few respondents (6% of Buddhists and 3% of Protestants) run their own business on their arrival in the U.S.

The primary sources that the respondents of the two religious groups patronize for their recruitment suggest that their ethnic congregations are relatively less important for them to incorporate themselves into the job market of the host society. The most important agent for both religious groups that helps them get their first job is their relatives and friends. Interestingly, contrary to our expectation, most Protestant respondents (88%) rely on their own ethnic resources for recruitment, while a lesser proportion of Buddhist respondents (74%) do so. This suggests that Protestants are more likely to attach themselves to their

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ethnic group for daily matters than Buddhists. This also suggests that Buddhists are more independent from the influence of ethnic religious organizations when they incorporate themselves into American society after immigration than Protestants. Protestants therefore show a higher probability of maintaining an ethnic community isolated from the general U.S. society than Buddhists. Protestant churches and Buddhist temples alike help the members maintain a high ethnic solidarity, but they at the same time discourage the members to incorporate into the host society.

The last group of variables that show the difference in relationships between religious beliefs and economic behavior along the line of respondents' religious identification is self-employment status, resources for business, and reasons for engaging in business. The survey includes forty-three self-employed respondents (21 Buddhists and 22 Protestants; 39% of all respondents). Some unpaid family workers of the self-employed respondents are also included in the "self-employed" category, so that total sixty-seven respondents (33 Buddhists and 34 Protestants; 61% of all respondents) are included in this category. Out of these sixty-seven respondents, some of them did not respond to certain questions. The number of respondents for each question related to these variables therefore varies (see Table 11-8).

According to the survey results, there is no striking difference in the major financial resources that the two religious groups provide to open their businesses. However, the results show that Protestants are more likely to depend on their own savings (50%) and business loans (18%) as their primary resource to open businesses, while Buddhists are more likely to rely on immigration preparation money (26%) and rotating credit (19%), in

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addition to savings (39%), as the primary resource for their businesses. It is interesting to learn that more Buddhists use immigration preparation money to open their business after immigration. This implies that proportionally more Buddhists are able to bring financial resources for settlement in the host society. This also means that more Buddhists are drawn from people who are more likely to be able to bring financial resources than Protestants. This coincides with the higher proportion of upper-middle- and middle-class backgrounds among Buddhist respondents. This is another reason why the religious factor is to be minimized in explaining Buddhists' better economic well-being in the United States. Buddhists' higher rate of dependence on the rotating credit as a principal resource for business (19% of Buddhists and 9% of Protestants) also suggests that they are more likely to maintain a highly concentric social circle than Protestants after immigration.

It is a well-known fact that first-generation immigrants are more concentrated in the self-employed job market largely because of their language barrier. Beside their language barrier, which commonly affects the two religious groups' occupational condition after immigration, they show similar reasons for engaging in self-employed businesses. Quite a large proportion of both religious groups (32% of Protestants and 27% of Buddhists) engage in self-employed businesses because they think it is a good opportunity to earn more money. The second largest proportion of respondents (24% of Buddhists and 21% of Protestants) engage in self-employed businesses because they are familiar with their own businesses. This means that approximately a quarter of all respondents have self-employed business experience and skills before immigration. Another quite large proportion of both religious groups (27% of Buddhists and 18% of Protestants) run their own businesses

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because they want to be independent workers. It is interesting that more Buddhists than Protestants become self-employed for this reason. This also implies that Buddhists are more likely to maintain individualistic and independent propensities. A few respondents (12% of both religious groups) run their own businesses, because that is their only choice for survival after immigration. Although most of the self-employed small businesses that first-generation Koreans run requires back-breaking hard work under bad working condition and long working hours, few Protestant respondents (9%) reply that they decided to run self-employed small businesses because it is convenient for them to manage household chores and business at the same time.

Although the two religious groups do not show any striking differences in their reasons for running self-employed businesses, according to the survey results, more Buddhists (34%) than Protestants (9%) want their children to take over their businesses. The Buddhists show quite a liberal attitude in handing down their businesses to their children.

Table 11-8 Route of Recruitment, Resources and Reasons for Engaging in Business

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Agent who helped them get their first job			
Job was already determined	10 (20%)	4 (7%)	14 (13%)
Friends or relatives	13 (26%)	25 (42%)	38 (35%)
Church/temple leaders & elders		4 (7%)	4 (4%)
Ethnic newspapers	11 (22%)	17 (29%)	28 (26%)
Ran business from the first time	3 (6%)	2 (3%)	5 (5%)
Other	13 (26%)	7 (12%)	20 (18%)

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	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Principal resource for current business			
Savings	12 (39%)	17 (50%)	29 (45%)
Immigration preparation money	8 (26%)	5 (15%)	13 (20%)
Loan	1 (3%)	6 (18%)	7 (11%)
Inheritance	2 (6%)		2 (3%)
Gye (Rotating credit)	6 (19%)	3 (9%)	9 (14%)
Other	2 (6%)	3 (9%)	5 (8%)
Reason for doing business			
Pre-immigration experience	8 (24%)	7 (21%)	15 (22%)
Chance to earn more money	9 (27%)	11 (32%)	20 (30%)
Hard to get a decent job	3 (11%)	3 (9%)	6 (9%)
Want to be my own boss	9 (27%)	6 (18%)	15 (22%)
Only choice - for survival	4 (12%)	4 (12%)	8 (12%)
Convenient livelihood-free time		3 (9%)	3 (4%)
Wish children to take over business			
Yes	14 (34%)	4 (9%)	18 (21%)
No	18 (44%)	29 (63%)	47 (54%)
Only if children want to	9 (22%)	13 (28%)	22 (25%)

In conclusion, in spite of Buddhists' religious emphasis on emptiness and the unimportance of worldly success, the survey results show that they sustain a higher level of socioeconomic achievement and more liberal religious stances and worldviews toward socioeconomic well-being than Christians. This is in part due to the selective process of immigration, through which more urban-middle-class Buddhists emigrate to the United States; it is in part due to their stronger individualistic tendencies, which make them more likely to venture into the business and professional world after immigration. This finding is quite contrary to the common view of Buddhists, who are believed to maintain socioeconomic inactivity inspired by their stronger tendency toward world-rejecting attitudes.

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According to the survey results, Buddhists show a higher level of both family and personal income than Protestants throughout all types of occupations, and the income level of both religious groups is higher than the general Korean immigrant population. Buddhists' average family saving rate is higher than that of Protestants. Buddhists' higher savings rates are probably due to their stronger tendency toward frugality and future orientation than Protestants. Buddhists work longer than Protestants before and after immigration as well. Buddhists also have more prestigious occupational categories than Protestants before and after immigration. Buddhists spend more money for education and investment than Protestants. In part reflecting Buddhists' individualistic and liberal attitudes toward religiously-sensitive businesses and work, proportionally more Buddhists than Protestants become self-employed workers, while more Protestants than Buddhists become private wage and salary workers after immigration.

With their independent and individualistic tendencies and their practical application of religious beliefs to their daily life, Buddhists might be more willingly to accept new ideas for better economic achievement in their new society, liberating themselves from traditional cultural ideas. Buddhists are also more likely to consider their religion as a mental mechanism through which they consolidate their mental energy to promote daily productivity. With their belief in the immanency of divine power in their mind, Buddhists' individualistic tendencies in religious practice help them save their mental energy for daily productivity, because Buddhists are more individualistically oriented to utilize their inner energy with the help of their religion.

Regardless of the types of religion they practice devout believers tend to maintain an

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ascetic life style, which promotes such ethics as hard work, honesty, frugality, trust, faithfulness, and future orientation. These general tendencies of devout believers may possibly lead them to achieve a higher socioeconomic success rate, especially in immigration setting. Once immigration ethos is reinforced by and incorporated into their religious beliefs after immigration, it may substantially increase the probability of a relatively higher level of economic achievement. Devout believers' high rate of religious participation also provides them with a high level of opportunity for maintaining a concentric social circle which promotes their social capital. Buddhist immigrants therefore have a better opportunity to achieve economic well-being because they not only have more individualistic tendencies that make them venture into business world much more efficiently but also are more likely to maintain a concentric form of religio-social circle that helps them promote social capital with a close-knit social network.

Notes

1. *Hankook Ilbo* (*The Korea Times*). October 20, 1999. According to this newspaper, the average saving rate of the Japanese is two points higher (27.1%) than that of Koreans.

2. Interview with Mrs. C. O. Lee at her store on August 18, 1997.

3. Interview with Mrs. S. B. Lee at her church on January 30, 1998.

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Chapter 12. Cultural, Political, and Social Aspects of Life

Is there any difference in cultural, social, and political aspects of life between the two religious groups, due to the differences in their religious beliefs? Viewed from their religious worldviews and degree of religiosity, Buddhists might have a better opportunity to incorporate themselves into U.S. society, because of their stronger emphasis on the importance of the free will of individual believers on decision making and their freer (or more practical) application of religious beliefs to their daily lives. Independent from individual believers' attitudes toward their new society, first-generation immigrants maintain a strong sense of in-group solidarity largely due to their sudden minority status and weak social ties in the host society. Their first-generation status in some sense plays more important role for their daily life than their religious beliefs they bring from their home country. This seems to overshadow the difference in cultural, political and social aspects of life of individual believers of the two religious groups. The churches and temples of the two religious groups thus not only become collective agencies which deal with U.S. culture directly, but also at the same time, they become ethnic cultural cocoons in which only the same ethnic members share and enjoy their own cultural life. In this respect, the Korean religious ethnic church or temple is more likely to be represented as an ethnic immigrant organization than as a pure religious organization. In the Korean immigrant religious community, Korean ethnicity preempts the religious identity of believers, because ethnic churches and temples represent themselves as ethnic-religious organizations, not pure religious ones, to the larger society. The Korean ethnic churches

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and temples thus have two aspects of socio-cultural incorporation into U.S. society: they are a collective social agency that confronts the larger U.S. culture and at the same time an individual agency in which the Korean culture is preserved relatively intact.

Situationally, therefore, individual immigrant believers are involved in two societies at the same time: American society as a larger culture which looks foreign to the immigrants and the Korean ethnic religious community as a sub-culture in the larger society. Living in the two different cultures, first-generation immigrant believers inevitably compromise with the new norms and values of the host society. Rejection, protection, confusion, and partial negotiation are few of many commonly-found negotiation tactics used by the immigrant community. Based on the previous survey results concerning individual believers' salvation efforts and each religious group's emphasis on religious practices, the two religious groups' differential aspects of cultural, political, and social life can be hypothesized as following: Buddhists' emphasis on an individual approach to religious salvation and their freer and more practical application of their religious beliefs to their daily life cause them to become incorporated into general U.S. society faster and more actively than Protestants. The survey results, however, show that the two religious groups do not differ in assimilation and social engagement in U.S. society, and their assimilation rates are quite low.

Comparison of Assimilation Rates of the Two Religious Groups

The degree of assimilation and social engagement of immigrant believers should be measured by both to what degree believers participate in American society and to what

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degree they preserve their own culture. The assimilation rate of the two religious groups is measured by such indicators as preference for U.S. or Korean mass media as a source of daily information,[1] self-identified English proficiency, concern with Korean society and politics, and having American friends.

The survey results show that the majority of both religious groups (68% of Buddhists and 80% of Protestants) get their daily information through ethnic newspapers, while a moderate number of respondents of both religious groups (32% of Buddhists and 20% of Protestants) through English mass media. Buddhists' higher rate of usage of American mass media may possibly be related to their longer length of stay and higher level of education. But we may not rule out the possibility that Buddhists' more individualistic tendency and freer and more practical application of their religious beliefs to their daily life are more likely to be related to their active participation in American society.

Interestingly, however, in terms of respondents' self-identified English proficiency, Buddhists show a lower rate of competence than Protestants. Approximately a little more than half the Buddhists (56%) respond that their English proficiency is fair or good, while larger proportion of Protestants (65%) do so. Although Buddhists have a little lower degree of English proficiency, it is hard to judge that Buddhists' English competence is truly lower than Protestants because not only it is based on the respondents' self-judgement, but also the gap between the two groups is not large enough to confirm the difference. Since Buddhists by and large are more likely to have a reserved attitude than Protestants, Buddhists tend to underestimate their English proficiency. Based on my interview experience with the two religious groups, it is even harder to judge which group

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has better English proficiency.

The survey results also show that much fewer Buddhists (30%) than Protestants (61%) have American friends. Although the gap between the two religious groups is large enough to allow us to estimate that Protestants are more likely to get along with non-Korean Americans, it may also be due to the differences in criterion that the two religious groups use to define friendship. Buddhists' lower rate of having American friends is possibly due to their reserved character as well. For instance, Buddhists may maintain a stricter demarcation line between friends and people they just know than Protestants. This result is quite contradictory to the results of their views toward other racial and ethnic groups, which is shown in the next chapter. According to the survey results, more Protestants (81%) than Buddhists (74%) reply that they feel closest and want to live or do business with their same ethnic group, and fewer Protestants (14%) than Buddhists (22%) reply that they feel closeness with white Americans (see Table 13-5 in Chapter 13).

Both religious groups show a strong concern with Korean society and politics. Slightly more Buddhists (52%) than Protestants (46%) show a higher rate of concern with Korean society and politics. However, when we include respondents who are moderately concerned with their homelands' social matters and politics, more Protestants (85%) than Buddhists (76%) show their concern with Korean society and politics. Although the survey reveals that the majority of both religious groups (70% of Buddhists and 73% of Protestants) believe that America is a land of opportunity, and they show high rate of life and job satisfaction (as shown in the next chapter), the majority of them still maintain a strong concern with the social and political affairs of their homeland. This suggests that

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the majority of respondents maintain a strong sense of first-generation immigrant status, regardless of their satisfactory adjustment to the host society. By and large, a slightly higher proportion of Protestants than Buddhists show concern with their homeland. A few Buddhists (24%) reply that they either have little concern with their homeland or no concern at all, while still fewer Protestants (16%) do so.

The results of the survey on these four variables (mass media usage, self-identified English proficiency, American friends, and concern with Korean society and politics) make it even more difficult to distinguish the two religious groups' differences in their degree of assimilation into U.S. society. In terms of mass media usage and concern with Korean society, Buddhists show a little higher level of assimilation into U.S. society than Protestants. In terms of English proficiency and American friends, however, Buddhists show a lower level of assimilation into U.S. society than Protestants. The survey results thus suggest that the two religious groups maintain a very similar level of assimilation into U.S. society, although each group shows a different level of assimilation in different aspects of social life.

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Table 12-1 Source of Daily Information, English Proficiency, American Friends, and Concern with Homeland

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Most important mass communication source for daily information			
Korean newspaper	25 (50%)	34 (58%)	59 (54%)
English newspaper	8 (16%)	3 (5%)	11 (10%)
Korean TV channel	3 (6%)	8 (14%)	11 (10%)
American TV channel	6 (12%)	9 (15%)	15 (14%)
Korean radio	6 (12%)	5 (8%)	11 (10%)
American radio	1 (2%)		1 (1%)
Other (Journals)	1 (2%)		1 (1%)
English proficiency (self-identified)			
No understanding at all	2 (4%)		2 (2%)
Rudimentary	20 (40%)	21 (36%)	41 (38%)
Fair	22 (44%)	31 (53%)	53 (49%)
Good or fluent	6 (12%)	7 (12%)	13 (12%)
Have non-Korean American friends			
Yes	15 (30%)	36 (61%)	51 (47%)
No	35 (70%)	23 (39%)	58 (53%)
Concern with Korean society and politics			
Very much	26 (52%)	27 (46%)	53 (49%)
A little bit	12 (24%)	23 (39%)	35 (32%)
Little	6 (12%)	8 (14%)	14 (13%)
Not at all	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	7 (6%)

Comparison of Civic Engagement Rates of the Two Religious Groups

The degree of respondents' civic engagement is measured by three indicators: average hours of social service activity participation in and out of churches and temples per week, PTA (Parent Teacher Association) meeting participation rate, and general election participation rate. Social service activities include both religion-related social service activities, which are regularly held in the respondents' churches and temples (for

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instance, serving lunch to church or temple members and engaging in proselytization activities) and all other non-religious social service activities (for instance, volunteering various service activities for their children's school and working for various non-profit or voluntary social service organizations).

The survey results show that Protestants participate in social service activities a little longer than Buddhists. The average hours of social service participation of the Buddhist group is 2.6 hours per week while that of the Protestant group is 3.3 hours. On the contrary, Buddhist parents maintain a higher rate of PTA meeting participation than their Protestant counterparts. As shown in Table 12-2, among respondents who have children, a larger proportion of Buddhists than their Protestant counterparts (49% of Buddhists and 24% of Protestants) reply that they always participate in PTA meetings. Another substantial proportion of both religious groups (31% of Buddhists and 33% of Protestants) reply that they participate in PTA meetings often. Fewer Buddhist parents than Protestants (21% of Buddhists and 43% of Protestants) either rarely or never participate in PTA meetings. Different from their social service participation, Buddhists more actively participate in PTA meetings than Protestants. It is no coincidence that Buddhist groups' higher PTA meeting participation rates are highly correlated with their higher level of educational expenses out of their household income (see Table 12-2 and Table 11-6 in Chapter 11).

Interestingly, the difference in election participation rates between the two religious groups is not only substantial, but also opposite in its direction to PTA meeting participation rates. According to the survey results, Protestants participate in elections

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more actively than Buddhists, although both religious groups' election participation rates are generally low. The largest proportion of both religious groups (66% of Buddhists and 51% of Protestants) reply that they never participate in election activities before and after immigration. A moderate proportion of both religious groups (18% of Buddhists and 29% of Protestants) participate in elections all the time. When only the naturalized U.S. citizens are taken into account, the difference in election participation rate between the two religious groups becomes larger. Among respondents who hold U.S. citizenship, a larger proportion of Buddhists (50%) than Protestants (11%) never participate in elections. Among naturalized U.S. citizens, approximately a quarter of Buddhists (23%) and a slightly more than a half of Protestants (53%) participate in election all the time. The survey results thus show that both religious groups' election participation rates are generally low, and more Protestants than Buddhists and more citizens than non-citizens participate in elections.

