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## The Effects of Status Discrepancy on Organizational Commitment and Goal Preference: The Case of Korean Congregations in Chicago

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THE EFFECTS OF STATUS DISCREPANCY  
ON  
ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT AND GOAL PREFERENCE:  
THE CASE OF KOREAN CONGREGATIONS  
IN CHICAGO

by  
Yoon M. Lee

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment  
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## VITA

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	ii
LIFE .....	iii
LIST OF TABLES .....	vi
CONTENTS OF APPENDICES .....	viii
 Chapter	
INTRODUCTION .....	1
Part One: Design of the Study	
I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	7
Open Systems Model .....	7
Socioeconomic Status and Organizational Commitment .....	8
II. METHOD AND DATA .....	11
Variables and Measures .....	11
Theoretical Design for Testing (Assumptions and Hypotheses) .....	15
Procedure and Data .....	17
Part Two: Findings	
I. STATUS DISCREPANCY AND STRUCTURAL ASSIMIL- ATION .....	18
The Extent of Status Discrepancy .....	18
Status Discrepancy and Structural Assimil- ation .....	22
II. STATUS DISCREPANCY, ORGANIZATIONAL TIES, AND COMMITMENT .....	25
Status Discrepancy and Organizational Ties..	25
Status Discrepancy and Organizational Com- mitment .....	31
III. STATUS DISCREPANCY, ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT, AND PREFERENCE FOR ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS .....	41

The Preference for the Level of Generality of Goals .....	41
Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Prefer- ences .....	47

## Part Three: Discussions and Conclusion

IV. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION .....	55
V. CONCLUSIONS .....	60
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	67
APPENDICES .....	70

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Korean Immigrants into the U.S.A. 1964-74 .....	1
I- 1. Frequency Distribution of Educational Attainment ..	20
I -2. Frequency Distribution of Occupational Status .....	20
I -3. Annual Combined Family Income .....	20
I -4. Frequency Distribution of Status Discrepancy .....	21
I -5. Educational Attainment and Status Discrepancy ....	21
I -6. Occupational Status and Status Discrepancy .....	21
I -7. Income Status and Status Discrepancy .....	21
I -8. Time of Stay and Status Discrepancy .....	24
I -9. Educational Attainment and Structural Assimilation..	24
I-10. Status Discrepancy and Structural Assimilation, Controlling for Time of Stay in America .....	24
II- 1. Status Discrepancy and Communal Ties .....	27
II- 2. Status Discrepancy and Communal Ties, Controlling for Time of Stay in America .....	27
II- 3. Status Discrepancy and Number of Closest Friends ..	27
II- 4. Status Discrepancy and Associational Ties .....	29
II- 5. Status Discrepancy and Communal Ties, Controlling for Individual Organizations .....	29
II- 6. Status Discrepancy and Sunday Worship Attendance ..	33
II- 7. Status Discrepancy and Participation Index .....	33
II- 8. Status Discrepancy and Organizational Commitment with Control Variables .....	35-36
II- 9. Status Discrepancy and Organizational Participaition Controlling for Individaul Organizations .....	39
III- 1. Status Discrepancy and Level of Goal Preference ...	42

III -2.	Structural Assimilation and Level of Goal Preference .....	42
III -3.	Communal Ties and Level of Goal Preference ....	42
III -4.	Associational Ties and Level of Goal Preference .....	45
III -5.	Participiaption in Chruch Officership and Level of Goal Preference .....	45
III -6.	Status Discrepancy and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference .....	48
III -7.	Structural Assimilation and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference .....	48
III -8.	Associational Ties and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference .....	48
III -9.	Structural Assimilation and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference .....	51
III-10.	Associational Ties and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference Controlling for Status Discrepancy .....	51
III-11.	Orthodox Beliefs and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference Controlling for Status Discrepancy .....	53
III-12.	Sunday Worship Attendance and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference Controlling for Status Discrepancy .....	53



CONTENTS OF APPENDICES

Appendix I: Sample Organizations and Size of Repondents .. 70

Appendix II: Major Indexes ..... 71

- Assimilation Index
- Associational Ties Index
- Participation Index
- Private Devotion Index
- Orthodoxy Index

Appendix III: The Questionnaire ..... 72

## INTRODUCTION

The decline of membership participation in Christian churches and traditional beliefs is part of the widely recognized secularization process. But an unusual phenomenon is observed among Korean immigrants' churches in America in these days. The number of churches and membership is rapidly growing without any sign of reinforced commitment to traditional Christian beliefs or concepts of mission.

The purpose of this study is to explore the variables involved in this phenomenon by using the open systems model of social organization. This study investigates objective status discrepancy as the key input from the church organizational environment, its impact on religious commitment, and its influence on the organizational goals.

### 1. The Problem

Korean Immigrants: After the first wave of 7,226 Korean immigrants who reached the Hawaiian shore during the period of 1903-1905, the growth of legal, Korean immigration to the U.S. was insignificant until 1958, when it grew more than twofold from 648 in 1957 to 1,604 in 1958. The turning point occurred with the new immigration law in 1965 (PL 89-236), which allowed

Table I. Korean Immigrants into the U.S.A. 1964-74

1964	2,362	1968	3,811	1971	14,297
1965	2,165	1969	6,045	1972	18,876
1966	2,492	1970	9,314	1973	22,930
1967	2,956			1974	28,028

(Source: Immigration & Naturalization Service, Annual Report)

20,000 Korean immigrants annually. Since then, the numbers of this ethnic group have grown rapidly as seen in Table 1.

No exact count for this ethnic group is available, but according to the Korean government's statistics, 231,951 Koreans came to America during the 16 years from 1962 to 1977(Korea-Times, Chicago edition, Jan.30,1978). Therefore, total estimate of 300,000 Koreans in the U.S. seem quite conservative if all the American-born Koreans(since 1903) are considered as well. About 45,000 Koreans, including naturalized citizens and U.S.-born, second generation Koreans, are reported to live in the Chicago area alone and the number in this area is growing about 5,000 a year(official estimate by the Korean Consulate General and the Korean Association of Chicago). This growth rate is based on the assumption that about 20 to 25 per cent of Korean immigrants to the U.S. are coming to Chicago, where blue collar jobs are abundant.

Korean Churches: One of the peculiar phenomena pertaining to this ethnic group is the numerical profusion of churches. As with most Korean communities in large metropolises, the Chicago Korean community has 62 congregations for its small population. This phenomenon cannot be attributed solely to their religiosity.

Most of the Korean churches are better viewed as psychological support systems for the uprooted immigrants or as agencies of information or referral services or as gathering places than as purely religious organizations.

The availability of a large resource of pastors(about 80) in this community precedes any factors involved in the prolifer-

ation of churches. The effect of having a large number of pastors in the community becomes coupled with the constituents' needs for social status. Since the majority of Korean immigrants have experience downward social mobility through immigration with no immediate resolution of their degraded social status in the mainstream society, they tend to seek a new subsystem of roles in their own ethnic community. As the majority of them are highly achievement-oriented and educated, they are more prone to feel deprived by low occupational status than are less educated minority groups.

Any type of voluntary organizations in this ethnic community seems to be functional in relieving a sense of status discrepancy. There are more than 70 non-religious voluntary organizations in this ethnic community, ranging from alumni associations to associations of fellow provincials. The expansion of non-religious organizations can be limited when there is no more cause or urgency for expansion of group boundaries. But churches are not checked by such limitations but rather, are encouraged by the Biblical concepts for expansion for its own sake and by other organizational resources. A new Korean congregation can emerge when there exist a minimum number of core members and a pastor, or when there is a conflict within an existing congregation, for hegemony or control or over doctrinal controversy.

Therefore, the number of new churches grows with the demands for officers' titles of those organizations. Such demands for pseudo-status should be far more acute for immigrants who have had traditional values of ascriptive status - which means a lot

more for them than for those from a achievement-oriented society.

Besides these characteristics of the constituents, part of the reasons why Korean churches prosper more than other secular counterparts comes from the nature of church life itself. The repeated weekly attendance, the continuous inflow of financial resources, and the institutionalized sanctions are real advantages for the churches. On the other hand, at least two factors can restrict the profusion of churches. One is control by denominational leader, such as that of the Catholic Church which would allow only one Korean congregation in Chicago, or of the United Methodists, which have a quota agreed to by the Annual Conference and the pastors of Korean congregations. Another element of control is the leadership of the local churches, who sometime manipulate in order to maintain harmony any stability among their constituents. A number of large churches have survived crises of factionalism. In such churches three types of constituents may face one another, (a) the old timers, who came before the 1960s' mass immigration as students and became professionals or successful business men; (b) the professional immigrants who came after the new immigration law in the late 1960s', and (c) the latest immigrants who are less prepared for life in America because the majority of them are the relatives of the preceding two groups and came to U.S. without their own merits. Each grouping tends to express different needs in their church affiliations.

In this context, churches may yield their formal goals to such secondary goals as providing recognition and comforting to

individuals, or struggling for the survival of the church itself as an independent congregation.

This phenomenon poses at least two questions: first, about the motivational sources of the commitment to the religious organization, and second, about the general product of this kind of organizational behavior. Thus, the present research aims to determine the relationship between objective status discrepancy and commitment to churches among Korean congregations and the relationship among these two variables and organizational goal preferences.

Previous Studies of Chicago Korean Community: Han(1973) found the Korean immigrant who experienced downward social mobility through immigration to America tended to have lower self esteem and higher religious participation. He dealt only with the individual's behavioral level.

Huhr et.al.(1976) studied a Chicago Korean sample to detect the relationship between status discrepancy and assimilation into the mainstream society. They found that the Korean immigrants have fairly progressed in cultural assimilation but not structural assimilation and that they did not respond to the subjective measure of status discrepancy despite the evidence that they are experiencing status discrepancy. Bok L. Kim(1975) traced the same phenomenon, finding underemployment of Koreans but also a lack of perception of status discrepancy or discrimination.

Young Ja Kim(1976) found that the Koreans in the Chicago area had attained disproportionately high educations in their

homeland but had generally low occupational status in the U.S. With this obvious evidence of status discrepancy, she also attempted to measure subjectively perceived status discrepancy only to fail. Whatever the real reason, "the respondents appeared to be quite hesitant" in responding to the status-related question(p.41).