Buddhists' less active participation in religious activities in general and stronger individualistic tendencies in particular are supposedly related to their lower level of civic engagement after immigration. Buddhists show a higher participation rate in PTA meetings only, while Protestants show higher participation rates in both social service activities and elections out of the three indicators for civic engagement.

Table 12-2 Social Service Activity, PTA Meeting, and Election Participation

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Average hours of social service participation per week	2.6	3.3	2.9

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	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
PTA meeting participation (parents only)			
Always	22 (49%)	12 (24%)	34 (36%)
Often	14 (31%)	16 (33%)	30 (32%)
Rarely	8 (17%)	13 (27%)	21 (22%)
Never	2 (4%)	8 (16%)	10 (11%)
Election participation			
Always	9 (18%)	12 (20%)	21 (19%)
Often	4 (8%)	6 (10%)	10 (9%)
Rarely	4 (8%)	6 (10%)	10 (9%)
Never	33 (66%)	35 (59%)	68 (62%)
Election participation (U.S. citizens only)			
Always	6 (23%)	15 (53%)	21 (39%)
Often	4 (15%)	5 (18%)	9 (17%)
Rarely	3 (12%)	5 (18%)	8 (15%)
Never	13 (50%)	3 (11%)	16 (30%)

Comparison of Level of Interest in Politics and Political Party Preference

The survey results also reveal that the two religious groups' concern with both Korean and U.S. politics is relatively weak. Although the majority of both religious groups show a high level of concern with social and political events happening in Korea, as shown in Table 12-1, a large proportion of both religious groups (72% of Buddhists and 63% of Protestants) do not support any Korean political party. Among the respondents who are interested in Korean politics, a moderate number (20% of Buddhists and 19% of Protestants) support the incumbent political party (*Minjudang,* former *Kookminhoei*), which maintains a moderately progressive political stance. Among them, only a few Buddhist (2%) and no Protestants support the conservative party (*Jaminryun*) of their home country, and another group of a few Buddhists (6%) and a few Protestants (19%)

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supports the opposite party (*Hannara*), which also maintains a moderately progressive political stance. Although both religious groups show little concern with Korean politics, according to the survey results, Buddhists are more likely to support the incumbent party, while Protestants are more likely support the opposite party. Although the two religious groups do not support the conservative party in their homeland, Buddhists show a little stronger support for the conservative party than Protestants.

Reflecting the two religious groups' relatively low level of interest in politics in general, their level of interest in American politics and political parties is not high either. Quite a large number of respondents of both religious groups (38% of Buddhists and 34% of Protestants) show no interest in or support of American political parties. Reflecting Buddhists' lower level of election participation and interest in Korean politics, slightly more Buddhists than Protestants show indifference to politics and any preference of American political parties. Among the respondents who show interest in American political parties, slightly more respondents of both religious groups (32% of Buddhists and 34% of Protestants) prefer the Democratic Party than the Republican Party (26% of Buddhists and 31% of Protestants). This suggests that slightly fewer Buddhists than Protestants show a preference for both the Democratic and Republican Parties. This also suggests that Buddhists by and large show a higher level of indifference to politics than Protestants, although the two groups' difference in preference of the two political parties is not so large. The survey also reveals that only a few respondents of both religious groups (4% of Buddhists and 2% of Protestants) support the Independent party. Interestingly, although a few respondents of both religious groups prefer the Korean

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conservative party, quite a substantial number of them (26% of Buddhists and 31% of Protestants) prefer the Republican Party.

Surprisingly, when they are asked about their opinion of Korea's reunification, almost all the respondents of both religious groups (94% of Buddhists and 93% of Protestants) reply that Korea must be reunited. As these results show, it is hard to tell the difference in believers' political positions or characteristics of the two religious groups, although there is a slight difference between them. It is thus concluded that the two religious groups maintain quite similar political viewpoints and a similar level of interest in politics and preference for political parties. Although there is no particularity in terms of preferences for political parties and political viewpoints along the lines of respondents' religions, Buddhists in general shows a higher rate of preference for Korean conservative party and a lower rate of interest in politics than Protestants.

Table 12-3 Preference of Political Parties and Opinion on Reunification of Korea

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Favorite political party in Korea			
Hannara (opposition)	3 (6%)	11 (19%)	14 (13%)
Minjudang (incumbent)	10 (20%)	11 (19%)	21 (19%)
Jaminryun (incumbent, conservative)	1 (2%)		1 (1%)
None	36 (72%)	37 (63%)	73 (67%)
Favorite political party in the U.S.			
Democratic	16 (32%)	20 (34%)	36 (33%)
Republican	13 (26%)	18 (31%)	31 (28%)
Other (Independent)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	3 (3%)
None	19 (38%)	20 (34%)	39 (36%)
Korea must be reunited			
Yes	47 (94%)	55 (93%)	102 (94%)
No	2 (4%)	2 (3%)	4 (4%)
DK	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	3 (3%)

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Comparison of Cultural Aspects of Life

Quite different from the two religious groups' assimilation rates and degree of concern with Korean society and politics that we have examined so far, their cultural aspects of life are distinctive along the line of respondents' religious identification.

Concerning the ideal conjugal relationship, the majority of Buddhists (60%) reply that the husband should be the household head, while the wife has to follow him. The majority of Protestants (61%), however, reply that husbands and wives should maintain an equal relationship and equal conjugal power at home. This indicates that in terms of their conjugal relationship, more Buddhists than Protestants still maintain traditional ideas. This also implies that although Buddhists maintain a higher level of socioeconomic achievement after immigration, their adaptation of the liberal conjugal relationship prevalent in U.S. society is quite behind that of their Protestant counterparts.

Concerning the racial and ethnic identity that respondents want their children to have in U.S. society, the majority of respondents of both religious groups (62% of Buddhists and 88% of Protestants) reply they want their children to have a Korean-American identity. But quite a large proportion of Buddhists (34%) and a small number of Protestants (7%) want their children to hold a Korean identity only. It is interesting to learn that a few but similar number of respondents of both religious groups (4% of Buddhists and 5% of Protestants) want their children to have an American-Korean identity instead of Korean-American, which emphasizes Korean identity more than American identity. The survey results on their children's identity also suggest that more Buddhists than Protestants still maintain a stronger sense of Korean identity.

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The majority of both religious groups (74% of Buddhists and 95% of Protestants) also want their children to become as highly educated as possible. But moderate proportion of Buddhists (26%) do not plan to make their children as highly educated as possible. This suggests that more Protestants emphasize their children's education. However, as we have seen, Protestants invest less in their children's education. Ironically, the survey reveals that more Protestants (63%) than Buddhists (48%) teach their children traditional Korean values at home. Although a large proportion of the respondents of both religious groups teach their children traditional Korean values, a substantial proportion of both religious groups (32% of Buddhists and 29% of Protestants) reply that it is difficult for them to teach their children traditional Korean values, because they are aware their children experience a conflict between what their parents teach and what they actually encounter daily in U.S. society. Quite a large proportion of Buddhists (20%) reply that they do not teach their children any traditional Korean values at all, and a much lower proportion of Protestants (8%) do not. This implies that contrary to our expectation, more Protestants than Buddhists teach their children traditional Korean values. It also indirectly implies that Protestants are less likely to assimilate into American culture than Buddhists in terms of maintaining traditional values after immigration.

The extent to which respondents teach their children religious doctrine varies between the two religious groups. Less than half of Buddhists (42%) teach their children religious doctrines, while the majority of Protestants (85%) do so. Considering that most respondents are devout believers, the proportion of Buddhists who teach their children religious doctrines is quite small. This also suggests that Buddhists are more likely to

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allow their children to choose their own religion and expose their children to new cultural influences. In terms of accepting foreign cultural elements, therefore, Buddhists show a much more liberal attitude than Protestants.

In regard to their opinion about children's job selection, the two religious groups do not show any striking differences. The majority of respondents of both religious groups (82% of Buddhists and 78% of Protestants) count their children's personal aptitude and interest as most important criterion when they consider their children's job selection. Beside personal aptitude and interest, Protestants are more likely to emphasize job security (3% of Buddhists and 14% of Protestants), while Buddhists are more likely to emphasize job prestige and self-esteem (8% of Buddhists and 3% of Protestants).

The leisure activities of the two religious groups are quite similar as well. Reading and sports are the favorite leisure activities of the two religious groups. The largest proportion of Protestants (37%) read books during their leisure time, while the largest proportion of Buddhists (36%) engage in sport activities. The second largest proportion of Protestants (27%) engage in sport activities, while the second largest proportion of Buddhists (24%) read during their free time. The favorite sport that both religious groups enjoy after immigration is golf. Meeting friends (16%) and traveling (14%) are followed by these two activities for Buddhists, while watching TV or movies (12%), doing household chore (7%), and helping people in need (7%) are followed by the two favorite activities for Protestants. No clear difference in leisure time activities between the two religious immigrant groups is found.

Respondents' preference for funeral rites, however, directly reflects the funeral rites

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that each religious group has traditionally practiced. Cremation is known as a symbolic Buddhist funeral rite, while burial is a Christian one. The results of the survey directly reflect the traditions of each religious group. Most Buddhists (94%) reply that they prefer cremation, while the majority of Protestants (71%) reply that they prefer burial. It is interesting that a few Buddhists (4%) prefer burial, while quite a large proportion of Protestants (22%) prefer cremation.

Cremation is known as the most symptomatic religious ritual of Buddhism, influenced by the metempsychosis of Hinduism. Many Buddhists believe that human beings come to this world with empty hands and also die with empty hands. They also believe that material gain is not important for Buddhists during their lifetime, but what they do for other people and for society in this world that determines the types of reincarnation they will experience after physical death. This is the main reason why most Buddhists prefer cremation to burial. They also believe that their cremated body not only returns to nature, but also may contribute to the growth of living things on earth.

It is interesting to see that Korean society has long observed Confucian-style funeral rites even though Buddhism has been strong as a folk religion in the countryside. The Confucian funeral rite is basically burial, but a tomb is maintained as a symbol of their religious devotion for many generations after death. The size and design of an ancestor's tomb is an important family status symbol in Korea. Coupled with ancestor worship, Confucian-style burial rites have spread over Korean society up until today. Even many Christians observe Confucian-style burial rites, following the legal wills of the dead. For this reason, much land is occupied by the tombs of the dead in Korea today. As long as

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the general Korean population believes in their cultural idea that proper maintenance of ancestors' tombs brings them better fortune in their own generation and in the future, Confucian-style burial rites will not change for a long time. As one of the influential leaders of Confucianism in Korea (Choi Chang Gyu) pointed out, Confucianism is an inseparable cultural value which is deeply embedded in the minds of the Korean people, rather than observed as a religious belief in Korea.[2] This makes it difficult for Koreans to alter their preferred funeral rites in favor of more efficient use of their land. According to a survey, however, the cremation rate in Korean society has gradually increased in recent years. In 1970 the cremation rate was only 7 percent, but last year it increased to 27.7 percent. Compared with neighboring Buddhist countries, Korea's cremation rate is still very low. Last year Japan and Thailand recorded 97 percent and 90 percent cremation rates respectively.[3] A few Buddhist respondents' preference for burial and a few Protestants' preference for cremation therefore are a reflection of the mixed feeling of Koreans on funeral rites today.

Lastly, respondents' opinions and attitudes toward the homeless and beggars are examined to see how much the two religious groups differ in views of social disgrace. The two religious groups' opinions and attitudes toward the homeless and beggars is split. More Protestants (64%) view the homeless and beggar with sympathy than Buddhists (36%). Surprisingly, more Buddhists (46%) than Protestants (19%) believe that the homeless and beggars are reproduced by their own personal problems. It is interesting to see that the two religious groups show different attitudes toward the homeless and beggars, although they share quite similar political viewpoints and stances. As we have

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seen in Chapter Six, Buddhists emphasize sharing and unconditional devotion more, but they are more likely to believe that an individual person is responsible for their own disgrace. Buddhists therefore show less sympathy to the social disgrace. This is quite meaningfully related to their individualistic tendencies and their stronger tendency toward conservativism as well. A minor but similar proportion of both religious groups (16% of Buddhists and 17% of Protestants) wish to expand social assistance to the homeless and beggars.

Table 12-4 Comparison of Cultural Aspects of Life

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Ideal spouse relationship			
Husband should be household head and wife has to follow him	30 (60%)	23 (39%)	53 (49%)
Husband and wife should maintain an equal relationship	20 (40%)	36 (61%)	56 (51%)
Identity that you want your children to have			
Korean-American	31 (62%)	52 (88%)	83 (76%)
American-Korean	2 (4%)	3 (5%)	5 (5%)
Korean	17 (34%)	4 (7%)	21 (19%)
Plan to educate children as highly as possible			
Yes	37 (74%)	56 (95%)	93 (85%)
No	13 (26%)	3 (5%)	16 (15%)
Instruct children in traditional Korean values			
Yes			
No	24 (28%)	37 (63%)	61 (56%)
Yes, but difficult on practical level	10 (20%)	5 (8%)	15 (14%)
	16 (32%)	17 (29%)	33 (30%)
Educate children in religious doctrine			
Yes	21 (42%)	50 (85%)	71 (65%)
No	15 (30%)	3 (5%)	18 (17%)
Yes, but allow them to choose their own	14 (28%)	6 (10%)	20 (18%)

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	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Most important concern with children's job selection			
Personal aptitude and interest	41 (82%)	46 (78%)	87 (80%)
Lucrativeness	2 (4%)	2 (3%)	4 (4%)
Job security	3 (3%)	8 (14%)	11 (10%)
Job prestige and self esteem	4 (8%)	2 (3%)	6 (6%)
Other		1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Free time usage			
Reading	12 (24%)	22 (37%)	34 (31%)
Watching TV or movies	3 (6%)	7 (12%)	10 (9%)
Meeting friends	8 (16%)	3 (5%)	11 (10%)
Exercise and sports	18 (36%)	16 (27%)	34 (31%)
Traveling	7 (14%)	3 (5%)	10 (9%)
Writing	2 (4%)		2 (2%)
Help people in need		4 (7%)	4 (4%)
Household chore		4 (7%)	4 (4%)
Preference of funeral rite			
Burial	2 (4%)	42 (71%)	44 (40%)
Cremation	47 (94%)	13 (22%)	59 (54%)
DK or no preference	1 (2%)	4 (7%)	5 (5%)
First thing that strikes your mind when you see the homeless and beggars			
Sympathy	18 (36%)	38 (64%)	56 (51%)
Personal problem	23 (46%)	11 (19%)	34 (31%)
Expand social assistance	8 (16%)	10 (17%)	18 (17%)
DK or other	1 (2%)		1 (1%)

In conclusion, neither religious group shows unanimously different characteristics from the other, except a few socio-cultural variables, such as views of conjugal relationships and preference of funeral rites. As a result, it is hard to draw a conclusion how and why one religious group is different from the other in terms of degree of cultural assimilation, level of interest in Korean and U.S. politics, and socio-cultural aspects of life after immigration. In detail, however, the two religious groups show quite different

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levels and degrees of cultural, political and social interests after immigration. The differences and similarities that the two religious groups maintain are in large proportion caused by their differences in religious beliefs and traditions.

In terms of assimilation rates, both religious groups show a low level of assimilation into U.S. society. The majority of both religious groups acquire the information necessary for their daily life through their mother-tongue mass media, such as ethnic newspapers, radios, and TV channels. The level of self-identified English proficiency of both religious groups is also low compared to their average length of stay in the United States, while a larger proportion of Protestants than Buddhists estimate that their English proficiency is fair or good. Approximately half of the respondents have American friends, although fewer Buddhists than Protestants reply that they have non-ethnic American friends. The majority of both religious groups also maintain a high level of concern with Korean social and political matters and very similar level of assimilation into U.S. society, although in terms of mass media usage and concern with Korean society, Buddhists show a little higher level of jettisoning their cultural elements; in terms of English proficiency and having American friends, Buddhists show a lower level of discarding their cultural elements.

The two religious groups do not show any distinction in their level of political interest and civic engagement. They generally show a low level of interest in politics and civic engagement. More than half of both religious groups never participate in elections before and after immigration. Buddhists show a higher PTA meeting participation rate, while Protestants show higher social service and election participation rates. The two religious

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groups' concern with both Korea and the U.S. politics is relatively weak. Although their level of concern with Korean social and political events is relatively high, a large proportion of both religious groups neither support Korean political parties nor American ones. Slightly more Buddhists than Protestants show indifference to politics and civic engagement. Buddhists' higher level of indifference to politics and civic engagement is seemingly related to their low level of religious participation and stronger individualistic tendencies. Nevertheless, the two religious groups show unanimously high concern with Korea's reunification.

In terms of the two religious groups' cultural aspects of life, Buddhists show a higher level of preservation of their cultural elements, but they show a higher level of open-mindedness to American culture, especially in relation to their children's cultural adjustment to U.S. society. The majority of Buddhists believe that the husband should be the household head while the wife has to follow him, while the majority of Protestants believe that husband and wife should maintain an equal relationship and power at home. Although the majority of the respondents of both religious groups want their children to have a Korean-American identity, a larger proportion of Buddhists want their children to hold a Korean identity only. Most Buddhists prefer cremation as funeral rite, while the majority of Protestants prefer burial. Interestingly, however, more Protestants than Buddhists teach their children both traditional Korean values and their religious doctrine at home. More Protestants view the homeless and beggars with sympathy than Buddhists. More Buddhists than Protestants believe that the homeless and beggars are reproduced by their own personal problems, not by the problem of social and economic system. In terms

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of their children's job selection criterion and their own leisure activities, the two religious groups show no distinctions.

The survey results thus reveal that the two religious groups' level of assimilation into U.S. society varies depending on the themes of cultural aspect of life. All these variables related to their cultural, political, and social life suggest that Protestants are more likely to maintain a strong religious identity, traditional Korean values, and sense of in-group solidarity, while Buddhists are more likely to show individualistic tendencies and political conservativism. It is thus hard to conclude which religious group is more culturally integrated into American society after immigration.

Notes

1. Mainly due to difficulties in linguistic assimilation, there has been a strong demand from Korean immigrants of Korean mass media, through which both American and Korean news is delivered. Responding to first-generation Korean immigrants' strong demand for ethnic mass communications, many ethnic newspapers, radios, and TV channels have been established in the Korean community in the New York metropolitan area since the early period of community formation. Currently, the community has four major Korean newspapers, which cover both American and Korean news. Thanks to the advanced technology, Korean press companies directly transmit news at the same time it is published in Korea. Through a wireless satellite communication system, the American offices of these Korean press companies are able to do same-day service to first-generation Koreans in the United States. Two of the major newspapers in the New York metropolitan area have circulations over 15,000 now. There were two Korean TV channels (one cable and one wireless) and two Korean radio stations in the New York metropolitan area in 1999.

2. *Hankook Ilbo*, November 3, 1998. The original statement is translated by the author.

3. *Hankook Ilbo*, April 15, 1999.

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Chapter 13. Religious Beliefs of Buddhists and Protestants and Immigration

How is immigrants' religious participation associated with their economic, political, and social incorporation into the host society in the process of immigration? What role does religion play in believers' life after immigration? How does each religious group differ in adjustment and community formation after immigration? Do immigrants attend religious services more actively after immigration than before? If so, why? How do the religious groups view American society from their religious viewpoint? How do they view the ethnic and racial diversity of American society? Toward which ethnic or racial groups do the religious groups feel social closeness or distance? These are few empirical questions raised in relation to an interrelationship between the religion and immigrants' incorporation into the host society.

Although few studies have focused on how immigrant religious groups' socioeconomic life after immigration is interrelated with their religious beliefs, many social scientists have been concerned with the interrelationship between immigrants' religions and their role in believers' adjustment after immigration (Handlin 1973; Herberg 1983; Greeley 1972; Smith 1978; Mol 1979; Dolan 1988; Williams 1988; Min 1992a; Hurh and Kim 1990; Warner 1993; Warner and Wittner 1998). Unfortunately, however, as these researchers agree, theories of the relationship between religion and immigration have not been developed well yet.

The relationship between immigrants' religion and their lives after immigration varies group by group, depending on their degree of religiosity before immigration and the

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availability of ethnic or linguistic clergy members after immigration. Whereas Mol's study shows that many European ethnic groups experience degeneration in their religious participation after immigration (Mol 1979, 1970), for some new immigrant groups from Asian and South American countries, religion is very much a conspicuous phenomenon (Warner 1993; Wind and Lewis 1994; Warner and Wittner 1998). Especially for Asian and European Islam fundamentalist immigrants and Asian Protestant immigrants, religion becomes the most important way of life through which they preserve their identity after immigration (Rutledge 1982; Williams 1989; Warner 1993). It is, however, difficult to generalize the associational aspect between immigrants' religion and its role in believers' socioeconomic adjustment in the United States, because not every immigrant group practices religion so fervently after immigration, nor does the rate of religious participation of every religious group increase unanimously after immigration.

This is a reason why an American historian rightly pointed out the problem of this issue two decades ago: "That religion and ethnicity are intertwined in modern urban and industrial societies is obvious, but the nature of this relationship and how it developed is not yet clear." (Smith 1978: 1155) Although theories of religion and immigration have not been fully developed, it is therefore obvious that for immigrant believers, regardless of the type of religion they practice, in addition to worshiping their gods, religion does have some supplementary function in their immigrant community, which is sometimes more important for immigrant believers in immigration situation. For immigrant believers, religion thus becomes something more than what they simply bring with their ethnic identity and heritage in the immigration process. For immigrant believers, the

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immigration process itself becomes a theodicy-provoking procedure, and their religiosity and religious practice are reinforced in the process, because they intrinsically mesh with what they are trying to achieve in their new immigrant society. Their immigration ethos and religious beliefs thus naturally intertwine and reinforce their individual life goals in the host society. Smith tersely explains why immigrant believers might show a higher probability of dependence on their religious beliefs in the process of immigration and why the immigrant congregation becomes an important religio-ethnic organization that not only holds them together, but also guides them to become incorporated into their own religious community in particular and into the host society in general:

> Loneliness, the romanticizing of memories, the guilt for imagined desertion of parents and other relatives, and the search for community and identity in a world of strangers all began the moment the nearest range of hills shut out the view of the emigrant's native valley. Longing for a past that could not be recovered intensified the emotional satisfaction of daring to hope for a better future... yet the mysteries of individual existence as well as the confusing agonies of anomie cried out for religious explanation. For this reason, I shall argue, migration was often a theologizing experience -- just as it had been when Abraham left the land of his fathers, when the people of the Exodus followed Moses into the wilderness, and when Jeremiah urged the exiles who wept by the rivers of Babylon to make the God of their past the hope of their future... True, the experience of uprooting and resettlement was a remarkably solitary one, and the traumatic aspects of it affected each person individually. The result, however, was not to make individual experience the measure of faith but to enlarge the sense of personal involvement in one's religious community and in its systems of belief and prescriptions for behavior. Immigrant congregations served diverse family, group, and individual interests. They were not transplants of traditional institutions but communities of commitment and, therefore, arenas of change... [T]he acts of uprooting, migration, resettlement, and community-building became for the participants a theologizing experience, not the secularizing process that some historians have pictured. (Smith 1978: 1174-1175, 1178, 1181)

While Smith identifies the importance of immigrant ethnic religion and congregations as a centrifugal forces of immigrant community and as places for both the religious and

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secular commitment of community members, Hurh and Kim succinctly summarize the theories of the relationship between immigrants' religions and their daily lives after immigration. According to Hurh and Kim (1990: 22-23), for immigrant believers, "religion becomes a way of life" because "the religious participation of immigrants becomes more extensive and intensive in the new country than it was in the old." "Religion brings meaning, belonging, and comfort" because "the immigrants' pervasive participation in the immigrant church derives from their increased need for existential meaning, social belonging, and psychological comfort due to uprooting and rerooting problems." "Religion is tied to mental health" because "the mental well-being of immigrants is positively related to their church participation." And "religion either promotes or slows mobility/assimilation" because, on the one hand, "the ethnic church functions to promote the education, assimilation and mobility of the immigrants," and on the other hand, "the ethnic church enhances the ethnic cohesion and identity of immigrants but may slow down their assimilation process; thus, the ethnic church functions as a 'mobility trap'."

According to Hurh and Kim, for immigrant believers, religion becomes an important focus on their daily concerns after immigration. Their immigration status reinforces their religiosity, and their religious beliefs reinforce their ethos of immigration, focusing on their better life in the future in the host society. As Smith emphasizes, immigration itself is an intrinsically future-oriented phenomenon in association with immigrants' new hopes and anticipation for a better life in the new society. Their religious beliefs, which are naturally associated with believers' daily concerns for a better socioeconomic life based

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on their wishful supplications, support believers' life aspirations. As long as immigrant believers have such a supportive system after immigration, they might feel less loneliness and more belongingness and comfort, because they have something to lean on and someone to meet at their churches or temples; they might also have more efficiency and productivity of life in their new home, because they can restrict all unnecessary actions and thoughts with their religious ideas, ensuring new hopes and envisions in their religion; and they thus feel more confidence and life satisfaction in their religious beliefs after immigration. Smith infers that "the intertwining of religious feelings with ethnic interests and identities gave both to faith and to the sense of peoplehood a fluid and instrumental quality that was more future-oriented than backward-looking" (Smith 1978: 1158).

Both Smith's and Hurh and Kim's theoretical arguments can be applied to both the Korean Buddhist and Protestant immigrants, because Korean immigrants are a typical representation of the argument about the interrelationship between religion and adjustment after immigration. My survey results of the two Korean religious groups support Smith's argument: religion enhances immigrants' community formation and involvement and future orientation; and the survey results also support Hurh and Kim' argument: religion enhances immigrants' mental health, and it either encourages or prolongs their assimilation and social mobility in the host society.

The majority of the respondents of both religious groups (84% of Buddhists and 81% of Protestants) become more devout believers after immigration, largely because they encounter hardship and loneliness, have an opportunity to learn about their religion more

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deeply, and think about the meaning of life more seriously after immigration (see Table 13-1). Among these reasons, hardship and loneliness are the most important reasons that make both religious groups (36% of Buddhists and 39% of Protestants) more devout after immigration; encountering an opportunity to get into religion in their immigrant communities (38% of Buddhists and 27% of Protestants) is the second most important reason; and searching for the meaning of life in the intricacy of the immigration process (20% of Buddhists and 16% of Protestants) is the third most important reason. These results suggest that the immigration experience for the believers of both religious groups is something that alters their mental condition to some degree. Immigration means a change in immigrants' life. Their religion not only encourages their adjustment to the new life by helping them resolve the intricacies of their changing lives, but also justifies the changes occurring in the process of immigration.

For this reason, almost all of respondents (98%) avow that their religion helps their post-immigration life, although the way they feel it helps is somewhat different between the two religious groups. Buddhists more emphasize the importance of religious wisdom and "mind-only" strategy, while Protestants are more likely to emphasize their God's reign and mediation of their life for adjusting to their new life after immigration. A large proportion of Buddhist respondents (56%) reply that their religion helps them maintain mental tranquility and peace of mind, while a large proportion of Protestant respondents (51%) reply that their God's mighty hand helps them all the time. With these feeling of support and help from their religions, the two religious groups are eager to build their own symbolic shrine, the church and temple, in this new world, and consider it a center of

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their new world. Their ethnic churches and temples therefore not only have a symbolic importance, but also help them maintain their new identity and a psychological support system, in which they find new meaning in their immigrant life. The supplications, life aspirations, and new hopes of the believers are now centered in their own church or temple. The unity and close network (or "concentric circle") among the believers are naturally given in their immigrant community. Their strong unity and close network in turn become the most important elements of social capital that promotes their socioeconomic well-being after immigration.

Table 13-1 Devoutness and Helping Role of Religion among Buddhists and Protestants

	Buddhist		Protestant		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Became a devout believer after immigration						
Yes	22 (84%)	20	24 (81%)	24	46 (83%)	44
No	4 (16%)	4	3 (14%)	5	7 (15%)	9
DK (Do not know)			3 (5%)		3 (3%)	
Reason for becoming devout believer after immigration						
Hardship and loneliness	16 (36%)		20 (39%)		36 (38%)	
Thanks to help of church/temple			2 (4%)		2 (2%)	
Opportunity to get in religion	17 (38%)		14 (27%)		31 (32%)	
Devotion of religious leaders	2 (4%)		2 (4%)		4 (42%)	
Want to make my life meaningful	9 (20%)		8 (16%)		17 (18%)	
Other	1 (2%)		5 (10%)		6 (6%)	
How does religion helps immigration life						
Wisdom to solve problems	10 (20%)		5 (8%)		15 (14%)	
Calmness, joy, & peace of mind	28 (56%)		14 (24%)		42 (39%)	
Freer and positive way of thinking	9 (18%)		1 (2%)		10 (9%)	
Guide my life	3 (6%)		7 (12%)		10 (9%)	
Lean on God: gratitude and support			30 (51%)		30 (28%)	
No significant help			2 (3%)		2 (2%)	

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Partly due to religion's function of justification and amelioration of believers' mental condition, the two religious groups' degree of life and job satisfaction after immigration is very high. The majority of both religious groups (88% of Buddhists and 82% of Protestants) reply that they are satisfied with their life after immigration. Although the degree of their job satisfaction is lower than that of their life satisfaction, quite a large proportion of both religious groups (72% of Buddhists and 67% of Protestants) reply that they are satisfied with the jobs they are currently engaged in. It is interesting to learn that more Buddhists than Protestants are satisfied with both their lives and jobs after immigration. Quite a moderate proportion of Protestants show dissatisfaction in both their life (19%) and job (25%), while only a few Buddhists reveal dissatisfaction in their life (6%) and job (14%) (see Table 13-2).

Although Smith argues that religious immigrants are more likely to be future-oriented, it is not certain how much they are, and how the two religious groups differ in their degree of future orientation. Two variables that are seemingly related to their degree of future-orientation and backward-looking are examined. The first variable is their intention to return to their homeland, and the second is their view of American society as a source of hope and opportunity in the future. According to the survey results, a majority of both religious groups (70% of Buddhists and 73% of Protestants) believe that America is a land of opportunity. Approximately half of both religious groups (52% of Buddhists and 51% of Protestants) reply that they do not intend to return to their homeland, while quite a large proportion of both religious groups (32% of Buddhists and 17% of Protestants) still consider returning to their homeland. A moderate number of both

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religious groups reply that they have not decided yet whether to return to their homeland (16% of Buddhists and 32% of Protestants). These survey results suggest that both religious groups maintain quite a high degree of future-orientation, although they maintain some degree of backward-orientation as well.

The survey results also suggest that a higher proportion of the Buddhist immigrants not only hold a realistic viewpoint toward the land of immigration but also maintain a higher degree of intention of staying and returning; however, the gap between the two religious groups is small. Interestingly, a higher proportion of Protestant immigrants are still hesitant to stay in the U.S. Although these variables are not perfectly appropriate to measure immigrant believers' future orientation tendency, they reveal that both religious groups surveyed maintain a positive attitude toward immigration, which indirectly implies that both groups maintain a substantially high degree of future-orientation.

Table 13-2 Life/Job Satisfaction, View of America, and Intention of Returning to Korea

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Life satisfaction in the U.S.			
Very satisfied	21 (42%)	29 (49%)	50 (46%)
Generally satisfied	23 (46%)	16 (33%)	39 (36%)
So-so	3 (6%)	3 (5%)	6 (6%)
Not satisfied at all	3 (6%)	11 (19%)	14 (13%)
Job satisfaction in the U.S.			
Very satisfied	13 (26%)	18 (31%)	31 (28%)
Generally satisfied	23 (46%)	21 (36%)	44 (40%)
So-so	7 (14%)	5 (8%)	12 (11%)
Not satisfied at all	7 (14%)	15 (25%)	22 (20%)
America is a land of opportunity			
Yes	35 (70%)	43 (73%)	78 (72%)
No	10 (20%)	8 (14%)	18 (17%)
DK	5 (10%)	8 (14%)	13 (12%)

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	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Plan to return to Korea			
Yes	16 (32%)	10 (17%)	26 (24%)
No	26 (52%)	30 (51%)	56 (54%)
Depend on situation	3 (6%)	17 (29%)	20 (18%)
Not decided yet	5 (10%)	2 (3%)	7 (6%)

Since a majority of respondents show a high level of future orientation and job and life satisfaction, regardless of their religious identification, it is necessary to examine other immigration-related variables, such as reasons for immigration and immigration channels, which are expected to have a causal relationship with the belief characteristics of the two religions. It is important to understand all the involvements in relation to immigration process to further understand the way these groups perceive their post-immigration life in the United States. Surprisingly, throughout all immigration-related variables, the two religious groups show a remarkable similarities in characteristics. This makes it possible to draw a tentative conclusion that differences in religious beliefs are not significantly associated with the general characteristics of immigration life of immigrant believers.

The two religious groups' primary motivation for immigration to the United States is remarkably similar. A majority of the respondents of both religious groups decided to emigrate to the United States to advance their standard of living: for instance, a better economic life (22% of Buddhists and 27% of Protestants) and acquiring advanced knowledge and technology (30% of Buddhists and 14% of Protestants). Quite a large proportion of the respondents of both religious groups also decided to emigrate to the United States to be reunited with their family (18% of Buddhists and 25% of Protestants)

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and for more freedom and equality (18% of Buddhists and 15% of Protestants). It is interesting to learn that more Protestants reply that they immigrated to the United States to give their children better educational opportunities (6% of Buddhists and 14% of Protestants). In reality, however, as our survey results show, Buddhists spend a greater proportion of family expenses for their children's education than Protestants (see Table 12-3 and Table 11-6).

The immigration channels that the two religious groups use to immigrate to the United States are quite similar too. The largest proportion of the respondents of both religious groups immigrates to the United States through family invitation (34% of Buddhists and 46% of Protestants). The second largest proportion immigrates to the United States through the occupational immigration category (20% of Buddhists and 27% of Protestants). A much larger proportion of Buddhists (20%) than Protestants (7%) first came to the United States with foreign student status and changed their immigration status. This partly explains why Buddhists show higher rates of prestigious occupations and higher income levels than Protestants. Another important immigration channel they use for immigration is tourism and other categories, which are most likely to be related to the illegal immigration status of the respondents. Quite a large proportion of the respondents (20% of Buddhists and 15% of Protestants) came to the United States for tourism or other non-legitimate immigration channels and acquired legal residential status later on. In summary, although the two religious groups do not significantly differ in their usage of immigration channels, Protestants are more likely to use family invitation and occupation as their preferred channel for immigration, while Buddhists are more likely to

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use student status, tourism, and other illegitimate ways as their channels for immigration.