All three researchers found that Koreans do not respond properly to the questions related to their status discrepancy. This reluctance is grounded as those authors assumed, in the special status-consciousness("Che-Myoun", which means "saving one's face") which has long been cherished in the Confucian culture.

Han(1973), Bok L. Kim(1975), and Huhr et.al.(1976) found that Korean immigrants' church attendance had become more frequent after their immigration. But none of the studies treated the frequency of church attendance in an organizational context.

In the present study, status discrepancy is taken as the key independent variable using an objective measure of discrepancy.

Commitment to churches is taken as an intermediate variable which is first affected by status discrepancy and organizational structure, which in turn affects organizational goals.

## Part One: Design of The Study

### I. THORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 1. Open System Model

According to Katz and Kahn(1966), organizations are open systems consisting of patterned behaviors of individuals. The functioning of the organization as an open system heavily depends on the influx of resources(energy inputs) from its environment.

An open system exports outputs to its environment, which products then furnish the sources of input energy for the repetition of the interchanges between the organization and its environment. In the case of voluntary organizations, the organization provides expressive satisfaction to members as well as formal goal performances, so that the energy renewal directly comes from the organizational activities.

Beckford(1973) apraised the utility of the open systems model for the study of religious organizational processes in response to environmental pressures, he emphasized a completely different causal priority. Noting the misplaced emphasis on the causal priority of theological beliefs in studies of religious organization. He viewed the open systems approach as not totally dependent on either ideal objectives or operative goals.



He cited as evidence that a competitive environment may induce religious organizations to adopt a more radical or more aggressive attitude toward the external world, especially in the case of minority groups whose existence is threatened or ineffective in functioning.

Etzioni(1960) has argued the inadequacy of the organizational "goal" model, emphasizing an "optimum" balance in distribution of resources for effective organizational functions other than formal goals. So the balancing of environmental resources, means, and activities requires flexibility of organizational goals.

Thompson and McEwen(1961) also devaluated the utility of the model in which organizational goals are set as the standard for organizational performance. They also suggested the necessity of reappraisal and readjustment of goals in order to secure the supports from the environment.

## 2. Socioeconomic Status and Organizational Commitment

In studies of voluntary organizations, social class and participation are dealt with more than any other variables. Smith and Freedman(1972) argue that psychological confidence or lack of it is the key factor in determining one's participation in both formal and informal social activities. People advantaged by more education, higher occupational status, and more income are more likely to participate and hold offices in voluntary organizations than are the underprivileged.

D.Phillips(1972) related participation rate to the concept of interaction-opportunity; ie., one will participate more

often if his participation is highly rewarded with low cost; but if the cost is too high for the rewards, he may not participate. Opportunities for rewards and costs are determined by one's location in the social structure, these opportunities are limited. Feelings which are positively related to participation in an organization are the result of rewarding experiences in the past.

M.Hausknecht(1964) argues that one's pattern of perception of others and one's capacity to tolerate secondary relations are class-related. Blue collar workers are more primary or personal-relationship oriented and less tolerant toward secondary or impersonal relationship. Therefore, they avoid associations with instrumental purposes and tend to seek expressive organizations, structured with more personal relationships without connection to the larger society.

The relationship between social class and types of religious participation was confirmed by Richard Niebuhr(1929) and his followers. Demerath III(1965) especially, explored the relations between status discrepancy and religious participation. His findings suggest that vertical status makes a difference in religious participation, but that church attendance appears to have a greater appeal to the working class when they are highly discrepant in overall vertical status.

The concept of status discrepancy was taken as an empirical issue and advanced with evidence by Lenski(1954). He preferred the term "status crystallization" and published further evidence that highly discrepant individuals are less frequently committed

to secular organizations. Among those who are members, there is an inordinately low rate of interpersonal relations and strong tendency to token affiliation(1956).

Goffman's results on "status discrepancy", in relations with the anticipation of power changes, generally supports Lenski's. Goffman(1957) found that persons with inconsistent status(low crystallization or high discrepancy) have relatively frequent and intense discomfort in interpersonal relations, perceive those discomfort as stemming from the environment, and anticipate that changes in the environment will reduce their discomfort.

Demerath(1965) argues that Lenski's statement that the highly discrepant are less involved in voluntary organizations requires some specification. According to Demerath, the highly discrepant may be less involved in organizations which subscribe to the secular values that determine the conventional status system. On the other hand, the highly discrepant may be more involved in organizations which harbor non-economic values unrelated to status judgements. They are expected to participate in the family, educational groups, and church, while being less involved in the trade unions, country clubs, and fraternal organizations.

## II. METHOD AND DATA

### 1. Variables and Measures

Status Discrepancy: In Demerath's methodology(1965), each status variable(education, occupation, income) was coded into five ranks. With an assumption that these status variables had normal distributions, Demerath calculated individuals' discrepancy scores in the following manner:

Status Mean=(educational status+ occupational status+ income status) divided by 3

Discrepancy= Sum of the absolute values of

Status Mean - educational status  
Status Mean - occupational "  
Status Mean - income status

The status discrepancy scores calculated by this method are supposed to range from 0.0 to 5.3. But due to the highly skewed distribution of income status in the sample for the present research, the great discrepancies between educational attainment and occupational status are compensated for by income status and the designed effect of status discrepancy cannot be properly observed. Therefore, in the actual analysis of the data, the original design for status discrepancy was modified by dropping income from the calculation of status discrepancy. So the status discrepancy score stands for the subtraction of occupational status from educational status, with the scores expected to range from -4 to +4.

Structural Assimilation: The Assimilation variable seems to have a relationship to the religious life of a minority group at two levels, that of acculturation and of structural assimilation. Acculturation refers to changes of cultural patterns toward those of the host society, structural assimilation refers to establishing a large-scale primary group relationship with the dominant group, and entering into the societal network and institutions of the dominant group(Gordon,1964).

Assuming that Korean immigrants are fairly advanced in acculturation, this study focuses only on structural assimilation. Structural assimilation is measured by the number of white-American friends among the respondent's (five) closest friends, frequency of family invitations across ethnic lines, participation in leisure groups of the mainstream society, and membership in interest groups(political or occupational) in the mainstream society.

Types of Organizational Ties: Applying Tönnies' concept of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, Lenski saw that religious organizations have both communal and associational aspects in their structures with differences of degree. He measured associational involvement by the individual's frequency of attendance at corporate worship services(1961), and communal involvement by degree of primary relations in an individual's affiliation with his church.

In the present study, communal ties are measured by the primary relations involved in one's initial and continuing

attendance at a certain church. But associational ties are measured by the degree of rational interest involved in church attendance and not merely by frequency of attendance.

Religious Organizational Commitment: Stark and Glock (1968) used four primary indexes to examine religious commitment. The present research was designed to follow approximately the same measures they used, but in the actual analysis the number of indexes has been reduced. The first is the Orthodoxy index, which measures the strength of faith in traditional sets of Christian beliefs expressed in 6 items. The Religious Participation index was modified from Stark and Glock's indexes which measures participation in Sunday worship services, church officership, special events or activities, and financial offerings. Finally, the Private Practice index is a measure of religious devotion (Bible reading and private prayers).

Organizational Goals: The endeavor to define organizational goals in the open system model can benefit from referring to Parsons' two axes or the external vs. internal and instrumental vs. consummatory references. Metz's (1967) distinction between survival goals and formal goals (community of the believers, nurture, and recruitment) of the church, or the dichotomous comfort vs. challenge goals of Glock and Ringer (1967) seem to become more clearly conceptualized in reference to axes of differentiation.

Parsons' concept of the generality of the governing norms for specific action (1959) can be related to organizational

goals. We can advance from here to the level of generality of organizational goals with reference to Blau and Scott's classification of the organizational goals according to the "prime beneficiaries" of the goals.

Therefore, the measure of organizational goals in this study includes the two dimensions; one on the generality of beneficiaries axis, the other on the instrumental vs. consummatory axis, as below.

Types of Organizational Goals

level of generality	instrumental - (value=2)	consummatory (value=1)
benefitting		
individuals (value=1)	training goals	comforting goals
organization ( 2 )	recruitment goals	fellowship goals
the public ( 3 )	service goals	expressive, prophetic goals

## 2. Theoretical Design for Testing

From the review of theoretical frameworks and the previous studies of the Chicago Koreans, we can proceed to the following assumptions and hypotheses.

### A. Assumptions

The Korean churches in America generally have a more primary group context than the secular voluntary organizations in this ethnic community or outside it.

As open systems, the Korean immigrant churches have formal goals officially stated and also informal goals. Their formal goals are more responsive to the environmental pressure than in the case of the established churches of the mainstream society.

In the case of Korean churches in America, the key inputs that the constituents bring in their commitment to churches are money, set of beliefs, rational interests, and perceptions of status discrepancy.

### B. Major hypotheses

Constituents with higher status discrepancy have lower structural assimilation in to the mainstream society than the constituents with lower status discrepancy.

Constituents with higher status discrepancy are more likely to be committed to churches with "communal ties", while those with lower status discrepancy are more likely to be committed to churches with "associational ties". And constituents with higher status discrepancy have a stronger commitment to their churches than those with lower status discrepancy.



Constituents with high status discrepancy are more likely to prefer organizational goals with a lower level of generality in terms of prime beneficiary of the goals. That is, the highly discrepant members are more likely to prefer the goals which benefit individuals or their church itself, while the less discrepant members are more likely to prefer the goals which benefit the general public or larger society. Also constituents with high status discrepancy are more likely to prefer organizational goals which are consummatory, while those with low status discrepancy are more likely to prefer instrumental goals. In other words, the highly discrepant members are more likely to prefer comforting, fellowship, and expressive goals, while the less discrepant members are more likely to prefer recruiting, training, and service goals.

### 3. Procedure and Data

The main survey was conducted during August and early September, 1977 by means of mailed questionnaires.

Considering denominational characteristics and the degree of establishment of churches, 6 congregations were selected. Those are the two largest denominational churches (Korean United Methodist and Cicero Presbyterian), two new denominational churches (Mayfair Methodist and Niles Presbyterian), one none denominational church (Midwest), and the only Korean Catholic Church.