To compare the two religious groups' level of residential status, their proportion of citizenship holding was also surveyed. Reflecting the Buddhist group's longer stay (17 years on average) than their Protestant counterparts (14 years on average), the survey results reveal that Buddhists show a higher rate of U.S. citizenship (52%) than Protestants (47%). The respondents' average citizenship holding rate (49.5%) is much higher than the average of Korean immigrants' citizenship rate in the states of New York and New Jersey (The overall citizenship rate in New York and New Jersey is 36%: male; 34% and female; 39%).[1] The rest of the respondents hold either permanent resident status (42% of Buddhists and 47% of Protestants) or other (6% of Buddhists and 5% of Protestants). "Other" categories include illegal immigrants, foreign student visa holders, delegates of Korean companies, and employees of Korean government agencies. The rate of "other" categories of the respondents' residential status appearing on the survey is also underrepresented. According to the report distributed by the Korean Consulate in New York City, quite a few Korean population in the states of New York and New Jersey fall into this category (13%).[2] The survey results suggest that the two religious groups do not show any striking differences in their residential status incorporation in U.S. society. Contrary to our expectation, due to Buddhists' more liberalized attitudes toward residency in particular and the settlement process in general, they hold a higher citizenship rate than Protestants. This implies that although a slightly lower proportion of Buddhists than Protestants believe that America is a land of opportunity, Buddhists are more likely to apply for naturalized U.S. citizenship for practical reason. This is one of

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many pieces of evidence that Buddhists are more likely to maintain practical ideas and to apply their religious beliefs to their daily life than Protestants.

Table 13-3 Reason for Immigration, Channel, Citizenship Status, and Length of Stay

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Primary motivation for immigration			
Better economic opportunities	11 (22%)	16 (27%)	27 (25%)
Better education for children	3 (6%)	8 (14%)	11 (10%)
Family reunion	9 (18%)	15 (25%)	24 (22%)
Advanced knowledge/technology	15 (30%)	8 (14%)	23 (21%)
Freedom and equality	9 (18%)	9 (15%)	18 (17%)
Longing for foreign (exotic) lifestyle	3 (6%)	3 (5%)	6 (6%)
Immigration channel			
Family invitation	17 (34%)	27 (46%)	44 (40%)
Occupation	10 (20%)	16 (27%)	26 (24%)
Marriage	3 (6%)	3 (5%)	6 (6%)
Study	10 (20%)	4 (7%)	14 (13%)
Tourism and visit	6 (12%)	6 (10%)	12 (11%)
Other	4 (8%)	3 (5%)	7 (6%)
Citizenship status			
Naturalized U.S. citizen	26 (52%)	28 (47%)	54 (50%)
Permanent resident	21 (42%)	28 (47%)	49 (45%)
Other	3 (6%)	3 (5%)	6 (6%)
Length of stay in the U.S. (mean years)	17	14	15

To compare the dynamics of the immigration process and the regions from which the religious groups are drawn, their hometown and place of residence before immigration were also surveyed. Although their hometown and place of residence are not meaningfully associated with respondents' religious identification, these variables serve as a good indicator of the respondents' general social characteristics before immigration. According to the survey results, the majority of respondents not only were born in urban areas but also resided there before immigration. The largest proportion of both religious

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groups was born in Seoul, the largest city in South Korea (36% of Buddhists and 34% of Protestants). The second largest proportion of both religious groups (28% of Buddhists and 16% of Protestants) were born in the four next biggest cities in South Korea (Pusan, Taegu, Inchon, and Kwongju). Including middle- and small-sized cities, the majority of both religious groups (78% of Buddhists and 81% of Protestants) were born in urban areas in Korea.

When we come to see their place of residence before immigration, the rate of urban residency is much higher. Only a few members of both religious groups (2% of Buddhists and 3% of Protestants) were drawn from rural areas while the rest were from urban areas. Interestingly, the majority of Buddhists (86%) lived in Seoul while a good proportion of Protestants (69%) did so. A minor proportion of both religious groups (12% of Buddhists and 9% of Protestants) also lived in the other four major cities in Korea before immigration. Interestingly, none of the Buddhist respondents were drawn from middle- or small-sized cities, while a moderate proportion of Protestants (19%) was. This suggests that almost all Buddhists (98%) and a majority of Protestants (78%) lived in the major urban centers in Korea before immigration.

The survey results reveal that in the Korean immigration process, more Buddhists than Protestants were drawn from major urban areas. The discrepancy between the proportions of respondents' hometown and place of residence in Korea also implies that quite a large proportion of both religious groups experienced an internal migration before immigrating to the United States. Reflecting the geographic distribution of the Buddhist population in South Korea, a larger proportion of Buddhists were drawn from the southeastern part of

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Korean peninsula, which is represented by the provinces of Kyungsang Bukdo and Kyungsang Namdo.

Buddhists' higher rates of urban origin and urban residency before immigration overshadow their difference in socioeconomic adjustment patterns after immigration from Protestants. Buddhists' higher urban background, helps them achieve better socioeconomic well-being than Protestants. The respondents' exposure to urban lifestyle, which requires higher mobility, simpler lifestyle, and higher efficiency in all aspects of life, underrates the role of religious beliefs in their adjustment to new life after immigration. As the survey results show, immigration to an economically-advanced society entails a selective process through which urbanites are more preferred and given more advantages. In the case of Korean immigrants, Buddhists are a numerical minority among the urban population. Since urban residents are more favored by the immigration process, truly urbanized Buddhists, who are a numeric minority in urban areas in South Korea, are more likely to emigrate to the United States. Because Buddhists who live in urban areas show no difference in their lifestyle and ideas in relation to socioeconomic achievement from Protestants and because they are, as our survey results show, more likely to be selected out of the more urbanized group, they are more likely to maintain a higher level of socioeconomic achievement even after immigration. Due to the selection process of international migration, Buddhist immigrants are more radical in terms of their presentation of lifestyle and socioeconomic ideas and attitudes than Protestants. This is the major reason why Buddhists maintain a higher level of socioeconomic achievement after immigration. Their religious beliefs also function as a psychological support system,

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which helps them reinforce their immigration ethos through which they promotes their personal productivity in the host society.

Table 13-4 Hometown, Home Province, and Residential Place before Immigration

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Hometown of respondents			
Seoul	18 (36%)	20 (34%)	38 (35%)
Pusan	9 (18%)	4 (7%)	13 (12%)
Taegu	2 (4%)	3 (5%)	5 (5%)
Inchon	0	1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Kwongju	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	4 (4%)
Middle or small city	7 (14%)	19 (32%)	26 (24%)
Rural area	11 (22%)	10 (17%)	21 (19%)
Other	0	1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Home Province of respondents			
Kyungkido and Seoul	18 (36%)	25 (42%)	43 (39%)
Kangwondo	4 (8%)	3 (5%)	7 (6%)
Choongchungdo	7 (14%)	8 (14%)	15 (14%)
Chullado	7 (14%)	10 (17%)	17 (16%)
Kyungsangdo	12 (24%)	8 (14%)	20 (18%)
Chejudo		2 (3%)	2 (2%)
Other (overseas)	2 (4%)	3 (5%)	5 (5%)
Residential place before immigration			
Seoul	43 (86%)	41 (69%)	84 (77%)
Pusan	3 (6%)	3 (5%)	6 (6%)
Taegu	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	3 (3%)
Inchon		1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Kwongju	1 (2%)		1 (1%)
Middle or small city		11 (19%)	11 (10%)
Rural area	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	3 (3%)

Although the majority of the respondents of both religious groups were born and drawn from the four largest metropolitan areas in South Korea, they lived in a linguistically and racially monocultural society before immigration. Regardless of their differences in religious identity, the two religious groups' sharing of the same language

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and racial background relatively easily grant them a common ground for mutual understanding. The fact that the two religious groups share these basic cultural elements may provide a rationale that makes them coexist in the same society without any serious conflict. As we have seen, the Protestant group also shares a significant portion of Korea's religious roots as well, for example, shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. As shown in Chapter Six, important elements of these religions have been absorbed by Korean Christianity. Korean immigrants' sharing of the same linguistic and racial background and mutual understanding based on the same religious roots not only reduces conflicts among the religious groups, but also increases in ethnic solidarity after immigration.

Their immigration to the United States thus raises some interesting questions. For instance, how do immigrants who come from a monocultural society react to a racially or ethnically heterogeneous society? How do they view racial and ethnic diversity from their own religious perspectives? More specifically, which racial or ethnic groups do they feel like the closest and most distant?

The majority of respondents (74% of Buddhists and 81% of Protestants) reply they feel the closest and want to live or do business with their same ethnic group. A few respondents of both religious groups (22% of Buddhists and 14% of Protestants) reply that they feel closeness with the white Americans. Only a few respondents of both religious groups show closeness with other racial and ethnic minority groups. Contrary to our expectation, the survey reveals that Buddhists show a higher proportion of inclusiveness toward other racial and ethnic groups. The survey results also suggest that

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first-generation Korean immigrants, regardless their religious identity, maintain a strong sense of in-group solidarity.

When asked about the racial or ethnic groups they feel the second-most closeness, a large proportion of respondents of both religious groups (44% of Buddhists and 36% of Protestants) reply that it is the ethnic Chinese. Their second closest racial and ethnic groups are white Americans (16% of Buddhists and 24% of Protestants), Jewish Americans (6% of Buddhists and 15% of Protestants), Japanese Americans (18% of Buddhists and 5% of Protestants), and other Asian immigrant groups (2% of Buddhists and 7% of Protestants).

When asked to indicate the third-closest racial and ethnic groups, the majority (68% of Buddhists and 41% of Protestants) select Japanese-Americans. White Americans (6% of Buddhists and 15% of Protestants) and Jewish Americans (none of Buddhists and 19% of Protestants) still receive a high rate of preference.

The survey results regarding respondents' racial and ethnic relationship questions reveal some interesting findings: first, the two religious groups still have a strong sense of belonging to their own ethnic group after immigration; second, both religious immigrant groups also maintain a high level of social closeness to the two major Asian immigrant groups (Chinese and Japanese) who are from the countries nearest their homeland; third, the two religious groups show a somewhat high level of social closeness to white American ethnic groups, as well as Jewish-Americans; fourth, both religious groups show a consistently low level of social closeness to such racial and ethnic minority groups as African-Americans, Hispanics, and other Asian immigrants other than Chinese and

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Japanese; and fifth, interestingly, Buddhists show a slightly lower level of closeness to their own ethnic group and at the same time a slightly higher level of closeness to other racial or ethnic groups (see Table 13-5).

To see how the two religious groups react to a racially- and ethnically-diverse society, their personal impressions or feelings about living in this multicultural society was also asked. According to the survey results, the two religious groups do not show any significant difference in their views of a racially- and ethnically-diverse society. The largest proportion of both religious groups (32% of Buddhists and 36% of Protestants) reply that they feel it is more interesting to live in this racially- and ethnically-diverse society than in a monoracial society like Korea. Approximately half of both religious groups (44% of Buddhists and 51% of Protestants) have a positive attitude toward living in a racially- and ethnically-diverse society, while approximately one-third of the respondents (32% of Buddhists and 33% of Protestants) have a negative attitude toward living in a racially and ethnically diverse society. The rest of both religious groups (24% of Buddhists and 12% of Protestants) reply that they do not feel any particular change in their attitudes toward living in a racially- and ethnically-diverse society after immigration.

Their view of other racial groups was also examined to see the two religious groups' differences in views of different races. According to the survey results, both religious groups' view toward other racial groups is also almost evenly divided. Approximately half of both religious groups (44% of Buddhists and 46% of Protestants) feel that all races are by and large same in their capabilities and characteristics, while slightly more than

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half of both religious groups (56% of the Buddhist and 51% of the Protestant) believe that each race has different capabilities and characteristics. This implies that more than half of both religious groups believe that each racial group maintains unique characteristics and capabilities.

Table 13-5 View to Racial Groups and Feeling of Living in Racially Diverse Society

	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Ethnic/racial group you feel closest to and want to live or do business with			
White	11 (22%)	8 (14%)	19 (17%)
African American		1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Jewish	1 (2%)		1 (1%)
Korean	37 (74%)	48 (81%)	85 (78%)
Chinese	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	2 (2%)
Other Asian		1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Ethnic/racial group second closest and want to live or do business with			
White	8 (16%)	14 (24%)	22 (20%)
African-American	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	3 (3%)
Hispanic		2 (3%)	2 (2%)
Jewish	3 (6%)	9 (15%)	12 (11%)
Korean	5 (10%)	5 (8%)	10 (9%)
Chinese	22 (44%)	21 (36%)	43 (39%)
Japanese	9 (18%)	3 (5%)	12 (11%)
Asian immigrant	1 (2%)	4 (7%)	5 (5%)
Ethnic/racial group third closest and want to live or do business with			
White	3 (6%)	9 (15%)	12 (11%)
African-American		2 (3%)	2 (2%)
Hispanic	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	4 (4%)
Jewish		11 (19%)	11 (10%)
Korean	5 (10%)	6 (10%)	11 (10%)
Chinese	4 (8%)	3 (5%)	7 (6%)
Japanese	34 (68%)	24 (41%)	58 (53%)
Asian immigrant	1 (2%)	3 (5%)	4 (4%)

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	Buddhist	Protestant	Total
Personal feeling about living in racially and ethnically diverse society			
More comfortable	6 (12%)	9 (15%)	15 (14%)
More uncomfortable	4 (8%)	11 (19%)	15 (14%)
Nothing particular	12 (24%)	7 (12%)	19 (17%)
More interesting	16 (32%)	21 (36%)	37 (34%)
More afraidness	12 (24%)	8 (14%)	20 (18%)
Other		3 (5%)	3 (3%)
View toward other races			
All races are the same	22 (44%)	27 (46%)	49 (45%)
Each race has unique characteristics	28 (56%)	30 (51%)	58 (53%)
DK		1 (2%)	1 (1%)
Other		1 (2%)	1 (1%)

In conclusion, the survey results of the two religious groups support the theoretical arguments of Smith and Hurh and Kim, which state that religion enhances immigrants' community involvement, future orientation, mental health, and social mobility. In terms of immigrants' assimilation, religious participation checks and at the same time promotes their sociocultural incorporation into U.S. society. The majority of respondents of both religious groups become more devout believers after immigration, largely because they encounter hardship and loneliness, have an opportunity to learn about their religion more deeply, and think about the meaning of life more seriously. They thus affirm that their religion helps them adjust to their new post-immigration life in the United States by promoting their active community involvement through their churches and temples. A majority of both religious groups also believe that America is a land of opportunity. More than half of both religious groups intend to live in the United States permanently. Both religious groups show a higher rate of U.S. citizenship than that of Korean immigrants in

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general in the United States. Their degree of life and job satisfaction after immigration is also very high. These findings are positively associated with their sound mental condition and strong sense of future orientation, which are supported by their religious beliefs and practices.

Independent from these functional aspects of religion in relation to immigration, the survey results also reveal other interesting findings that in the case of Korean immigrants, the majority of the two religious groups not only were born in urban areas, but also resided there before immigration. Although more Christians than Buddhists immigrate to the United States, more Buddhist immigrants than Protestants were born in and drawn from the major cities of South Korea. It indicates that immigration is a selective process through which more religious people, more Christians, and more urbanites are drawn. In terms of attitudes toward other racial and ethnic groups, the majority of both groups have a strong sense of favor and belonging to their own ethnic group. Quite a large proportion of both religious groups feel a sense of closeness to white Americans. Their favorable feelings toward their own ethnic group and whites is incomparably higher than those of their attitudes toward other racial and ethnic groups. The survey also reveals that approximately half of both religious groups have a positive attitude about living in a racially- and ethnically-diverse society.

Although both Buddhists and Protestants believe that their religions help them adjust to their new life after immigration, the two groups feel differently about the way their religions help them. Buddhists are more likely to emphasize the importance of individual believer's belief in "mind-only" tenet which promotes and encourages individual

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believers' action for incorporation, while Protestants are more likely to emphasize their God's mediation of their life which encourages collective actions and in-group solidarity that are less positively associated with their socio-cultural incorporation to the U.S. society after immigration. The two religious groups' unequal level and aspect of incorporation to the U.S. society are largely associated with the differential aspects of the two religious groups' emphasis on their religious tenets.

Notes

1. Korean Government, Ministry of Trade and Diplomacy. *Overseas Korean Population.* 1997. Seoul, Korea (Distributed by the Korean Consulate in New York City). pp. 147.

2. *Ibid.*

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Conclusion: Religion and Immigration; A Case of Korean Buddhists and Protestants

Immigration: A Selective Process of Religious Population

The religious participation of first-generation immigrants not only depends on the assessment of religious activity of the general population of the sending and receiving societies (Lenski 1961; Mol 1970), but also largely relies on the availability of their own ethnic religious leaders in their ethnic community in the host society. Although individual immigrant believers' response to the religious phenomena of the host society is crucial to explain the changing aspect of religious participation of first-generation immigrants, the case of first-generation Korean immigrants suggests that their religious participation rate is closely associated with the roles and functions that their churches and temples play for members and the availability of their own ethnic religious leaders in the host society. Before the massive new wave of immigrants from all over the world began to enter the U.S. in 1965, European immigrants' religious activity participation rate either decreased or increased, depending on the religious participation rate of sending and receiving countries and the roles and functions of ethnic immigrant religious organizations in the host country. As scholars repeatedly argue, the cases of increase in first-generation immigrants' religious participation are largely due to the impending situation that first-generation immigrants commonly encounter after immigration and the ethnic immigrant churches' roles and functions that perfectly fit into their needs (Handlin 1973; Mol 1970). The cases of decrease in first-generation immigrants' religious participation are mostly caused by the shift of their concerns and interests after immigration to the economic

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sphere of life and the social atmosphere of the receiving countries; also these countries do not emphasize religious identity, and they maintain a lower religious participation rate than their home countries (Mol 1970). Mol argues:

> If, as is generally accepted, immigrants feel lost and rootless in a new country, one would expect those institutions to be at a premium which provide a meaningful interpretation of existence. And quite apart from the spiritual possibilities, one would expect the institutional and social aspects to appeal, particularly when the churches through their foreign language program recreate a bit of old country in the new... The cases of increase appear to be confined to the U.S.A., where both Catholic and Protestant church attendance is higher than in almost any other western country. We can expect that the progressive adjustment of the immigrant to the new country also includes the gradual adoption of more religious activity. This was all the more true in the past when the foreign language church was a home away from home which often became the "nucleus around which the majority of (immigrant) organizations (were) formed and the center of organized social activities... The case of decrease can partially be explained in that the available churches (see the French example), instead of being "a home away from home," were foreign institutions to which the immigrant felt less compelled to adjust. The occupational and language demands, on the other hand, were much more directly related to his bread and butter. The cases of decrease can also at least partially be explained by emigration from countries with relatively high religious interest to countries with a predominantly low religious pulse (e.g. from the West Indies to the Greater London area)... The already low religious involvement of the emigrant becomes even lower in the new country. (Mol 1970: 258-260)

According to Mol's argument, the decrease in religious participation of the European immigrants is due to the decrease in religious participation in sending countries, and the decrease in religious participation of the immigrants is even more expedited when the religious participation rate of the host society is lower than that of the sending countries. The cases of increase are caused by the roles and functions that the immigrant ethnic churches play for their members in the host society and the demands of religiosity among first-generation immigrants after immigration.

A dramatic increase in religious participation of first-generation Korean immigrants in

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the U.S. is also due to both their high level of religious fervor and the social functions that their ethnic churches perform for members. These two reasons can be applied to the growth of the Korean Protestant churches in the U.S., but not the case of Korean Buddhist temples. Different from the cases of the European immigrants that Mol observed, in addition to a high level of religious fervor and the social functions of ethnic religious organization, the Korean immigrant case adds two more factors for the increase in religious participation rate after immigration: selectiveness in terms of religious affiliation and abundance of Protestant religious leaders in the Korean community from the beginning of Korean immigration.

In the case of Korean immigrants, more Protestants than any other religious groups have immigrated to the U.S. According a predeparture survey conducted in 1986, when the number of Korean immigrants exceeded 30,000 and the number of Buddhists still exceeded the number of Protestants in Korea, the majority of Korean immigrants were Christians (41.6% were non-Catholic Christians and 12.3% were Catholics), and only a minority of Korean immigrants were Buddhists (12.8%). The survey also reveals that a moderate number of Korean immigrants (32.5%) was without religious affiliation, while approximately half of the Korean population fell into the same category (Park et al.: 60; Yoon 1993: 208). According to nationwide survey of religious affiliations of Koreans conducted in 1985, the proportion of Christians (16.2% was non-Catholic Christians and 4.9% was Catholics) was less than that of Buddhists (24.4%). Surprisingly, more than half of the Korean population (52.2%) were without religious affiliation (Park et al.: 60). The Christian population in Korea exceeded Buddhist population in the mid-1990s, and

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the number of people without religious affiliation has also decreased in recent years (see Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 in Chapter 3). As these survey results show, more believers than non-believers and more Protestants than other religious groups migrate to the U.S.

In the case of Korean immigration, the immigration process itself contains causal factors that more Christians than any other religious groups immigrate to the U.S. As Mol (1970) and Berger (1967) pointed out, the similarity of the religious plausibility structure between the particular religious immigrant group of the sending country and the majority religion of the U.S. is critically important to explain why more Korean Christians immigrate to the U.S. Especially, for Korean immigrants who will become a racial, ethnic, and religious minority after immigration, their religious affinity to the host society provides them with a huge psychological relief, even before they decide to migrate to the U.S. The commonality in their religious beliefs thus brings them mutual understanding and comfort, which in turn confer the immigrants a psychological well-being. Korean Christians have maintained a mutual religious understanding and cultural connection with U.S. society mediated by American missionaries, who were devoted to transplanting not only Christianity, but also American culture, from the early period of the introduction of Christianity to Korean society.

American missionaries' efforts to proselytize Koreans is another major reason why more Christians than any other religious group have immigrated to the U.S. American missionaries' efforts brought a rapid Christianization and Americanization at the same time as Korea's independence from Japanese colonization (1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953). U.S. culture was equated with American Christendom by the majority of

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Koreans. A significant level of cultural conformity with American military culture has prevailed in Korea since the U.S. military government took control in 1945. For the majority of Koreans, American culture was perceived as mass consumption, pragmatism focused on material comfort, rationalism, and Judeo-Christian religious ethics.

The rapid spread of Christianity and American mass consumption culture has also coincided with the socio-political role of Christian leaders in Korea. As a role model, Christian leaders, like Syngman Rhee, were ardently supported by many younger Christian elite members, under the influence of Confucian elitism that has been prevailed for a long time in the Korean society. Out of seven presidents elected in South Korea, two were devout Protestants who served as elders for their churches, and one was Catholic. Right after Syngman Rhee became president of Korea, he initiated a legal procedure that aimed to make Christmas a national holiday, when the Christian population was less than 3 percent in Korea. His fame and popularity as president heavily influenced young people who were eager to learn about the West. Christians' new adaptation of elitism and triumphalism, which were once the major ideological themes under Confucianism, contributed to Koreans' perception of the U.S. as a great nation. In recent historical context, Koreans in general and Korean Christians in particular cannot get away from the influence of American culture in general and American Christianity in particular.

In the 1960s and 1970s, when rapid industrialization and urbanization took place in Korea, as Kim (1981) pointed out, American culture already became popular on the streets in many metropolitan areas. Identified with this new urban culture, American Christianity became a fact of life for many urban middle-class people. Industrialization

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and urbanization not only shifted the socioeconomic infrastructure of Korean society, but also required a new ideology or paradigm that could effectively support the new urban lifestyle. Many urbanites, most of whom already experienced internal migration in Korea, therefore sought new socio-religious ideas suitable for their new way of life in the industrialized cities. Rapid mobility based on the nuclear family system and a great sense of individuality, which brings anonymity among urban dwellers, became the new normative idea of urban places. Different from other traditional religions, especially Buddhism and Confucianism, which emphasize the preservation of the traditional concepts of filial piety and fidelity toward ancestors, hometown, and home province, Protestantism (supported by American cultural ideas) emphasizes practical individualism toward God. Americanism and Protestantism go hand in hand in Korean society and rapidly penetrated the new urban middle class. Urbanites, especially the new urban middle class, most of whom hold non-traditional office jobs or technology-related occupations in South Korea, thus have more opportunity to encounter Western culture and Protestantism, which have long been stronger in urban areas. It is natural thus that in South Korean society, many would-be emigrants to U.S. society are drawn from industrialized cities where they have a better opportunity to become acquainted with Western culture and Christianity. In a sense, the would-be emigrants are quite pre-assimilated into American culture, even before immigration. This is another major reason why more Christians than Buddhists immigrate into the U.S.

A fact of modern Korean history is also closely related to the heavy influx of Christian Korean immigrants to the U.S. During the Korean War, which began in 1950 between the

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communist North and capitalist South, many North Korean Protestants fled to the South to seek religious freedom and free engagement of economic entrepreneurship. Many, however, could not permanently settle in South Korean society because of their weak kinship ties and social networks. The North Korean refugees' weak social ties in the South left them unstable. They also felt heavier social pressure in the South, because of the high rate of unemployment after the war and surveillance by the South Korean government for possible espionage activities for North Korea. Whenever the South encountered any political agitation, it was the North Korean refugees who felt insecurity. When South Korean immigration law changed in 1962, and U.S. immigration law changed in 1965, North Korean refugees were the first group that applied for emigration to the U.S. It was not a coincidence that among the huge influx of Korean immigrant waves occurring in the late 1960s and early 1970s, there were many North Korean Christians (Kim 1981).

In addition to these three pre-migration factors that brought more Christian immigrants from South Korea, the similarity of plausibility structure between South Korean society and U.S. society, the influence of American culture and Christianity in Korean cities, and the particularity of the modern Korean history caused by more North Korean Christian refugees to immigrate to the U.S., two post-migration factors also played an important role in keeping the Korean community more Christian after immigration. The first important factor that increase church attendance rates among Korean immigrants after immigration is the abundance of the Protestant religious leaders in the Korean community. Although Mol did not indicate the importance of the number

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of religious leaders for the increase and decrease in religious participation rates among first-generation immigrants, the number of Protestant religious leaders in the Korean immigrant community has been directly proportionate to the number of Protestant believers and Protestant churches in the community.

This is one of the major reasons why Korean Protestant immigrants have maintained a high religious participation rate as early as when they first immigrated to the Hawaiian Islands, while Korean Buddhist immigrants failed to form their own religious community until their religious leaders began to arrive in the U.S. with their fellow Buddhist immigrants in the early 1970s. In the case of Korean first-generation immigrants, the lack of Buddhist religious leaders is one of the two major reasons why Buddhist immigrants' religious participation rate decreases drastically after immigration. As we have seen, the relatively weak religio-social participation of Buddhist congregations is also associated with their low rate of religious participation after immigration. Contrary to the Buddhist Korean case, Protestant Koreans have suffered from oversupply of Protestant leaders in the community from the beginning of immigration. According to some historical records (Choy 1979; Peterson and Kim 1974), 0.5 percent of the Korean immigrant population were Protestant clergy while 0.025 percent were Buddhist clergy. Two major negative effects of the oversupply of Protestant clergy members in the community are the schism of their ethnic churches and the lack of centrifugal power among the same religious ethnic group, which promotes their own religio-ethnic unity and power. The increase of Protestants' religious participation after immigration thus is a mere representation of the numeric proliferation of Korean ethnic Protestant churches. According to a survey (Shin

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1989), 81 percent of Korean ethnic Protestant churches are cases of splits from their original churches. The numeric proliferation of Korean ethnic Protestant churches in the U.S. thus is mainly caused by schisms and the oversupply of the Korean ethnic clergy members. The schismatic offshoots of the ethnic Protestant church thus inevitably adopt an entrepreneurial style of church management to increase their own membership. This is the way in which Korean Protestant ethnic churches have increased their members' religious activity participation rate after immigration.

The second post-migration factor that contributes to the increase in the number of Korean Protestants is Korean ethnic Protestant churches' performance of various religious and non-religious functions for their members. Many studies uncover the fact that immigrant congregations perform not only religious service functions, but also such various social functions as fellowship, preservation of ethnic cultural heritage, supplying various social services, and granting social status to members (Warner and Wittner 1998; Min 1992; Dearman 1982; Choy 1979; Handlin 1973). Theoretically, the more the immigrant ethnic congregations hold both religious and non-religious services, the more opportunities exist for first-generation immigrants to participate in religious activities after immigration. The Protestant churches perform more religio-social functions than their Buddhist counterparts. This is another major reason for Protestant Korean immigrants' higher rate of religious participation after immigration.

Immigrant Congregation: An Ambivalent Religio-Social Organization

Interacting with American society, the Korean ethnic congregations of the two

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religious groups, as collective ethnic organizations, gradually and selectively accept the dominant social norms and values of American society. The religious and lay leaders, who by and large are more knowledgeable about American society, play a crucial role in mediating the pace of their socio-cultural incorporation into American society. The religious leaders' sermons guide the way of incorporation, and the lay leaders become role models of successful post-immigration life. Although many members of first-generation immigrant congregations work outside their own religious and ethnic community, their social activities are very limited, because of their linguistic barriers and the unyieldingness of the host society. Furthermore, since the largest portion of their daily life consists of money-making activities, their scope of social interaction with the host society and with members of the mainstream society is extremely limited. The limitation of their social activities and interaction with mainstream society keeps them isolated. For some ethnic congregation members, especially women, participating in congregational activities is the only social activity they have outside their homes. The immigrant congregations thus naturally become ethnic organizations that deal with the larger host society collectively, representing the collective mind of first-generation immigrant members. As the survey results show, immigrant believers maintain a low rate of participation in voluntary association activities outside their ethnic congregations and a relatively high rate of religious and social service participation within their ethnic congregations and community. For many religious immigrants, their ethnic congregation becomes the only social organization in which they exchange meaningful social interactions with fellow ethnic immigrant members. Individual members of ethnic

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immigrant congregations thus preserve all their cultural elements intact in their churches or temples, because as soon as they arrive in America, they realize that they are not able to fully adopt mainstream American culture.

Even immigrant Christians who share the same religion with mainstream America realize they are a racial and linguistic minority in American society. Their ethnic churches and temples perform an important function of new havens for members, providing them with "a home away from home." But their first-generation immigrant status makes them inevitably confront the culture of the larger society. They confront the larger culture in part through their working place and in part through their ethnic congregations. Each ethnic congregation thus naturally becomes a vanguard social agency that functions as the buffer of their ethnic community in the host society. As long as Korean immigrant congregations perform both religious and social services for their ethnic members only, they become ethnic organizations in their functions, not pure religious organizations, which simultaneously promote and impede members' socio-cultural incorporation into U.S. society.

On an individual level, however, maintaining meaningful social interactions with their fellow Korean immigrants through their ethnic congregations, the members of the ethnic congregations not only deprive themselves of the opportunity to interact with the larger society, but also preserve their own cultural elements. In terms of individual immigrants' assimilation level, their ethnic immigrant congregations play a negative role. The congregation keeps the members apart from the host society and becomes a "mobility trap" in which individual members exchange limited social interactions with only their

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own ethnic members. Participating in religious activities, first-generation immigrants thus inadvertently discourage themselves for integrating into the host society. Ethnic congregations therefore play an ambivalent role that collectively promotes the social integration of immigrant ethnic members to the larger society on the one hand, and at the same time, individually preserves their culture, which deters its members' social integration into the host society.

Theories of the relationship between religion and immigration have not been developed well enough to explain the true reality. It is difficult to generalize the associational aspect between immigrants' religion and its role for adjustment of believers in the U.S. society, because each immigrant group practices religion on a different level, and the religious participation rate of religious groups does not increase unanimously in the host society. Our survey results confirm historian Smith's observation that "religion and ethnicity are intertwined in modern urban and industrial societies" (Smith 1978: 1155). In the host society, immigrant religious organizations simultaneously becomes ethnic organizations through which ethnic members respond to the larger society.

For first-generation immigrants, religion functions more than preserving their cultural elements they bring in the process of immigration. Immigration itself becomes a theodicy-creating process, in which immigrant believers apply their religious meaning in their new life. Immigrant congregation turns out to be an ethnic organization in the host society largely because the members of ethnic congregations suddenly become ethnic minority after immigration. In the case of the Korean immigrants, believers' religiosity is reinforced in their immigration process, as long as it meshes with what they try to achieve

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in their new immigrant society. Their immigration ethos and their religious beliefs thus naturally intertwine and reinforce their individual life goals in the host society as well. This positive role of religion in their adjustment to the host society brings more immigrants into their congregation. Immigrant congregation thus becomes an important religio-ethnic organization that not only holds the members together and communicates with the larger society, but also religiously and ethnically sets them apart from the society. Religion in general has an ambivalent function for the adjustment of first-generation immigrants in the host society.

Buddhist and Protestant Korean Immigrants: Similarities and Differences

Although our survey results reveal that religious beliefs affect almost all aspects of believers' lives, their first-generation immigrant status and premigration backgrounds are more importantly interrelated with their socioeconomic life. The two religious groups' high social service participation rates and high level of socioeconomic achievement directly reflect the situational interrelationship between their religious beliefs and everyday life after immigration. According to our survey results, the two religious groups show distinctiveness in their worldviews, approaches to religious salvation, religious participation rates, and ways of worshiping their objects of beliefs, while sharing similarities in their socioeconomic adjustment patterns, social service participation rates, and cultural, political, and social life. This is a direct reflection that, although immigrants' religious beliefs are crucially interrelated with all aspects of life, the impact of the distinctiveness of the two religious groups' religious beliefs on their everyday life is

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overshadowed by their immigrant status and premigration backgrounds. Their first-generation immigrant status suddenly becomes a master status as soon as they arrive in the host society, it predominantly affects all aspects of life. Contrary to Weber's theoretical argument, the two religious groups do not show any distinctiveness in their socioeconomic life. Independent from Buddhist religious beliefs, which emphasize the emptiness of life and unimportance of worldly success, Buddhists rather show higher socioeconomic achievement in the U.S. This finding reflects that their first-generation immigration status and pre-migration backgrounds are more crucially interrelated with socioeconomic achievement after immigration.

In detail, aspects of religious practices and their application to their daily life, however, are quite distinctive along the lines of religious identification. For instance, Buddhists maintain a less standardized interpretation of religious doctrine, a more individualistic worldviews, a more individualistic approach to religious salvation, and a quite lower degree of religiosity than Protestants. Buddhist believers' less standardized and more individualistic tendency is possibly due to their higher degree of preserving animistic or polytheistic beliefs. Buddhists' belief in the immanency of divine character in their own mind as opposed to the Protestant belief in the exterior existence of divine character also seems to contribute to Buddhists' higher level of individualism and less standardized worldview and interpretation of religious doctrine. Centered on the concept of God, Protestants, however, maintain quite stronger tendencies toward standardization and collectivity in terms of their religious practice.

Buddhists' belief in the interiorness of divine power in their mind, individual approach

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to personal salvation, and emphasis on emptiness (*kong* in Korean) are more likely to be related to their reserved behavior pattern. Protestants, however, are more likely to believe in the exteriorness of divine power and God's initiation of individual believers' personal salvation. Reflecting the distinctive characteristics of each religion, the survey results indicate that a distinction exists in their organizational structures, church and temple locations, proportion of weekly service attendees, number of second-generation members, relationship among congregation members, religious leaders' view of the socioeconomic success of members and their methods of accumulating of wealth, and participation rate of weekly and yearly religious activities. In almost all aspects of these activities, Buddhists show a lower level of engagement than Protestants.