From those congregations 368 households were sampled in certain proportion (see Appendix I). Excluding the 41 undelivered cases, 45% of the 327 delivered questionnaires were returned. After eliminating unusable cases (4 cases), 143 cases entered analysis.

As usual in Korean samples, male respondents comprise more than two thirds (72%, 98 cases) while females comprise 28% (39 cases) in this survey. More than half of the respondents are in their thirties, with the mean age being 32.2 years (standard deviation 11.2). The average respondent has lived in the U.S. for 6.3 years (standard deviation 4.3). Those who have been in the U.S. for less than three years comprised 28 per cent, while 51 per cent have lived less than five years, 86 per cent upto ten years, and 96 per cent less than 15 years.

## Part Two: Findings

### I. STATUS DISCREPANCY AND STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION

#### 1. The Extent of Status Discrepancy

The data reveal that the Korean church members in the Chicago area are highly educated. Thirty eight per cent of the 143 respondents obtained higher than college education and the Korean college graduates alone comprise 50%. This finding is quite compatible with earlier data of Kim(1975) and Huhr et.al. (1976).

However, their occupational distribution shows a quite reverse phenomenon. Those who have occupational status below clerical level comprise 60%(including 14% housewives and unemployed). Only 8% hold highly skilled technical jobs and 32% professional. The majority of the latter are medical doctors who are the only Korean immigrants holding jobs appropriate to their educational achievement.

Incomewise, the Korean immigrants are well ahead of the average American. More than two-thirds(69%) have annual combined family income above \$ 18,000, and 44% above \$ 25,000. The exceptionally high incomes despite the low occupational status seems to be the outcome of hard work. Fortynine per cent of the male respondents and 13% of the female work more than 40 hours a week.

Therefore, none of the three status variables shows a

normal distribution, making it difficult to assess the extent and effect of status discrepancy.

Status discrepancy scores were computed after eliminating missing cases on the education and occupation variables, reducing the valid cases to 120. Status discrepancy scores range from -4 to +1 and are distributed as in Table I-4. Those who hold occupations lower than their educational attainment (-4 to -1) comprise 52%(63 cases), and those holding occupations equivalent to or higher than their educational attainment(0 to +1) comprise 47%(57 cases).

A minus-one point of discrepancy is about equivalent to a physician holding a medical technician's job, and minus-four points of discrepancy is equivalent to a person with a master's degree from Korea holding a factory workers' job.

There is no one whose job status exceeds educational attainment by more than one rank. Considering that 87% of the respondents have college degrees, and that 52% hold occupations lower than their educational attainments, there seem to be much potential for dissatisfaction over occupational status.

The crosstabulation of status discrepancy with three status variables reveals that the status discrepancy index used in this study is primarily a function of occupational status(Tau b=-.7890; Gamma= -.9754), while the effect of educational attainment is less significant(Tau b= not significant; Gamma= -.1338). Income status has also a fairly strong negative relationship with status discrepancy(Tau b= -.3533; Gamma= -.5697). As it is shown in Table I-5, the highly educated respondents

Table I-1. Frequency Distribution of Educational Attainment

Highest Educations Attained	Per cent (N)	Per cent after being adjusted into 5 categories
less than junior high school	1.4% ( 2)	code 1 1.4%
senior high scholl	2.9 ( 4)	2 2.9
some college or junior college	6.6 ( 9)	3 6.6
college( 4years) in Korea	50.4 (69)	4 50.4
graduate works in Korea	8.8 (12)	5 38.7
American college *	8.0 (11)	
American graduate school	21.9 (30)	
Total	100 %(138)	missing cases=5

\* Graduating from a college in America than in Korea is regarded as higher educational attainment, which is also related with better employment opportunity.

Table I-2. Frequency Distribution of Occupational Status

Occupational Status	Per cent (N)
housewives and unemployed	code 1 14.1% (20)
service workers, unskilled factory workers and kindred	2 13.4 (19)
foreman, skilled factory workers and kindred	3 7.7 (11)
clericals, and sales workers, small business operators, managerial technicians and kindred	4 25.4 (36)
professionals	5 7.7 (11)
	" 31.7 (45)
Total	100.0% (142) missing case= 1

Table I-3. Annual Combined Family Income Distribution

Income Level	Per cent (N)
under \$ 7,999	code 1 6.6% ( 9)
\$ 8,000 - \$ 14,999	2 9.4 (13)
\$ 15,000 - \$ 17,999	3 15.9 (22)
\$ 18,000 - \$ 24,999	4 25.4 (35)
\$ 25,000 and over	5 43.9 (59)
Total	100.0% (138) missing cases=5

Table I-4. Frequency Distribution of Status Discrepancy

	High Discrepancy			Low Discrepancy		
	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1
%	1.7%	12.5%	16.7%	21.7%	28.3%	19.2%
N	2	15	20	26	34	23

Table I-5. Educational Attainment and Status Discrepancy

Status Discrepancy	Educational Attainment					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Low	1.8%	0.0%	5.3%	47.4%	45.6%	100%(57)
High	0.0	4.8	6.3	49.2	39.7	100 (63)

Tau b= N.S.; Gamma= -.1338

Table I-6. Occupational Status and Status Discrepancy

Status Discrepancy	Occupational Status					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Low	0.0%	1.8%	3.5%	12.3%	82.5%	100%(57)
High	28.6	12.7	54.0	4.8	0.0	100 (63)

Tau b= -.7890; Gamma= -.9754

Table I-7. Income Status and Status Discrepancy

Status Discrepancy	Income Status					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Low	0.0%	3.5%	12.3%	22.8%	61.4%	100%(57)
High	11.5	13.1	19.7	27.9	27.9	100 (63)

Tau b= -.3533; Gamma= -.5697

are fairly equally distributed in both status discrepancy groupings but in occupations, those with low discrepancy are more likely to be in the highest occupational ranks, while the highly discrepant are at lower occupations. That means educational attainment makes not much difference in status discrepancy while occupational status does. Incomewise, about two thirds of the less discrepant are in the highest income category. Those who have the highest incomes but least status discrepancy seem to be medical doctors, who are the unique high socioeconomic status grouping among Korean immigrants (Tables I-6, I-7).

As time passes, status discrepancy is reduced, as shown in Table I-8. Among those with high status discrepancy, 56% are recent immigrants, while only 8% have been in America longer than 10 years. Even among those with low discrepancy, the difference of status discrepancy by time of stay in America is obvious ( $\tau b = -.2362$ ;  $\gamma = -.4101$ ).

## 2. Status Discrepancy and Structural Assimilation

The four variables (number of American friends, frequency of cross-ethnic invitations, participation in mainstream leisure groups, and participation in the mainstream political/interest groups) which measure structural assimilation show an unexpectedly low relationship with status discrepancy.

Those with high status discrepancy tend to have more American friends than those with low discrepancy ( $\tau b = .1459$ ;  $\gamma = .2871$ ). Friendship across ethnic line seem to be primarily a function of educational attainment ( $\tau b = .2340$ ;  $\gamma$

=.4246). Of those with the highest educational status, 68% have at least one or more American friends, while only 47% of the Korean college graduates have at least one friend. There is no difference among occupational status grouping in having American friends.

The direction of relationship between status discrepancy and cross-ethnic friendships contradicts the hypothesized relationship, because the highly discrepant were expected to have fewer American friends. However it seems that the highly educated have more American friends because of their better command of English, higher motivation for fellowship or higher need for access to opportunity structure.

In sharing invitations with American friends, there is no difference between status discrepancy groupings. This is also because invitations are primarily associated with educational attainment ( $\tau b = .3061$ ;  $\gamma = .5645$ ) and less with occupational status ( $\tau b = N.S$ ;  $\gamma = .1906$ ).

Participation in the mainstream leisure groups also has no relationship with status discrepancy. A problem with this variable is that 69% do not experience such participation. However, among the 37 cases who had such participation 70% are the most highly educated category, while 24% are Korean college graduates, and 3% are less than college educated.



Table I-8. Time of Stay and Status Discrepancy

Status Discrepancy	Low	High	Total
Time 1 (less than 5 years)	37.9%	62.1%	100% (58)
Time 2 ( 5 to 10 years )	43.9	56.1	100 (41)
Time 3 ( over 10 years)	80.0	20.0	100 (20)

Tau b=  $-.2362$ ; Gamma=  $-.4101$

Table I-9. Educational Attainment and Structural Assimilation

	Degree of Assimilation			Row Total
	Non-assimilated	Low	High	
1	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100% ( 1)
2	33.3	66.7	0.0	100 ( 3)
3	42.9	42.9	14.3	100 ( 7)
4	29.3	53.4	17.2	100 (58)
5	7.8	35.3	56.9	100 (51)

Tau b=  $.4170$ ; Gamma=  $.6369$

Table I-10. Status Discrepancy and Structural Assimilation  
Controlling for Time of Stay in America

	Status Discrepancy	Degree of Assimilation			Row Total
		Non-assimilated	Low	High	
Time 1	Low	31.8%	54.5%	13.6%	100% (22)
	High	30.6	44.4	25.0	100 (36)
Time 2	Low	27.8	50.0	22.2	100 (18)
	High	13.0	47.8	39.1	100 (23)
Time 3	Low	0.0	37.5	62.5	100 (15)
	High	0.0	0.0	100.0	100 ( 4)

Time 1 Tau b= N.S.; Gamma=  $.1144$   
Time 2 =  $.2104$ ; =  $.3712$   
Time 3 =  $.3273$ ; =  $1.0000$

## II. STATUS DISCREPANCY, ORGANIZATIONAL TIES, AND COMMITMENT

### 1. Status Discrepancy and Organizational Ties

#### A. Communal Ties

It is hypothesized that those with high status discrepancy are more likely to have communal ties than the less discrepant, while the less discrepant are more likely to have associational ties in their commitment to their churches. The communal ties are measured by the personal relations involved in one's initial attendance at his church, his continuing attendance at that particular church, and in the number of closest friends attending same church.