In relation to their detailed religious practices, Buddhists place more stress on the importance of the "mind-only" tenet and its application to their everyday life. They emphasize individual commitment to mental self-discipline. Mental tranquility, calmness, and self-control, which are augmented through meditation, prostration, and chanting, are most highly valued in the Buddhist religious community. Their emphasis on commitment to mental self-discipline, however, is apt to lead themselves to an inconsistent or subjective application of their religious tenets to their daily life, unless guided by standardized or so-called authoritative religious guidelines. Buddhists' tendency of individual commitment to self-disciplined "mind-only" practice in turn leads them more likely to reject strict monotheistic ideas, which are much more standardized, invariable, and congruous than animistic or polytheistic ideas. They are thus more likely to be self-determinative when they decide everyday matters, apart from their religious doctrines and

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imperatives. They are thus less likely to depend on their religious obligations than Protestants, whenever they come to make a decision. Buddhists use their religious doctrine and practices as mere tools to achieve total freedom in their religion. Viewed from the Protestant standpoint, Buddhists look like the holders of arbitrary individualistic ideas. Protestants, however, believe that all aspects of their daily life are commanded by their God. All they have to do is merely follow the rules their God has set for them. Buddhists, however, believe that all aspects of life depend on individual believers' decision, not Buddha. Buddha is a symbolic humanistic figure, who shows them the exemplary path that Buddhists can follow for religious salvation. Literally, the Buddha is not an absolute supernatural being for Buddhists, but one of many great Buddhists who achieved the nirvana state -- a perfect mental freedom. In reality, Buddhists worship the Buddha, what the Buddha achieved, and other great bodhisattvas (Buddha-to-be). Compared to Buddhists, Protestants have thus little room to interpret their religious doctrine individualistically, while Buddhists have more room to do so. It is thus known that Buddhism is a self-reliant religion, while Christianity is an other (or God)-reliant religion.

The two religious groups' differences in religious practices foreshadows their differences in approaches to salvation. While Buddhists believe that their soul will be reincarnated after death in accordance with the regulations of metempsychosis, Protestants believe that their soul will live in heaven forever once they are chosen by their God. Different from Protestants, Buddhists also believe that all living beings and things existing in this world have a relationship with individual believers, so they think all these

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things and living beings can be usefully interrelated with each other, to help themselves become a self-achieved Buddha. Buddhist's religious mind is thus apt to be more inclusive and cooperative with all other beings existing in this world. Expanding this idea of metempsychosis, they believe that anything existing in this world can be a symbolic Buddha who can help them achieve salvation.

Buddhists' approach to salvation is thus different from Protestants in many respects. First, Buddhists do not believe that a supernatural being chooses individual believers and saves them in accordance with the believers' level of belief and faith. Buddhists rather believe that, not the supernatural being, but the individual believer may achieve religious salvation in accordance with his or her own personal effort. For many Buddhists, salvation means a state of a total freedom and a total peace of mind in this world. They thus are also aware of how difficult it is for them to achieve salvation within their lifetime, especially for people who live in busy modern industrialized cities. Difficulties in achieving salvation causes Buddhists to less likely emphasize such concepts as "being chosen," "redemption," "salvation," and "calling" in their religious world. Rather they emphasize self-achievement of Buddhahood and self-reliance for salvation. Our survey of both religious leaders and lay members systematically supports the idea that Buddhists are much more individualistically oriented to achieve their religious salvation, and they emphasize self-reliance in their religious practice.

Emphasis on individual believer's self-reliance means that worldly success is more likely to be dependent on their own personal efforts than the symbolic Buddha's blessing on them. While Protestant-style salvation is rather a one-time "big bang" in their life

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time, depending on individual Protestants' admission of God's choice of the believer, Buddhist-style salvation is a lifelong process, depending on the individual believer's choice, not the Buddha's or a supernatural being's. For Buddhists, engagement in a personal ascetic life is entirely dependent on the individual believer, whereas the personal ascetic life for Protestants is more likely to be initiated dependent on God's will. Each religious group thus takes a different path for the same religious goal. The survey results show that the majority of respondents of both religious groups live an ascetic lifestyle, and only few respondents maintain world-rejecting asceticism. As long as Buddhists maintain an inner-worldly ascetic lifestyle to achieve their religious salvation, their daily life should not be so distinctive nor different from that of their Protestant counterparts. As we have seen, the family income and educational achievement of the Buddhist respondents are rather higher than those of their Protestant counterparts.

Since Protestants' salvation is entirely God-dependent, individual believers are nothing in Protestantism until their God chooses them. Once Protestants feel they are selected by their God, they become an important individual in their religion. Different from the Protestantism, Buddhism begins with the importance and perfection of individual believers and ends up with the nothingness of them. Buddhists thus believe that they themselves originally have a perfect divinity in themselves, but the divine character in themselves is buried or diluted by their worldly "counter-characters," which also coexist in themselves, such as desire, anger, and resentment. For Buddhists, religious practice thus should be a process of getting rid of these worldly "counter-characters" in their mind and to restore the perfection of human being. This becomes a process in which

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Buddhists emancipate themselves from the cruel karma circle in this mundane world. For most Buddhists, achieving real salvation is not only difficult, but also distant from their everyday life, which inevitably is involved with the three worldly "counter-characters." The Buddhist thus more likely emphasizes individual religious practice rather than the achievement of salvation, which is realistically impossible for almost all Buddhists. Living an ascetic life in calm and secluded condition is one aspect of the Buddhist lifestyle. Quite a large proportion of Buddhist respondents say they live an ascetic life even after immigration, not because they deny or reject their current life, but because they want to achieve more productivity and efficiency in their daily life. As the survey results show, Buddhists' individualistically-oriented salvation efforts and ascetic lifestyle more powerfully promote their worldly success after immigration, thanks to their more liberal ventures in the business world, independent of their religious tenets and imperatives.

Reflecting the distinctiveness in religious practice between the two religious groups, the survey shows that the reason why the majority of Buddhists practice religion is for growth of self, while the majority of Protestants practice their religion because they believe that religious practice is an obligation for believers. The majority of Buddhists believe that their religious imperative is to be aware of the existence of the karma circle in this world, and they cope with the cruelty of the karma circle only through self-discipline in their religious practice. The majority of Protestants, however, believe that their religious obligation is to obey their God's commandments. The majority of Buddhists remember that their religious leaders frequently emphasize the way of disengaging all the shackles of this world, while the majority of Protestants remember

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that their leaders most frequently emphasize evangelization, proselytization, obedience, and the conviction of salvation. Almost all Protestants therefore believe that participating in religious services every Sunday is their own obligation, because it is a God-given religious rule, but only a minority of Buddhists believe so. Furthermore, the majority of Buddhist families do not practice the same religion, while the majority of Protestant families not only practice the same religion, but also attend the same church.

In terms of their religious worldview and attitude toward other religions, Buddhists show a stronger tendency toward harmony and congruency. Buddhists maintain a more inclusive attitude toward other religious groups, while Protestants maintain a more exclusive and selective attitude toward other religious groups. According to our survey, most Buddhists are willing to accept the useful values of other religions, but more than half of Protestants are not willing to accept any useful values of other religions. The majority of Buddhists allow their children to marry those of other religions, but the majority of Protestants oppose their children marrying those of other religions. All Buddhist respondents have friends who practice different religions, but fewer than half of Protestants do so. More than half of Buddhists believe that a human being is only a part of nature, but almost all Protestants believe that a human being is the prime being who is supposed to wield power over nature. Most interestingly, the majority of Buddhists view the essence of their religion as a "mind-only" practice, while the majority of Protestants view it as total redemption by God. Buddhists thus believe that their aim is to become a self-achieved Buddha, a perfect human being, while Protestants see their religion as a practice that their omnipotent supernatural being cares their problems. Quite a large

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proportion of Buddhists therefore pray toward themselves for their supplications, while all Protestants pray toward their God for help. Most Buddhists believe that neither Buddha nor Jesus is an absolute supernatural being. Interestingly, most Buddhists believe that life before death is more important, while the majority of Protestants believe that the afterlife is more important or equally important as life before death. Protestants are also more likely to rely on religious identity than Korean national identity. Contrary to our expectation, overall, Buddhists maintain more practical and realistic religious practices than Protestants.

Surprisingly, in part reflecting Buddhists' more practical and realistic tendencies, the general socioeconomic profiles of Buddhists, such as family income, personal income, educational level, occupational prestige, job and life satisfaction, and self-identified social class background, are higher than those of Protestants. Buddhists in fact work harder and longer than Protestants. The majority of Buddhists believe that hard work and honesty are the most important articles of faith, while the majority of Protestants believe that looking for the wisdom in their religious belief is the most important credo. The two religious immigrant groups see the influence of their religion quite differently as well. While all Buddhists believe that their religion helps their economic life, bestowing them with mental consistency, tranquility, and new mental energy, the majority of Protestants believe that their religion helps their economic life by providing them with the idea of avoiding waste and making them live a sincere life for their God's grace.

In relation to post-immigration life, the two religious groups do not show any particular distinctiveness. The majority of respondents of both religious groups become

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more devout believers after immigration. The majority of Buddhists believe that their religion helps them live with peace of mind, calmness, and joy in the host society, while the majority of Protestants believe that their religion provides them with a psychological support system they can rely on. The majority of both religious groups believe that America is a land of opportunity. More Buddhist respondents, however, plan to return to their home country in the future. All the other background variables related to immigration, such as motivation for immigration, citizenship status, hometown, social distance from other racial and ethnic groups, and views toward other racial group, show no significant differences. But one immigration-related variable that shows a moderate difference between the two religious groups is their place of residence in Korea. Substantially more Buddhists (98%) than Protestants (78%) were drawn from the four largest cities in Korea. Buddhists' higher degree of urban background, higher educational level, and higher class background are supposedly linked to their higher level of socioeconomic achievement in the host society. In the case of immigrants, particularity of religious beliefs is less significantly associated with socioeconomic achievements in the host society than their pre-migration background and immigration status.

In terms of sociocultural adjustment after immigration, the two religious immigrant groups do not reveal any significant differences, and their degree of cultural, political, and social incorporation into the host society varies in accordance with the variables in question. For instance, Buddhists show a lower level of English proficiency (self-evaluated), a higher level of maintenance of traditional conjugal relationships, and a lower level of maintaining friendships with American people compared to Protestants.

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However, the survey also shows that Protestants are more likely to depend on Korean mass media than Buddhists as their daily information source. Protestants show a higher level of social service participation and civic engagement. There is no significant difference in PTA meeting participation rates between the two religious groups, nor along political party lines before and after immigration. Quite a majority of respondents of both religious groups maintain a high level of concern with Korean socio-political affairs and Korea's reunification. The majority of both religious groups want to have their children maintain a Korean-American identity, and they plan to educate their children as highly as possible. But ironically, more Protestants than Buddhists educate their children in both traditional Korean values and their own religious doctrine.

Comparing the sociocultural lives of the two religious groups makes it even harder to draw a conclusion. The survey results, however, show that by and large Protestants maintain a stronger sense of religious identity, in-group solidarity, and a higher level of conservation of traditional Korean values, while Buddhists maintain a higher level of individualism and a conservative viewpoint toward society in general.

Religion and Immigration Ethos

The relationship between religion and immigration is analogous with the relationship between the creeds and life goals of believers, which mutually reinforce each other. For immigrants, religion becomes an important focus of life on which both their psychological and physical concerns are concentrated. Their weaker socioeconomic base and the harsher life they encounter in the host society maintain such a life locus. One of

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many significant pieces of evidence that religion becomes a major focus of immigrant life is the rate of alteration in religious participation in the case of Korean immigrants. As they did in Korea before immigration, Buddhists less frequently participate in religious activities than Protestants. The Buddhist population among Korean immigrants quite significantly reduces after immigration. Protestants maintain a slightly higher rate of both social service activity and religious activity participation supported by their better structural organization and networking. Interestingly, however, Buddhists maintain a compatible level of social service activity participation with Protestants in the host society, largely due to their post-immigration situation. Our survey results thus suggest that despite Weber's theoretical argument that religious beliefs and ideas affect believers' socioeconomic behavior, the two Korean immigrant religious groups' social service participation rates and socioeconomic condition after immigration are not so significantly different. Our survey reveals that more urbanized, educated, and economically-advanced Buddhists immigrate to the U.S. Although the majority of Protestants are also drawn from the major urban areas, not only are their socioeconomic levels before immigration lower than those of Buddhists, but also more chain migration cases are found among Protestants.

Protestants' higher level of religious participation before and after immigration is largely due to the particularity of the Protestant beliefs. For instance, Protestants emphasize the external expression of what they believe, which brings them in active engagement with the outside world for salvation, while Buddhists stress the restraint of external expression of what they believe, which brings them less active engagement with

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the outside world for salvation. These differences in presentation of religious beliefs most characteristically appear in their religious activities, such as the participation rate in regular religious services, engagement in missionary activities, and creation of religious organizations by the congregation for better efficiency of their religious practices. But the immigration status of both religious groups somewhat overrides the differences in religious and social service participation rates after immigration. This is largely due to the fact that adjustment to the new society becomes the major life concern for both religious groups.

As we have seen, however, different from their religious activity participation rate, the two religious groups' sponsorship of social service activities for congregation members and community and socioeconomic adjustment after immigration are not so significantly different. This suggests that the immigration situation encountered by both the lay believers and religious leaders of the two religious groups in the host society mediates the typical link between their religious beliefs and their everyday activities. This is because first-generation immigrants keep in their minds a set of new ideas upon their arrival, which is called an "immigration ethos." The immigration ethos that the immigrants newly adopted is situationally concerned with their new hopes, new life goals, and eager enthusiasm to survive by any means possible.

The immigration ethos that the two religious groups equally maintain never conflicts with their religious beliefs. Their immigration ethos is rather reinforced by their religious beliefs. The two ideas -- immigration ethos and religious beliefs -- are therefore cooperatively associated with each other in their everyday activities in the new society.

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When an immigrant believer engages in everyday work, these two ideas coexist in his or her mind and help them work harder. Both the lay believers and religious leaders of the two religious groups equally apply this situationally-generated immigration ethos to their everyday activities, while retaining their religious beliefs intact. In addition to their religious beliefs, the two religious groups adopt an immigration ethos and apply both their religious beliefs and immigration ethos to their daily life. This is the main reason why the two religious groups, although they have very different religious beliefs and approaches to salvation, have no significant difference in their social service participation and socioeconomic adjustment after immigration. This is what makes first-generation Korean immigrants' religio-social activities so active in the United States.

As ethnic, racial, and religious minority groups maintain a higher level of in-group solidarity, first-generation Korean immigrants also maintain high level of bonding among their own ethnic members. Religious immigrants add one more opportunity to maintain this high level of social bonding among their religio-ethnic group, through their frequent participation in religious activities, which encourages them to build a "concentric circle," which in turn helps them accumulate social capital for better socioeconomic achievement. Religious participation thus becomes an important social need for first-generation Korean immigrants, because it provides them with an indirect way of survival in the host society. For first-generation immigrants, their ethnic congregation, therefore, serves as an important social agency through which members reinforce their social and immigration ethos.

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Religion, Immigration, and Modern Society

According to Weber's typology of social actions, religious practice is "value-rational social action," which is "determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behavior, independently of its prospects of success" (Weber 1978: 24-25). Weber continues to remark that "examples of pure value-rational orientation would be the actions of persons who, regardless of possible cost to themselves, act to put into practice their convictions of what seems to them to be required by duty, honor, the pursuit of beauty, a religious call, personal loyalty, or the importance of some 'cause' no matter in what it consists" (Weber 1978: 25). Due to the development of science and disenchanted rational ideas, religious practice in a modern city like New York seems to be an untenable action in many respects. However, in this fully developed modern society, value-rational actions such as religious practice and the practice of personal hobbies become even more important spheres of life, because individual human beings want to "put into practice their personal convictions," as individuality gains more importance in this full-fledged Gesellschaft. As individual human beings draw more attention to their personalized sphere of life in the Gesellschaft-type of society, contrary to general expectation, value-rational actions become more important, since, as Durkheim argues, human beings strongly want to preserve their own personalized individual sphere ("cult of individual") and place their personal convictions into practice (Durkheim 1984, 1965). Religion in modern society is a collective form of representation of individual believers' personal convictions. As Weber argues, religious practice becomes a rational human action as long as it is congruent with the practitioners'

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life goals. Religious practice is not only a rational behavior, but also an important way of life, especially in the immigration process, as we have seen in the case of the Korean immigrant. It is rational in one sense that, as Weber argues, "the most elementary forms of behavior motivated by religious or magical factors are oriented to this world," and in another sense that "it follows rules of experience, though it is not necessarily action in accordance with a means-end schema... Thus, religious or magical behavior or thinking must not be set apart from the range of everyday purposive conduct, particularly since even the ends of the religious and magical actions are predominantly economic" (Weber 1978: 399-400).

Religion and immigration have one thing in common: future-orientation based on a wishful mindset (or supplication) for a better life. As our survey results show, religion has a function as a psychological reward, especially for first-generation immigrants. It is true that religious practice does not bring practitioners immediate rewards, but it is still true that practitioners obtain some reward from their religion, such as psychological relief, consolation, hope or fortunate wish, good relationship with other practitioners, belongingness, feeling of protection, a deep mental freedom, sense of purpose, future- and optimistic-orientation, and a feeling of support and triumph. For believers, looking for these rewards in their religion is an important motivation. Religious practitioners, regardless of religious identification, earn some amount of compensation from their religious practice. More importantly, the reward is entirely grounded on their worldly success and well-being. Religious practice is therefore intrinsically economical, although it seems irrational to non-practitioners. It is economical because the religious belief that

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the practitioners maintain, as our survey results show, positively influences their better economic achievement, by restoring their mental energy, avoiding wastes of time and money, and allowing them to live a sincere life.

Religion also functions as a psychological support system. Mostly because of loneliness and hardship, the immigration experience makes immigrants live somewhat ascetic lifestyle in the host society. Their immigration situation thus instigates a higher degree of religiosity, and their religious beliefs in turn reinforce their immigration ethos for a better life in the future. As the immigration phenomenon itself is intrinsically future-oriented in association with immigrants' new hopes and anticipation for a better life in the new society, what they believe in as their religion naturally focuses on their future goals. As long as immigrant believers have such a support system after immigration, they feel a lower degree of loneliness and hardship, because they have something to rely on and someone to meet. They might also have more efficiency in their economic sphere of life, because they can restrict all unnecessary actions and thoughts with their religious ideas. Immigrant believers therefore feel more confidence and personal satisfaction through their religion. In this sense, religion functions as a mental support system, through which believers are rewarded with reinforcement for a better life in the host society.

In addition to functioning as a psychological reward and support system, for first-generation immigrants, religion is situationally used as an important means for survival. As we have seen, regardless of differences in religious beliefs, the two religious groups have both similarities and differences in their worldviews, religiosity, and socioeconomic

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profiles. The socioeconomic behavior and attitudes of the two religious groups are similar too. It is not the difference in religious beliefs, but believers' immigrant status and degree of religious participation that more importantly influences their non-religious activities after immigration. For first-generation immigrant believers, the more religious participation they make in their everyday life, the more opportunity for better economic achievement they have. This is mainly because their religious concerns are intimately related to their everyday life concerns as immigrants, and as we have seen earlier, it inevitably supports their immigration ethos in the host society. Religious participation therefore becomes an important social need for first-generation immigrants as an indirect survival tactic.

Although religion functions as a psychological reward and support system, it has at the same time a dysfunctional aspect, when the individual believers of each religion interact with other religious groups or the host society as a whole. All religious groups intrinsically show a strong sense of ethnocentrism, because they believe their faith is more important and better than that of others. In our cases, on both individual and collective level, Protestants maintain a much stronger sense of ethnocentrism than Buddhists because of Protestants' stronger sense of being chosen by their god. Monotheistic religious beliefs encourage Protestants to maintain their selectivity more strongly. They thus hold a much stronger exclusionary attitude toward other religious groups. Each religious group uses the psychological rewards and support system for individual believers' achievement of life goals on an individual level and for their own religious communities' collective consolation and unity on a collective level, yet each

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religious group's sustenance of unique religious tenets naturally distinguishes itself from others. Viewed from the standpoint of mainstream U.S. society, it is true that these minority immigrant religious groups appear to be not only isolated but also self-centered, rarely communicating or interacting with the outside world. In this respect, for Korean immigrant religious groups, religion also performs a self-isolating function in the host society. It makes each religious group integrate less into the host society.

Religion has a dysfunctional aspect on the individual level as well. Unfortunately, the two religious groups in the same ethnic immigrant community have never made any attempt at interfaith communication in their immigration history. As the survey results show, Protestants, with their monotheistic theology, maintain a stronger tendency toward exclusiveness, while Buddhists, with their belief in polytheism, appear to maintain a stronger sense of inclusiveness. During interviews, some Buddhist immigrants said that not other racial and religious groups, but the same ethnic Protestant groups treat them with prejudice. It is an irony that religion becomes a major source of intergroup conflict, motivated by the ethnocentric idea inherent in religious belief, although religion originally is initiated by the idea of future-oriented supplication.

In this fully secularized city, religious practice not only is considered premodern-style irrational behavior, focusing on irrational supplications, but also it gives rise a major source of intergroup conflict, which makes it difficult to maintain a basis for multiculturalism -- mutual respect and understanding. The seemingly irrational religious supplication, however, as Weber argues, forms a value-rational action, which focuses on the individual believer's efficient achievement of his or her own life goals. Even as

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society becomes technologically advanced, the basic mental state of individual human beings will not alter that much. Human beings are a naturally imperfect existence, mediated by unlimited and uncontrollable desire and constantly searching for betterment and happiness. As long as people are not perfect and searching of a better life, religion will not disappear, even in this fully-secularized and rational era. Religious ideas are initiated by a concern for a better worldly life. Religious ideas are thus intrinsically future-oriented, as immigration is. Every individual human being keeps some sense of religiosity or supplication in relation to his or her everyday life goals independent from his or her involvement in religious practices.

Nonetheless, as long as each religious group maintains self-centered ideas, even in this multi-religious and multi-ethnic postmodern society, conflict among religious groups continues to exist. Multiculturalism, which is based on the blending of various racial, religious, ethnic, and linguistic groups in a society, presupposes respect and understanding for other groups. In this respect, a multicultural society sounds ideal, but realistically it innately contains the seeds of intergroup conflict. Most U.S. metropolitan areas are becoming more and more multicultural, especially after the new waves of immigrants surged into the cities after 1965. Without mutual respect and understanding among various racial, ethnic, and religious groups, the major cities in the U.S. will maintain an exclusive type of multicultural society, not an inclusive, harmonious one.

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Appendix I: Questionnaire for Individual Believer

1. Name (Optional): (last name: first name:)

2. Religion: [1. Buddhist 2. Protestant 3. Catholic 4. Other ( )]

3. Age: ( ) 4. Sex: (1. Male 2. Female)

5. How long have you lived in the U.S.? (years)

6. Where do you live?
(1. Queens 2. Brooklyn 3. Manhattan 4. The Bronx 5. Staten Island 6. Long Island
7. New Jersey 8. Other area)

7. Where did you live in Korea?
(1. Seoul 2. Pusan 3. Taegu 4. Inchoen 5. Kwongju 6. Middle-sized city 7. Rural area
8. Other)

8. Where were you born?
(1. Seoul 2. Pusan 3. Taegu 4. Inchoen 5. Kwongju 6. Middle-sized city 7. Rural area
8. Other)

9. What is your home province?
(1. Kyungkido and Seoul 2. Kangwondo 3. Choongchungdo 4. Chullado 5. Kyungsangdo
6. Chejudo 7. Other)

10. What is your marital status?
(1. Married 2. Single: never married 3. Divorced 4. Separated 5. Other)

11. How many family members do you live with? ( )

12. How many children do you have? [Son: ( ) Daughter: ( ); Total ( )]

13. How many years of education did you accomplish?
(1. Elementary 2. Junior high 3. High school 4. Two-year college 5. Four year college
6. Master level 7. Doctoral level)

14. How many years of education did your father accomplish?
(1. Elementary 2. Junior high 3. High school 4. Two-year college 5. Four year college
6. Master level 7. Doctoral level)

15. How many years of education did your mother accomplish?
(1. Elementary 2. Junior high 3. High school 4. Two-year college 5. Four year college

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6. Master level 7. Doctoral level)

16. What is (was) your father's religion?
(1. Buddhism 2. Protestantism 3. Catholic 4. Confucianism 5. Other 6. None)

17. What is (was) your mother's religion?
(1. Buddhism 2. Protestantism 3. Catholic 4. Confucianism 5. Other 6. None)

18. What is your occupation category?
(1. Managerial or professional 2. Technical, sale, and administrative 3. Service 4. Farming, forestry, fishing 5. Precision, production, craft, repair 6.Operator, fabricator, and laborer 7. Homemaker 8. Other)

19. What is your job classification?
(1. Private wage and salary worker 2. Local government worker 3. State government worker 4. Federal government worker 5. Self-employed 6.Unpaid family worker 7. Other)

20. If you are self-employed, what type of business do you run?
(1.Grocery store 2. Deli and restaurant 3. Dry cleaner 4. Nail salon 5. Garment factory 6. Manufacturing 7. Retailer -- Sales 8. Accounting firm 9. Liquor store 10. Technical service and sale (computer) 11. Wholesale 13. Lawyer 14. Martial arts school 15. Doctor's office 16. Beauty supply 18. Real estate 19. Oriental medicine 20. Import and export 21. Private educational institute 22. Jewelry 23. Thrift shop 24. Wig 25. Bakery 26. Insurance agent 27. Fish market 28. Bank 29. Travel agent 30. Other_____)

21. What kind of occupation did you have before immigration?
(1. Managerial or professional 2. Technical, sale, and administrative 3. Service 4. Farming, forestry, fishing 5. Precision, production, craft, repair 6. Operator, fabricator, and laborer 7. Homemaker 8. Other)

22. How much does your family earn annually? ($)

23. How much do you earn annually? ($)

24. How much proportion of your family (or personal) income is saved? (%)

25. Which social class do you think you belong to in the United States?
(1. Lower class 2. Lower-middle class 3. Middle class 4. Upper-middle class 5. Upper class 6. Don't know)

26. Which social class do you think you belonged to in Korea before immigration?

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(1. Lower class 2. Lower-middle class 3. Middle class 4. Upper-middle class
5. Upper class 6. Don't know)

27. Through which immigration channels did you come to the U.S.?
(1. Family invitation 2. Occupation 3. Marriage 4. Study 5. Travel or temporary visit
6. Other 7. Not applicable)

28. Which mass communication do you use most frequently for daily information?
(1. Korean newspaper 2. English newspaper 3. Korean TV 4. English TV
5. Korean radio 6. English radio 7. Other)

29. What is your second most important source for daily information?
(1. Korean newspaper 2. English newspaper 3. Korean TV 4. English TV
5. Korean radio 6. English radio 7. Other)

30. What is your third most important source for your daily information?
(1. Korean newspaper 2. English newspaper 3. Korean TV 4. English TV
5. Korean radio 6. English radio 7. Other)

31. What is the largest expense out of your family income?
(1. Food 2. Clothing 3. Housing, including rent 4. Education 5. Transportation
6. Recreation 7. Other)

32. What is the second largest expense out of your family income?
(1. Food 2. Clothing 3. Housing, including rent 4. Education 5. Transportation
6. Recreation 7. Other)

33. What is the third largest expense out of your family income?
(1. Food 2. Clothing 3. Housing, including rent 4. Education 5. Transportation
6. Recreation 7. Other)

34. What is your English proficiency?
(1. No understanding at all 2. Rudimentary 3. Fair 4. Good or higher)

35. What is your life creed?
(1. Working hard 2. Honesty is the best policy 3. Thrift and frugality
4. Endurance -- deferment of immediate pleasure 5. Use of scientific knowledge
6. Look for wisdom in religious belief 7. Other)

36. Do you believe America is land of opportunity? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

37. Do you plan to return to Korea?
(1. Yes 2. No 3. Depends on situation 4. Not decided yet 5. Other)

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38. Have you earned US citizenship yet?
(1. Yes, US citizen 2. Permanent resident 3. Other)

39. How many years have you believed in your current religion? (years)

40. Do all of your family members believe in the same religion? (1. Yes 2. No)

41. Do all of you family members go to the same church or temple? (1. Yes 2. No)

42. What kind of church (or temple) do you think your church (or temple) should be?
(1. Focus on individual believer's spirituality more
2. Focus on participation in social problems more
3. Individual spirituality and social participation equally)

43. Between religious beliefs and scientific knowledge, which is more important in your everyday life? (1. Religious beliefs 2. Scientific knowledge 3. Equally important)

44. Between religious identification and national (or ethnic) identification, which do you identify with more closely?
(1. Religious identity 2. National or ethnic identity 3. Equally identify)

45. Have you ever converted?
(1. From Buddhism to Protestantism 2. From Protestantism to Buddhism 3. From Catholicism to Buddhism 4. From Catholicism to Protestantism 5. From other religion to current religion 6. Never converted)

46. What is the most important reason for conversion?
(1. Family consensus 2. Personal (favorable) religious experience 3. Former religion is too restrictive and exclusive 4. New religion helps me with new life in the U.S. 5. Former religion did not save me)

47. How did you affiliate with your current church (or temple)?
(1. Recommendation of family members and/or friends 2. Personal acquaintance with pastor or priest 3. Close to home 4. Influenced by mass communications advertisement
5. Personal preference of religious activities and management 6. Other)

48. Do you study your religious doctrine regularly? (1. Yes 2. No)

49. What is the most instructive way of acquiring knowledge about your religious doctrine? (1. Preaching or sermon 2. Bible or Scripture study with other members
3. Study by myself 4. Listening to experiences of other congregation members 5. Other)

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50. Do you believe that all the contents in Bible or Bulkyung (Buddhist Scripture) are absolutely right? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK or neither)

51. What proportion of religious scripture and sermon do you understand? (%)

52. Do you make material or money offerings regularly? (1. Yes 2. No)

53. Does your feeling change in accordance with the amount you offer to your church or temple? (1. Yes 2. No)

54. Do you believe that believers must attend religious service every week?
(1.Yes 2. No 3. DK)

55. Do you attend any religious activities during week days beside Sunday service?
(1. Yes 2. No)

56. Do you believe that every person in this world follows his or her fate given by supernatural being? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

57. Do you believe that an individual person's fate can change? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

58. Between Buddha's or God's blessing and personal effort, which do you believe is more important for your life in general?
(1. Individual effort is more important 2. Buddha's or God's blessing is more important
3. Individual effort and blessings are equally important 4. DK)

59. Do you believe that there is a life after death? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

60. Between "life before death" and "life after death," which do you believe is more important? (1. Life before death 2. Life after death 3. Equally important)

61. Are you willing to accept religious values of other than your religion?
(1. Yes 2. No)

62. Do you believe in superstition?
(1. Never believe 2. Yes, believe selectively 3. Believe without doubt 4. DK)

63. How important is it for you to practice current religion in your life?
(1. Very important 2. Moderately important 3. Not so important 4. Not important at all)

64. Did you become a more devout believer after immigration?
(1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

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65. Why do you think you became a more devout believer after immigration?
(1. Hardship and loneliness -- want to know about my fate 2. Thanks to the help of church or temple 3. Have an opportunity to understand religion and doctrine 4. Impressed by devotion of religious leaders 5. Want to keep the religion I used to practice before immigration 6. Impressed by happy life of other believers 7. As I'm getting older, I try to make my life meaningful and useful 8. Other)

66. Do you observe any way of paying obeisance to your deceased ancestors?
(1. Traditional way of ancestor worship (Korean: Chesa) 2. Christian way of memorial service (Korean: Chudoyebae) 3. Religious service at church or temple 4. Never practice any service or *chesa*)

67. Do you have any kind of food you do not eat because of your religion?
(1. Yes, strict vegetarian 2. No restrictions at all 3. More inclined to be vegetarian 4. More inclined to be carnivorous 5. No restrictions except a few items designated in the Bible or Buddhist script)

68. Do you smoke cigarettes or drink liquor?
(1. Smoking only 2. Drinking only 3. Both 4. None)

69. Do you think the world is full of valuable things to challenge you or full of valuelessness or injustice?
(1. World is full of valuable things to challenge me 2. World is full of valuelessness and injustice 3. DK)

70. Have you experienced any persecution or hate-motivated action in the U.S.?
(1.Yes 2. No)

71. Do you have friends who profess other religion than yours? (1. Yes 2. No)

72. Which ethno-religious groups do you feel closest to?
(1. Korean Protestant 2. American Protestant 3. Korean Catholic 4. American Catholic 5. Buddhist 6. Muslim 7. Judaic 8. Other)

73. Which racial group do you feel the closest to?
(1. White 2. African-American 3. Hispanic 4. Jewish 5. Korean 6. Chinese 7. Japanese
8. Indian 9. Other Asian 10. Other)

74. Which racial group do you feel second closest to?
(1. White 2. African-American 3. Hispanic 4. Jewish 5. Korean 6. Chinese 7. Japanese
8. Indian 9. Other Asian 10. Other)

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75. Which racial group do you feel third closest to?
(1. White 2. African-American 3. Hispanic 4. Jewish 5. Korean 6. Chinese 7. Japanese
8. Indian 9. Other Asian 10. Other)

76. Do you live an ascetic life? (1. Yes 2. No 3. Trying to do)

77. Do you think you are happier than other people around you? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

78. Do you think you are more fortunate than other people around you?
(1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

79. Have you ever had any kind of spiritual experience? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

80. Do you believe that miracles can happen? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

81. What do you think is the essence of your religion? Can you describe it in your own words? (1. Mercy and love 2. Mind only -- disciple and control mind well 3. Makes people get to know selves 4. Right livelihood or life 5. Karma -- cause and effect
6. Achieve a total freedom 7. Make my life alive 8. Christ died for us and saved us
9. Other)

82. What motivated you to believe in your current religion?
(1. Impressed by a sermon of religious leader 2. Inherited from parents 3. Realized that it is the most applicable for daily life 4. Encountering difficulties of life I wished to get out of 5. Experienced miracle or spiritual power 6. Search for truth 7. Realized that Buddhism is self-achieved religion 8. Family consensus 9. God guides me to believe
10. Mission school experience 11. Impressed by good behavior of believers 12. Other)

83. Have you ever experienced any changes in your life after admitting current religious beliefs? (1. Mind control and watch myself objectively 2. Acquired ways of avoiding and solving problems of life 3. Understand others much better 4. Life becomes happier, joyous, enthusiastic, and gratuitous 5. Became healthier and confident 6. No significant change at all 7. Thank God for everything that has happened to me 8. Other)

84. How does your religion help you with your post-immigration life?
(1.To get wisdom to solve various problems and conflicts 2. To help me maintain calm, joy, and peace 3. To be able to lead a freer, better, and positive life 4. To guide my life
5. Lean on God -- gratitude and peace of mind 6. No significant help)