Status discrepancy has a weak positive relationship with communal ties, when measured by the personal relations involved in the initial church attendance ( $\text{Eta} = .1306$ ). As shown in Table II-1, among those with high status discrepancy, 48% (30 cases) have joined their church because of their personal ties with friends, relatives, or pastors. Thirty four percent of the high status discrepancy grouping initially joined because of denominational ties or other reasons, while only 17% accidentally joined.

Among the less discrepant, the personal ties are most frequent (61%), while the denominational or accidental ties are less important than in the case of highly discrepant

(Table.II-1).

When time of stay in America is controlled, the importance of personal ties (such as friends, relatives and pastors) tends to gradually decrease. As shown in Table II-2, recent immigrants with low status discrepancy have the highest personal ties (81%), while those with high status discrepancy have lower personal ties (44%).

The evidence which shows that recent immigrants have more personal ties in their initial church attendance than any other time-grouping, fits with what is generally observed in this ethnic community. But the indication that the highly discrepant are less likely to be tied by personal relations contradicts the hypothesized relationship between status discrepancy and communal ties. It seems that conventional stratification findings are more appropriate in this case, in other words, those with low socioeconomic status are more likely to shy away from opportunities in which they feel inferior or uncomfortable.

The similar communal ties involved in the continuing attendance at a particular church do not show any significant relationship with status discrepancy or with other variables because 56% of the observations (67 cases) are missing on this variable.

The number of closest friend attending same church is not much different between the two status discrepancy groupings. When time of stay in America is controlled, the recent immigrants tend to have slightly fewer closest friends in the same church if they have high status discrepancy. But this relation-

Table II-1. Status Discrepancy and Communal Ties

Status Discrepancy	Communal	Types of Ties			Total
		Denominational	Accidental		
Low	66.1%	17.9%	16.6%	100%(56)	
High	47.6	34.9	17.5	100 (63)	

Gamma= .2682: Eta= .1306

Table II-2. Status Discrepancy and Communal Ties  
Controlling for the Time of Stay in America

Time of Stay	Status Discrepancy	Types of Ties			Total
		Communal	Denomi- national	Acci- dental	
Time 1 (upto 5yrs.)	Low	81.0%	9.5%	9.5%	100%(21)
	High	44.4	38.9	16.7	100 (36)
Time 2 (5-10 yrs.)	Low	66.7	33.3	0.0	100 (18)
	High	52.0	34.8	13.0	100 (23)
Time 3 (over 10 yrs.)	Low	50.0	12.5	37.5	100 (16)
	High	50.0	0.0	50.0	100 ( 4)

Eta's Time 1: .2901 Time 2: .2171 Time 3: .0530

Table II-3. Status Discrepancy and Number of Closest Friends

Status Discrepancy	N of Friends					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Low	18.8%	18.8%	10.9%	6.3%	25.0%	79.7% *
High	14.3	16.1	19.6	8.9	25.0	83.9 **

\* missing cases= 20.3% \*\* missing cases= 16.1%

Tau b= N.S.; Gamma= -.1144

ship disappears among the old-timers (between 5 to 10 year or over) (Table II-3).

The above finding about the closest friend seems to be quite natural, because the recent immigrants with high status discrepancy are more likely to join the church where their closest friends attend. However, they do not have as many closest friend as the old members already have in their church. As time passes, the difference in numbers of closest friends become less obvious because new friends are made.

Therefore, the hypothesis about the relationship between status discrepancy and communal ties is not supported by the three measures.

#### B. Associational Ties

Associational ties are measured by one's emphasis on the rational purposes given for church attendance.

Status discrepancy makes no significant difference in associational ties ( $\Gamma = -.0463$ ). However, when we examine the Table II-4, we can find that the insignificant relationship reflects the parallel distribution of associational ties in both status discrepancy groupings. When the percentage of distribution in Table II-4, is examined we can find some differences between the two status discrepancy groupings.

For instance, the highly discrepant are more likely to be low in associational ties (10% vs. 19%). And the highly discrepant are about 10% lower among those who have medium associational ties (42% vs. 32%). But among those with highest associational ties, there is no status discrepancy difference.

Table II-4. Status Discrepancy and Associational Ties

Status Discrepancy	Degree of Associational Ties			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	10.5%	42.1%	47.4%	100% (57)
High	19.0	31.7	49.2	100 (63)

Gamma= -.0463

Table II-5. Status Discrepancy and Communal Ties Controlling  
for Individual Organizations  
(% of Communal Ties only)

Status Discrepancy	Name of Churches					
	Methodists Chicago	Methodists Mayfair	Midwest *	Presbyterians Niles	Presbyterians Cicero	Catholics
Low	56.3%	37.5%	90.0%	83.3%	66.7%	33.3%
High	52.4	42.9	40.0	83.3	33.3	0.0

\* Midwest church has no denominational affiliation but the leadership and constituents are mostly Presbyterians and the mode of church administration too.

When time of stay in America is controlled there appears no better consistent relationship between status discrepancy and associational ties.

The effect of status discrepancy on organizational ties and commitment are further examined by controlling for individual churches.

The proportion of communally tied members does not vary significantly in the cases of the two Methodist churches (Table II-5). But among the Presbyterians (Cicero and Midwest), the proportion of communally tied members is very high for the low discrepant but very low for the highly discrepant. Among the Catholics, the highly discrepant members have no communal ties at all. So there is a denominational effect, but Niles Presbyterian members are exceptional as this church is organized by communal members who separated from an existing church.

It is safe to conclude from Table II-5 that Presbyterians are more communally organized than Methodists and this is generally true in actual observation. Among Koreans, even in their homeland, Presbyterians are more fundamental than Methodists in their beliefs and emphasize brotherly fellowship and devotions more than do Methodists.

## 2. Status Discrepancy and Organizational Commitment

It is hypothesized that those with high status discrepancy are more likely to have a stronger commitment to their churches. Commitment is measured by the frequency of Sunday worship attendance, participation in church officership, participation in the special activities or events of the church, and the financial offerings. The Participation Index was constructed by adding up three of the commitment variables.

It is found that status discrepancy has weak negative relationships with commitment variables. Its relationship with Sunday worship attendance is insignificant. As shown in Table II-5, status discrepancy makes no difference for those who attend every Sunday worship. Those with high status discrepancy tend to have a slightly poorer attendance when the less frequent attending categories are considered.

In participating in church officerships, the difference between status discrepancy groupings is very small ( $\text{Gamma} = -.1216$ ). Between status discrepancy and participation in special events or activities of the church, a moderate negative relationship is found ( $\text{Tabu } b = -.1643$ ;  $\text{Gamma} = -.2647$ ). In the most frequent participating category, the proportion of high status discrepancy grouping is smaller than the low status discrepancy grouping. There is also a weak negative relationship between status discrepancy and financial offerings ( $\text{Gamma} = -.1274$ ). The consistent weakness of offerings of the high status discrepancy grouping is found. The Participation Index (comprised by three commitment items) has a



moderate negative relationship with status discrepancy (Tau  $b = -.1253$ ; Gamma =  $-.2582$ ). The high status discrepancy grouping has a slightly lower proportion in the high participating category, while the low discrepant have a lower proportion in the medium and low participation categories (Table II-6, II-7).

The above findings contradict evidence against the hypothesized effects of status discrepancy. However, there are other variables or indexes which have stronger relationships with the commitment items, and which might also intervene the effect of status discrepancy. These variable or indexes which have stronger relationships with Sunday worship attendance are the structural variables such as the number of closest friends attending same church (Tau  $b = .2156$ ; Gamma =  $.3848$ ), associational ties (Tau  $b = .2550$ ; Gamma =  $.4902$ ), structural assimilation (Tau  $b = -.1309$ ; Gamma =  $-.2717$ ), and the religiosity items such as Orthodoxy Index (Tau  $b = .1773$ ; Gamma =  $.3427$ ) and Religious Practice Index (Tau  $b = .2546$ ; Gamma =  $.4899$ ).

Therefore, religious organizational commitment seems not to be primarily a function of status discrepancy as hypothesized but rather the function of structural variables and religiosity. Yet, assuming that the effects of status discrepancy on religious organizational commitment are intervened or suppressed by structural or religiosity factors, those items are controlled to better reveal the effects of status discrepancy on organizational commitment.

Communal Ties Controlled: When the communal ties involved in the initial attendance are controlled, it appears that for

Table II-6. Status Discrepancy and Sunday Worship Attendance

Status Discrepancy	Frequency of Attendance					Total
	1-2 times a year	once in 2 months	once a month	every 2 weeks	every Sunday	
Low	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%	14.3%	78.6%	100(57)
High	1.6	6.3	6.3	7.9	77.8	100(63)

Tau b= N.S.; Gamma= -.1245

Table II-7. Status Discrepancy and Participation Index

Status Discrepancy	Participation Index			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	3.5%	22.8%	73.7%	100(57)
High	6.3	31.7	61.9	100(63)

Tau b= -.1253; Gamma= -.2582

those who joined their churches because of their friends, relatives, and pastors, status discrepancy does not affect organizational commitment. But for those who joined their churches because of denominational ties and for those who joined by accident, status discrepancy is negatively related to organizational commitment (Table II-8). For those who are initially tied by friends, relatives, and pastors, the effects of status discrepancy on the rest of the organizational commitment items are not significant. But for those who are tied by denomination or by accidents, status discrepancy has more than a moderately strong relationships with organizational commitment.

Thus, we know that the effect of status discrepancy on organizational commitment is partly suppressed by the organizational ties when the denominational and accidental ties are considered. But genuine communal ties (friends, etc.) do not have a significant intervening effect on the relationship between status discrepancy and organizational commitment, contrary to our hypothesis.

Associational Ties Controlled: When associational ties are controlled, a strong negative relationship between status discrepancy and organizational commitment appears among those who have low associational ties. And that negative relationship weakens as the associational ties become stronger (Table II-8). The negative relationship between status discrepancy and other commitment variables become weaker as associational ties increase. Here, we find that associational ties intervene in

Table II-8. Status Discrepancy and Organizational Commitment  
with Control Variables

(T= Tau b; G= Gamma)

Controlling for		Sunday Worship	Commitment Church Officer	Items Special Events	Financial Offering	Participa- tion Index	(N)
<b>Communal Ties</b>							
Friends etc.	T=	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	67
	G=	.1293	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	
Denominational	T=	N.S.	-.2718	-.4378	-.1760	-.1954	32
	G=	-.2983	-.6744	-.7821	-.3205	-.5493	
Accidental	T=	-.3219	N.S.	-.3802	-.3275	-.5658	20
	G=	-.6744	N.S.	-.5714	-.5279	-1.000	
<b>Associational Ties</b>							
Low	T=	-.5161	-.5000	-.5122	-.3242	-.6396	18
	G=	-1.000	-1.000	-.8000	-.4921	-1.000	
Medium	T=	N.S.	N.S.	-.1304	N.S.	N.S.	44
	G=	.2000	.2000	-.2041	-.1550	-.1811	
High	T=	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	58
	G=	.2367	-.1062	-.1248	N.S.	-.1864	

(continued on next page)

Table II-8. (continued)

Controlling for	Commitment Items			Financial Offering	Participa- tion Index	(N)
	Sunday Worship	Church Officer	Special Events			
Structural Assimilation	T=					
Non-assimilated	T= .1238	N.S.	N.S.	-.2406	N.S.	26
	G= .3684	N.S.	N.S.	-.3871	.1250	
Low assimilation	T= -.1095	-.2261	-.2732	N.S.	-.2297	54
	G= -.2059	-.4378	-.4380	-.1031	-.4475	
High assimilation	T= N.S.	.1278	-.1477	N.S.	-.1058	40
	G= N.S.	.3217	-.2416	N.S.	-.2308	
Time of Stay	T=					
T 1 (under 5yrs.)	T= N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	58
	G= -.1105	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	
T 2 (5-10 yrs.)	T= .1620	N.S.	-.2533	-.1482	-.1889	41
	G= .4118	N.S.	-.4183	-.2267	-.2513	
T 3 (over 10 yrs.)	T= -.2672	.1667	N.S.	.2813	-.1400	20
	G= -.6842	1.0000	N.S.	1.0000	-.4000	

the negative effect of status discrepancy on organizational commitment.

Structural Assimilation Controlled: The effect of status discrepancy on Sunday worship attendance and financial offerings decrease as the degree of assimilation increases. Only for the non-assimilated (those who have no primary or secondary relationships with Americans), Sunday worship attendance increases with status discrepancy (Tau  $b=.1283$ ; Gamma $=.3684$ ); and financial offerings increases with status discrepancy (Tau  $b=.2406$ ; Gamma $=.3871$ ).

Participation in church officerships, and special events or activities of the church is not related to status discrepancy in the case of the non-assimilated, and that relationship becomes inconsistent as the degree of assimilation increases. The relationship between status discrepancy and the overall Participation Index decreases as the degree of assimilation increases.

Orthodox Beliefs Controlled: When orthodox belief is very low, i.e., when a respondent thinks that all six items of traditional Christian beliefs are absolutely not true, he is most likely to attend Sunday worship because of high status discrepancy (Tau  $b=.5334$ ; Gamma $=.7647$ ). And also he is likely to rank high in the Participation Index (Tau  $b=N.S.$ ; Gamma $=.3333$ ).

For those who affirm traditional beliefs, the relationship between status discrepancy and organizational commitment becomes negative. So, here we find that orthodox beliefs obviously suppress the effect of status discrepancy on organizational

commitment. Our hypothesis is proven valid only when the orthodox beliefs are almost nil.

Time of Stay in America Controlled: For recent immigrants, i.e., those who have been in America for less than five years, status discrepancy does not have much effect on organizational commitment, except for a minor negative relationship with Sunday worship attendance (Table II-8). For those who have been here five to ten years, status discrepancy has a fairly strong positive relationship with Sunday worship attendance (Tau  $b = .1620$ ; Gamma  $= .4118$ ) and a negative relationship with participation in special events or activities of the church and in financial offerings. For those who have stayed longer than ten years, status discrepancy has negative effect on Sunday worship attendance. But highly discrepant persons are more likely to participate in church officership and give more financial offerings. Participation in special events or activities of the church is not affected by status discrepancy. And the overall Participation index decreases as time of stay increases.

When the relationship between status discrepancy and Participation index is controlled by denomination, Chicago Methodists and Cicero Presbyterians show no differences by status discrepancy. Catholics are more likely to participate if their status discrepancy is high as hypothesized. But among the remaining three churches, the highly discrepant members are less likely to participate (Table II-9).

There is no across-the-board denominational difference in

Table II-9. Status Discrepancy and Organizational Participation  
Controlling for Individual Organizations

(Gamma)

Status Discrepancy	Name of Churches					
	Methodists			Presbyterians		Catholics
	Chicago	Mayfair	Midwest	Niles	Cicero	
Low	N.S.	-.4724	-.1616	-.1768	N.S.	.1793
High	N.S.	-.8065	-.2727	-.3636	N.S.	.3333



Sunday worship participation, and no explanation for this difference is available at this stage.

### III. STATUS DISCREPANCY, ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT, AND PREFERENCE FOR ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS

#### 1. The Preference for the Level of Generality of Goals

The preference for the organizational goals of different levels of generality was examined by a scheme in which the respondents exhibited their preferences for the goals among those which primarily benefitted individual members, the church organization itself, or the general public.

##### A. Status Discrepancy and Goal Preference

It was found that those with high status discrepancy were less likely to prefer goals which benefit the general public and more likely to prefer goals benefitting the church itself. Of the highly discrepant respondents, 53% preferred church-benefitting goals, 21% individual-benefitting goals, and 26% public-benefitting goals. The less discrepant members had a slightly lower preference for the church-benefitting goals (41%), and higher preference for the public-benefitting goals (39%), and about same level of individual-benefitting goals (20%).

Even though the strength of relationship is very weak ( $\Gamma = -.1395$ ) actual crosstabulation supports the hypothesis, generally. Only in the preference for the individual benefitting goals, little difference between the two status discrepancy group is found (Table III-1).

Table III-1. Status Discrepancy and Level of Goal Preference

Status Discrepancy	Level of Goals Benefitting			Total
	Individual	Church	Public	
Low	19.6%	41.1%	39.3%	100% (56)
High	21.0	53.2	25.8	100 (62)

Gamma= -.1395

Table III-2. Structural Assimilation and Level of Goal Preference

Level of Assimilation	Level of Goals Benefitting			Total
	Individual	Church	Public	
Non-assimilated	28.0%	52.0%	20.0%	100% (25)
Low assimilation	17.0	50.9	32.1	100 (53)
High assimilation	20.0	40.0	40.0	100 (40)

Gamma= .1472

Table III-3. Communal Ties and Level of Goal Preference

Types of Ties	Level of Goals Benefitting			Total
	Individual	Church	Public	
Communal	19.4%	55.2%	25.4%	100% (67)
Denominational	19.4	41.9	38.7	100 (31)
Accidental	26.3	31.6	42.1	100 (19)

Gamma= .1325

Considering goal preference as the last dependent variable, the effect of the structural variables and religious commitment variables are also examined.

#### B. Structural Variables and Goal Preference

Structural assimilation into the mainstream society has a very weak positive relationship with level of goal preference ( $\tau b = .1214$ ;  $\gamma = .1472$ ). Table III-2 reveals that 40% of the highly assimilated prefer the highest level of goals, primarily benefitting general public, while only 20% of the non-assimilated group prefer the public-benefitting goals.

The less or non-assimilated groups are about 10% more likely to prefer goals which benefit the church itself, than are the highly assimilated.

Communal ties (personal ties involved in initial church attendance) have a small effect on preference for the level of goals. Those who are tied by their friends and others are less likely to prefer the high level goals. As shown in Table III-3, of those who are tied by friends and others 55% prefer goals benefitting the church itself, and they are less likely (25.4%) to prefer the public-benefitting goals.

The contrasts among the different categories of the communal ties are insignificant in the preference for the goals primarily benefitting individual members of the church. Though the relationship is very weak, the contrasts in the preferences for the church-benefitting and public-benefitting goals support the hypothesis.

The associational ties (actually the rational purposes involved in church attendance) also have a weak positive relationship with level of goal preference ( $\tau b = N.S.$ ;  $\Gamma = .1325$ ). Table III-4 shows that those who have low associational ties are far more likely to choose the individual-benefitting goals, while those with high associational ties are more likely to choose the church-benefitting goals. The goals which benefit the general public are most preferred by those with medium associational ties.

These relationships are not exactly concordant with the hypothesis but the obvious differences in goal preference make the assumption of this study about goal preferences quite relevant.

#### C. Religious Organizational Commitment and Goal Preferences

The indexes which carry the orthodox beliefs and private practices of devotions have no significant relationship with goal preferences. Of the organizational commitment variables at the behavioral level, Sunday worship attendance has no significant relationship with the level of goal preference. Participation in the church officerships has a moderate association with level of goal preference ( $\tau b = N.S.$ ;  $\Gamma = .2535$ ).

As shown in Table III-5, those who have held church officerships are more likely to prefer the goals which benefit the general public than those who never had such responsibility (38% vs. 18%). Those with no experience of church officership are more likely to prefer the goals which benefit the church

Table III-4. Associational Ties and Level of Goal Preference

Level of Associational Tie	Level of Goals Benefitting			Total
	Individual	Church	Public	
Low	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	100%(16)
Medium	18.2	43.2	38.6	100 (44)
High	13.8	56.9	29.3	100 (58)

Gamma= .1325

Table III-5. Participation in Church Officership and Level of Goal Preference

Church Officership	Level of Goals Benefitting			Total
	Individual	Church	Public	
Not Experienced	21.2%	60.5%	18.4%	100%(38)
Experienced	20.3	41.8	38.0	100 (79)

Tau b= .1344; Gamma=.2535

itself than those who had such experience(61% vs. 42%).

It is consistently found that status discrepancy, structural variable, and religious commitment variables do not make much difference in the preference for the individual benefitting goals. But in the preference for the goal of higher level of generality, those variables are related with goal preference showing the predicted differences.

#### D. Refinement of Relationships, Controlling for Status Discrepancy

Since, status discrepancy and other assumed independent variables have similarly low associations with goal preference it may be profitable to further examine those relationships with some controls.