85. Do you think you are saved by your religion? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

86. If you feel that you are saved, what is the state of salvation in your own words?

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(1. Ability to control myself 2. Buddha or God selects and helps me all the time
3. Realizing who I am 4. Feel like I'm born again with total freedom and enlightenment
5. To become one with all other beings 6. Other)

87. What kind of religious commandments or imperatives do you have in your mind all the time? (1. Giving or offering without any expectation - forgiveness 2. Look at the world as it is -- maintain natural condition and balance 3. Know who you are 4. Cause and effect -- karma 5. Discipline your mind 6. Give your mind (yourself) to Buddha or God 7. Obey and observe God's words including ten commandments -- be a model believer
8. Evangelize or spread Gospel 9. Pay gratitude to everyone and to my good fortune
10. Salvation and heavenly (forever) life 11. Other)

88. What are the contents of sermons that are emphasized repeatedly by your religious leaders? (1. Evangelization or proselytization 2. Try to release adhesion or tenacity of life -- mind control 3. Know yourself -- read your mind 4. Man of one's words 5. Offering, caring, and loving others well 6. Pray, meditate, and study 7. Repentance 8. Obedience 9. Conviction of salvation 10. Christ only 11. Other)

89. Do you apply your religious instructions to your daily life? (1. Yes 2. No)

90. If you apply your religious instructions to your daily life, could you describe what they are? (1. Mind control -- control anger 2. Try to be altruistic -- caring and sharing people in need 3. Try my best for better life 4. Watch out my behavior and thoughts before action 5. Having a feeling of gratitude all the time 6. Become a role model of other people 7. Other)

91. Do you think world is morally corrupt? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

92. Do you believe that Buddha is a supernatural being? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

93. Do you believe that Jesus is a supernatural being? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

94. To whom do you pray?
(1. Buddha or God 2. Jesus 3. Self 4. Other (Boddhisattva) 5. DK)

95. What image do you believe God maintains?
(1. Father image 2. Human being with unidentified gender 3. Being that does not have any physical appearance 4. Other)

96. If you have any particular reason to practice religion, can you describe it in your own words? (1. For peace of mind 2. Perfection of life -- development of self 3. For well-being of my family and people of the world 4. Preparation for unknown future -- for

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permanent living 5. Worshiping God is believers' obligation since He saved me 6. To live a right livelihood)

97. Could you describe what motivated you to immigrate to the U.S.?
(1. To have better life chances in better society -- American dream 2. To give children better educational opportunity 3. Family immigration -- family reunion 4. To acquire an advanced knowledge and fine technology (study) 5. To enjoy more freedom, equality, and broad worldview 6. Long for foreign (exotic) or new life 7. Other)

98. Did your religion affect your decision to immigrate? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

99. Are you satisfied with your life in the U.S.?
(1. Very satisfied 2. Generally satisfied 3. So & so 4. Not satisfied at all)

100. How much are you satisfied with your current occupation in the U.S.?
(1. Very satisfied 2. Generally satisfied 3. So & so 4. Not satisfied at all)

101. If you have piece of advice for second-generation Koreans, what would it be?
(1. Maintain confidence with personal effort and enthusiasm 2. Hold on Korean identity and pride 3. Try to avoid materialism prevalent in capitalist society 4. Hold onto religious identity and be a true man of religion 5. Work hard and be a specialist 6. Other)

102. What do you feel about living in a racially mixed society like New York?
(1. More comfortable 2. More uncomfortable 3. Nothing particular 4. More interesting 5. More afraid 6. Other)

103. What is your view of other racial groups?
(1. All racial groups show no particular differences
2. Each racial group has unique characteristics and capability 3. DK 4. Other)

104. What was your first job after immigration? ( )

105. How did you get your first job in the U.S.?
(1. Job was already determined before immigration -- occupational immigration 2. Friends or relatives 3. Religious leaders or church/temple members 4. Help-wanted advertisement on ethnic newspapers 5. Run own business upon arrival 6. Other)

106. If you run your own business, what was the principal resource that helps open the business? (1. Saving 2. Immigration preparation money 3. Loan 4. Inheritance 5. Gye (Rotating credit) 6. Other)

107. Why did you decide to run your own business?
(1. Pre-immigration experience and familiarity 2. Chance to earn more money 3. Hard to

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get a good job equivalent to my educational level due to language barrier 4. Want to be my own boss 5. Only choice -- for survival 6. Thought it was convenient and reasonable livelihood -- free time 7. Other)

108. Do you work harder and longer after immigration than you used to in your homeland? (1. Yes 2. No 3. More or less the same)

109. How many hours did you work daily and weekly before immigration?
[( ) hours per day; ( ) hours per week]

110. How many hours do you work daily and weekly now in the U.S.?
[( ) hours per day; ( ) hours per week]

111. Do you think a person's worldly success is a sign of Buddha's or God's blessing? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

112. Between Buddha's or God's blessing and personal effort, which do you think is more important for worldly success?
(1. Buddha's or God's blessing 2. Personal effort 3. Equally important)

113. Could you describe in your own words how your religion helps you, if at all, achieve your economic well-being after immigration?
(1. Religious practice is one of important parts of my life 2. Try to avoid anger, desire, and covetousness in everyday life 3. Allows me to have joyous life and gives me new energy 4. Makes me avoid waste (time & material) and care (or help) other 5. Save money for better future and higher goals of life 6. Makes me work harder and live a sincere life for God's grace 7. Other)

114. What do you think an ideal conjugal relationship is?
(1. Husband should be household head and wife has to follow or assist him 2. Husband and wife should maintain an equal relationship all the time 3. DK)

115. Has your dietary habit (for example, eating Korean food) changed since immigration?
(1. Yes 2. No)

116. Do you have non-Korean American friends? (1. Yes 2. No)

117. Are you a member of any voluntary organization other than your ethnic church or temple? (1. Yes 2. No)

118. If you are a member of voluntary organization, how many memberships do you have? ( )

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119. Do you engage in any kind of social service activities
[1. Yes (Hrs. per week) 2. No]

120. If you are parent of school children, how often do you participate in PTA? If you are not a parent of school children, how often do you participate in community meetings?
(1. Always 2. Often 3. Rarely 4. Never)

121. How often do you participate in elections? (1. Always 2. Often 3. Rarely 4. Never)

122. What kind of funeral rite do you prefer?
(1. Burial 2. Cremation 3. DK or no preference)

123. What is your preferred way of child guidance?
(1. Give them strict guidelines 2. Let them do whatever they want to do 3. Give them moderate guidelines)

124. Which ethnic or racial identity do you want your children to have?
(1. Korean-American 2. American-Korean 3. Korean 4. American)

125. Do (or did) you plan to educate your children as highly as possible?
(1. Yes 2. No)

126. Do you teach your children traditional Korean values?
(1. Yes 2. No 3. Wish to do, but realize it is difficult)

127. Do you give your children religious education at home?
(1. Yes 2. No 3. Let them choose their own religion)

128. If your children married someone who practiced another religion, what would you do? (1. Oppose 2. Not oppose 3. Let children decide, regardless of any situation)

129. What is the most important concern about your children's occupation selection?
(1. Personal aptitude and interest 2. Amount of salary 3. Job security 4. Job prestige and self-esteem 5. Other)

130. If you run your own business, do you wish your children to take it over?
(1. Yes 2. No 3. Only if children want to)

131. How much are you concerned with Korean society and politics?
(1. Very much 2. A little bit 3. Little 4. Not at all)

132. What is your favorite political party in Korea?
[1. Hannara 2. Kookminhoei (Minjudang) 3. Jaminryun 4. None]

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133. What is your favorite political party in the U.S.?
(1. Democratic 2. Republican 3. Independent 4. None)

134. Do you think Korea must be reunited? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

135. What do you think when you see homeless people?
(1. Sympathy and need help 2. Personal problem -- they deserve it 3. Expand social security 4. DK and other)

136. What is your favorite pastime activity?
(1. Reading 2. Watching TV or movies 3. Meeting friends 4. Exercise and sports 5. Traveling 6. Writing 7. Help people in need 8. Home chores 9. Other)

137. Do you think human beings are the prime beings in the universe or just a part of nature? (1. Human beings are prime beings 2. Human beings are just a part of a nature)

138. Have you ever proselytized people?
[1. Yes, more than 10 people 2. Yes, just few (1 or 2) people 3. Never]

139. What was religion of the people you proselytized?
(1. Without religion 2. Buddhism 3. Catholicism 4. Protestantism 5. Other)

140. When you have to decide important matters in your life, do you refer to your religious instructions? (1. Yes 2. No 3. DK)

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Appendix II. Questionnaire for Priest and Pastor

Dear Head Pastor or Priest:

My name is O-kyun Kwon. I am a graduate student in sociology at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York. I am preparing for my dissertation research, which is concerned with how Korean immigrants' religious beliefs influence their new lives in the United States.

Two religious immigrant groups, Buddhists and Christians, have been selected to compare how believers in each group think of their own religious doctrine and how they are influenced by their beliefs, as they adjust to their new lives in the United States. Unlike previous studies on Korean immigrants' religious activities, which have focused on the role of Korean ethnic churches, my research will focus on how believers internalize their beliefs through their religious activities and how they use them in their immigrant lives in this new society. My study also examines why so many Korean immigrants inevitably commit to religious activities after they begin their new life in the United States. This research is expected to help others understand how Korean immigrants' religious beliefs are related to their socio-economic lives after immigration. This study will be mainly conducted through interviews, participant observation, and mail survey.

As a part of my research, I would like to ask the religious leaders some questions concerning organizational aspects of the congregation you are currently take care of. I will appreciate your time and help if you fill the attached questionnaire and mail it back to me. I also include a return envelope for your convenience.

I hope my research can aid in furthering the understanding of Korean immigrants and their community. I hope your congregation grows both spiritually and numerically. I will also appreciate if you enclose one of your recent weekly bulletins.

Thank you very much for your help!

Sincerely,

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Dissertation supervisor: Professor Philip Kasinitz

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Questionnaire

1. When was church/temple organized? (Year of foundation:)

2. Who organized your church/temple?
(1. Lay leaders 2. Religious leaders 3. Lay and religious leaders together 4. Together, but religious leaders played more important role 5. Together, but lay members played more important role 6. Denominational organization 7. Other)

3. Does your congregation own its own building and land property? (1. Yes 2. No)

4. If your congregation owns the church/temple building, has it completed its mortgage payments? (1. Currently paying mortgage 2. Completed mortgage 3. Other)

5. Where is your church/temple located? [1. Inner-city residential area 2. Inner-city commercial area 3. Suburban non-residential area 4. Suburban residential area 5. Mountainous area 6. Other--industrial (manufacturing) area]

6. Which denomination does your temple belong to?
(1. Chogye 2. Taego 3. Won Buddhism 4. Chuntae 5. Jingak 6. Kwaneum 7. Sunkyo 8. Diamond Sutra 9. Other)

7. Which denomination does your church belong to?
[1. Presbyterian 2. Methodist 3. Baptist 4. Episcopalian 5. Full Gospel 6. Holiness 7. Non-denominational or independent 8. Other (C&MA)]

8. Does your congregation belong to any sub-denominational organization or sub-group (for example, Hapdong, Tonghap)? (1. Yes 2. No)

9. Do your church/temple's financial and personnel matters depend on the higher organization of the denomination that your church/temple belongs to?
(1. Entirely independent on both financial and personnel matters 2. Dependent on financial matters only 3. Dependent on personnel matters only 4. Dependent in part on both financial and personnel matters 5. Affiliated with denominational organization, but entirely independent on these matters 6. Other_____)

10. How many people are currently registered to your church/temple? (persons)

11. Among registered members, how many are baptized? (%)

12. Among registered members, how many were Buddhists/Christians before immigration? (
%)

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13. Among registered members, how many are non-Korean? (persons)

14. Among registered members, how many attend weekly regular services? ( )

15. Among registered members, how many do you estimate are devout believers? (%)

16. Among registered members, how many are second generation? (%)

17. What is the gender ratio of regular service attendees? (male: % female: %)

18. Is an English chapel available in your church/temple? (1. Yes 2. No)

19. In which country was the head pastor or priest ordained? (1. Korea 2. U.S. 3. Other)

20. What is the major source of church/temple revenue?
[1. Members' offerings only 2. Membership fees only 3. Offerings and membership fees only 4. Offerings, membership fees, and denomination support only 5. Offerings, membership fees, denomination support, and other (e.g., rent) 6. Offerings and other (rent or commercial engagement) 7. Offerings, membership fees, and other 8. Offerings and denomination support only]

21. How many people are currently serving your congregation? Please write the number.
[1. Full-time pastors/priests (persons) 2. Paid assistant pastors/priests (persons)
3. Male assistant evangelist (persons) 4. Female assistant evangelist (persons)
5. Paid deacon (persons) 6. Paid choir conductor (persons)
7. Paid accompanist (persons) 8. Paid soloist (persons) 9. Other employees (persons)

22. What is the gender of the head pastor/priest of your congregation? (1. Male 2. Female)

23. Can female pastors/priests reach the highest position in your congregation?
(1. Yes 2. No)

24. How many lay leadership positions does your congregation confer? Please check if conferred. (1. Ordained elder 2. Acting or associate elder 3. Ordained deacon 4. Acting deacon 5. Kwonsa 6. Kwonchal 7. Other_____)

25. How many lay leadership positions does your congregation confer? Please check if conferred. (1. Bupsa 2. Kursa 3. Bosal 4. Other_____)

26. How many lay associations does your congregation have? Check all.
[1. Men's evangelical association (number:) 2. Women's evangelical association (number:) 3. Youth group (number:) 4. Elderly evangelical association (number:)]

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27. What is the head pastor's/priest's most important emphasis in pastoral activities? (1. Salvation 2. Resolution of personal problems 3. Proselytization 4. Raise second generation in the same religious belief 5. Participation in society and community problems
6. Cooperation and koinonia 7. Other)

28. What is the head pastor's/priest's second most important emphasis in pastoral activities? (1. Salvation 2. Resolution of personal problems 3. Proselytization 4. Raise second generation in the same religious belief 5. Participation in society and community problems 6. Cooperation and koinonia 7. Other)

29. What is the head pastor's/priest's third most important emphasis in pastoral activities? (1. Salvation 2. Resolution of personal problems 3. Proselytization 4. Raise second generation in the same religious belief 5. Participation in society and community problems 6. Cooperation and koinonia 7. Other)

30. What is the general pattern of interaction among members?
(1. All members maintain close family-like relationship 2. Separated by several small intimate groups 3. Individualistic 4. Other)

31. Which is most emphasized in your sermons? Please put numbers with most important one=1, least important=7.
(_1. Repentance _2. Proselytization, evangelical mission, and expansion of church/temple _3. Sacrifice, service, and devotion _4. Success and triumph in everyday life _5. Divinity and spirituality _6. Selected and chosen _7. Other_____)

32. Does your congregation engage in any kinds of missionary activities?
(1. No 2. Support missionaries financially by remitting money 3. Dispatch missionaries and support them)

33. Which religious activities below do your congregation perform? Please check all.
(_1. Sunday services _2.Wednesday evening service _3. Friday night prayer meeting _4. Dawn prayer meeting _5. District cell meeting _6. Spiritual retreat _7. Bible/*Bulkyung* studies _8. Saturday youth meeting _9. Lay leaders' training _10. Special revival services _11. Sunday Bible/Bulkyung school for children _12. Other_____)

34. How many times are Sunday services given? (times)

35. What is your view of believer's money-making activities? Pick the most important one only. (1. Accumulate money as much as possible using proper means 2. Live within his or her own means with thrift and frugality 3. All dependant on God's/Buddha's hand 4. Other)

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36. Do you believe that believers' worldly success is a sign of God's/Buddha's blessing? (1. No 2. Yes, entirely 3. Yes, but dependent on believer's faithfulness 4. Success is dependent on both personal effort and blessing 5. Success is result of personal effort rather than blessing 6. Other)

37. How do you think Koreans' indigenous religious traditions like shamanism affect their current religion? (1. Negative -- make them difficult to accept current religion 2. Positive -- make them easier to accept current religion 3. Both negative and positive 4. No significant influence on current religion 5. DK)

38. What social activities does your church/temple provide members with? Check all applicable items.
(_1. Picnics _2. Athletic play meetings _3. Lunch fellowships after services _4. Cultural events with children _5. Bazaars _6. Tour services for elderly members _7. After school programs for children _8. Open church/temple facilities for neighbors or public _9. Social work services with social work experts _10. Language and job training programs for adult members _11. Participated in social relief works)

39. In addition to regular pastoral services, what other social services does the head pastor/priest do for members?
[_1. Counseling for family and child caring _2. Job information for members _3. Interpretation service for members with English problems _4. Pick-up service whenever members are in need _5. Counseling for individual members' mental and spiritual needs _6. Familial ceremonies (wedding and funeral service) _7. Other_____]

40. If you focus your pastoral activities on first-generation immigrants' adjustment to new life in the U.S., which themes below do you emphasize most?
(1. Look for help in God -- belief and faith in God, be a model believer
2. Encouragement, challenge, vision, hope, and soothe
3. New Canaan: chosen -- pride, elite, and triumph
4. Immigration is God's divine providence -- accept it as one of your callings
5. Be aware of self's means and capability -- right effort
6. Hold own cultural identity and build new one on it
7. Watch your mind -- mental security and tranquility
8. Achievement and success -- self-made man
9. Cause and effect -- everything depends on what you do and think
10. Get wisdom from the Eastern and Western worlds -- respect others' desire as much
11. Assimilate to the host society as soon as possible
12. Other_____)

41. How would you describe your own religious stance and the social attitude of your congregation?

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(_1. Fundamental _2. Conservative _3. Liberal _4. Reformed/revolutionary
_5. Intermediary _6. Other_____)

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