When structural assimilation and religious commitment variables are controlled for, the effect of status discrepancy on goal level preference virtually vanish. But when status discrepancy is controlled, the effect of structural and religious commitment variables on level of goal preference are either sustained or improve. So we can consider status discrepancy is the antecedent variable of other independent variables in relation to goal preference(cf. Rosenberg,1968. 68-69).

## 2. Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preferences

It is hypothesized that those with high status discrepancy are more likely to prefer to consummatory organizational goals which serve the individual member's expressive needs and comfort the members, while those with low status discrepancy are more likely to prefer instrumental goals which serve to implement religious ideals or challenge the world prophetically.

### A. Status Discrepancy and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference

There is a positive relationship between status discrepancy and instrumental vs. consummatory goal preference at a low level of significance ( $\tau b = .1192$ , significant at  $0.097$ ;  $\gamma = .2463$ ). Contrary to the hypothesis, the highly discrepant are more likely to prefer instrumental goals than are the less discrepant. For instance, 41% of the highly discrepant prefer the instrumental goals, while 30% of the low discrepant prefer instrumental goals (Table III-6).

Whatever the reason, the relationship is opposite to the hypothesized one, however, the contrast between two status discrepancy groupings is obvious. Since, structural variables and religious commitment variables could be also involved, we will discuss the contradicting effect of status discrepancy after examining the effect of other independent variables.

### B. Structural Variables and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preferences

Structural assimilation into the mainstream society has a moderate negative relationship with instrumental vs. consummatory



Table III-6. Status Discrepancy and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference

Status Discrepancy	Goal Preference		Total
	Consummatory	Instrumental	
Low	70.2%	29.8%	100% (57)
High	58.7	41.3	100 (63)

Tau b= .1192; Gamma= .2463

Table III-7. Structural Assimilation and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference

Structural Assimilation	Goal Preference		Total
	Consummatory	Instrumental	
Non-assimilated	50.0%	50.0%	100% (26)
Low assimilation	64.8	35.2	100 (54)
High assimilation	72.5	27.5	100 (40)

Tau b= -.1557; Gamma= -.2817

Table III-8. Associational Ties and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference

Associational Ties	Goal Preference		Total
	Consummatory	Instrumental	
Low	38.9%	61.1%	100% (18)
Medium	65.9	34.1	100 (44)
High	70.7	29.3	100 (58)

Tau b= -.1726; Gamma= -.3178

goal preferences ( $\tau b = -.1557$ ;  $\gamma = -.2817$ ). The direction of relationship is, again, opposite to the hypothesized one. As shown in Table III-7, more highly assimilated prefer consummatory goals than do the less assimilated members, while the non-assimilated members show no difference in their goal preferences.

The highly assimilated were hypothesized to have less need for consummatory goals and better capacity for instrumental goal implementation. Since, the actual finding contradicts the hypothesized relationship, it seems that some values, emotional needs, or structural constraints have changed with progress in assimilation.

The examination of communal ties reveals that such personal ties are not much related to preference for organizational goals, either consummatory or instrumental ( $\lambda = 0$ ;  $\eta = .0829$ ). Rather, the relationship between associational ties and instrumental vs. consummatory goals is fairly strong ( $\tau b = -.1726$ ;  $\gamma = -.3178$ ). Table III-8 shows that associational ties have a negative relationship to goal preference somewhat similar (a little stronger) to that of structural assimilation.

The non-assimilated and those with low associational ties are more likely to choose instrumental goals, while the better assimilated and those with high associational ties are more likely to choose consummatory goals. These negative, parallel relationships indicate that the goal preference associated with assimilation more closely reflects changes in values and emotional needs than in structural constraints.

### C. Religious Organizational Commitment and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preferences

While the level of goal preferences does not have a highly significant relationship with religiosity, the preference for instrumental vs. consummatory goals has a strong relationship with orthodox religiosity and organizational commitment.

Those with high orthodox Christian beliefs are more likely to prefer instrumental goals making a distinctive contrast with less religious groups ( $\tau b = .3132$ ;  $\Gamma = .5570$ ). Also those who practice their private devotions more frequently tend to prefer instrumental goals significantly more than the less practicing members ( $\tau b = .1969$ ;  $\Gamma = .3443$ ).

Participation in Sunday worship also has moderately strong relationship with instrumental vs. consummatory goal preferences ( $\tau b = .1247$ ;  $\Gamma = .3173$ ). Participation in church officer-ships has also a moderately strong relationship with this goal preferences ( $\tau b = .1400$ ;  $\Gamma = .3162$ ).

### D. Refinement of the Relationship, Controlling for Status Discrepancy

The negative relationship between structural assimilation and preference for instrumental vs. consummatory goals is little affected when status discrepancy is controlled ( $\Gamma = -.1365$  for the highly discrepant and  $-.2450$  for the low discrepant). Regardless of status discrepancy, more than 72% of the highly assimilated prefer consummatory goals, while about 50% of the non-assimilated prefer consummatory goals (Table III-9).

Table III-9. Structural Assimilation and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference Controlling for Status Discrepancy

Level of Assimilation	Status Discrepancy		Goal Preferences			
	Low	High	Total	Consummatory	Instrumental	Total
Non-assimilated	50.0%	50.0%	100%(12)	50.0%	50.0%	100%(14)
Low assimilation	77.8	22.2	100 (27)	51.9	48.1	100 (27)
High assimilation	72.2	27.8	100 (18)	72.7	27.3	100 (22)
Gamma= -.2450			Gamma= -.3165			

Table III-10. Associational Ties and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference Controlling for Status Discrepancy

Associational Ties	Status Discrepancy		Goal Preferences			
	Low	High	Total	Consummatory	Instrumental	Total
Low	16.7%	83.8%	100%( 6)	50.0%	50.0%	100%(12)
Medium	70.8	29.2	100 (24)	60.0	40.0	100 (20)
High	81.5	18.5	100 (27)	61.3	38.7	100 (31)
Tau b= -.3129; Gamma= -.5650			Tau b= N.S.; Gamma= -.1229			

When the relationship between communal ties and preference for instrumental vs. consummatory goals are controlled for status discrepancy, little change appears except that the respondents tied by denomination show an odd distribution.

If the effect of associational ties on goal preference is controlled, the low discrepant-highly associational members are more likely to prefer consummatory goals ( $\tau b = -.3129$ ;  $\Gamma = -.5660$ ), while the highly discrepant members show a less distinctive contrast in goal preferences, regardless of level of associational ties ( $\Gamma = -.1229$ ). The majority of the respondents tend to prefer consummatory goals, and only those with low associational tie have a little more preference for instrumental goals (Table III-10).

The positive relationships between religious organizational commitment items and goal preferences are maintained positively and fairly strongly when status discrepancy is controlled, with some splitting strength of associations between status discrepancy groupings.

When the relationship between orthodox beliefs and goal preferences is controlled by status discrepancy, the strength of relationship becomes stronger among the low discrepant ( $\Gamma = .7560$  for the low discrepant;  $\Gamma = .3235$  for the highly discrepant); but actually Table III-11 reveals that more of the less discrepant prefer instrumental goals.

Those who have a frequent practice of private devotions are more likely to prefer the instrumental goals if they show high status discrepancy ( $\tau b = .2644$ ;  $\Gamma = .4471$ ) than if low

Table III-11. Orthodx Beliefs and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference Controlling for Status Discrepancy

		Status Discrepancy					
		Low			High		
Orthodoxy Index		Goal Preferences					Total
		Consummatory	Instru-mental	Total	Consummatory	Instru-mental	
Low	1	100%	0.0%	100%( 2)	77.7%	23.3%	100%( 9)
	2	75.0	25.0	100 ( 4)	66.7	33.3	100 ( 3)
	3	95.0	5.0	100 (20)	70.8	29.2	100 (24)
	4	51.6	48.4	100 (31)	40.7	59.3	100 (27)
		Tau b= .3965; Gamma= .7560			Tau b= .2885; Gamma= .3235		

Table III-12. Sunday Worship Attendance and Instrumental vs. Consummatory Goal Preference Controlling Status Discrepancy

		Status Discrepancy					
		Low			High		
Frequency of Attendance		Goal Preference					Total
		Consummatory	Instru-mental	Total	Consummatory	Instru-mental	
Less than	once a month	100%	0.0%	100%( 4)	44.4%	56.6%	100%( 9)
	Once in 2 weeks	75.0	25.0	100 ( 8)	100	0.0	100 ( 5)
	Every Sunday	66.7	33.3	100 (45)	55.1	44.9	100 (49)
		Tau b= .1571 ; Gamma= .4495			Tau b= .1148; Gamma= .2702		

discrepancy( $\tau b=N.S.$ ;  $\Gamma=.1957$ ).

When the relationship between Sunday worship attendance and goal preferences is controlled for status discrepancy, the measure of association becomes stronger among the low discrepant; but actually Table III-12 reveals that the highly discrepant are more likely to prefer instrumental goals.

### Part Three: Discussion and Conclusion

#### IV. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

For the Korean immigrants in Chicago, status discrepancy is primarily a function of occupational status. Since educational attainment is already fixed at a high level without having much effect on occupational status obtainable in the U.S., occupational status is the determinant of status discrepancy. Income status has a fairly strong negative association with status discrepancy, but this association does not necessarily mean a direct causal relationship between the two. Rather, this association means that those whose occupational status is lower than their educational attainment are likely to have more income simply because they work harder.

The hypothesized negative relationship between status discrepancy and structural assimilation was not found. But there is fragmentary evidence to show that structural assimilation is primarily a function of educational attainment. The reciprocal relationship between status discrepancy and structural assimilation is possible because those with high status discrepancy may shy away from assimilation, or the highly discrepant may try harder to be assimilated in order to overcome the disadvantage of their visible racial minority situation. The second and third generation Japanese-Americans



are the examples of the later case.

But that kind of reciprocal relationship between status discrepancy and structural assimilation does not seem to be taking place in this Korean sample. A most clear statement about this relationship is that educational achievement promotes structural assimilation among the Korean immigrants.

The hypothesis about the relationship between status discrepancy and communal ties in organizational commitment has uncovered contradictory results. The highly discrepant are less likely to have joined their churches due to communal ties (friend, relatives, pastors etc.), nor have they many close friends attending same church. Also the highly discrepant members are slightly less active on every participation item. This result seem to support the arguments of Hausknecht(1964), D. Phillips(1972), and Lenski(1954).

Since the hypothesis of this study follows Demerath's position(1965), we may still be able to justify our position with results. Demerath agrees with Lenski's later argument (1965) that highly discrepant members participate less in organizations which harbor secular values and judge one's status in socioeconomic terms. But Demerath further specifies that the highly discrepant are more likely to participate in organizations which harbor non-economic vlaues unrelated to status judgment.

If Demerath is right, the sampled Korean churches should not be purely "non-economic value-harboring" organizations or "no-status-judging" organizations. In reality, they are the

organizations which make such status judgments.

The larger and well established Korean churches have reputations as "cold churches" which do not warmly welcome new members, especially recent immigrants with low occupational status. Such disregarded members find small churches which are striving for survival and fervently recruit new people or even snatch the members of other churches. The highly discrepant members can find better fellowship and comfort in such churches. Then, the arguments for psychological confidence (Smith & Freedman, 1972), for the concept of interaction opportunity structure (D. Phillips, 1972), for the capacity of tolerance to secondary relationship (Hausknecht, 1964), or Lenski's original position are correct for the well established churches, while Demerath's specified position and the hypothesis of this study are relevant for the more marginal smaller churches with more a primary group context.

In preference for level of generality of organizational goals, the middle level goals (which benefit the church itself) are preferred by half the respondents. Any changes of independent or intervening variables do not make much difference in the high preference for church-benefitting goals.

This preference seems to reflect the socialization effect of the Korean churches, because this goal is mostly preferred by those who have the highest associational ties (rational purposes involved in church attendance) and by the highly communal members. This socialization effect is not necessarily accompanied by highly orthodox beliefs, higher devotional practices,

or regular church attendance. So the goal preference does not reflect religiosity itself but rather what they are taught to aim for as "church" goals. And this "church" goal mostly happens to be serving their church while denying oneself and the "perishing world".

The reverse proposition can be held true in the following instance where the public-benefitting goals are more likely to be preferred by the highly assimilated (who may have considerably departed from the ways of Korean churches) than the less assimilated. Those who do not have high associational ties (rational purposes involved in church attendance), which might have been acquired through previous socialization, are more likely to prefer the public-benefitting goals. Public-benefitting goals are more preferred by those who have experience as church officers who might have access to the aspect of real dedication to the church itself (which often justifies expanded egotism or subsistence living level for the pastors), and who might have some chance for higher level Christian socialization (exposure to theological reading or interchurch conferences, etc.).

The instrumental goals are preferred by the highly discrepant and less assimilated, contrary to our hypothesis. The highly discrepant and less assimilated were expected to prefer consummatory goals because they have more psychological needs for comfort. But those who are less stabilized or less privileged seem to be more sensitive to the need of instrumental goals, because they are in the position of beneficiaries of or sympathizers with such goals. But those who have a

better capacity for implementation of such goals are insensitive to instrumental goals having implications for social change. Thus, the preference for instrumental goals is not a matter of capacity for implementation but of needs of the constituents. This interpretation matches actual observations. During the last couple of years, the Chicago Korean community had a few fund-raising campaigns on separate occasions, in order to help flood or explosion victims of the homeland, or the surviving families of traffic accidents or the fatally ill. Hearty donations came from factory workers but none from medical doctors or big businessmen.

Yet, the preference for instrumental goals is also positively related to religious commitment items(both religiosity and participation items). The highly committed members are more likely than the less committed to prefer instrumental goals.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

In order to explain the unusual profusion of churches among the Korean immigrants in America, the open systems model of organizations was used, assuming also that individual's perception of status discrepancy would be the key motivational input for organizational commitment.

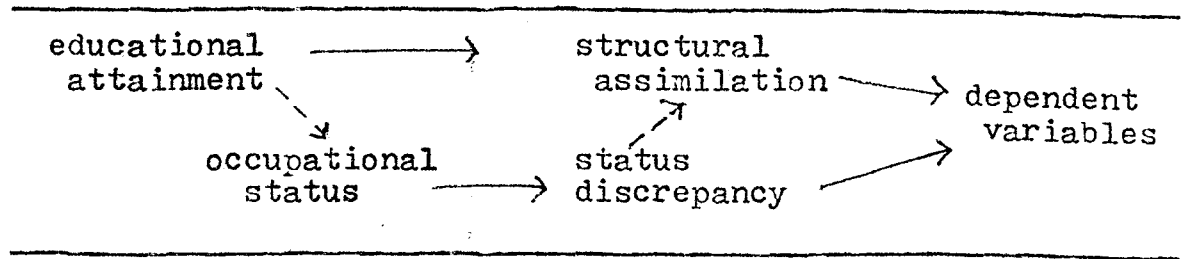
In the findings, however, status discrepancy did not sufficiently explain the variations in the dependent variables. The three major hypotheses were partly supported or contradicted in the following manner.

Hypothesis 1: Status discrepancy and structural assimilation.

The hypothesized negative relationship between status discrepancy and structural assimilation was not found. Structural assimilation appears to be dependent on educational attainment, while status discrepancy is mainly determined by occupational status. Since there is insufficient correspondence between educational attainment and occupational status for Korean immigrants, the lack of relationship between status discrepancy and structural assimilation is understandable.

Controlling the dependent variables, it is found that status discrepancy is the antecedent variable to structural assimilation and also to personal ties involved in organizational commitment. These relationships can be plotted as shown in Fig. V-1.

Fig. V-1. Hypothesized Relationships Involving Status Discrepancy and Structural Assimilation



—————> : strong associations

- - - -> : weak or insignificant associations

\* arrows mean chronological sequences, but these relationships are not closed ones.

Hypothesis 2: Status discrepancy, organizational ties, and organizational commitment.

Contrary to the second hypothesis, the highly discrepant members have fewer communal ties to organizational commitment, but they do have lower associational ties as hypothesized. However, in overall organizational participation behavior, the highly discrepant are less active, contrary to our hypothesis. Therefore, the second hypothesis is not supported, rather, the reverse relationship is supported, validating the arguments of Smith and Freedman(1972), D.Phillips(1972), and Hausknecht(1964).

However, for those who think that the orthodox Christian beliefs are not absolutely true, high status discrepancy has an extremely strong positive relationship with Sunday worship attendance. And also among those who have been in America for at least 5 to 10 years, a fairly strong relationship is found between status discrepancy and Sunday worship attendance. We can be sure that the second hypothesis is supported under these conditions.

### Hypothesis 3: Organizational Goal preferences.

The low discrepant are more likely to prefer public-benefitting goals, as hypothesized. But there is no difference in preference for the individual-benefitting goals; by status discrepancy, the highly discrepant are more likely to prefer the church-benefitting goals. These findings do not exactly fit the hypothesis but they support it in the sense that the highly discrepant are more likely to prefer goals with a lower level of generality, while the less discrepant are more likely to prefer goals of a higher level of generality.

In the preference for instrumental vs. consummatory goals, the effect of status discrepancy is obviously opposite to what is hypothesized. However, it is very possible that this preference reflects certain needs of the highly discrepant members. While these needs for the dissatisfied were hypothesized to be "comfort" needs, the findings indicate that these needs are "implementation" needs for the dissatisfied. Therefore, the direction of relationship turned out opposite to the predicted one, but attributing this preference to certain needs seem to be correct.

There was not much difference in organizational commitment among the churches of different denominations. If this sample is unbiased, the hypothesis about organizational commitment should be rejected, because commitment appears to be a major function of religiosity and not of status discrepancy. But if

this sample is not free from some bias, then its results leave some room for the validation of our hypothesis. The author, as a 7-year participant observer of the Korean-American community, is inclined to prefer the latter position, because there are too many "immigration-made" church-goers. According to Huhr et.al. (1976,22-23), 66% of Chicago Koreans are Protestants, while only 46% attended churches when they were in Korea. Yet, considering that only about 10% of South Koreans are Protestants in Korea, this proportion is very unusual.(Huhr et. al. Op.,Cit.).

The open systems model of organization along with status discrepancy as its key input has great significance for considering the relationship between ethnic churches and the larger society. Beside religious functions, Korean immigrant churches provide regular opportunities for "getting-together" which are lacking in their daily lives which involve few primary group relations. In this sense, ethnic churches are retarding structural assimilation of this minority.

Korean churches also tend to function as a device providing opportunities for sublimation of dissatisfactions and frustrations through activities, quasi-status fulfillments, mutual comfortings, etc. In this sense, the small open systems(Korean churches) absorb the input energy(dissatisfaction due to discrepancy) and do not export outputs(social action goals). But through expressive behavior(religious participation behaviors) and dedication to church-benefitting goals, whether those goals serve the survival of the churches(instrumental goals at middle level of generality) or fellowship among themselves(consummatory



goals at middle level of generality), the Korean community churches are utilizing the environmental inputs(status discrepancy) and synthesizing them into their organizational substances(membership, finance etc.).

Thus, status discrepancy promotes the growth of Korean immigrant churches which function as quasi-institutions in dealing with the immigrants' status-related problems. Meanwhile, the larger society does not receive threats from this dissatisfied segment even though the larger system produces such frustrations.

The Korean immigrants have two or three times more churchgoers than comparable Asian groups, according to Bok L. Kim's findings(1975,32). The reason cannot be quickly determined. But it seems certain, from the point of view of the insider, that as far as there are first-generation immigrants who do not have a social(occupational) status appropriate to their educational attainment, the Korean ethnic churches will have enough constituents and those churches will persist with consummatory, church-benefitting goals.

But after the second-generation Korean move into mainstream society without language barriers, there will not be that many candidates for ethnic church constituencies. And there are not going to be enough second-generation pastors to minister to the huge number of churches. Even inviting new pastors from Korea for the second generation will not work, because of the cultural barriers they will then meet within the ethnic community. Therefore, the profusion of churches is probably a temporary phenomenon, and the second generation churches will not survive

as vigorously as now, because, not only will there be a lack of key resources (potential constituents and leaders), but the key motivational impetus (status discrepancy) will also decrease to a fair degree. At that time, the churches will have to depend heavily on religiosity (ideas and beliefs), which may be a less sociologically motivating factor, from an open systems perspective.

There seem to be some weakness in the sample as the findings contradict the predicted relationship. Although the selection of the six congregations was not arbitrary, those churches seem not to be thoroughly representative of the characteristics of recently emerging churches. A low return rate and overrepresentation of the male population pose some problems in the sample.

There is a possibility that the highly religious members were over-represented among the respondents than the less religious. It is also possible these respondents have exaggerated their religiosity so that it distorts what they actually believe and how they behave.

Even though the findings do not fully support the hypotheses, this study illustrates the advantage of research conducted by an insider of the Korean ethnic community, because first-hand insights and observations can be sustained despite the contradictory results of the research. Similar insights are shared by Huhr et.al. (1978) in a recent study of Korean churchgoers of Chicago. They found that the social functions are less important than the religious functions as the purpose of participating in Korean community churches. These researchers also had difficulties in reconciling

their findings with other facts which they knew.

If the author of this study, or any one else, could do this study again, he would narrow the scope to core variables and use more precise measures. Samples could be more representative if they were not selected from particular church members but from the whole population of known Koreans in the community. Participant observation would be preferable since there are pitfalls to survey research as conducted in this study.

A study similar to the current one could be repeated in a couple of decades to check if our prediction is right. Commitment to churches is more likely to decline if our hypothesis about the effects of status discrepancy and structural assimilation is correct, because these immigrants could be expected to show less status discrepancy and higher assimilation as time passes. But commitment to churches might not drastically change if the major independent variable were religiosity.

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## APENDICES

## APPENDIX I

## Sample Organizations and Size of Respondents

Name of Congregation	Number of cases		Return Rate(%)
	Original Sample	undeli- vered	
Chicago United Methodist	89(1/3)#	13	41/76 (53.9)
Korean Catholic	76(1/2)	12	11/64 (17.2)
Midwest Church*	53(1/2)	9	20/44 (45.4)
Mayfair United Methodist	45(2/3)		20/45 (44.4)
Niles Prespyterian	40(1/1)		26/40 (60.0)
Cicero Presbyterian	65(1/2)	7	20/65 (30.8)
total	327	41	147/327 (44.9)

\* This church has no denominational affiliation, but the constituents are mostly Presbyterian.

# The proportion of sample over the total number of names listed in church directories. These proportion was set just to obtain a managable size of sample with sufficient representation of the respective congregations.



## APPENDIX II

## Major Indexes

Assimilation Index

The four assimilation items—the number of American friends (Que.19), frequency of cross-ethnic invitations(Que.20,21), the number of membership in mainstream leisure organization(Que.22), and the number of membership in the mainstream political/interest groups(Que.23) comprise the assimilation items.

Since there are so many respondents who do not have these activities, the respondents were re-grouped for each "Yes" and "No", in the following manner:

American friends	none= 1	over one= 2
invitations	"	"
leisure group	"	"
interest group	"	"
<hr/>		
cummulative score	4	to 8

Due to missing cases, the actual cummulative score ranges from 3 to 8 and these scores are divided into three:

non-assimilated.....	lower than 3
less assimilated.....	4 to 6
highly assimilated....	7, 8

Associational Ties Index

The six items of Que. 12, which tap the rational purposes involved in church attendance was used in the following manner. The cummulative scores were calculated then divided into three groups:

low associational ties .....	1 to 6 (score range)
medium associational ties.....	7 to 12
high associational ties .....	13 to 18

Participation Index

The scores for the three participation items — in Sunday worship(Que.26), special events and activities of the church (Que.29), and financial offerings(Que.30) — were accummulated and divided into three:

low participation .....	less than 5
medium participation .....	6 to 10
high participation .....	11 to 15

Private Devotion Index

The cummulative scores for Bible reading and private prayers(Que. 32) were divided into four:

low devotion .....	0 to	2
moderately low .....	3 to	4
moderately high .....	5 to	6
high devotion .....	7 to	8

Orthodoxy Index

The cummulative scores for the six traditional belief items (Que. 34) were divided into four:

low in orthodox beliefs .....	upto	6
moderately low .....	7 to	12
moderately high .....	13 to	18
high in orthodox beliefs.....	19 to	24

"Status Discrepancy, Assimilation, and Religious Commitment"  
The Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions about yourself by placing a check mark next to the correct answers.

.....

1. What is your sex? a.  male b.  female
2. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ years old
3. How long have you been in the United States? \_\_\_\_\_ years
4. What is your current legal status?  
a.  U.S. citizen b.  resident alien c.  other (specify \_\_\_\_\_)
5. What is your highest educational attainment (grade or degree)?  
in Korea \_\_\_\_\_, in the U.S. \_\_\_\_\_
6. What is your marital status?  
a.  married b.  single c.  divorced/separated d.  widowed
7. What is your occupation? (specify the occupational title and what you do on the job)

7b. What is your spouse's occupation?

8. What was your total family income in 1976 (joint income before the tax)?

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

9. How many hours do you and your spouse work during a week?

	respondent	spouse
0-20 hrs.	___	___
21-30 hrs.	___	___
31-40 hrs.	___	___
41-50 hrs.	___	___
over 50 hrs.	___	___

10. To what degree do you participate in the Korean community organizations besides your church? Please check whichever categories apply to you.

types of Org.	attend meetings	assume officership	pay membership dues
a. Korean Association	___	___	___
b. Korean High school alumni association	___	___	___
c. Korean college alumni association	___	___	___
d. other Korean organizations (specify) _____	___	___	___

11. Please give the name of the church (and its denomination) that you attend now.

name \_\_\_\_\_ denomination \_\_\_\_\_

12. How important are each of the purposes below for your church affiliation and attendance? Check after each.

	very important	important	not important
to seek peace of mind	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___
to make and meet friends	___	___	___
to receive inspiration for livings	___	___	___
to be saved and have eternal life	___	___	___
to improve your morality	___	___	___
to solicit business	___	___	___

13. How many of your five closest friends attend the same church as you do? \_\_\_\_\_ (fill in numbers)

14. What was your religious affiliation before you came to the U.S.?

a. \_\_\_ Protestant (give denomination \_\_\_\_\_)

b. \_\_\_ Catholic

c. \_\_\_ Buddhist

d. \_\_\_ Confucian

e. \_\_\_ other (specify \_\_\_\_\_)

15. Which of the following reasons led you to join the church that you attend now? Check all that apply.

a. \_\_\_ acquaintance with the pastor or being introduced to him

b. \_\_\_ having spouse, friends, or relatives belonging to the church

c. \_\_\_ desire to attend the church of same denomination as before

d. \_\_\_ happened to attend this church by some accident

e. \_\_\_ closeness to where you reside

f. \_\_\_ other reason (specify \_\_\_\_\_)

16. Which of the following reasons keep you attending your church? Check all that apply.

a. \_\_\_ the relationship with pastor

b. \_\_\_ the relationship with relatives and friends in the church

c. \_\_\_ pastor's sermons

d. \_\_\_ Sunday school programs for children

e. \_\_\_ having received some help (ie., job referral or apartment search, and other emergency assistance) from the church

f. \_\_\_ a church of your own denomination

g. \_\_\_ other reasons (specify \_\_\_\_\_)

17. The following tasks reflect the goals of some churches. To which do you think a church should give priority in investing its financial resources, leadership, and the congregation's effort? Check only three, you need not rank them by numbers.
- \_\_\_ to comfort and give individuals a feeling of importance
  - \_\_\_ to obtain growth of membership, financial security, and establish own church building
  - \_\_\_ to participate in community social actions to serve the needs of local community
  - \_\_\_ enhancing the fellowship within the congregation
  - \_\_\_ expressing the Christian stand on the issues of social and political justice (eg., through letter campaign or rallies etc.)
  - \_\_\_ preaching of the word to provide assurance to individual of his salvation and to help his moral rebirth
18. Which goal of Christian education do you think is most important?
- \_\_\_ helping an individual's growth to a well matured person (if possible to a Christian)
  - \_\_\_ securing an individual as a member of the church
  - \_\_\_ helping an individual to become a person who can benefit the general public
19. Of your five closest friends how many are native-born Americans?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (fill in number)
20. During the last twelve months how many times did you invite Americans to your home? \_\_\_\_\_ times
21. During the last twelve months how many times were you invited by Americans to their homes? \_\_\_\_\_ times
22. Do you hold membership any leisure groups outside Korean community? (eg., sports clubs, discussion groups, artist circles etc.)  
 Fill in number of groups \_\_\_\_\_
23. Do you participate in any specific interest groups, occupational guilds, or political organizations outside Korean community?  
 Fill in number of groups \_\_\_\_\_
24. How many years have you been a Christian? \_\_\_\_\_ yrs.
25. How many years have you been attending the church you belong to now?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ years.
26. How often do you attend worship services?
- \_\_\_ at least once a week
  - \_\_\_ once in two weeks
  - \_\_\_ once a month or so
  - \_\_\_ every couple of months
  - \_\_\_ once or twice a year
  - \_\_\_ never
27. Did you receive Holy Communion at least once in the past 12 months?  
 \_\_\_ yes      \_\_\_ no



35. Have you had any of the religious experiences below? Check all that apply.

- a. a sense of being with God
- b. a sense of being saved in Christ
- c. a sense of communicating with God
- d. participating in or witnessing a miracle of God

36. What priority do you think a local church should give to the federated activities (eg., mission projects through mass media, memorial services, teacher training etc.) of the Korean community churches? Check one.

- first priority before any local church activities
- second priority after local church activities
- no need for joint activities

37. How often do you read English-language daily newspapers?

- every day
- sometimes
- not at all

38. What is the most important medium by which you are informed of important world events? Check one

- television
- English-language papers
- English-language radios
- Korean papers
- personal words of mouth

Thank You Very Much

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Yoon M. Lee has been read and approved by the following committee:

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

4-24-78  
Date

Ross P. Scherer, Ph.D.  
Director's Signature